

Jan. 30 1870

# SPEECH

OF

## HON. BARCLAY HENLEY,

### OF SONOMA,

~~25-10~~

ON THE

## "FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT,"

DELIVERED IN THE

### House of Representatives of the California Legislature,

JANUARY 18TH, 1870.



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To HON. BARCLAY HENLEY,

MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY FROM SONOMA :

DEAR SIR—The undersigned, having listened with pleasure and admiration to your eloquent and masterly speech on the subject of the "Fifteenth Amendment," delivered in the Assembly, January 17th, 1870, and being desirous of printing and circulating the same in pamphlet form, for the good of the Party, respectfully request permission to publish the same.

GEO. H. ROGERS, Speaker of Assembly,  
ROBERT FERRAL, Clerk,  
JOHN BIGLER,  
JOHN McMURRY,  
J. A. BLANKENSHIP,  
A. R. ANDREWS,  
NEWTON BENEDICT,  
JOHN FERRAL,

DANA PERKINS,  
W. A. KING,  
R. C. HAILE,  
J. C. CRIGLER,  
J. NAPHTALY,  
JOHN W. SATTERWHITE,  
J. LAMBERT.

SACRAMENTO, Jan. 14th, 1870.

MESSRS. GEO. H. ROGERS,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, AND OTHERS :

GENTS—Your note requesting the privilege of publishing my remarks upon the proposed "Fifteenth Amendment" to the Federal Constitution, is at hand, and in reply, I would transmit you herewith, a printed copy of my speech, hoping, though doubting, that it will aid in that public enlightenment so flatteringly intimated in your note.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

BARCLAY HENLEY.

S. S. B. Jan. 30 '09

## SPEECH OF MR. HENLEY.

That a crisis is at hand involving the life of the Republic, the most unobservant of intelligent men must now realize—a crisis in the determination of which depend interests so stupendous, rights so valuable, principles so inseparably blent and interwoven with all that we love and cherish and with all that makes the perpetuity of this Union desirable by free men, that even the most ardent optimism cannot view with indifference the possible result. Disguise or glaze over the matter as we may, we now find ourselves confronted by the solemn admonitory fact that a very respectable minority of the intelligent white people of the United States have signified by their votes at recent elections that, in spite of the unparalleled prosperity and happiness that have heretofore marked our career, they desire a change of our present form of government to a new and untried form—the desire to surrender to the Federal Government the right of the States to determine for themselves who shall be voters in their respective sovereign limits, and they further desire, as evidenced by those elections, to take into political equality and partnership in the administration of this Government a race of people whose history, tradition, our natural instincts, and the voice of God, tells us in undeniable terms are, in morality and intelligence, our inferiors, and unfit for such association. This fact, sadly and terribly significant when considered by itself and alone, is infinitely more so when we reflect that it involves the confession by those people that they are incapable of self government.

The people of the State of Iowa and all those States that ratified the proposed Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment have, in addition to placing themselves upon an equality with negroes, deliberately proclaimed to their sister States and the civilized world that they themselves are incapable of properly disposing of the ballot—incapable of determining who should ex-

ercise the high privilege of suffrage—and have forever parted with any power or voice in the matter, and turned it over to Congress.

The annals of history fail to show a more degrading confession than this by a political community, coupled with a more causeless, fatuous divestiture and alienation of sovereign political power, and even though the hour of our madness and folly should soon pass away and we should resume our former career of unexampled prosperity, still will the cheeks of our posterity redden with the blush of shame as they read that damning and ineradicable record of ancestral opprobrium and humiliation. There it will ever remain, a foul, hideous stain and blot, defacing and polluting the fair pages of American history—a defilement, a hissing and a reproach to this generation of people.

Sir, in what age do we live, and upon what times have we fallen? Are we a sane, rational people now, and were we mad, demented a few years since? If this proposed constitutional amendment is in consonance with the behests of humanity and sound statesmanship now, then what monsters of iniquity and impolicy were we but a few years since. It is safe to say that nowhere in the broad limits of these United States, ten years ago, could a man have obtained a respectful hearing in advocacy of the right and policy of giving negroes and Chinese the right to vote. He who would have so expressed himself would have simply been laughed at, or reviled as a madman or a fool. There may have been some who did believe in it—a very few—but the efforts of the Abolitionists of old were mainly addressed to the extermination of slavery; on all sides the unfitness of the negro to rightfully exercise the ballot was conceded—his admission to that right was not dreamed of.

