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OPENING OF THE  
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN,  
IN VIRGINIA.

SPEECH OF  
COL. ROBERT W. HUGHES,  
DELIVERED AT ABINGDON, VA.,  
WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 29th, 1872.

At a large and enthusiastic meeting of Republicans from all parts of South-west Virginia, held in the Court House, at Abingdon, on the 29th of May, 1872, R. W. Hughes, Esq., was requested by resolution, to address the meeting on the questions of the day. Mr. Hughes accordingly appeared before the meeting, and spoke for an hour and three-quarters, in defence of the principles of the Republican party, and in refuting the pretensions of Mr. Greeley, to the support of any class of Southern men.

After congratulating the white voters present on the fact that they would soon, for the first time in twelve years, enjoy the privilege of voting for a President of the United States, the chief officer of the Government, against which they were lately engaged in a destructive war; and after congratulating the colored people on the fact that they now, for the first time in their lives, and in history, were to vote for the Chief Officer of the Government, under which they lived; and commending the magnanimity of the Government, went on to speak, substantially as follows:

THE LOGIC OF EVENTS.

*Fellow Citizens*!—Though the times change, and men change with them, his-

tory continues to repeat itself. Mr. Jefferson could say after the bitter party strife of his day had ended in the triumph of Republican principles, "we are all federalists; we are all Republicans." And so likewise the Cincinnati Convention, in nominating an extreme Radical, and in laying the Democratic party on the shelf, has enabled us also to say, after a bloody war of arms and a fiercer war of words—"we are all Federalists, we are all Republicans."

WHAT PARTY NECESSITY CAN DO.

The nomination at Cincinnati settles the sectional controversy, and gives peace to the country on sectional issues. But, in setting up the caricature of a man for the presidency, it has placed his Southern supporters in a ludicrous position. The Southern "Conservatives" have certainly a very different idol of adoration from those which they have been wont to worship. The logic of events and the drill of party, never performed such a feat before as to have brought the admirers of Mr. Davis and Gen. Lee to do homage at the shrine of Horace Greeley. The wand of party has exorcised a lifetime antipathy, and the arch enemy and professional rival of the South, becomes the leader of our chivalry. If the men who died in the Southern cause could rise in their graves, it is difficult to say whether they would weep or laugh at the spectacle presented them. A Sir Hadrian, in the form of Horace Greeley, at the head of our Southern

knighthood, is either a stinging satire or a monstrous profanation, or it is both.

ONE GREAT GAIN.

The melancholy and ludicrous aspects of this nomination are relieved, however, by one consideration. It may be viewed in one light with unmixed satisfaction. The acceptance by the Southern Conservatives of a veteran abolitionist and extreme Radical politician of the North, as their Presidential candidate, has brought both parties together upon the same platform. That of a narrow and intolerant sectionalism is discarded, and the broad platform of Nationalism, Americanism, Republicanism, is accepted by all. This result is a great gain.

For seven years, those natives of the South who accepted in good faith the situation of affairs established by the war, and who swore to support the constitution and government of the Union, have been subjected to refined persecutions, social, political and commercial, for standing to their oath in its true spirit. This unmanly proscription has of necessity come to an end with the nomination of Mr. Greeley; for none in the South who support such a man as he, will ever dare to question any change of opinion which the veriest chameleons in politics may make. And I, who have sacrificed much of my ambition, interest and feeling, to loyalty, and have gloried in the sacrifice, feel that it is a proud day for me, when I can stand here as I do now, and congratulate my neighbors and countrymen, that what a few of us did at the expense of so much obloquy seven years ago, all do now.

TO SUPPORT GREELEY IS TO RENOUNCE ALL

SOUTHERN PREDILECTIONS.

For any Southern man to support Horace Greeley, is to renounce every sectional sentiment in his nature. To such a man the South, its traditions, its memories, its affections, all in its character that is venerable and endearing, becomes a mockery at the mention of Horace Greeley's name. To accept this man is to repudiate all that we have cherished, and which he has denounced, in our character, in our career and in our policy. The Southern man who adopts Mr. Greeley as his political leader, passes to an extreme in Radicalism, from which the nominal "Radical" shrinks with dismay. It will never more lie in the mouth of such a man to object to me or you on the score of Radicalism. Nothing could more completely emasculate a man of every Southern instinct of his

nature, than the adhesion to that most blaze of all the Northern Radicals, Horace Greeley. I congratulate the native Republicans of the South, that the dreadful word *scallawag* disappears from the vocabulary of party.

