

Our Bartered Heritage.

An Address delivered by Dr. W. M. Jones, of Barnwell, at the reunion of the members of Camp Morrall, U. D. C. at Meyer's Mill, S. C., on May 2, 1925. Dr. Jones spoke in part as follows:

The causes of modern wars are for the most part either due to desire for conquest of territory or for enlarged markets for commerce. To find its causes we must go back 700 years to Runnymede meadow when the nobles of England wrung from King John in the Magna Carta the inalienable right of the freeborn citizens, which are the foundations of Anglo-Saxon civilization. In the defence of these rights against the theory of the "divine rights of kings" Cromwell's Ironsides brought a new day in England. Our forefathers emigrated to America that they might build a better civilization in this fair and pleasant land. These rights are found as the germ in the character of every American. These inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness gave expression to the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. In the defence of these rights was fought the War of Independence and the War of 1812.

Now, it has been stated that the Confederate war was fought to perpetuate slavery. Southern men and women who were in direct touch with the evils of slavery were deeply concerned how they might end it without injury to the slaves and their owners long before the Abolitionists of the North were born. Freed slaves were no rarity in every part of the South. In the South were men who held as sacred any vested property right. In the North were some men who boldly proposed by force of arms to destroy the inalienable rights in property, a right consecrated by the blood of freemen for 700 years. Not the perpetuation of slavery as an institution, but "if my property rights in slaves can be disregarded, what security can we have for property rights in any other personal or real possessions."

The issue thus presented to the South was not material for debate, but for the arbitrament of the sword. The principle called "state's rights" was just as inherent as the threatened property rights. Whenever in the past any royal government had threatened the sovereign rights of a colony its people rose in rebellion. When the states entered into the federal union they expressly reserved every right which has not been specifically surrendered to the federal government. Now arose a new theory that the might of the federal authority is a stronger right than all of the state's rights which had been guaranteed for 200 years. Out of these new theories arose the Confederate war, because the South realized that the foundations of Anglo-Saxon civilization were at stake.

The military history of America has no more glorious page than that written by Confederate armies from '61-'65. Half of the Confederate armies were dead on the fields of battle. Those who returned to fight and win the battles of Reconstruction faced greater perils under more severe handicaps than they had found on the battle field. Everything that civilization had won in 2,000 years was at stake under the combined onslaught of ignorant negroes, but yesterday removed from African jungles, and unprincipled carpet baggers. Anglo-Saxon civilization found its very life at bay before negro supremacy. The South found its farms upon which depended the support of their loved ones eaten up by the iniquitous taxes of radical legislatures, for the enrichment of corrupt office holders. The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments of the federal constitution were rammed down their throats with federal bayonets at every county seat in the State. History has no parallel of men outnumbered and overpowered on the field, and who in peace won such victories, as were won by the South during Reconstruction. Be it clearly remembered that these victories were not won by violence nor fraud at the ballot box so much as by the superb statesmanship of Southern leaders, and the wholehearted loyalty of the rank and file of the disbanded armies. Posterity will ever remember that in peace you regained the fundamentals of the highest civilization the world has ever known.

When the history of the years succeeding the Reconstruction is written, it will recall the remarkable fact that the soldiers of the Confederacy and their sons surrendered for a mess of pottage the inalienable rights which they had firmly secured in the Reconstruction. The sons of the South are foremost to proclaim the fact that the principle of "state's rights" is dead. It lived for more than seven centuries, it was fought for on the field of battle, and during trying days that filled the next ten

years, only to be bartered away for federal patronage. We are smothered by illustrations of this sad truth. The police power of the State is one of the fundamental rights of a State. Some day some man will tell the people the whole truth about prohibition, which now is one of the liveliest and dearest of questions. We have with all our might tried to surrender this legislation and enforcement to the federal authorities. The prosperity of the State is bound up in some reasonable control of our railroads, but this right we have side-stepped in favor of federal control. Federal courts are rapidly assuming jurisdiction in litigation that belongs strictly to State courts. The federal treasury is handing out sums for highway construction, but in the main for federal purposes. The successful venture of getting into the constitution the 18th amendment has emboldened those who would strip the State of the last vestige of state's rights. I am not blind to the fact that each surrender has some good end in view, but where will it end? Who makes our game laws? Who would vest in a national bureau in Washington the control of our schools? Who would surrender the maternity in the state with federal safeguards? All of these priceless privileges of "state rights" we are trying to turn over to the nation. The "right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed." The glory of the American armies was that its soldiers learned to shoot straight in hunting. Yet the house of representatives passed a bill to outlaw pistols and ammunition from commerce, with the avowed purpose of leaving the protection of the banks, the home in the country, the country school teacher, upon the county peace officers, while they are at the mercy of armed thugs. If we could stand beside the comrades who fill graves on battle fields and those who won for us the victories of Reconstruction, and tell them what we have received in return for our surrender of state's rights, they would answer that we have bartered our heritage for a mess of pottage, and that we have exchanged patriotism for politics.