Ten years have passed away since then—ten years of madness, of delirium, of folly and of wrath—years pregnant with events,

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crowded with emergence, and circumstance, and precedent, that in the far-distant future will fix their impress for good or for evil upon what is now the Government of the United States of America—an Iliad of tribulation and woe to all concerned. One decade has passed over us and a change has taken place, and such a change! For health, and vitality, and exuberance and strength, we have moldering bones, ever-flowing tears and endless despair; for blooming gardens and interminable fields of waving grain, we have a howling wilderness; for hope and confidence, we have distrust and suspicion.

But these do not constitute the saddest or most striking difference between our present and past condition. There has been a change of heart, a demoralization wrought by the corrupting influences of war, more—in my judgment—to be feared, fraught with greater possible disaster to the American Union than even this vast spoliation and ruin of our material prosperity. Not more does the scarred and corrugated bosom of the field of Gettysburg, “ridged all over with human graves,” differ from its appearance now than when it bore upon its bosom the golden fruits of husbandry; not more, sir, do the scorched and blackened ruins of to-day differ from the palatial edifices of which they are the last mournful vestiges; not more does that hybrid, mongrelized monstrosity now called Virginia differ from the matchless governmental structure, the Virginia of Madison and of Mason; not more does daylight differ from darkness, than do the American people of to-day, wilfully and knowingly indorsing negro equality, differ from the American people of ten years since indignantly spurning from their presence the vile advocate of a doctrine so abhorrent to nature and to reason. (Applause).

The negro of ten years ago is the negro of to-day. He has made no progress in civilization—is the same now that he was then, the same that he has ever been in the constant mutation and long revolving cycles of time since in bondage and servitude he toiled in the brick yards of Egypt; and yet we find it urged, as a matter of policy and justice, that the negro should be permitted to vote. Ten years ago that pretense would have been deemed absurd; now it is recommended by wisdom and humanity.

Now, sir, by what means has this wonderful revision been produced in the minds of the people? Why is this measure now urged as a national necessity? Has the negro grown wiser? No; he is unchanged. Have we grown wiser and more virtuous? No, not wiser—and war does not improve a nation's morality. Then why this measure? Where does the necessity exist? Mr. Speaker, the answer to all of these questions is as plain and obvious as the glare of the sun at meridian. These professions of philanthropy and love of equality are not meant, are insincere and specious, and

this Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment is simply a stupendous, unhallowed conspiracy, conceived and hatched for no other purpose under the heavens than to a little longer perpetuate the waning political power of a party whose corruptions and abominations are fast making it offensive to the commonest intelligence and love of country.

I have spoken of this change in the minds of the people. That is not doing them justice. But a small number of them have ever given their intelligent, hearty, direct indorsement of this infamous measure. True, they have indorsed the party which favors it, but we all know that it was only done by beguiling and deceiving them, and the employment of the vilest tricks of demagoguery. I still believe but few of the citizens of the United States, if the naked question were submitted to them, divested of and disconnected with other questions by which they might be influenced, would indorse the investiture of the dark colored races of the earth with this high attribute of intelligent American citizenship. Two classes have indorsed it, thoroughly understanding what they were doing at the time, and this proposed Amendment is the product of their co-operative efforts. They are united by no political affinity, save that each attains its end by the employment of the same means. The one seeks the annihilation of the reserved rights of the States, the destruction of the federative character of the American Union, and the substitution in lieu thereof of a consolidated centralized Government.

