



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

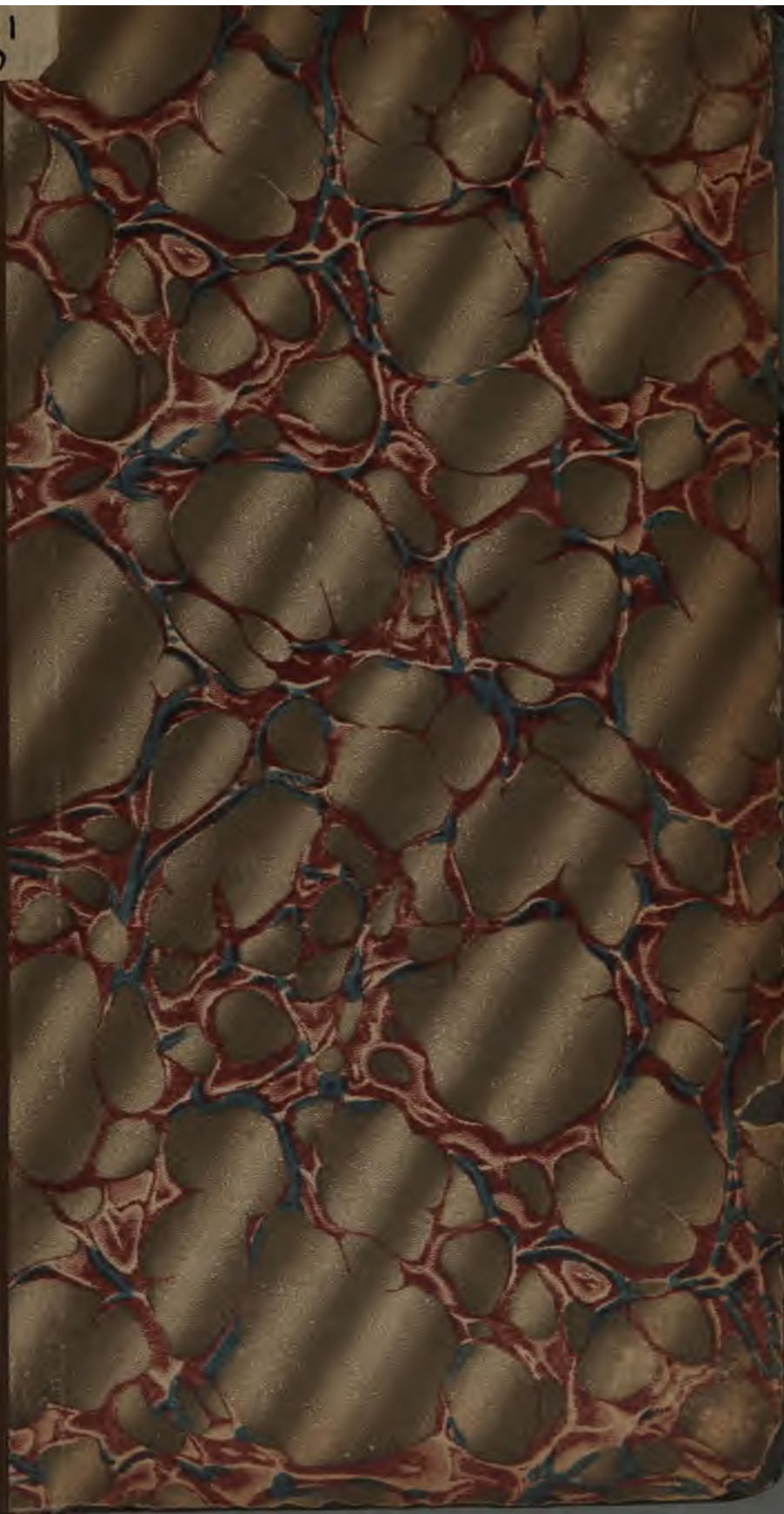
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

6311
170

Press Conference - 1870



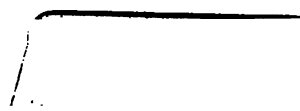
US 6311.170



Harvard College Library

FROM

Miss L. L. McCady





U





~~2212001.70~~
~~5-1968 S.S.~~
Johnson

A REVIEW

OF THE

RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

PRESS CONFERENCE.

