The Charleston Advocate.

"As ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them."

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The Charleston Advocate.

CHARLESTON, S. C., September 5, 1868.

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BY

A. WEBSTER,

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For the Advocate.

Reply to Hon. J. B. Campbell's Letter to the Colored People.

BY A COLORED REPUBLICAN.

Mr. Editor:—I have just read in the Charleston *Daily News*, a letter from the Hon. J. B. Campbell, addressed to Mr. F. Ford, Chairman of the Democratic Club at Aiken, and to be read especially by the colored people. I propose to answer a few of the most striking points made by this great democratic giant. He says: "Next to the emancipation of my own race from the [illegible] and vulgar slavery now being attempted by traitors to their country, I have [illegible] the welfare and advancement, in prosperity and happiness, of the colored race. We owe it to ourselves [illegible] comes to us fr[illegible] the sake of the past. We [illegible] for the sake of our ch[illegible] and to the present [illegible] to his own [illegible] the war; and we [illegible] duct since the war."

This bright exponent of the principles of the Democratic party [illegible] that the colored man has no parallel in the history of man; and [illegible] born [illegible] what does [illegible] him [illegible] Not even the [illegible] counts [illegible] Democratic party [illegible] [illegible] the best friend of the colored man who [illegible] practices towards him the duty of [illegible] kindness, fair dealing and [illegible] a matter of course, all [illegible] edge that fact. But how is it possible for Mr. Campbell to be the best friend to the colored man, when he is opposed to his elevation and the assertion of his manhood in any way whatever?

He says he is in favor of the colored man being educated—and why? Simply because he cannot prevent it. Admirable condescension, to allow the colored men to learn to read and write! But if the colored man assumes the right to think and act for himself, he is stigmatized as a radical, a savage, and a barbarian. We are not to be allowed to do anything without the advice and consent of our democratic task-masters. We must go to them to think and act for us, when the day of election comes. If we vote the Democratic ticket, we are set down as decent, intelligent gentlemen of color; but if we should think proper to vote the Republican ticket, we are forthwith numbered with the reprobates, and voted out of decent society. But the bread and butter plank in the platform is the most objectionable. As a last resort, we are to be starved into terms. He who votes the Republican ticket is to be discharged from employment, thereby reducing him and his family to want. I ask, is this justice, kindness, or fair dealing? I answer emphatically, it is not. It is the pain without the peace of slavery.

Mr. Campbell says very truly that "the discussion of political subjects with the colored man is at present, forced upon us; the circumstances leave us no choice; it is a necessity. But I would not extend the field of discussion. I would make him no promises. I would hold out no hopes. I would tell him frankly, his present political supremacy will not and cannot be permanent." Is it at all remarkable that Mr. Campbell should now advise conciliatory measures towards the colored man, when he, the leader of his clique, composed of the old slaveholding, aristocratic element of South Carolina, growled and grumbled so about the platform drawn up at Columbia by the Democratic Convention which embodied qualified suffrage for the colored man, and would not be comforted until they got up another Convention, and struck out the objectionable plank?

Mr. Campbell opposed every measure looking to the interest of the colored race since the war, notwithstanding he now presumes to style himself the best friend of the colored man. He says, if the colored man prefers to trust his future to the uncertainty of the carpet-baggers, it shall not be said, in the day of his tribulation we did not tell him in advance, of that fate which awaited him. That fate, he says, will be his progressive degradation, instead of his elevation; and the gradual but certain extinction of his race. And to prove this assertion, he compares him to the Indian. In this, the great modern democratic philosopher has made a most stupendous blunder. I know not whether he has been studying the astounding hypothesis of Ariel, or the profounder logical deductions of Agassis, but suffice it to say, such a comparison cannot be sustained. The Indian, in the midst of civilization, and Christianity, steadily resists all attempts to improve his condition; hating the refining influence of civilization, and spurning the hallowed teachings of Christianity. He hates the pale faces, and ignores the very flag under which they live. He is a destroyer and not a producer. He is an exceedingly unamiable neighbor, and unprofitable citizen. The proffers of kindness and friendly relations, he answers with the tomahawk and scalping knife. In a word, like Ephraim of old he is joined to his idols, and the wiser plan is to let him alone.