The Conservatives, in adopting Mr. Greeley as their candidate, by that fact renounce their embittered sectionalism and consent to be national. For this reason, I rejoice at the nomination. It brings both parties to the South upon the platform of *the Union*. It withdraws from the political canvass all the old exasperating questions of section. It settles the angry issues which first alienated the sections, then culminated in civil war, and remained after the conflict, as smarting wounds to keep its enemies alive. It opens the way to an era of good feeling on sectional questions, to which the country has been a stranger for fifty years. It does all this, because, in a choice between two men of the same nativity, two Republicans of the same faith, two candidates of the same politics, it is impossible for men, or parties, or sections, to be angry with each other at the choice which either may make. It is fortunate, too, that the candidate adopted by the Conservatives of the South is an extreme Radical Republican. Mr. Greeley's nomination virtually converts his Southern supporters into Radicals, and transfers the supporters of Gen. Grant to the category of *moderate Republicans*, as

MR. GREELEY'S NOMINATION IS NOW FREE.

Since this nomination, therefore, I feel that at last *opinion is free in the South*, and that a Southern born man may invoke his fellow citizens to the support of the Constitution, the Union and its laws, without subjecting his family to insult, his business to ruin, his character to question, his name to obloquy and his person and life to danger. While there was a South, with a policy to defend, and a policy to advocate, I gave the best zeal of my youth and best energies of my manhood to their support. But seven years ago, when all was wrecked that we had sought to secure, when the States lost their autonomy forever, and for the best, and when the consolidated Union became the common country of American citizens of every nationality, I abandoned the tenets of sectional politics, and embraced with heart and mind the principles of the national creed. I remembered that the Saviour of mankind, born in a subjugated country, lent the beautiful example of his walk and conversation in favor of obedience to the laws

and loyally rendering unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's.

Those Conservatives who are sincere in their support of Horace Greeley, have now, at last, followed my example; and those who are not sincere, are henceforth forever estopped from the tirade, clamor and vilification in which it has been their habit to indulge against national men. I am proud that I have been faithful to that national creed which I embraced in the times that tried men's souls, and that I have adhered to it undismayed through seven years of reproach, misconception, foul imputation and cruel opprobrium.

I remember that I was told in May, 1865, by a distinguished Confederate General, that it would cost me the good will of my State, to espouse national politics, and to counsel the people to loyalty and reconciliation. I acknowledged the truth of the friendly warning, but I accepted the duty and its penalty. I stand here now, to give assurance, in the light of my own experience and triumph, that even in the capricious evolutions of politics, the right will surely prevail and the truth conquer, in the long run.

There was a dark period of brutal tyranny in Roman history, when suicide came to be esteemed a patriotic duty.—There was a Roman statesman whose fortunes doomed him to this self-sacrifice; and it is related of the noble matron who was his wife, that unwilling to survive him, and as a means of nerving him to the act, she surprised him by burying a pinard in her own bosom, declaring to him, in words of dying heroism, "husband, it gives no pain." And so let me assure those Conservatives who have in their hearts approved my course, but have not dared to imitate or defend it, that self-sacrifice in a just cause carries with it a solace that drowns all pain. I do assure them that it will hurt no honest man to be a Republican. An approving conscience supports him in the times of trial, and the example of the good and patriotic comes in a few years—in *not more than seven years*—to vindicate and commend him.

DEMOCRACY NOW SHELVED—ALL PARTIES DO HOMAGE TO REPUBLICANISM.

It is a most gratifying fact, that all parties at the South and in the Union, are agreed to support Republicans as their Presidential Candidates. And it is a significant fact that the Convention of trading politicians who met at Cincinnati, found it necessary in their nomination to propitiate the national sentiment of the

country at the expense of the sectional, by shelving Democracy and invoking Republicanism to their aid. It is, also, a long stride towards universal loyalty in the South, for our Conservatives to have accepted so extreme a Radical as Mr. Greeley as their candidate. The significance of these facts is not effected by the questions, whether the Cincinnati Convention was composed of disinterested men, whether its nomination was honestly effected and whether the acceptance of it by the Southern Conservatives be sincere.

While it is true that our Virginia Conservatives are at last on a national platform, I deny that their candidate is worthy of trust, that he was honestly nominated, and that the leaders of them are honestly supporting him.

COMPOSITION OF THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

The country is told that the Cincinnati Convention was a spontaneous assembly of patriotic men drawn together by honest motives, for honest public purposes. But Mr. Franklin Stearns who was with them *one day*, and who went to Cincinnati with that idea, came away with a different one. He broke off from them in disgust, complaining that it was a mere convention of ex-officio holders and their friends. And this was indeed the real fact of the case.

MR. GREELEY GOT THE NOMINATION BY PIPE LAYING.