This change in our political system is required by the existing exigencies of the Republican party. That once accomplished, there will be from the negroes of the United States and the hordes of Asiatic barbarians to be imported to this country by the encouragement of this party, a large acquisition to the ranks of voters, which their patrons, the Republican party, hope to capture. The other class is composed of those madmen and fanatics by which almost every age and people have been cursed, and of which Marat and Robespierre, of the French Revolution, and Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips are the typical representatives. They seek the adoption of this measure because it imparts legal authority and force to that vainest and most impious of modern transcendentalism, the “universal fatherhood of God and universal brotherhood of man.” These two classes have been assisted in the attainment of their ends by some who, from an honest devotion to the Union, were in favor of its restoration by force of arms, and having become identified with that party during the war, purely as a matter of party discipline, continue to vote with it. Others, again, have co-operated with them, wishing to thrust negro suffrage upon the South, as a measure of punishment of the Southern people for

their transgressions in attempting to secede from the Union.

But while I divide and subdivide the present supporters of this proposed Amendment, they generally profess that they are actuated simply by a desire to do justice to all, and a belief that all men, white and black, who may be here now or come here hereafter have equal right and title with us to a participation in the government of this country. They seek by political equality, by education and amalgamation, to eradicate all existing differences between white and black. In medieval ages there existed a class of enthusiasts and madmen styled alchemists, who spent their time and substance in vain and futile efforts to discover a universal solvent by means of which they might transmute the baser metals into gold.

What do we now see? A class of men, respectable in numbers, and absolutely, as it would seem, exercising a controlling influence over their country's destinies, engaged upon an experiment equally wild and visionary in its scope, and in the furtherance of which they have not only invoked the aid of occult and diabolic instrumentalities, as did the alchemists of old, but their memories and rich bequests of a glorious past, laws, liberties, ordinances and Constitutions have vanished in the pathway of their consuming desires like gossamers impalpable to the touch. They seek to eradicate from the negro the seal of inferiority which Omnipotence has stamped upon his brow, and to change or transmute him from black to white; and in their frenzied efforts to realize the fruition of this maddest phantasy that ever possessed a people, in the blood spilt, the desolation wrought, the treasure expended, and the enormities practiced, we are shudderingly reminded of the story of the alchemist of old, who slew his virgin daughter, with whose blood the necessary incantation was to be performed to enable him to accomplish his long cherished purpose. Would to God, sir, that the refutation were possible; would that the record of Congressional legislation told a different tale; but shameful as the confession is, disguise it as we may, the indisputable fact rises up before us—looms up from out the fog and mist and circuitry of political platforms so plainly as to shame denial, that the one grand obstacle in the way of a peaceful and restored Union which, since upon the plain of Appomattox, the bugle of peace was sounded, has perpetuated tumult and discord and has kept alive and aflame the evil passions and asperities of war, has been the refusal of the people of certain of the United States to embrace the doctrine of the civil and political equality of the negro with the white man.

The radicals say now, and constantly have said to the Southern people: "Recognize the equality of all men—take an oath that you will never change your opinions

in that regard, and all of you, save those excepted in the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, shall vote and enjoy all other rights to which you may be entitled under the Federal Constitution. Only subscribe to that doctrine and, though it be the guerilla, the bushwacker—he whose 'impurpled hands do reek and smoke' with the foul stains of fratricidal guilt; though it be the author of crimes at the bare mention of which the blood freezes in the veins; though day by day you starved prisoners to death at the abhorred Andersonville—yet, from being the most abandoned wretch upon earth, you come forth immediately pure if you will only swear to the civil and political equality of all men." And no matter how loyal or devoted to the Union any of those people may have been—no matter, though their blood reddened every field from Bull Run to Appomattox, unless they take this oath they can't vote. Loyalty is no qualification to entitle a man to vote, unless it be accompanied with a proper regard for Sambo.

These are the terms submitted to the Southern States since the war; those are the terms upon which they were admitted to the Union, and it was the rejection of those terms that has kept Mississippi, Virginia and Texas so long in the throes of reconstruction. It is moreover a non-compliance with these terms that has kept Georgia from representation in Congress thus far.