Such is the Indian; Now what of the colored man to whom he has been so inaptly compared? Let us inquire. There is no fact in history that warrants the assumption that over millions of her people, identified and interwoven with the commerce, prosperity and general interests of a great country for two centuries, will all emigrate to a distant land leaving the churches, the graves, the homes and firesides of their ancestors for ten generations, for a home among strangers in a strange land. Still less does it indicate that such an act could be accomplished against his will, and by force of circumstances. The colored man was born in America. He has an inherent right to the soil, and the laws and institutions of the country. He was here before New England, or Pennsylvania, or Deleware was settled; or were even mapped out for settlement. He has grown with the country; he has suffered for its cause, he has fought for its flag; he bears no malice; he hates nobody; he loves his country, and all who are true and loyal to it; he drinks at the fountain of civilization and religion, to all the restraints he readily assents, and quietly adapts himself to the laws and usages of surrounding circumstances and influences. This is the history of the colored man, who is his "best friend." Mr. J. B. Campbell, says, will become extinct unless he votes the democratic ticket.

Mr. Campbell says the doom of the colored man has been solemnly adjudged and recorded by the great Atlantic States; the Pacific States; the mighty West; her river and lake States. He should be very careful not to shout before he is converted, or halloo before he gets out of the woods. He should remember that the little enthusiasm manifested down here around the grave of the lost cause, hoping to acheive something through the election of Seymour and Blair, is not the voice of this mighty nation; and he will find next November that he has reckoned without his host. The loyal masses of this mighty Republic will have made their voice potential by elevating the great soldier and statesmen who crushed out the rebellion with its wicked inheritance of slavery, and teach the great New York rioter and repudiater, that democracy is dead in America, and this is neither a white man's nor a black man's government, but it is a government for the people, of the people and by the people, the whole people, and nothing but the people.

REPENTANCE is not like the summer fruit, fit to be taken a little, and in their own time; it is like bread, the provision and support of life, the entertainment of every day; but it is the bread of affliction to some, and the bread of carefulness to all; and he that preaches this with the greatest severity, it may be, takes the liberty of an enemy, but he gives the counsel and the assistance of a friend

An Address to the Colored Voters.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The misrepresentations of the purposes and desires of the Democratic party, and of the results which would follow a Democratic success, which have been so continually made to the colored voters of the city, render it necessary that an authoritative announcement should be made to them of the true principles and objects of the Democratic party. It was, therefore,

Resolved, At a meeting of the Central Democratic Club, composed of delegates from the several wards of the city, that an address should be issued to the colored voters, on behalf of the Democratic party of the city and by its authority.

In compliance with this resolution the following address is published.

It embodies all that we expect or intend. It contains no statement that we do not believe to be true—no promise that we do not intend honestly to fulfil.

We commend it to the candid and careful consideration of the colored voters, confidently trusting to the truth to reunite those whose interests are identical, and whom force and falsehood have kept separate so long.

JAMES CONNER,
President Democratic Central Club
Of City of Charleston.

THE ADDRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC WHITE VOTERS OF CHARLESTON TO THE COLORED VOTERS OF CHARLESTON, THE SEABOARD, AND OF THE STATE GENERALLY.

We are influenced by various considerations to address you, and, in plain and simple language, to tell you truthfully our views and purposes. They are also the views and purposes of the great Democratic party, which, for fully three-fourths of the life of our government, has governed the United States, and is soon about to resume the administration of that government. Among those considerations are the following:

First. We are naturally your friends and you are naturally our friends. Any other relations between us are unnatural and injurious to both. We have the capital and give employments. We own the lands and require labor to make them productive [illegible] profitable. You desire to be empl[illegible] your labor alone you can live. [illegible] employ you and to have y[illegible] cause it is better, or che[illegible] able to us than the white [illegible] be glad to come and take your p[illegible] are compelled to discard yours and [illegible] but we desire your labor because you know us, and we know you. We were born together here and we have grown up together. In infancy we were nursed together, in boyhood we played together, and do not easily forget these things for the sake of strangers. Hence it is, that we intend to leave it entirely to your choice, whether you will be friends with us or be our enemies, and compel us to treat you as enemies.

We *know we* can do without you. We *think* you will find it very difficult to do without us. We think it our duty to take care that you are as fully informed in making your choice, between enmity and hostility *to* us, and friendship and peace *with* us, as we can inform you by telling you the whole truth. The reason that it is our duty to do this, is because we are indebted to you for great fidelity in the past, and because we are the stronger, and you the weaker party. It is always the duty of the strong and powerful, besides being just, to be generous.