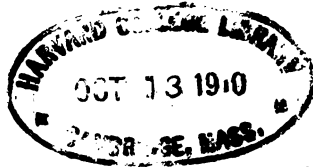
CHARLESTON, S. C.

WILLIAM G. MAZYCK, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER,

56 Broad Street, (up stairs,)

1870.

Ms. 6311.170



Miss L. L. McCrady,
Cambridge

Continued application for copies have induced the re-publication of the following articles.

EDWARD McCRADY, JR.

July, 1, 1870.

The following articles were written, as will be seen, for publication in the daily papers of the city. They were offered to both the *Courier* and the *News*, but declined by the editors of the *News* because unwilling to lend the use of their columns to any argument directed against the resolutions of the Press Conference, and also because offered to the *Courier* at the same time.

From the editors of the *Courier* we have received no answer to our note of the 26th inst., offering the articles, and, therefore conclude that they are likewise indisposed to publish them.

Thus debarred the usual means of discussing a public measure, we have no other method of presenting the reasons which constrain us to dissent from the policy of the Press Conference than that afforded by publication in this form.

March 31, 1870.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

1. *Resolved*, That this Conference recognizes the legal right of all of the citizens of this State, irrespective of color, to suffrage.

2. *Resolved*, That this Conference recognizes the legal right of all the citizens of the State, irrespective of color or previous condition, to office—subject alone to personal qualification and fitness.

5. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Conference, a convention of the people of the State, opposed to Radicalism and in favor of good and honest government, should be held in the City of Columbia, at some convenient time, for the purpose of nominating a State ticket, which, while assuring equal and exact justice to all, will afford some degree of security, prosperity and good government.

4. *Resolved*, That this Conference respectfully suggests to the people of the State Wednesday, the 15th June next ensuing, as a suitable time for holding said Convention.

THE PRESS CONFERENCE—ACCEPTING THE
SITUATION.

No. I.

It is an ungrateful task to differ with our friends. It is more than ungrateful to do so, when those whose sincerity we cannot doubt, whose judgment we respect, and who, from their position are entitled to an opinion, unite in counsel. We have no objection to a convention of our people to consult upon the circumstances in which we are placed, but born and bred in a community who have ever listened to those who would express their thoughts, however much at variance with the opinion of the hour those thoughts might be, we shall venture to consider and discuss the principles which the late Convention of the Press, in this State, have unanimously resolved to announce as the basis of our future action.

The principles which they have declared are, that our people shall recognize the legal right of all the citizens of the State, irrespective of color, to suffrage, and their right to office also, subject only to personal qualification and fitness. This, we are told, they advise as putting aside dead issues, and accepting the situation.

We have accepted the situation. When we laid down our arms, we submitted to the rule of the conquering power. The choice then before us was between starvation, devastation, and horrors greater than those of war on the one hand, and on the other, a government opposed to our principles and averse to our tastes, and which might be vindictive. We chose the latter.

The people of the North seemed at first disposed to be contented with the practical contradiction of the theory of secession, and the exhibition of their power to retain the Cotton States within their domain. But the vigorous efforts of the Southern people to renew their overtaxed resources, their wonderful success during the first two years after the surrender, warned the Radical party that its power could be secured only through the passions engendered by the war. Hence the reconstruction measures, with the double purpose of adding to their strength and humiliating our people.

As has been well observed by a foreign writer, the refinement of cruelty in conquest was reserved to the United States Government—the infliction of moral degradation in the place of physical punishment. (The Northern people have, by force, placed

the former slave over his master, and have elevated the African over their brethren of the Caucasian race. They have inverted the pyramid, and, for two years, kept it standing upon its apex by the support of the bayonet.

But all this was the risk we accepted when we laid down our arms in order to return to our homes to provide food for our starving families, and to protect our defenceless firesides.

We accepted the situation, and when, therefore, negro soldiers were sent into our most peaceful districts, we would not notice their insolent bravado, and when our fellow-citizens were tauntingly marched, under negro guard, through our streets, we turned aside to hide the tear of humiliation, or the expression of unavailing anger.