Now, Mr. Speaker, bear in mind that in many of those States, subtracting from the population those whites disfranchised by the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, you have a majority of the negroes over the whites. This being the case, when we analyze this proposition what does it amount to? Purely and simply this: say Congress to the Southern people, "You are now under the rule of the bayonet; we give you your choice—either embrace negro equality or remain under military domination. Choose! Your master shall be either the sword or the barbarian!" I ask any Republican upon this floor to go and in the solitude of his chamber place himself before a mirror, and repeat: "These are the terms proposed in the high noon of the nineteenth century, by my countrymen of the North to my countrymen of the South." Let him repeat it, I say, and let him give himself up to a realization of its enormity; and if a red blush of shame does not overspread his countenance, it will be because honor, justice and decency have no place in his heart. (Loud applause.) Anarchy and revolution constitute the matrix wherein are germinated great principles and mad heresies. From the war of our independence was born the immortal sentiment that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." As one of the fruits of our war, we, the degenerate offspring of an honored ancestry, propose to transmit to our posterity another

sentiment: "The universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man."

What a commentary upon the temper of the times do the respective sentiments suggest! The one, the creation of the deep and comprehensive mind of Jefferson, the other, the distorted phantasm of Wendell Phillips and George Gorham. Reviewing all of these things, sir, what is the conclusion? That, as the graves of nations and individuals are alike washed by the waters of oblivion, as nations and individuals alike live and die, so do nations, like individuals, have their hours of delirium and insanity.

We have had our day of madness. Reason again dawns, but slowly dawns, upon us. It will be long yet before the unhealthy fires and flush of fever shall be entirely dispelled from the cheek, and the pulse resume its wonted beat. It is only by a grave and considerate contemplation of—not the battles fought and blood and treasure expended—but the startling changes sought to be made in our form of Government, that we are enabled to realize the magnitude of the late conflict. That war was not the mere temporary disarrangement of the machinery of our Government, caused by the capricious ebullition of temper of an arrogant, intractable people; nor was it the hasty and precipitate action of a people misled and inflamed to madness by ambitious leaders; nor, again, was it an effort on their part, as has been represented, from pure wantonness and diabolism to break up and destroy the fabric of this Union, because of disappointment at the election of Mr. Lincoln, but that war was the deliberate, unanimous effort of the people of ten States of this Union, acting through their Legislatures and Conventions, first and afterward attempted to be enforced by the sword to dissolve their connection with the Union by a resumption of the powers delegated to the United States by them when they became parties to this confederacy. Their reason for so attempting to withdraw, without going into details, was based upon a sincere belief in their minds that the purposes for which they had originally entered into the Federal compact had become inoperative and of no efficacy, because of the action of certain of the Northern States in violation of the terms of that compact. In other words they had entered into that Governmental copartnership to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of liberty." Those purposes had failed, as they believed, by reason of the disregard by the Northern States of their constitutional obligations. That they believed in their right to so secede, the candid student of history will not deny. They had learned it from the history of the Union as it existed under

the old articles of confederation; they had learned it from the Federal Constitution interpreted in the light of that history, and the debates of the Convention that framed that Constitution; they had learned it from their loved and respected leaders, living and dead; they had learned it from Horace Greeley, from Abraham Lincoln, from Benjamin Wade, from John Quincy Adams, from the congregated wisdom and patriotism of New England, in Convention assembled at Hartford, in 1814.

And again, as the embodiment of the views of New England on the subject, the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1803, authorized it, and in 1844 the same Legislature passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, \* \* \* That the prospect of the annexation of Texas, unless arrested on the threshold, may drive these States into a dissolution of the Union."

And again in 1845, the Legislature passed another resolution similar in purport and substance. From these facts it is clear that the Southern people believed that the States of the American Union were united upon the same principles as was the Hellenic Confederacy and other confederations of Greece, from whom we have inherited examples in war, in art, in poetry and science, that dwarf and belittle the boasted achievements of even this era; and in spite of the contempt and opprobrium now heaped upon a Union founded upon voluntary consent, still, in the far-distant future, will the student of history read with flushed cheek and sparkling eye of the grandeur of republican Greece, of the genius of her poets and orators, the valor of her warriors, the wisdom of her statesmen and the benignity and justice of her laws. Republican Greece, united during so long and glorious an existence, upon the same principles for the vindication of which the Southern people drew the sword in the late conflict; the principles of a voluntary association or confederation of republics, depending for their existence as a union upon the affection and consent of the governed.

