

Hon. Jos. R. Hawley.

My dear Sir:

I am informed that the nomination of Col. A. W. Shaffer as Postmaster at Raleigh, N. C., is hung up in the Senate upon what objection or by what influence I do not know. I have <sup>been intimately acquainted with</sup> known Col. Shaffer intimately since 1867, and know his character and conduct both officially and <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>independently</sup> by. He is one of the most upright of men, of the clearest personal character and one of the most painstaking and capable of public servants. As a Republican he has been of the staunchest and truest. The only charge that can possibly be brought against him is being that he drinks so much of his party and principles that he will not support users of debauched, infamous and corrupt characters, too many of whom have been prominent in the management of Republican affairs in that State, which has been one of the chief causes of our continued ill-success.

loves approbation and desires their esteem. This sentiment is to human society precisely what the vis inertiae is to inanimate matter; — it inclines every atom to remain at rest until some controlling, external force sets it in motion. When such special abuses, which are thus disturbed are few, we call them "eccentrics", "fanatics", "agitators"; as they grow more numerous the world grows more respectful and pityingly on particularizing denominates them "schisms", "extremities", possibly "secessionists". When they have grown so numerous as to have formed purpose — to be strong enough to affect political results — we speak of them respectfully as representations of a particular idea, and when they have <sup>once</sup> demonstrated their power by compelling the assent to their views on cooling ~~we dignify~~ <sup>we</sup> dignify them by the defeat of those opposed or dignify them by the name of a party.

is, and always has been, colored by the  
fundamental, the controlling idea of the  
relation of the races. ~~It is only in the North~~

It is only in the North that there has been  
apathy and indifference in regard to this  
subject. It is only among the people of the  
North that men have been found who fail-  
ed to recognize the permanent importance of the  
question of personal right and racial relation  
over all matters of financial administration.  
It is true, since it not only touches the prosperity of  
the whole people but also concerns the rights  
of all. This condition of affairs is rapidly ap-  
proaching its conclusion. The intellect and  
conscience of the North are waking from  
their long slumber and making diligent  
earnest inquiry in relation to this subject.  
This fact and change of popular thought is very  
clearly indicated by the fact that within  
a twelve-month there has been more dis-

The course, of Col. Shaffer has always been in the highest degree creditable to the party, but he has been always a terror to its disreputable and corrupt elements. As Register and Recorder, Commissioner of the U.S. Court, and Supervisor of Elections, he has for many years been of the greatest service and his conduct has been in the highest degree creditable to the party. He is a man of good estate, a large landowner and a man of fine business character and capacity. He has contributed freely of time and money but ~~not~~ for the promotion of party interests and honor but never a cent to aid the "bummer" element. The corrupt and disreputable

~~element~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~opposed~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~party~~ ~~and~~ ~~its~~ ~~interests~~ ~~and~~ ~~honor~~ whether white or black know that in time the government has ~~no~~ ~~idea~~ ~~of~~ ~~it~~ ~~and~~ ~~will~~ ~~rather~~ ~~yield~~ ~~to~~ ~~their~~ ~~demand~~ ~~than~~ ~~permit~~ ~~his~~ ~~office~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~used~~ ~~for~~ ~~their~~ ~~advantage~~. ~~Such~~ ~~gambling~~ ~~houses~~, ~~liquors~~ ~~and~~ ~~beer~~ ~~and~~ ~~mill~~, will look to the his office for support even be linked in the

public thought with its administration  
while under his control. He is not one  
of the purchasable "dead-beats" who  
disgrace Southern Republicanism by hang-  
ing around Washington and boasting  
of their political promises only to bring  
up again and again the same old  
rose head talking of defeat in large  
measures than ~~to~~ ~~their~~ ~~own~~ ~~except~~  
conduct and character. The regular  
"North Carolina" "Washington Colony" is largely  
made up of "beats" who are a dead  
weight to the party on account of their  
shoddy and corrupt or depraved character  
— men whose promises in every  
campaign is of itself sufficient to insure  
defeat. They count only as no value  
themselves but the fact that they are

existence, but discord and conflict were  
the essential conditions of progress.