Nor was the nomination of Mr. Greeley any more spontaneous than the gathering of the convention itself. It was effected in the New York fashion, by diligent pipe-laying a long time in advance, and by a resort to all the approved tactics of the New York politician. It was secured by busy intrigue and by open and secret purchase. The newspaper fraternity of the country know very well that nearly a year ago, the plan was adopted of buying up the Republican press of the country in the interests of Mr. Greeley, and in a very artful way. Each Republican editor was approached, and his disposition sounded on the subject of a second term for Gen. Grant. If he was found to be unfavorable to Grant, an advertisement of the *Tribune* newspaper was offered, to be paid for at any price the editor might choose to ask. If found, on the contrary to be favorable to General Grant, the editor got no advertisement and no pay.

Before Congress met last Fall, a still

bolder programme was arranged. Attaches of the *Tribune* did not hesitate to declare that leading Republican Senators had agreed to make a formidable assault on the President, by speeches and by investigations, with a view to preventing his nomination for the second term. And it was boasted that, if Grant should be frightened off the field, Mr. Greeley would get the regular Republican nomination. Sure enough, these outgivings came to be realized. Certain Senators *did* make a formidable attack. The promised speeches were made, the concerted investigations were ordered, and General Grant had to fight battles worse than those of the Wilderness. But he got through them safe and unharmed; he was not driven from the field, and he proposes to fight it out on the same line, to victory, "if it takes all summer."

So Mr. Greeley's first scheme failed.—The old man was, therefore, driven to another expedient. Failing to secure the regular Republican nomination, he was the inventor of the plan of the sore-head "liberal" convention, which was called for Cincinnati. Before it came off, he sent smart agents over all parts of the Union to secure as large an attendance of Republicans at Cincinnati as possible. He thus packed that body in advance with his own creatures. There was never any chance for Adams, Trumbull or Davis.—The old New York politician had beaten them before the battle came off. Careful measures were also taken to subsidize the press in advance, that it might be ready to give a factitious eclat to the nomination as soon as it should be made, and by means of the *enthusiasm of types*, to whip in the doubtful and laggard of the opposition party.

In all the measures thus taken to secure the nomination of Mr. Greeley, there were unsuccessfully played off the tricks of the New York Politician. The crafty old intriguer is the nominee, not from the force of his character, but by his own contrivance, industry and address.

IT IS ANOTHER BARGAIN OF TRADERS WITH A TRAITOR.

Many Southern Conservatives are sincere in the reasons they assign for accepting this nominee. But some of them are insincere. With these latter, it is a mere trade. *They* buy Mr. Greeley; *he* deserts and betrays his party. Once before, the Virginia Conservatives borrowed a New York politician for this sort of work. Once before they abandoned their sectional plat-

form, adopted a national declaration of principles, and proclaimed themselves "true Republicans;" in the present sense of "*liberal*." But they confessed that movement to have been a fraud as soon as its object was attained. They were not very choice in the instrument they used on that occasion; as they are not at all choice, now. When a politician is wanted to do a trader's and traitor's work, you must fish him up from the sewers of New York.

A man had then come to Virginia in the retinue of Gen. Benj. F. Butler, and in the capacity of camp-follower. He had been a politician in Chicago; and is said to have left that city in disgust at having failed of election as chief-of-police. It was this servant of Gen. Butler, this rejected chief-tain of police, whom the highly respectable and refined Conservatives of Virginia chose to be the Governor of this Commonwealth. They made a bargain with their carpet-bag candidate that he should pass himself upon the voters of the State as a Republican in the canvass, and should become a proscriptive Conservative as soon as he was installed in office. He has fulfilled his part of the bargain *honourably*.

ONE SUCCESSFUL FRAUD TEMPTS TO ANOTHER.

That job was the handiwork of the old Whigs. The old Democrats were too proud to take part in the business. They were *sold* by their old Whig associates; and simply acquiesced in the fraud of their partners. There was no difference between Wells and Walker in their avowals of principle in the canvass of 1869; but the old Whigs first whipped the old Democrats into their game; and then, it was as much as a poor Wells man's character, peace of mind, standing in society, and even his life were worth, to be a supporter of the Wells' ticket. To go for Walker was to be a patriot and a gentleman; to go for Wells was to be a villain and scallawag.

Some of the same apt leaders have now picked up another New York politician, to force him upon the people of Virginia, as the candidate of the "*respectables*." Mr. Greeley is said to be honest himself; but he is notoriously managed by the boldest gang of rogues that ever New York produced. The most dangerous of all public officers are those, who, honest themselves in public estimation, are yet hedged in and controlled by *kings of Rogues*. Mr. Greeley is notoriously that sort of man; he comes from the quarter to be such a man in spite of himself; and it is this old *blaze* politician, so managed and so surrounded, who bought and bargained his nomination

at Cincinnati, that the Conservative managers of Virginia have hit upon as the man to be supported by their followers.

