

Mayville N. Y.

Jan 24th 1891.

Hon. W. Brooks
House of Representatives Washington
My dear Sir:

I found your
letter and enclosed a =
writing my return from
a western lecture-trip.

Thanks for both.

I wonder if the time has
not again come when it
is perilous for a public man
to speak the word liberty or
advocate justice. Of course,
the Election Bill, is part

hope. I take it there is no doubt
about that. The Republican posi-
tion of the Senate is either un-
permeated or hopelessly con-
kered with the lust of greed. A mil-
lionaire is not necessarily a
bad man or a bad legisla-
tor but the chances are more
than even against his being a
good one. If he has inherited his
wealth he has very likely in-
herited with it ideas that are
not the best for a Republic. If
he has made it, he is likely to
have given the better part of
his manhood to pursuits not
specially fitting him for legisla-

hope. The Republican majority in the Senate ^(2^d) is wanting in all the elements of power which the present crisis requires. Its best brains are superannuated. The presiding officer has outgrown his vigor and usefulness. We have too a group of men who have worn themselves out in conquering fortune and mother who are cankered through and through with the lust of gain. I have no antipathy to a millionaire, but a man who makes the Senate merely an opportunity for personal gain or a lounging-place for the display of his acquisitions can never be relied on when a question of principle is at stake. The vigor, persistence, determination of the Senate seem to be almost entirely on the other side. They mean business, and will do or sacrifice anything to carry their point. Part

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of the majority are opposed, both to
the citizenship of the colored man and
to fair elections anywhere. Another
group are afraid they will impair the
character of the Senate as a social
club if they do anything not en-
tirely agreeable to the Southern mem-
bers. United to these forces ^{disorganizing} is
the unholy conspiracy of the silver-ring.
The scourgings they have recently received
may help some of them — may
stiffen some backs — but it seems
beyond doubt that the victory will
remain with the enemy and the
Election Bill and with it all
hope of healthful, peaceable progress,
will be lost.

Ordinarily the defect of such a measure would not seriously affect my equanimity. I am not easily depressed in regard to public matters; but I must confess that the present situation seems to me very gloomy - indeed well-nigh hopeless.

It is true, I do not think the bill itself a very good

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one, but its professed purpose is all that could be desired; — the exercise of national power for the protection of the national citizen — and this is the purpose which the South is fighting much more than the bill itself. ^{The bill} is the first step towards the protection of the national citizen against state usurpation and unlawful conspiracy; ^{on the one hand,} and ^{on the other,} they know that if they adopted the resolutions, ^{they} will soon ^{be made} ^{under it,} ^{will show} ^{throughout the South as} ^{an} ⁱⁿ ^{consequence} ^{of} ^{the} ^{tyranny} ^{will} ^{inevitably} impel the country to the assertion of equal rights by other means than the mere wind-power of constitutional declaration. ^{And the most} ^{hopeless} thing about it, is not that this measure is likely to be defeated, but that it is de-

Latin duties. At any rate, his sympathy for the wrongs of the people and the burdens of the poor are not likely to be of the

American senators are very generally ~~un-~~ ^{the} ~~con-~~ ^{conversion} ~~cerned~~ ^{with} their wealth and the others with greed. Speculation and over-extended ^{very} well known, we are usually ^{and} ^{over-} ^{we} ^{have} ^{the} ^{words} ^{of} ^{on} ^{the} ^{other} ^{side}. So I do not look in the Senate, though in the majority, with any vestige of hope for

the passage of the bill. With silver men, enemies of the West and the two South Carolina senators from Pennsylvania against it of course there is no reasonable chance for its ^{or} such a measure ^{would} not ^{ordinarily} ^{pass}.

~~To give me any serious concern~~ ^{affect me very seriously} ^{concern}. I am not entirely depressed in regard to such matters; but I must confess that the present situation seems to me well-nigh hopeless. True, I do not think the bill itself a very good

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feared at this particular juncture and has no earnest, consolidated, recognized political force behind it.

Of course, the Republican party, at its next convention will have to re-affirm its already ^{often} discredited declaration of devotion to a free ballot. But you know as well as I that its controlling organic forces do not want either a free ballot or a fair opportunity for the colored man. Indeed, they do not want too much individuality or too high an ideal of citizenship in the ranks and file of the party at ^{all} best. What they want is power — I do not say plunder for I think one has been fairly free of direct use of political advantage for personal

enrichment — but power for the sake of control, government — rather than the establishment and development of certain principles and ideas, is unquestionably the ^{controlling motive} ~~motif~~ of the organic forces of the party.

I leave out the President who is a sincere man blinded by temperament, to the forces by which he is surrounded. He believes in a free ballot, just as he believes in free men and equality of right.

Blaine long ago staked his hopes on the re-actionary tendency. He believes that the American people think more of money than of liberty — of gain than of justice. So in 1884, he ordered personal right to the rear and individual greed to the front; and on that plan ^{through his campaign} ~~through his campaign~~

I am a protectionist of the most rabid variety, but there is a difference between Pro =

tection as a patriotic policy — a statement of justice, and protection as a mere appeal to greed. We owe it chiefly to Mr. Blaine that Protection has been divorced from personal liberty and been made an appeal to the hog rather than to the man. It is but natural that the result of this should be the ~~the~~ ^{growth of an} ~~development of an~~ idea that there is some ^{latent} ~~constructive~~ ~~antagonism~~ ^{antagonism} between a free ballot and a protective tariff. Even Mr. McKinley has not escaped this influence. He fights, but weakly for justice, but lustily for gain. He is sound at heart though, and will, sometimes get over his ~~mis-~~ ^{take} ~~take~~ ^{take} into the worship of Bush. The truth is, that if Blaine

had been ~~so~~ wise enough and patriotic enough to have married personal right with protected opportunity in 1884, he would have been invincible.