This war, then, the most stupendous of modern times in the battles fought and men engaged, was still more so, in view of the issues dependent upon the result. Believing, as they did, the South invoked the god of battle, appealed to that last final dread means of arbitrament—the sword. They utterly and disastrously, but not dishonorably and ignominiously, failed. The issue staked upon the war, to-wit: their right to secede, was decided against them, to be by them never more revived unless persecution, indignity and abuse, in violation of the terms of their treaty of peace should drive them to despair and absolve them from the obligation of their promises. The question of secession being decided, they, in good faith, bow in submission to that decision, and in blood and desolation they have recorded their promise.

But now as to the advisability of passing this amendment: To warrant a great change in our fundamental law like this—to warrant a Constitutional Amendment—three things must appear: First—authority under our system to amend; second—some existing evil which the amendment will remedy; and third—that society and Government would be improved thereby.

Having, as I conceive, abundant reasons, independent of the right of Congress to submit such an amendment, to urge against it. I shall for the present go into no discussion of the right to propose this kind of amendment. I may simply say, however, that, from my reading and understanding of the theory of our Government, the right of suffrage is one of the inherent, inalienable attributes of State sovereignty, of which no State can be divested by this means; that this proposition is not an amendment of the Federal Constitution as contemplated by the framers of that instrument, and is just as unlawful and revolutionary as an amendment would be, depriving a State of the right of representation in Congress, or changing the nature of our Government from its republican form into a monarchy. I say that those are changes that go to the foundation of our Government, and cannot be made even with the consent of the two-thirds or three-quarters of the States.

The second proposition is: What existing evil is among us in California that the Amendment would remedy? I know of none. If any person can point me to any wrong or evil now existing among us that would be remedied by permitting negroes, Kanakas, South Sea Islanders and Chinamen to vote, I would like to have him do it. Yes, there is one wrong—a wrong that exists in the brain of transcendentalism run mad—a wrong that has called forth the sympathetic tears of such humanitarians as Robespierre, Dante and Marat, of the French Revolution—a wrong that now elicits the tenderest solicitude of those modern saints, Sumner, Butler and W. Phillips—a wrong that has received the countenance and approval of every sage and statesman that ever lived in any time or clime from Solon and Lycurgus, from Cicero and Seneca, down to Pitt and Burke, Washington and Jefferson—the sublimest wrong that ever outshone right—the wrong of permitting only those to participate in the government of this country who are qualified by their virtue and intelligence to properly exercise that high privilege—the wrong of enforcing the doctrine of a white man's Government—the wrong of withholding from the grasp of barbarity and paganism that highest privilege of an American and freeman, the ballot. That, fellow-citizens, is the wrong, and the only wrong, that this Constitutional Amendment would remedy—that is the wrong which to remedy you are now asked to surrender and turn over to

Congress your present right to say who shall or shall not vote.

Now, in all candor, gentlemen, if this is a wrong, a sin, why cannot we right it ourselves? Where is the necessity, where the advantage of placing the matter beyond our control for all future time to come? If these dark-colored races should vote, if justice and expediency require it, let us amend our State Constitution, and give it to them ourselves; then, if the experiment turns out a bad one, we still have control of the matter, and can repeal our amendment, and again limit the matter to the whites. But, for God's sake, be not guilty of the madness of voluntarily relinquishing our rights to say who shall vote in our own State.

But a word more in regard to the right of every man to vote, or, as Gorham calls it, manhood suffrage. The Republicans say suffrage is one of those great natural inalienable rights which belong in the same category as a man's right to eat, drink, move about, hold property, etc. To my mind nothing is more fallacious and absurd than to say that the State does not commit a greater wrong when it prohibits the free locomotion, or wrests property from a negro without process of law, than when it withholds from him the ballot. Every one that has sense enough to run at large can see the preposterousness of that.

And I am now brought to this proposition: That suffrage is a mere privilege—a conventional right—in contra-distinction to a natural right, accorded as a matter of grace by Government to man. It has been considered, in our country, an indisputable maxim that the perpetuity of a republican or representative form of Government depends upon the purity of the ballot, and, to the end that the ballot be kept pure, the qualification of voters should be virtue and intelligence. Every one knows that the more honest and intelligent our voters, the better will be our representation in the law-making bodies, and the wiser and more salutary our laws. Apply that test to the dark-colored races of the earth. Do they possess those qualifications? That question needs no answer to this audience. But the capacity of the negro for self government is no longer a problem. History answers the question in a manner that dispels doubt.