The old Whigs of Virginia have had the Democrats of Virginia under thumb ever since they voted the State into secession. They whipped the Democrats into the movement of 1869; but they paid them the deference of putting up a Democrat for Governor in the person of Walker. They manipulated the Democrats so easily on that occasion, and found them so thoroughly demoralized and cowed, that they venture now upon a bolder game. On this occasion, they *commit* an act of defiance and contempt towards the old Democrats. They put up Horace Greeley, an old high-tariff Whig, an old ally of the Know-Nothing, an old agitator against the Free-Masons, against the Catholics, against slavery, against every thing which the Democrats ever defended, and call upon the followers of Andrew Jackson, Thomas Ritchie, Jno. C. Calhoun, Wise, Floyd, Hunter, Mason, Davis and Lee, to take off their hats and recognize their lifetime enemy as their master. Very soon, all the machinery of the press, and all the eloquence of their stump orators, will be in full activity to compel the freemen of this State to bow down to the *moon-calf* which the Conservative managers have selected for adoration.

THE OLD DEMOCRATS WONT BE SOLD OR DRIVEN.

But these bold Whig managers, calling themselves Conservatives, will find their machinery of terrorism impotent to the purpose of compelling the great body of intelligent Democrats of the old persuasion, in Virginia, to accept their candidate. This last experiment upon the timidity and facility of the hapless old party is too bold to succeed. When Zenith and Nadir come together, then and not till then, may one look for the Democratic party of this country, to support Horace Greeley, for the Presidency. The class of men, who take their opinions at second-hand; whose study is, not what is right for them to do, but *how they shall herd*; who sink themselves into animals to obey ring-masters and herdsmen; this class of men can be carried by party tactics for Mr. Greeley, whether they be Democrats or not; but we have left in the South a large class of men who still act upon conviction, and who, from a sense of duty and manliness, will scorn to render Mr. Greeley their support.

GREELEY'S FAULT IS HIS TREACHERY.

The Walker movement in 1869, was confessed to have been a deception, as soon as its object was attained. From professing to be "true Republicans," the Governor and his party have been ruthless proscriptionists of Republicans and Republicanism in every department of our civil administration. Is the present adoption, by the same political managers, of another New York politician, as their candidate, the beginning of another unblushing game of deception? Are the supporters of the *hoary* New York politician any more sincere than those of the *handsome* New York politician? I will borrow some of the infantile credulity of Franklin Stearns, who never did a foolish thing in business, nor a wise thing in politics, and believe that the Greeley Conservatives in Virginia of to-day, the managers excepted, are better Republicans than the Walker Conservatives who called themselves "true." I have more faith in the sincerity of Mr. Greeley's Virginia supporters, than I have in their new idol. Whatever change the logic of events may have at last wrought in the sentiments of his supporters, it is certain that, as a party, their policy has heretofore been one of bitter hatred, vilification and proscription, towards national men. And this is my first point against him; that, if he were an honest national Republican, he would not accept, much less would he have *bought* the support of such a party. None but a traitor to the Republican cause would accept favors from its enemies. My leading and insurmountable objection to Horace Greeley, is, that *he is a traitor to the faith he professes*. The enemy would not adopt him as their leader if he were faithful. When I see a soldier escorted with banners into the camp of the enemy, and placed in command of their chosen brigades, I think of Benedict Arnold; and *I not merely fight him as an enemy, but I despise him as a traitor*. It costs a native Southerner man much of feeling, all that is embraced in the good will of his own people, to be a national man against the passions and prejudices of the populace surrounding him; and when we see Northern Republicans taking sides against us, and giving countenance to the proscription of which we are the victims, betraying the cause to which we are martyrs, there is no word in the language, not even the hateful word traitor; that can express the indignant contempt and resentment which we feel for such men.

HIS TREASON IS NOT ONLY AUDACIOUS, BUT MEAN.

The treason of Mr. Greeley has in it, moreover, an exaggerated degree of meanness. We have had in the South a hard struggle over the questions of liberty, citizenship and equal rights for the colored race. We have fought those questions, loaded with a mountain of prejudice, through to victory, against the anathemas of the men of whom Mr. Greeley is now the leader and patron. His treachery to our cause is baser, because he has forsaken the poor, humble and lowly class amongst us, to take sides with the rich, intolerant, arrogant and proscriptive. We are the proscribed and oppressed class here. And he, pharisaically denouncing proscription, and hypocritically preaching liberty, colleagues with our oppressors and persecutors. He is accepted as their leader by the powerful and tyrannical, on the avowed grounds that he is liberal to them. All the world over, all history through, human experience teaches that liberty to the oppressor is persecution to the oppressed. Away with this shallow plea of liberty, in favor of a party whose administration of affairs in Virginia, for the two years of their power, has been disgraced by every judicial and political crime that could be committed in the spirit of a shameless and ruthless proscription of national men.