We accepted the situation, and when, therefore, a person publicly charged as a public defaulter was placed over us as Mayor, against the votes we were permitted to cast; and when another as publicly charged as a blackleg, a forger and a murderer (charges which repeated again and again he has never attempted to deny) was admitted without question as our representative to Congress, we made no useless remonstrance. When strangers were put over us to be our judges, we heard them declare from the bench their ignorance of the law they were undertaking to administer, struggled to recognize in their pronunciation the most familiar names of our people, and bore without remark a tone to which we were not accustomed. Our neighbors even jeered us for our forbearance under taunts and indignities instigated by our oppressors to rouse us to futile resistance.

Our people had accepted the situation, and they submitted to all these as the results of the surrender of their arms. Without the power to resist they disdained to complain. Their wealth, their influence, their luxuries, their hopes, were all put aside as dead issues.

But having so accepted the results of their struggle, it is now proposed by some of ourselves that we shall do more: that in place of the Federal bayonet, our own hands shall be raised to prop the inverted, tottering pyramid. That *we* shall recognize the right of *all races* in our midst to suffrage and to office, ourselves rivet the chain with which our hands and feet are now bound.

Assured that those who have announced these principles do not believe that the results we anticipate will follow, we propose to discuss the proposition with the kindness and sincere respect due its to authors, and will ask, Messrs. Editors, the space to do so in another, and, perhaps, other numbers of your paper.

THE PRESS CONFERENCE—ACCEPTING THE
SITUATION.

No. II.

IN our former article, we endeavored to show that our people had put aside dead issues and accepted the situation, and propose in this to consider the propositions of the Press Conference contained in the following resolutions :

“1. *Resolved, unanimously.* That this Conference recognizes the legal rights of all the citizens of the State, irrespective of color, to suffrage.”

“2. That this Conference recognizes the legal rights of all the citizens of the State, irrespective of color or previous condition, to office, subject alone to personal qualification and fitness.”

We do not for one moment question the sincerity of the gentlemen who have announced these resolutions, but as a platform of a party each plank contains an ambiguity which must be explained by ourselves or interpreted by our adversaries.

In the first, we “recognize the *legal* right of all the citizens of the State, irrespective of color to suffrage,” and in the second their “legal right to office subject alone to *personal qualification and fitness.*” Now, what is meant here by legal rights and personal qualification and fitness ?

Do we mean simply to say that we recognize this legal right under the government, which we accepted when we laid down our arms, and under which we now live ? If this is all why announce it ? Do we not pay taxes to this government, obey its laws, and recognize its authority ? And have we not done so ever since the reestablishment of its supremacy ? And are not these rights secured to the citizens of the State irrespective of color by that government ? Have we not voted with the negro, respected his authority in office, submitted our rights to him upon the jury, addressed him upon the bench, and obeyed the laws enacted by him ? Is not the whole legal profession in our State now engaged in the study of an imported system of procedure, only to save a few strangers the trouble of familiarizing themselves with our own ? Why then announce in words what we have so fully recognized in deed ? This resolution must mean something more, or it means nothing. What then does it mean ?

Does it mean that through whatever changes and chances that may happen to the United States Government, we shall guarantee the negro the position he has been given to rule us ? Does

it mean that should the Radical party at last, through its extravagance exhaust the resources of the country ; by its vindictiveness weary the patience of the people, and disgust them with its negro rule ; and that if from all these abuses, there should come a reaction, and sweep it from power, that then we shall still recognize these people as our political equals, and continue them in power ? Does it mean that we are now prepared to recognize and grant them *all* that follows from political equality ?

Unless we mean all this and are prepared to go to the whole of this extent, the resolution means nothing ; and the freedman has no inducement to leave the party which has given him all, to come to us who can give him nothing.

If the resolution means all this, we prefer to be ruled as we are, to any government we could purchase at such a cost. Now that the question is raised, let us look the issue full in the face.

The world is looking on and wondering at the sight of these two people, once masters and slaves, forced from each other by a foreign bayonet, yet living together in peace, notwithstanding fanatical and malicious efforts to incite the classes against each other ; and even we ourselves have been surprised at the good conduct of the negro under the circumstances. But we know that our hold upon our former slaves is the remembrance of our kindness to them when in our power, and their remaining reverence for, and faith in their old masters. Their belief in us, if shaken has not been destroyed.

Will we risk this hold upon them by a promise of double meaning ? Will we assure them of our recognition of their political rights, all the while with a mental reservation ? This would be as unwise as false. The negro, let us recollect, was ever quick at reading our *family* secrets.