In reference to the race-problem in the  
United States, we have passed the period of  
indifference. At the South no such condition  
has ever existed. The Negro and the white  
races of the white and colored races has always  
been the apparent identity of Southern life. Its po-  
litical, economic, religious and social ideas  
have been shaped by its views of the race-  
problem. Slavery was only one form of the race-  
problem. It made the theory of "state rights"  
a necessity; this was the only safeguard of  
that peculiar view of the relations of the races  
which gave every white man a right to  
enslave as many negroes as he could catch  
and import, or buy after another had im-  
ported. So too the policy and laws of the South  
were shaped entirely with relation regard  
to this relation. Its industries were restricted  
in order that intelligent labor might be

hurled upon the party down  
the upright, noble men who have for years  
battled so faithfully for good government  
under Republican auspices in North Carolina.

I thank God, that the President has  
had the courage to go outside this de-  
bauched and filthy gang, and appoint  
good, clean, capable and incorruptible  
men to office. In great instances, his  
appointments have been admirable, showing  
~~many~~ an appreciation of the true state  
of affairs and going far to remove the  
influence of one of the "gangs" who draped the  
portrait of ~~Jeff Davis~~ on his office wall  
at his death and turned President Harri-  
son's picture face to the wall with the  
remark that he was "a dish-faced  
son of a !"

discussion of this question in the columns of Northern newspapers and magazines than in half a dozen years before. This discussion has not, as a rule, consisted of heated and unnecessary paper-specific methods but more on less successful attempts to define the elements and formulate the conditions of this problem. Journals, which for years have rigorously excluded ~~from their columns~~ all reference ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~subject~~, not only invite expressions of opinion upon it, but engage in editorial discussion of its bearings with evident appreciation of its importance and usually with a candid acknowledgment of the difficulties and dangers that lie in the way of its solution. The press sometimes claims to be the chief instrument in the formation of public sentiment. In a sense it probably is; but so far as new departures in public thought are concerned, the news



I can understand why a Democrat  
in Seneca should oppose the nomination  
of Genl. Shaffer. The sweet lie the Dem-  
ocrats have on North Carolina consists  
in the continued prominence of their men  
in its affairs - their strength lies in the  
influence they acquire by ~~continued~~  
residing in the first-rate houses of  
Washington and being recognized as  
the representatives of national Republican  
authority - the dispensers of political patron-  
age and the ~~dispensers~~ controllers of  
Senatorial nominations. One of the consolations  
of continual defeat in that state lies in the  
fact that the party at least does not seem  
to sustain the ~~men~~ and ~~men~~ the ~~men~~  
that would result from the administration  
time of State affairs by this gang.

I refer <sup>to</sup> this matter with feeling, be-  
cause, ~~while~~ ~~knowing~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~as~~ I know  
the truth of what I write and have felt for years,

paper press, is more frequently an index of the drift of public sentiment than a director of its course. There was nothing in the attitude of parties in the last presidential contest to indicate such a revival of interest in this subject. The questions pertaining to the Negro and his condition were vigorously tubed by the managers of the Republican Campaign. So far as it lay in their power there was no discussion of them — hardly any allusion to them. So far as the Bay-lander can recollect, there was not a single one of the many millions of documents published and distributed by the National and State Republican Committees, or by any auxiliary agency, which contained more than a passing allusion to this subject. Of course, very many of them contained boastful allusions to the completed work of the party in relation to the emancipation and formal assertion of the political equality of the col-

ered man, but there was hardly a hint that it would constitute a living issue.

Neither was there anything in the tone and temper of newspaper discussions throughout the month to indicate a purpose to call the attention of the people to this great question. So true is this, that until within a few weeks, it is probable that more than half the current discussion of this problem in the press of the North was <sup>conducted</sup> directly or indirectly, ~~to~~ to the pen of the Register. Now, scarcely a week passes that almost every leading journal of the North does not contain a serious discussion of some phase of the question.

Why is this? Simply because the thought of the people is that way inclined and the press, sensitive always, to the thought of the general reader, points stiffly the course of public opinion.

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*[Faint, mostly illegible handwriting at the bottom of the page, possibly including a signature or date.]*

and I am always willing to avow  
his worth and merits, which I have  
so. As a friend, however, I have long advised  
him to abandon all effort to secure the su-  
periority of Republican principles under such  
conditions and take himself, his fortune  
and his energies to a region where he  
will derive <sup>both</sup> more comfort and advantage  
from their possession.

I have written thus fully and  
plainly to you because I know that you  
are aware that I do not express an opin-  
ion upon such a matter without full  
knowledge and profound conviction.

Very truly yours