A few examples will suffice: France, under the lead of Jacobinism, in 1791, freed the slaves of Hayti. In forty years, from the highest degree of prosperity and cultivation, it has lapsed into a wilderness. Writers tell us that the observance of the Sabbath, family ties and schools have become obsolete, and missionaries are in more danger of being eaten than listened to. Yet, Hayti is free—her negroes can vote. Some years since, in Mexico, and following close on to the heels of a revolution, a party of radicals, under the plea of political necessity, placed the "proud Castil-

ian, the emasculated Indian and the servile negro" upon the same political footing. What a spectacle does that country now present! Revolution after revolution as a "broom of fire," has swept over her fair bosom in frightful and bewildering succession—the bustle and hum of industry and commerce are silenced; in turn the prey of a robber, a bloated and insolent priesthood or a foreign adventurer, the object alike of the pity and contempt of the civilized world, Mexico soon sinks into an ignominious grave, a speaking monument to the genius of radicalism, and an eloquent attestation of the supernal purifying effect of "manhood suffrage!"

No, sir; this no longer constitutes a problem in the minds of intelligent and free-thinking men. It stands refuted by history, by philosophy, by phisiology and the dispassionate reflection of every intelligent man.

The next question is, would society be improved by it? I shall argue this branch of the question as though this Amendment conferred suffrage upon Chinese, which, in point of fact, it does. Of course it confers suffrage upon all citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment says all persons born in the United States are citizens. So that all Chinamen hereafter born here are voters under the Fifteenth Amendment, no one will dispute. But I say if you pass this Amendment, then if a Chinaman cannot become a citizen and voter under the present naturalization laws, how long would it take Congress to change them to permit Chinese to vote? And who doubts that Congress would immediately? When this matter was up for consideration in the Senate, a Senator of this coast attempted to amend it, so that under it Chinese could not become citizens; but he was not listened to. That of itself, independent of the professions of Bill Stewart and the balance of the leaders of the party, might seem enough to show their intentions. But will this benefit us? I say no! that it will injure us morally, politically and in every conceivable manner. I have said that virtue and intelligence should be the qualifications of our voters.

Next in importance to that to insure our perpetuity as a nation, is our homogeneousness. Dr. Draper, one of the profoundest thinkers of this or probably any other age, in speculating upon the probabilities of our existence, regards this as the grand difficulty of difficulties to overcome. He does not intimate that with reference to the pagan races it ever can be overcome, but addresses himself to the difficulties of overcoming the differences that exist between the various white races who come to our country.

I say if this Amendment is passed, it will introduce into our country an element differing with us so widely in race, color, customs and religion, that antagonisms and

commotions must inevitably arise which will endanger the very existence of the Government. It is against all human experience and our knowledge of man's nature, for any two races of people to live together harmoniously and peaceably under a republican form of Government in the equal enjoyment of political rights, unless they intermarry or amalgamate. That we cannot do, and therefore peace is impossible. The Chinese differ from us morally, physically and intellectually in every conceivable particular; a difference that neither time nor clime, nor education can obliterate; a difference that is radical, ingrain, interwoven with nature, blood, bone and tissue. We cannot change the pagan Chinese, transmute them from barbarians into Christians, Americanize them so that they are fit to discharge the high duties that pertain to American citizens. It might be different if it were only a few Chinese that we had to deal with; then we might humanize and Christianize them. But it is millions that we will have to deal with. Remember they number one-third the human race, have sixteen times as many people as we have, have more inhabitants than all North and South America and Europe combined. In a few years they can throw into our country double our population and not miss them. Then, if we open the door to their free immigration, and the word spreads throughout that vast and effete empire of this new El Dorado, of its wonderful resources, of its salubrity of climate and fertility of soil, of the gold to be plucked from the pregnant earth, to all of which will doubtless be added a dazzling account of political power to be acquired, and what will you see, sir? You will see pouring to our shores from the stagnant and overburdened cities of Asia a population as numerous as the sands of the sea. What next? Let them come in such numbers, and with their industry and thrift, which is as bootless to deny them as it is to deny them utter destitution of moral principle, and they will soon become a power in the land. Next, we would see country, religion, power, the institutions bequeathed to us by Washington and Jefferson, sink into the loathsome embrace of idolatry and paganism.