Let us distinctly bear in mind, that all we can offer, is what we *will do in the future*, if the negro will help us to regain our power ; and that this is the only inducement we can offer him to desert the Radical, who, as he believes, has already done so much for him, and who *now has* power. Can we, knowing his nature, expect to tempt him by such promises in the future, from the party already in power, to the party who asks his assistance to regain it ?

While writing this, an English Review has reached us, in which a writer wonders that the South refused to use the negroes during the late war, but himself gives the explanation when he says "In the pride of their own white blood the South-

ern people scorned to owe their independence to the hands of their bondsmen.

The Southern people during the war were fully aware of the value of that card in their hand, but they could not bring themselves to play it. Let us again turn aside from the game in which we are tempted to try it. Must we say the more so when we know our adversary now holds a higher with which to trump it?

THE PRESS CONFERENCE—ACCEPTING THE SITUATION.

No. III.

But are we prepared to accept all that follows from the political equality of the races? After admitting political rights, can we deny social? or may they be separated?

We know that it is customary to speak of them as separate and distinct, but in practice are they so? Have we not heard of the rival claims of the wives of the Senators at Washington to be considered "the first lady in the land?" And do they rest their claims upon their respective beauty, culture or refinement, or is it not by virtue of the positions of their husbands or fathers that they consider themselves entitled? Do we not now read of the "court etiquette" which requires the President to hand in to dinner the wife of the senior Senator present and that that Senator must take in Mrs. Grant? Is it permitted to Senators at Washington to call upon those below them in rank?

In no Court in Europe are the rules of distinction more strictly defined or rigidly enforced than in the Republican court at Washington. In Europe these distinctions are marked by birth and class, and somewhat by political station, in America they depend on political station alone.

But without going so far as Washington, what do we hear of in our own little Radical court at Columbia? We are told that not even a surprise party can happen at the gubernatorial residence without the fullest explanation to the colored officials of the accident which brought about a social gathering in which none of the ruling color were present. This social equality may be to Governor Scott's tastes, but will it be to the tastes of

the Governor whom the white people are to elect with the aid of the negroes. If it be, then alas! our fears that social equality must follow political, are not groundless. But if, on the other hand, it be not to his tastes, and he refuses to receive into his household the wives and families of his brother officials, how long will the party of purity stand the dissensions that this matter of taste will produce?

But will the Legislature thus elected by the fusion of all classes, permit the social equality act to remain upon the Statute Book? And if repealed, how long will the party that repeals it remain in power.

For all his aspirations we do not blame the negro. It is most natural that when he has the power he should desire that which he has always observed as its accompaniment—social position. Moreover, it is a necessity to him who has raised himself above his race that he should aspire to a higher association than it can afford. But we cannot consent to a social mixture of races on account of the few who have raised themselves above their own. There is no dividing line between social equality and miscegenation.

But are we gravely to discuss the propriety of a social mixture of the races? Did the Press Conference propose to do so? And yet they have raised questions which can only be answered by a solution of that problem.

NOTE.—Since these articles have been in press the following paragraph has appeared in the *News*: “Mr. Thornton, the British Minister, has called upon Mr. Revels, and the latter is the recipient of numerous invitations to dinners and private parties. He is invited to dine with Mr. and Mrs. Fish. Report says Mr. Sumner has prevailed on Mr. Revels to spend the summer in Boston.”

THE PRESS CONFERENCE—ACCEPTING THE SITUATION.

No. IV.

BUT the Press Conference, while admitting the absolute right of all citizens, white, black and yellow, to suffrage, subject the right to office “to personal qualification and fitness;” what is meant by this personal qualification and fitness?

Is it proposed to put the two races absolutely on the same footing in this respect? Is it intended that the colored man

shall only hold office when he possesses the requisites expected of the white? Will an ordinary education be necessary? Will even the ability to read and write correctly be required? Could we be assured that these simple requirements would be insisted upon we should put this paper in the fire, and wait the issue of the experiment with confidence that it would result in the supremacy of the white race.