HE IS A MAN OF CROUCHETS AND ISMS.

I repeat that poor an opinion as I have of the managers of the party in Virginia who have accepted Mr. Greeley as their leader, I have more faith in their sincerity than in his. If there is a man on this earth whose opinions are unreliable on every subject, and whose career has been marked by continual chicanery, it is Horace Greeley. There is no conceit that was ever hatched in the brain of a fanatic, which he has not countenanced, if he has not espoused and advocated it. He is the walking encyclopedia of all the trashy isms that have been born of this speculative age. He is the living embodiment of the whole brood of modern isms, all of them pernicious, most of them repudiated, many of them putrid.

HE IS NOT THE TYPE OF THE AMERICAN MAN.

Our country is new, young, vigorous, progressive, powerful, great and growing; it is all this, because the genius of our people is practical and matter-of-fact. And yet, it is gravely proposed to take this fantastic bundle of isms, this shambling theo-

rist, this paragraph-writing sciolist, this ungainly scare-crow statesman, this doted old woman politician, who has outlived her day and generation, to set him up as the type of the bold, dashing American man, and to make him the president of the foremost nation of the earth, empowered to administer its government, to command its armies, to direct its navies, to conduct its foreign relations and to impress the world by his own qualities with its vigor, its power and its prestige. It is not possible that an act of popular caprice and folly, so ridiculously incongruous with all that is fit and appropriate, will ever be committed, as the making of such a man as Horace Greeley the President of our great country.

It is almost true to say, that Horace Greeley has attacked everything that was good, and upheld everything that was bad in morals and politics, for the last fifty years. Yet he, the opposite of George Washington, in his history, his mind, his character and his form, is selected by a set of scheming politicians, as the fittest man in the living age to occupy the office to which Washington gave honor and dignity.

Horace Greeley began his public life as a bitter anti-mason; preaching a crusade against that ancient and benevolent brotherhood. He was a socialist in the faith of Fourier and Owen. He has had much to do with woman's rights and free love; pretending sometimes to combat them, but always giving them a bland and amiable countenance. Though a professed vegetarian, eating no meat; and a boasting temperance man, eschewing whiskey. He is a liberal spiritualist, the patron and host of spirit-wrappers and clairvoyants. He has been esteemed a free-thinker in religion, and a know-nothing in politics, and was both, if a man is to be judged by the company he has kept. In short, his name is a synonyme of unsoundness, absurdity and craziness on all social and political questions.

ALWAYS A NARROW POLITICIAN—NEVER A LIBERAL STATESMAN.

But it is more directly with his views as a politician that we have to do. His career as a partisan has been such as must preclude from supporting him every man of self-respect who now professes the National Republican faith, or who was ever a Democrat of the old Andrew Jackson persuasion. The leading idea of the day in which we live, is the greatness and glory of the

American Union. To this absorbing idea all policies must henceforth bend, and all candidates for popular favor must bow and square their records. There is that in the expanding destiny of America, which can solace the Southern man for the failure of his confederacy, and in contemplating which, he can rejoice at the extinction of slavery and the temporary subjugation of his country. But if there is anything that can qualify the gratification inspired by those ideas, it is the fact that, in the vagaries of scheming politicians, such a man as Horace Greeley can be thought of as the President of our great Republic.— What enlarged measures of public policy ennoble and exalt the American Union, has been proposed in the last half century, of which Horace Greeley has not been the noisy and factious adversary?

HE WAS AN ABOLITIONIST INCENDIARY.

His career up to 1861, was devoted to the disruption of the American Union. He sowed the seeds of misunderstanding and hostility towards the South in the Northern mind, more than any other man, and all other men. He filled the Southern heart with alarm by systematically traducing our character and inciting our slaves to discontent and insurrection. "Slave-breeds, 'slave-holders' war," "human chattels," were a few of the phrases of his coinage, that went into that vocabulary of epithets which was contrived to prevent the possibility of a peaceful continuance of the Union. Over and over again was his *Tribune* seized in our post offices as a fire-brand of insurrection. Over and over again was the present candidate of the Southern Chivalry for the Presidency, presented by our Grand Juries as a fomentor of servile outbreak, that most dreadful calamity which can befall a community.— Wherever in the South our slave population approximated or exceeded the whites in numbers, their alarm had its abode at the teachings of Horace Greeley. Whatever the opinions of our people might have been, of the policy or the rightfulness of slavery, there was but one sentiment entertained amongst us of those men at a distance, who, in order to break up the institution were willing to "let the Union slide," and to exterminate our system of society by butchery, rapine and flames. It was not for lack of zeal on the part of Horace Greeley, in plying his vocation of an incendiary, that night after night our dwellings did not lighten the skies with their flames, and that our women and children

were not seen rushing from them naked, into the arms of death, or upon a fate worse than death. It was from no largeness of Horace Greeley in the work of incendiarism, that the dagger was not the portion of our young men, and that poison was not the daily seasoning of our people's food. I glory in saying, that there was one sufficient security vouchsafed us by a kind Providence against the fishish teachings of this "Conservative" candidate for the Presidency, and that was the affectionate fidelity to us of the amiable and incorruptible race of people whom Horace Greeley endeavored to convert into demons.