Once more in the world's history will the great sun shine upon a spectacle the saddest ever seen upon the horror-stricken fields of earth—the extermination of liberty in the Western World, the demoralization of this proud Republic, the altar of the Ever Living God supplanted by the beastly and the impious images of idolatry, and we, the American people, the victims, the prey, of these barbarians, as in the olden time was Rome the prey of the Goth, the Vandal and the Hun—upon all that we love, upon all that we revere, upon all that we have fought for and for which a gallant ancestry reeled and fell in the red mire of

Monmouth and Brandywine, upon everything, "Ichabod!" will be written. Our glory is gone, and forevermore!

Sir, from the hideous contemplation of such a picture I turn in horror and dismay, and we who stand idly by and suffer this foulest of consummations commit a crime not paralleled by the Roman Emperors, who fed Christianity to beasts of the arenas; a crime which in the esteem of posterity will blacken and intensify as lustrums, decades and centuries shall roll on. I am no seer, to predict a nation's doom—no prophet, as was he who interpreted to Babylon's terror-stricken King the mystic characters on the wall, and foretold the annihilation of an empire and the swoop of the Persian host; but, to my mind, athwart the clear blue of our political sky appear portents as dread, signs as sinister and ominous as those which startled that guilty monarch upon his throne, environed as he was by prince and satrap, concubine and slave. We, as that sovereign, have degenerated from the purity and simplicity of our ancestors, have become voluptuaries and worshippers of gods of gold, of iron, of stone and of wood, and unless steps are taken to avert the danger, soon may be whispered into our affrighted ears the appalling words: "Mene, mene, tekel upharsin"—Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting. Shall it be that with the freshening breezes yon blue ocean will soon be mingled, by our sufferance, that sound—the mournfullest that has "swept the fields of mortality" since the sun went down on Roman liberty—the requiem of freedom in the western hemisphere—the dirge of a dying Republic? It devolves upon us to say. The responsibility is upon us and we cannot evade it.

I have intimated, Mr. Speaker, that we might be swallowed up by this horde of barbarism, if this measure becomes engrafted upon our Federal Constitution. Either that will be our fate, or, when the fruits of unlimited Chinese immigration and Chinese suffrage shall become manifest—when the whites are driven from the market places and the marts of labor by the overwhelming competition of these Asiatics—then will come that most unrelenting of wars—a war of races. And I lay it down as a proposition not to be successfully gain-sayed, that this country will either become Mongolian or remain Caucasian. There can be no admixture, no assimilation, no amalgamation of those two races. Hence, I believe, if this measure prevails, war will ensue. And it will not be an organized war, conducted in accordance with the ameliorating rules of civilized warfare, but war in its direst, fiercest, bloodiest phase—war "until the tongueless caverns from the craggy hills cry havoc"—a war in which the combatants shall be vast mobs of disorganized, ensanguined, infuriated men and women. Already, sir, as I intimated a short time since, have we had a prelude to the

coming storm. Already (if I had the statistics to show you) have white men been discharged from employment to give place to the copper-colored worshipper of Joss; and already—oh, shame that it can be said!—have white women of our country been expelled from these lighter employments in which Chinese are known to excel, such as housework, sewing, cigar making, book binding, etc., because the "boss" of some Chinese company agrees to furnish these pagans who will do the same work for less money. Expelled, did I say? Yes, sir—ostracised, driven forth to starvation, to madness, or to something worse.

Will these things be long suffered? Not until you purge the human heart of all feeling of resentment for the authors of wrong sustained. Sir, you have read of mobs and riots; you have read, while the blood curdled in your veins and your cheek paled with horror, of the scenes enacted during the French Revolution, when the "sun's eye had a sickly glare, and the world grew faint with horror;" when every day, for eighteen never-to-be-forgotten months, one hundred men, women and children met their death by the keen edge of the guillotine's knife; when liberty and equality" was the insensate cry that came from a surging, brutalized mob of human beings, as the executioner held forth to their frenzied gaze the head of the loveliest woman of history—its arteries spouting even into their faces the blue blood of royal martyrdom.