But had Mr. Justice Wright been a white man, who that was in that conference imagines that he would ever have attained the position he now holds? We read, some weeks since, his published biography, and as far as we recollect, this remarkable man of his race is about thirty-three years of age. We learn that he was refused in 1865 an examination by the Committee of Legal Examiners in his County in Pennsylvania, and was only admitted in 1866, under the Civil Rights Act. At the most then he had been nominally a lawyer for four years before his election. Most, if not all, of that time, he has been, we believe, in this State, but we have never heard of his having been engaged in any case before the court in which he now sits; nor indeed in any other court. Now suppose a white man under these circumstances, had aspired to his position, would it not have been considered absurd?

But, perhaps, Mr. Justice Wright's instance will be considered an exceptional one. What then about Mr. Whipper, the leader of the House and one of the codifiers of our law? Whether Mr. Whipper has since learned better we have had no opportunity of ascertaining, but we do know that three years ago he could neither speak nor write correctly.

We have taken the instances of these two men, because without question they are the representatives of their race in this State. Now we ask are their personal qualification and fitness such as will satisfy the requirements of the Press Conference's second resolution? Were these men white would the Press Conference have considered them fit, we will not ask, for the position they now hold, but for that of the most ordinary members of the Legislature? Honestly, we ask, will not this restriction, if it means anything, close the doors of office to all but the white race in this State?

THE PRESS CONFERENCE—ACCEPTING THE
SITUATION.

No. V.

It is easier, we know, to object to the proposals of others than to suggest a course of action ourselves, and in so momentous a time as this we would scarcely venture the expression of an opinion were not our convictions in regard to our course so strong, and did we not feel it due to those from whom we dissent that we should indicate, at least, what we ourselves would do.

The plan we would suggest, then, is simply this—*to accept the situation.*

If we can gather any one lesson from our history since the war, it appears to us to be this, that our conquerors do not intend, at least for the present, to permit us to control our affairs. Every step taken by us to regain our influence and control, even by the means they seemed to have provided for us, has been resented by the ruling party. Few of us deny now the mistake we made in importuning President Johnson for his Provisional Government. And when against his own Judgment he gave us that government, what use did we make of it? We volunteered, it is true, several works of penance, and inflicted upon ourselves many mortifications, the bitterness of which we only appreciated. But then with the power once more in our hands, as we thought, we could not help meddling with the policy of our conquerors, and we enacted a negro code. We all now know the effect of that measure. Then came the Philadelphia Convention, "the big machine," which Governor Orr thought, "he was running." There again we attempted to direct the affairs of our masters, and perhaps showed too much ability to do so, if force was not to be counted. And then was the Presidential election, in which no one would have judged from the tone of our press and speeches, that we were but newly forced back into the fold we had attempted to leave. The Reconstruction Acts were passed, and our people seemed to believe that they were the fulfillment, the consummation, the end of the work, and policy of the Radical party—that having secured the African in the enjoyment of rights and liberties, thenceforth they would leave him to maintain them; and so we immediately commenced trading politics with the negro upon his newly acquired franchises.

In this we are again repeating our old error. The Radicals have not freed our slaves and endowed them with rights as an

end, but as a means—the means of controlling us, and the better the bargain we make with these newly-created voters, the more certainly will our trade be disallowed by the Radicals. They have not given the negro this liberty, and this power for his benefit but for their own. He is as much their slave now as he was ours in the olden time—the form only of his bondage is changed.

Do we expect, then, to overcome the Radical party by the vote which they have created for their own purposes, and which, they can control by the same force which gave it existence? to destroy them with their own sword? Our plans for alienating this vote may be very ingenious, but when did power ever care to reason, or condescend to measure words?

Have we not seen that every flaw we have discovered in their laws has been immediately remedied by more stringent enactments, and every difficulty in their performance solved by the sword?

The Press Conference we fear would place our people in the position of some poor unfortunate who has been tempted by her impatience of poverty, to sell her virtue—only to suffer in dishonor when her virtue is gone.

Let us learn the necessity, if not the choice of our position the necessity of “a patient and enduring persistence in well-doing in the face of discouragement.” This was Mr. Adams’ advice in ’68, which we asked for and which though perhaps given somewhat bluntly, is nevertheless worthy of our consideration.

And what is this well-doing in which we are to persist? It is not in seeking office and meddling with the politics of our conquerors, but in maintaining the silent protest of unaggressive but unyielding principle, in developing the physical and intellectual resources of our people. Let education, agriculture, mechanics and commerce be our only politics. Around such well-doing, power, both physical and intellectual, must gradually accumulate, and will make its presence felt. The giant is under the mountain and can only move it from beneath.