WHAT DROVE HIM SOUTHWARD IN 1865.

I refrain from dwelling on this black chapter of his history. Not I, nor you are his chief accuser for these attempts against the peace of the South, and upon the fidelity of the colored people. It is his own conscience. It was his remorse at the brutal wrongs he had done us, that brought him to Richmond at the close of the war as a suppliant for mercy. His subscription to bail-bonds and his proffered amnesty were expedients by which he vainly sought to purchase of an outraged people, forgiveness and oblivion. If I had been Jefferson Davis, I would have died the death of twenty traitors; I would have seen the heavens rolled away and the earth crumbled under foot, before I would have suffered that name to be subscribed to any bond for my liberation.

Who, but Horace Greeley, was the chief promoter of the civil wars of 1866 to '60, in the territories, in which Shary's rifles were shipped by thousands, and emigrant aid societies marshalled by regiments, were employed to achieve, by bloodshed and violence, in Kansas a result that was inevitable under the peaceful flow of an honest and patriotic emigration?

JOHN BROWN WAS A SAINT IN COMPARISON.

In contemplating the record of Horace Greeley as a cold blooded, wanton insurrectionist, urging from a safe place, others into danger, I can look with reverence upon the character of John Brown. That old man's object and scheme was the liberation of the slave, and furnishing him a safe escort to freedom. Violence and bloodshed were not in his plan of operations. It was not harm to the white man that he sought to effect, but liberation to the slave. Pike's were his only weapon; arms of defence, not arms of assault. He placed himself in the fore-front of danger, and when arrested and tried, he met his

death like a hero, in the spirit of genuine martyrdom, upbraiding no one, and exclaiming with a conscience at peace with God, with his fellow man and with himself. If he had survived the war, his conscience would not have driven him to Richmond. He would have had no need to assume the part of a political flunkey. He would have signed no bail-bonds. Nor would he have given himself up to a noisy advocacy of amnesty, taking care to do no act to secure it.

HE WAS FOR DISSOLVING THE UNION IN 1861.

I see, in all this conduct of Horace Greeley, no proof of his fidelity to the Union, and no ground of claim to the confidence of national men. At the beginning of secession, he was the open and zealous advocate of dissolution; having suddenly become a man of peace, preferring an amicable separation to a war of subjugation. However acceptable that policy might have been to our Southern slave-holders, it involved a base desertion, by Horace Greeley, of the cause of the colored people. After spending the best years of his life in filling slave-holders with exasperation towards the slaves, Mr. Greeley was willing to turn these people over to the unrestricted power of their enraged masters; desiring that the Union might peacefully continue.

HE ADVOCATED ALL THE AMENDMENTS AND RECONSTRUCTION ACTS.

While he has been liberal of empty words to the South in favor of amnesty, courting the favor of proscription leaders by round abuse of carpet-baggers; he has been the advocate, if not the author of all those measures of which the Southern people have either rightfully or wrongfully complained. Through the whole catalogue of constitutional amendments, and reconstruction acts, including the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, like Saul at the stoning of St. Stephen, he held the clothes of the immediate actors in the tragedy. — If you single out the policy of confiscating our private property, Horace Greeley was clamorous for that. If you come down to the Ku-Klux act, to the civil Rights act, to the Enforcement act, he was urgent for them all. The strenuous advocacy of any measure by the *Tribune*, while its fidelity to the Republican cause was unquestioned, generally insured the passage of the measure. The failure of Mr. Greeley to carry general amnesty through Congress, was because he has used it as a personal hobby

then called Louisiana; and he would have berated Mr. Adams as a buccaneer for purchasing Florida of Spain. And this cold hearted, white-livered old vegetarian, who has on all occasions opposed the extension of our now imperial Union, is to be commended as a statesman singly on the ground of amnesty, a question which he has left open for his private Presidential capital, instead of long ago causing it to be enacted as a law of the land.