Again, sir, you have heard of the mobs of Baltimore and the draft riots of New York, when men, as a redress for real or imaginary grievances, seeing themselves torn from the bosoms of their families as food for powder, in their folly and madness took up arms to resist lawful authority; and you have heard of the bread riots of the larger manufacturing towns of England, and the crimes there enacted; of how, from the throats of thousands of men, women and children, there went from earth to heaven a ceaseless, unavailing cry for bread, bread; of how, crazed, delirious from hunger and suffering, woman forgot her sex, man his duty to society and to his God; palatial houses and churches were burned, and every conceivable crime committed, until the very demon of discord and wrath seemed turned loose upon earth. This, Mr. Speaker, might afford us some warning of what will ensue. These scenes, sir, re-enacted in our midst, will be the fruits and glories of the success of the pet hobby of radicalism—"cheap labor."

Sir, as inevitably as the dawn of to-morrow's sun, let there be a little more pressure in that direction—let the Mongolians, become a little bit more numerous in our midst, and more obtrusive—a little more suffering and destitution in the ranks of our white laboring classes, and you will see the very streets of your cities incarna-

dined with barbarian blood. Take heed, sir radical, when that hour comes, lest the retributive wrath go beyond its immediate cause, the degraded Pagan, and work out a bloody expiation upon his patron! A persistent disregard by the consumer, the lordly possessor of illimitable wealth, of the plain rights and necessities of the producer—a flagrant defiance of the undeniable rights of the white laboring classes of the country, may reproduce in this land a state of affairs that the radical and the pseudo-humanitarian would hardly deem a fitting compensation for all of their labors.

Mr. Speaker, I have done; and in conclusion, would say that while I do not stand here to affect the role of the political Cassandra, yet, holding myself humbly accountable to the Great Searcher of Hearts for the sincerity of my utterances, I, in this high presence, declare it to be my belief that if this measure shall be ratified by the requisite number of States, and it be enforced in the spirit hitherto threatened by the radical party, and if Congress exercises the power it thereby becomes invested with, as the leaders of that party have promised, then, sir, as the hideous saturnalia of blood to which I have before adverted, the French Revolution, and as England, during the wildest excesses of Reformation, have constituted problems defying the ability of the learned and recondite savans and philosophers of the earth to solve, so in the future will our posterity, as they wonderingly and amazedly turn the red pages of our history, in vain ask themselves why and how it was that our Government, in the short space of eight years, fell from the loftiest height ever before trod by a people into a "depth of woe and darkness as infinite and profound as that murky clime to which Lucifer, the bright Son of the Morning, fell in his eternal fall,

never to hope again. Pass this Amendment, and we furnish that problem for future ages to solve. The stability of our Government is now on trial. In the result are centered the hope and fears of the apostles of freedom and republicanism throughout the world. Is man capable of self-government? Is our past history a record of valor, of freedom and of patriotism, or was it but a dream, hideous, bloody and fitful? Were Washington and Jefferson sages and statesmen, whose valor and genius were to emancipate mankind from the domination of "prince and potentate," or were they but madmen and charlatans, whose efforts have simply encrimsoned the earth's bosom with the blood of their victims and whose names and memories are to be execrated and abhorred for ever and ever? These questions will soon be answered. What the response will be I will not attempt to say. If hereafter, upon proper reflection and understanding of this matter, the people shall deliberately vote their indorsement of the doctrines of this party, I know not what my individual course would be; but I feel now that when I shall see the vote of an intelligent white man counteracted at the ballot box by the vote of a Chinaman, I shall deny being an American citizen, as I would deny the imputation of dishonor or crime. But, sir, I may be permitted to hope that as our sleep has been long and deep, our waking will be thorough and entire; that the hour of reversion is at hand—is coming with a force that nothing can stay—with a force that is "so stupendous that it can only be compared to the great ocean when it lifts itself beneath a darkened sky and a rolling thunder, and resists anything short of the Supreme Power, with an elemental force and fury that defies the the petty expedients of carping man." (Applause.)