It is, Messrs Editors, the consoling reflection of those who did their duty during our glorious struggle, that they are in no wise responsible for the evils that are now upon our people. As long as their liberties balanced in the scale of war they fought, they suffered they endured, they bled, and when at last numbers and wealth weighed down their valor, they accepted the rule imposed by force. That rule is not their choice, and bitter though it be, they learn from History that it is not more so than that to which other and as gallant people have been compelled by force to submit.

Our people have stood the first test of national character. During four years of heroic struggle, they extorted from an unsympathizing world the plaudits due their valor. If we failed in achieving the independence of our country, this much at least the world accords to the men who fought for it—that never did men fight with greater heroism or endure with greater fortitude.

We must now go through that more trying ordeal, the maintenance of national character under a foreign rule. And this is the truest test of a people. How shall we stand it? Is there not as much heroism in endurance as in action? And in our case, is there not more wisdom?

THE PRESS CONFERENCE—ACCEPTING THE SITUATION.

No. VI.

ONCE more, Messrs. Editors, shall we ask a space in your columns, and now only briefly to sum up what we have been endeavoring to say in our previous articles.

Then, sirs, let us again urge, that our people having “accepted the situation,” having with patience and fortitude borne the results of the struggle for their freedom, our policy and our dignity alike forbid us actively to meddle with the great problem now demanding solution in our midst. True, we are vitally interested in that solution, and possibly if the war had not taken place we might have influenced the result to a greater degree—that we could have deferred the issue, we do not believe. As it is, we must stand quiet lookers-on upon the experiment which is making in our midst, and at our cost; influencing it only by a passive resistance, which like the inertia of mechanics, may yet prove stronger than the forces now so actively engaged against us. This is the result of the war—a war in which he who took the humblest part may glory—and *we abide by it*.

Our faith in the righteousness of our cause is not shaken, nor can we permit ourselves to lend a helping hand in joining together what we believe the God of nations intended to separate, to unite under one government, as one people those upon whom He has set His seal of difference. We believe that this will yet be a government of our people, a country of our race. How and when we cannot tell.

Now we see the descendants of savages, who, captured by their

own countrymen, were only saved from being the slaves of other savages, or the food of their captors, by their purchase and transportation to this country—we see the descendants of these people whom their slavery through generations had, it was supposed, converted from heathens into Christians, taught the arts of civilization, and raised to a level never attained by their own people in their own land, but who since their freedom have gradually been falling back towards the state of their ancestors both as heathens and savages—these people we see darkening the whole Southern Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, on the one hand, and on the other the yellow heathen, who is not a savage, pouring in countless hordes upon the Pacific Coast, and between the two we find the remnant of the red man at war with all. And with all these various people in her border the Government at Washington announces that “the rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.”

We may well be troubled in our sleep, and like Nebuchadnezzar of old, behold a vision; and as his vision, when interpreted, was only a history of what was yet to be, and as history repeats itself, we, too may behold a vision. And our vision shall be “a great image, whose brightness shall be excellent and the form thereof terrible. This image’s head shall be fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.”

And in our dream we too may look till we see “a stone cut without hands smite the image upon his feet, that are of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.” And, then, we may behold “the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken in pieces together, and become like the chaff of the summer threshing floors, and the wind carrying them away that no place may be found for them.

Unlike the king of old, we will not need an interpreter, to make known unto us the dream, and tell us that this head of fine gold was the Government of the United States as established by our forefathers, and that after it came the governments of silver and brass, the times of prosperity that hardened men’s hearts, and that then arose the fourth government, “strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things, and that as iron that breaketh all these it hath broken in pieces and bruised.”

“And that whereas we saw iron mixed with miry clay, they have mingled themselves with the seed of men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.”

For ourselves we are willing to wait for the stone cut without hands that shall "break in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold," and in the meanwhile passively to submit ourselves to that government which God has permitted to be established over us, and which, in His own way, is working out His own purposes.

7







3 2044 074 363 30

The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

*Non-receipt of overdue notices does **not** exempt the borrower from overdue fines.*

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2413



Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve
library collections at Harvard.