We have the wealth. The houses in which you live are ours; the lands upon which you must labor or starve are ours. We have education, advancement in the arts and sciences, and in civilization generally. You are, for the most part, uneducated, just starting in the career in which we are so far ahead of you. We have the numbers over you; our race is thirty millions or more; yours four millions or less.

We think it our duty to use all these great advantages justly and generously for your welfare, for your advancement in education, in the acquisition of property, and in the pursuit of every good thing which is meant by, or makes up what is meant by, "*civilization*," if you will allow us to do it.

Second. We see and *know* that you are hurrying on into great and immediate trouble and danger to yourselves and your race. You are proposing to bring on a conflict between yourselves and ourselves. If it comes—if you bring on that conflict, it will be a conflict between your race and our race. There are indications that you already think yourselves prepared for this conflict. You have for some time practiced aggressive and hostile conduct towards us. You have assembled as a party or class, and you have deliberately interrupted us in our meetings, insulted and assaulted individuals among us, pelted our houses with stones, insulted our families by vulgar and profane language, disturbed the night-quiet by unearthly whoops and screams, threatening "death to the Rebels"—meaning ourselves; assaulted and threatened the police and police stations of the city. You are arming and drilling in warlike practices, and this for aggression and attack, not for defence; because you have no cause or pretence of cause for expecting aggression or attack from us. You have never been disturbed, not even in your riotous and disorderly conduct. We, of course, know that you are urged and enticed on towards this great danger and trouble by wicked white men. We know them, who they are, and all about them; what they say, and what they are doing, and also *know* better than [illegible], the sure and swift penalty which will fall upon particular men when the conflict begins. But this will not then save you. You will not then be excused because you have been deluded and cheated by these infamous men. Listen for one moment to particulars:

When we held our great meeting on the evening of the 24th July, you proposed, it is said, under the guidance of a white man who is your candidate for Mayor, and, we are told, assembled, to form in possession and disturb our meeting by marching through full five thousand people, closely packed, in the street. You were, fortunately for yourselves, prevented by the influence of the Mayor, who is also of your political affinity. If you had attempted this wilful aggression, you would have brought on the conflict at that time; you did not expect or intend otherwise. It would have been quick and decisive, and ended before this time. Upon the click of the telegraph *that Democrats could not peaceably assemble in Charleston to ratify their nominations*, the City of New York could alone send, and would have *sent*, from her swarming population, men enough to avenge us, and have made *that* the last of such conflicts for this occasion. Our next and only public meeting since was a few days later, and in the open air. It was so disturbed by colored people, with singing, music, whooping, and screaming and insulting language, that it adjourned. All this has been submitted to without retaliation or merited punishment. Other designs and threats have been reported to us upon evidence seemingly trustworthy, but so criminal and horrible that we will not disgrace you by the public appearance of belief in such charges. They are at variance with our experience of your nature and general good character, but not inconsistent with the bad character and depraved nature of the white men you listen to, and might be the natural consequence of language we know they have used. They will be held to fearful [illegible] when the day of "their whirlwind [illegible]

[illegible] know, better than you know, why it is that the infamous outcast white men who lead you urge you into these aggressions. We will tell you why it is that they do it. They are *instructed* by the *central power* of the *Radical party*. They would provoke bloodshed just as they did at Memphis and New Orleans in 1866. The massacre and blood of a few colored people, they think, pending this great election, would be prolific seed for Radical voters; and so it would be if the sufferings of a four years' war and the worse endurance of radical rule for three years, had not taught us *some* wisdom. If the conflict comes—if there shall be massacre and bloodshed—it shall not be chargeable upon us; and the contrivances of your Radical associates, and their lying newspapers, will not avail again to cheat the people in that respect.