One of the causes of the Confederate war was the attempt to invade the property rights in slaves. It was not perpetuation of slavery, but the sacred inviolability of property rights. That question is one of the liveliest we face today in taxes. Taxes necessary to support the government is one thing. It is a vastly different matter when the so called public support results in confiscation of private property. Originally the tariff was designed to tax imports rather than private property for the support of the government. The political possibilities of the tariff were too evident to be overlooked by the politicians who wanted the labor vote. The living conditions of the American wage earner must be the best in the world. The tariff is too big a question to be discussed here, save to say that the boll weevil bitten farmer of the South who must buy articles of American manufacture is each year forced to pay in tariff into the bank accounts of these factories more than half that he makes. The farmer could pay the freight on almost anything he buys in American markets across the continent and the ocean and pay less for these American products in European markets than he pays here. Taking the Fordney-McCumber tariff under which we now pay tariff prices, and we see that on every pair of shoes and suit of woolen clothes less than half of the price paid is for the value of the goods, the balance is confiscation for the enrichment of the manufacturer. On everything that goes into his life from the needs of the cradle to the grave, the farmer pays an exorbitant tariff which is an invasion of his property rights. Not only the clothes for his family, but the provisions for his pantry which are bought, the utensils in which his food is cooked, the sewing machine by which his clothes are sewed, the scissors and cutlery of his home, the furniture of his house are priced so high that more than half is taken from the farmer by practical confiscation of property rights, under the guise of taxes for federal support. Added to these federal taxes are state taxes whose multiplied hands reach out to touch everything that makes up life. Everything that enters into your pleasure, your hard won luxuries, or your business transactions is used as an occasion for state taxes. This is not in war-torn France or Germany, with crushing indemnities, nor England, nor any other burdened nation, but in America, the richest nation in the world, with more than half of the world's gold in its vaults.

We could understand such taxes in these countries, but how can Confed-

erate Veterans and their sons whose faith in property rights was evidenced by four years of war and ten years of Reconstruction, see themselves taxed out of houses and homes to the point of property confiscation?

We have come to the place where many believe that we shall enter at once into the millenium if we can have what these taxes are levied for. The most dangerous thing we face today is a leadership which has frankly rejected all the garnered wisdom from the experience of past generations. In their own estimation they are the source and reservoir of all wisdom, and when they die, wisdom will die with them. As a progressive people living under the finest civilization the world has ever seen we must advance, but are we getting all that we are paying for? Do the multiplied taxes on automobiles bring back a 100 per cent. to the user? Education from the one teacher country school to the state aided colleges are necessary to a progressive people, but it is another thing to ask whether we are getting all that we are paying in taxes for education. The men who pay the taxes to support Clemson, and other state aided schools will some day ask where do I get my returns? The men who are taxed millions to build highways will some day face the question of what they are getting for their taxes. Our forefathers went to the heart of the matter saying it is not a matter of slavery as an institution, but my inviolable rights in property. We need today in the matter of taxes something of the spirit which is the heritage from the Confederacy.

I am not here accounting for it, but the most dangerous feature of our day is that in public and private estimates our people have lost faith in the machinery of government. Our fathers believed they were the best on earth. The right of trial by jury was a man's safest road to justice. Those who have been helmsmen of these institutions have steered them into such shoals and quicksands until the last twenty years have cost these institutions more public confidence than will be regained in the next century. You can remember the time when public office was regarded by its holder as a public trust. It was a crown placed on the holder's head, to be worn worthily and to be handed down untarnished to his children. Today these crowns are used as stepping stones to higher offices. The decay of public confidence has gone so far in South Carolina that when millions of dollars are raised for any purpose we do not believe that we have any citizen, however high, who can handle this sum apart from some form of financial or political graft. This decay of public confidence has come in less than a generation from the day of Wade Hampton. I call you to witness that I make no attack on any person, or on any state institution, but I do call on you to face the spirit of our times which is a virtual surrender of the very foundations of Anglo-Saxon civilization as it has borne its finest flower in the South. Apart from our need for real religion, our greatest need is for the leaven of the spirit of '61-'65 and of the victories of ten years of Reconstruction.

War Recollections.

By H. W. Jones, Co. H, 17th S. C. V.

After the fall of Fort Sumter, enlistment went on at a rapid rate and soon all the young men of 17 and 18 had gone forward faster than they could be armed and equipped. In the meantime, our first company from Barnwell, Capt. Joe Brown's, was sent to Morris Island to be taught the rudiments of war. They were given army tents which would furnish sleeping quarters for 12 or 15 men, so the men from about Blackville and Heading Springs occupied one tent and, as I was told by one of the occupants of that particular tent, one night about ten p. m. a storm of wind and rain came up and lifted the tent from over them after they had gone to bed and as the rain passed they felt that they were the most miserable creatures in the world. But when my father, who was the wag of the company, called out to Davy Howard to shut the kitchen door, they thought no more of their bad plight but roared with laughter.

What was worrying me and other boys of my age was the fear that the war would end before we were old enough to go, too, for it seemed that every one was confident that it would not last long or amount to much until after Big Bethel and Bull Run had been fought. Then they began to realize that we had the real thing and no mistake.

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