Breadth of mind, warmth of heart, liberality, are ideas that take the ague at the mention of Greeley's name! It so happened that in the lifetime of Edgar A. Poe, Mr. Greeley lent that child of fancy and sport of destitution, a sum of money. Not long ago a lady wrote to Horace Greeley at a venture, asking, if he should chance to have one, an autograph of the poet. This heartless old man put a paragraph in the *Tribune*, to say, in answer, that he had an autograph of Poe that had cost him fifty dollars, which he would sell at a less price. Our chivalrous candidate for the Presidency could thus insult the memory of one of our most brilliant poets and offend a lady, either for mere coarseness of nature, or else to stimulate bids for the poor dead poet's due bill.

HE IS TO BE OUR DELIVERER FROM OPPRESSION!

Such is the man whom the sore-head Republicans of the North have given the grumbling Conservatives of the South as their deliverer from the oppression which they claim to be suffering from the National Government under the administration of General Grant and control of the "Radical party." "Deliverance," "oppression," "sufferings of a downtrodden people," these are the cries of the hour; and Horace Greeley comes as saviour, redeemer, mediator, for woe-ridden and friendless people. I sometimes ask these chronic grumblers to specify wherein they are oppressed, and in what respect this great and benignant Government of ours is trampling upon them. I have asserted that the treatment we have received from its hands has been the most lenient and generous ever accorded by victors to vanquished in the tide of time. I have maintained that we are now the freest people on this round globe; the best proof of the fact being furnished by the grumbling party themselves in their own unstinted and unpunished vituperation of a Government which, although losing half a million of lives in subduing them, and giving them all liberty—even the license of abuse and sedition, has hung not

a single one of them as a traitor, nor exacted a single dollar of property as the forfeit of treason. A government which now proclaims universal amnesty, and accords to a million of men lately marshalled in armies for its destruction, the right to vote for its own officers, and to participate as officers in administering its own functions! How unmanly, how ungenerous, how unworthy of the boasted chivalry of our people, in this cry of the croakers and scolds who set themselves up as mouth-pieces of the South.

WHAT OPPRESSION DO WE SUFFER?

Pin them down to specifications—demand of them instances of oppression, and what do they say? They cannot lay their finger upon an instance of such a thing at home. They are compelled to refer to North and South Carolina, and instance the convictions which have been had in the courts held under the Ku-Klux Act of Congress. The men convicted and who elicit so much of their sympathy, are those who put themselves in disguise; who performed their work in the darkness of night; who took women out of their beds, stripped them naked, and whipped them to exhaustion, if not to death; who burnt houses over the heads of sleeping families, and stood ready with guns and swords to put men to death as they rushed from the flames, and to inflict upon woman death or a worse fate than death. The putting an end to such infamies was necessary to the reputation of the South and of the nation; and this is the oppression over which so many croak-dile tears are shed! The Ku-Klux Act of Congress has been a blessing to the South; it has relieved us from the cowardly brutalities of the Klans, and it has established peace and security where brutality and outlawry had reigned supreme.

THE KU-KLUX ACT WAS GREELEY'S LAW NOT GRANT'S.

But General Grant deserves no credit for the passage of the law, nor for its enforcement. The credit of its enactment is more largely due to the exertions of Horace Greeley than of any other man out of Congress. He was clamorous in his *Tribune* for its passage; and still more clamorous for its enforcement, after passage, by the courts. Congress passed the law; the United States Courts held in the Carolinas that the persons accused under it; and the President had as little agency in the business as the shallow politicians amongst us, who complain of its oppressions, and look to Horace Greeley for deliverance

from them. The unmanliness of their outcry is as evident as its groundlessness.

#### NOW LOOK ON THIS PICTURE.

General Grant contrasts proudly with Mr. Greeley, in every attribute of a man, a politician, and a statesman. Before the war he was a Democrat in the faith of Stephen A. Douglass. He helped to fight that Mexican war which Mr. Greeley opposed; and was a part of that devoted army which, at every step of its march to the Mexican Capitol, sustained a double fire; receiving the Mexican balls in front, and Horace Greeley's shots in the rear. He helped to conquer that splendid domain stretching from Louisiana to the Pacific Ocean, which Mr. Greeley did not want this Union to acquire lest it should aggrandize the South.

#### GENERAL GRANT WAS NO INCENDIARY.

General Grant never lifted his finger to disturb the peace of the South, or to inaugurate a war of races, while slavery was protected by the Constitution of his country. He had no agency in bringing on the civil war which Mr. Greeley's teachings compelled. When it became his duty to fight for the Union and the Flag, he did not remain securely in New York, urging brave men "on to Richmond." He went himself into the army, and fought the war through to victory, in camp and field.