Do you remember the events of 1861—the attack on Fort Sumter, and the commencement of the war? We are sure you do remember. There were then more people in the United States who believed we had good cause of complaint—who were opposed to the Republican party and its purposes—than there are *now* who approve of the political supremacy which has been given to you. The Republican party was *then*, as you are now, in a minority. Mr. Lincoln and his party went into power by a minority vote of the whole people. A great majority of the American people was opposed to the war. It could not have been carried on against us. Artful and designing men of the Republican party, seeing this contrived to lead us on till they made us appear before the world as the aggessors and the authors of the war. Fort Sumter was reduced, and the national flag fired on and lowered by us. And then it was at once the North, and the East, and the West were united against us. So it will be with you. You will begin the conflict. You are now beginning it. If you go on, our race with its thirty millions will be as one man against your race with its three millions. Ten to one! Do you see it? Do you doubt the result, or your inevitable fate? Consider what will then be your condition which you will have accepted and chosen in exchange for your present hopes and peaceable prosperity. Again (third): we know and fully understand the arts and falsehoods by which the false and infamous white men excite you into your present danger. You are arming and drilling in warlike practices to protect your freedom! to prevent your being again reduced to slavery!! These infamous men tell you it is the purpose of the Democratic party to restore slavery—that we intend this—that if you vote with us you will vote to make yourselves again slaves. No falsehood ever exceeded this in wickedness and audacity. If you would stop to think one moment you would see and detect it. We will expose it to you; we will not ask you to take our word for it, but we will establish what we say by public records. It is a *double* falsehood. For they know that we are not only guiltless of the charge, but we are the party which insists that your freedom is fixed and forever settled; that it is not and cannot ever be questioned or discussed, while the Republican party have made it an open question and have left it so; if they prevail now, at some future day the lawful extinction of slavery may be denied and discussed. We will tell you how this is: On the 6th day of January, 1865, Congress agreed to an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, to be submitted to the several States for their approval, in the words following:

"ARTICLE XIII, SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This could not become a part of the constitution without the consent and approval of three-fourths in number of the States. That number of States could not be had without the Southern State or several of them. The abolition of slavery therefore could not be made lawful and binding without our aid. We gave that aid promptly and honestly. South Carolina was the first to do it. We who address you were parties to it. It was done by the Legislature in 1865, on the 13th day of November. Other Southern States followed, until on the 18th day of December, 1865, a sufficient number of the Southern States, namely: South Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, having ratified and approved of the amendment, the Secretary of State of the United States, published the lawful certificate, with the great seal of the nation thereto, and from that day the amendment and the eternal abolition of slavery, and the perpetual freedom of the colored man, became the irrevocable highest law of the land. But mark you! This is what we say. It is what the Democratic party says, and insist upon, and is now struggling to establish. Not so the Republican Radical party. They deny this. You doubt us? We will show you we speak truth.

This question being, as we supposed, forever settled, was reopened by the Radicals, so far as they could reopen it. We deny their right or power to do this lawfully, but they insist on it, and that is the issue to be tried in the great contest now going on.

The Radicals in 1866, proposed another amendment to the constitution, known as the fourteenth (14th) amendment. They sent it to the States for approval. It came to the same Legislatures, for the most part, in the Southern States which had approved and thereby made the amendment abolishing slavery. It was the same Legislature of South Carolina. The Southern Legislatures rejected the fourteenth amendment, and it was thereby defeated. They did this because it disfranchised their best men, who had done no criminal or offensive acts, except such as they had been encouraged and aided and supported in doing by the people, and it would have been mean and disgraceful if the people or their Legislatures had punished those who were participants in their own guilt. The Radicals, incapable of distinguishing between meanness and generosity, were fiercely irritated at this refusal; thereupon they declare our Legislature illegal—the same Legislatures which had abolished slavery and assured your freedom whose aid they had invoked and accepted. They broke up these Legislatures by Military power, because, they said, they were "illegal." They established Military governments for a time, and finally your government, such as it now is. They call that legal. We deny it. If we are right, you are safe. If they are right and the Legislature which made you free was illegal, then the legality of your freedom is an open question for the future discussion of demagogues, Radicals and scalawags. It will be open merely for discussion and mischief of no practical avail, because we, every man of us, and of the Democratic party, would stand by and resist such a fraud. We ask you to stand by us for your own sake—not for our sake. We will and can take care of ourselves. We know how to do that, or to see that it is done. Their hatred to us was so great that, for its sake, with all their pretended love for you, they would give up your freedom and declare it "illegal." Their hatred to the slavery of the colored man was less than their hatred to the white man of the South. Their love of freedom for you was less than their love of slavery for us. Do you not see it? Do you not see that if the Legislature which gave you freedom was "illegal," its act also must be illegal? Do you not see who did this, and they have failed to secure from the Legislatures they call *legal* ratification of the amendment of the constitution which makes you free? Does not this show to you what tricksters and cheats are leading you to your destruction? After this exposure of them, when it is your *wish* to find a pretence for hostility to us, you will pretend to believe these men; otherwise you will not believe them. We have not left you one particle of reason for trusting them except your *wish* to do so. If in fact, you are not deceived, but, knowing their falsehood, desire hostility to us, we cannot help it. We shall regret it, more for your own sake than our own.