#### HE WAS A HUMANE GENERAL.

Our generals and our troops found him a stern fighter, but a liberal adversary. He exacted no humiliating terms of General Buckner at Fort Donelson; nor of General Pemberton at Vicksburg. He confined his warfare to our *armies*; he did not direct it against our *people*. Desolation did not follow in the wake of the armies marching under his command. He gave protection to our people to the full extent of his discretion as a General. It was General Sherman, and not General Grant, that made that awful "march to the sea," burning, destroying, exterminating and making a desolation as he went. It was Sheridan and not Grant, that swept our Virginia Valley so completely with fire and sword, as to realize his own boast, "that a crow would have to carry its rations along in passing over the country after him." General Grant captured Petersburg, and did not burn it; practising a humanity which our own authorities, who burnt Richmond, might have imitated with advantage.

#### HE WAS A GENEROUS CONQUEROR.

At Appomattox, General Grant refused to accept the sword of General Lee; which therefore does *not* now hang as a trophy among the curiosities of Washington patent-office. When our commander told him of the destination of the people, and their want of horses with which to put in their crops; he directed that our soldiers should take home their horses, and little property and arms. After the conquest of the Confederacy, General Grant did not, like General Sherman, celebrate his triumph in Richmond and Washington; but remained in his quarters busy with the task of liberating our prisoners and returning them to the bosoms of their families. With a delicate and noble consideration for the feelings of the countrymen whom he had beaten in honorable warfare, he refused to be a party in any of the pageantries of rejoicing and triumph. The letters of our mothers, wives and sisters, written after the surrender, to Andrew Johnson, Edwin Stanton and other men in authority, pleading for the liberation of prisoners, received no attention. Those which were addressed to General Grant commanded a prompt response in every instance; no letters, indeed, came by return mail, but something more welcome than letters came in advance of the mails; in the persons of the very prisoners whose presence was longed for at home.

#### HE IS A LIBERAL STATESMAN.

In every public message, and by every official method at his command, General Grant has urged upon Congress a free and general amnesty, and a policy of magnanimity to the South. By a special message concerning Virginia, in May, 1869, he procured the passage of the act allowing the submission of our Constitution to popular vote, divested of its original clauses of disfranchisement. It was by his personal order that our people were allowed the privilege of voting down those clauses. Congress, at the instigation chiefly of Mr. Greeley and the *Tribune*, passed the act designated to suppress the Ku-Klux-Klans, and giving to the President the power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in every State and County of the South. With a moderation that does him honor, he has exercised that authority in but one single State.

These are but a few of the facts that show the Conservative character of the great and good man who is so fortunately the President of our country. The history of the world does not afford the example

of a conqueror more generous, a ruler more free from the spirit of usurpation, or a statesman more liberal and considerate, than Gen. Grant.

#### HE TOO IS THE VICTIM OF INGRATITUDE.

It is the habit of the Conservatives of Virginia to denounce him as an oppressor. But they owe to him, more than to any other man, the very liberty of tongue which they abuse to the purpose of vilifying him. Like the adder, they drive their poisonous fangs into the very bosom that warmed them into life. This is not the first instance of their shameless ingratitude. Gov. Pierpont came to Richmond overflowing with generous sentiments towards our people. He too procured the repeal of disfranchising provisions as they were embodied in the Constitution framed at Alexandria; and thus relieved our people of all disabilities. He was active in securing pardons for the people, and recommended the granting of every pardon that was asked for. How was he treated by these same Conservatives? We all know. There was no moderation or measure in the abuse they heaped upon his head. The very men whom he enfranchised proved to be his most bitter revilers, and a good man and generous benefactor of our people was driven from the State as if he were a thief and scoundrel. Gen. Grant, who has been even more liberal and more generous, is receiving even a worse return from a party in whose career for the two years of their power in this State, no single act of liberality can

be discovered; whose *policy* is that of a vindictive proscription of national men, and whose language gives no utterance but of hatred and abuse.

#### THE CONSERVATIVES HATE GRANT BECAUSE HE IS TRUE, AND LOVE GREELEY FOR HIS TREASON.

Compelled to accept national principles, and to drop for a time their sectional politics, they embrace Horace Greeley solely because of his treason to his party and its principles. They assail Gen. Grant, not because of the illiberality which they impute to him, but because he represents the party which rules this country, which has conquered internal peace, which has established our government upon the enduring principles of liberty and equality for all, which means more and more to exalt, ennoble, enrich and strengthen the American Union, and *because he represents it faithfully*. They accept Horace Greeley, not for any liberality of sentiment which he pretends to entertain for the South, but because they expect, through his influence to divide the Republican party and thereby secure its overthrow.— "Anything, anybody, to beat Gen. Grant" is their motto. It fully and aptly expresses their policy of hate, of revolution, of destruction. But the good and benignant Being who has so greedily exulted our country against the machinations of these same men, and who intends that it shall be a land of sectional affections, not of sectional hatreds, will confound their counsels and defeat their contrivances.