We have another very grave complaint against you. You have been placed in possession of supreme political power in South Carolina; you are responsible for the manner in which that power is administered. The population of the State has two distinct general classes—your race, the colored race, and our race, the white race. There is also another and third class, or more properly, a fungus of the white race, insignificant in numbers and degraded in character. But small as it is, this is again subdivided into two very distinct parts. They are very comprehensively described in the dialect of the Hustings as "carpet-bag itinerants and resident scalawags." This subdivision, with its two parts, governs you, and by your consent and folly, governs the State. Your race greatly exceeds ours in numbers in this State; you have a large majority of the votes. With this power in your hands, you have scandalously misused it. Although you are for the most part uneducated and inexperienced in public affairs, you have among you men of ability and education. These men you have set aside, and have committed the State administration and its representation in Congress—its patronage and power—its character and credit—to the carpet-baggers and scalawags. Not of course because your men are, in any merit, inferior to them. You are their superiors, and you have shown it whenever there has been a trial of merit. Superior in deportment, in ability, even in property, and immeasurably so in respectability and character. You were placed in supreme power by usurpation, aided by military violence and force. We might have looked on with some complacency, certainly with curiosity, and seen you try the brief experiment of governing us. You would not do that, but you elevated over us and over yourselves false and wicked men. Did you do this because they avowed themselves our enemies? or were you cheated yourselves? If the former, then it is the highest proof of your enmity to us and of your intention that we shall be enemies to one another. If the latter, then you now may show it by the choice you make.

We will show to you what sort of a government it is that you have set up over yourselves and ourselves. It is now on exhibition at Columbia, playing its rand pranks to be stared at, the shame and ridicule of our whole country. It claims to exercise the power of taxation, but it does not represent property. It would borrow money on the credit of the State. It destroys that credit by its lawlessness and corruption. Whoever trusts his money to your government will lose it, and he will deserve his loss. You have a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Secretary of State, a Treasurer, a Comptroller-General, an Attorney-General, a Superintendent of Education, and an Adjutant-General. These are the executive or administrative corps. You have a Senate and a House of Representatives. These are one hundred and fifty-five in number, and constitute your Legislature, which levies taxes, borrows (if it can) and spends money for us. Now this whole Legislature, all its members, and the Executive corps put together, are taxed *six hundred and fifty-two dollars and twenty-two cents!!!* The one hundred and fifty-five legislators (House and Senate) are taxed six hundred and thirty-five dollars and twenty-two cents ($635 22), equal to four dollars and nine cents ($4 9-100) each. But ninety-one of these legislators pay no tax at all. They are not on the tax rolls. The twenty Senators and representatives from the old commercial City of Charleston are taxed eighty-four dollars and thirty-five cts. ($84 35-100). All of this sum save one dollar is paid by one member—a respectable colored man. He pays the largest tax of any one in the Legislature or Executive Department of your government. That other one dollar is assessed—and may be he pays it—upon your Adjutant-General, Moses, who is a member for, but *never a resident* of, Charleston, also the Speaker of the House, and the son of the chosen elected, but nevertheless *Apocryphal*, Chief Justice of your Supreme Court—a bench promising to be as wonderful as your Legislature.

The executive corps aggregated is taxed sixteen dollars and ninety-nine cents ($16 99-100). This large sum, except the Adjutant-General's one dollar already named, is paid by the Lieutenant-Governor. The Governor and all the remaining *debris* pay nothing. We refer to the taxes of 1867. They cannot yet be ascertained for 1868. It is hoped that a sense of shame will induce your representatives to contribute some portion of their salries, or of their lobby contingents, this year to the public necessities. Now, we ask you squarely and plainly, do you suppose such a state of things can endure? Can a government be carried on by such persons? Will they find fools who will trust them or lend them money? If they do find such, does one single man in South Carolina believe that the property-holders will be