If Mr Kinley had said "the poor man's bullet first, the interests of American industry next," he would have been the foremost man in the country today. The controlling hypothesis of those who believe in ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~is~~ ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~thinks~~ ~~the~~ ~~ar-~~ ~~is~~ ~~holding~~ ~~all~~ ~~our~~ ~~eyes~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~mere~~ ~~protection~~ ~~crave~~ ~~American~~ ~~citizen~~ ~~thinks~~ ~~more~~ ~~buckets~~ of a dollar than of a hallat — that he is more easily bought than inspired by patriotic sentiment. This mistake is natural to one who thinks more of his personal advantages, than of the country. It is not natural to Mr Kinley. ~~He~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~natural~~ ~~to~~ ~~one~~ ~~who~~ ~~thinks~~ ~~more~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~personal~~ ~~advantages~~ ~~than~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~It~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~natural~~ ~~to~~ ~~Mr~~ ~~Kinley~~ ~~the~~ ~~shadow~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~ambition~~ ~~can~~ ~~never~~ ~~permanently~~ ~~eclipse~~ ~~the~~ ~~citizen's~~ ~~right~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~ruled~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~no~~ ~~2~~

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tions of those who are called "party managers." The English designation "whips" is better. The career of these men has not only destroyed the esprit de corps of the Republican Party but has cast discredit on American patriotism.

The Farmer's Alliance would have been impotent for ill, if the right of the citizen had been kept steadily at the front and inseparably united with the interest of the laborer. The Republican party had the whole field of effective sentiment open to it and lost its advantage simply by distrust of the American people. The Alliance is ~~merely~~ ~~merely~~ ~~merely~~ a product of unadvised protection advocated on the hog-idea.

I am not finding fault; but simply stating facts. The man

—the statement ~~that~~ that is —
on the party which acts on the
hypothesis that the boy is a more
potent political force than the
man is sure sooner or later
to be mangled by a boar's
teeth. Mr Kinley lost one of the
best opportunities ever offered by
distrust of the American people.

The "bores" element, the Quay,
Cameron, Platts, &c, carry this
same error to its extreme. They
desire party success without any care
whatever for party principles. They have
lost all confidence in popular pa-
triotism or individual patriotism
— if they ever had any.
They consider liberty and person-
al rights, as simply convenient
"fakes" to be worked when

they are profitable and discard-
ed when advantage is to be gained
by so doing. They do not desire
a free ballot at the North or at
the South. Politics, to them is only
privateering and the nearer it
comes to piracy the greater the
scope for their audacity. I am
not one of those purists who ex-
pect the world to be white every
time I put on a clean shirt.
I do not question that organiza-
tion, cunning and even a cer-
tain degree of trickery are neces-
ary in the conflict of parties.

I do not doubt that "bores" are some-
times useful in achieving party
victories. The buccannery of ~~the~~
the Spanish Main were more than once
used, ~~as~~ ^{the} ~~same~~ ^{same} safety of West
Britain and the ^{eyes} seeds of the Brit-
ish navy. But it is not necessary
to encourage buccannery to have
a navy. It is merely a choice

forms of activity. The Election Bill and the modern tendency toward balloted reform are both unpleasant facts for the professional "Boss." He thinks they mean destruction of party organization and efficiency. A party without "bosses" is as absurd a thing to him as a navy without privateers would have been to Drake.

It seems to me that these ^{controlling the party organizations} various forces, were likely to make the mishaps of the last election irreparable. If the Democrats win in '92 — as they are sure to do if we make the fight with a purely financial question in the lead — there is little prospect of getting back to the present ^{state} ~~state~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{right} ~~right~~ as regards personal liberty and the privileges of national citizenship in a generation, unless ^{by the} ~~by the~~ ^{perchance through} ~~perchance through~~ ^{intervention} ~~intervention~~ of some great ^{con-} ~~con-~~ ^{mission} ~~mission~~. That will probably come

within a decade unless ^{checked} ~~checked~~ by wise and patriotic action. I laughed when in 1867 — old Thos. Thomas told me that another civil war was as certain to occur within thirty years as the years were to roll by. I thought his eyes were jaundiced by what had occurred. But his predictions have been ^{our friends} ~~our friends~~ ^{amazingly} ~~amazingly ^{verified} ~~verified, not only by ^{the} ~~the ^{enemy} ~~enemy ^{along} ~~along ^{with} ~~with by our own ^{northern} ~~northern people and policy, that I am free to admit that I consider the chances overwhelmingly in favor of this hypothesis. I ask myself and I would like to ask you what — granting the Election Bill is defeated and Congress adjourns ^{with battles as they now are} ~~with battles as they now are~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{what} ~~what~~ are Republicans going to do to organize success in 1892? I do not ask what is the Republican party going to do, because, organically, it can do nothing of any value, with~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

its present organic quality, the less that is attempted the better. There are occasions when activity is harmful and this is always true when the individuals controlling the collective action are ^{themselves} subject to popular suspicion.

There has evidently come a time when the believers in the equal right of all citizens to equal freedom of action everywhere, should do something to make themselves felt. No one will believe the denunciations of a party controlled by Lundy, Cameron, Woolcott & Co, on which yields tamely to their dictation.

There must be a revolution in the Republican party which shall bring to the front again the idea of personal liberty and the equal

rights of the citizen on one stand and no sort of show of success. I say no meaning Republicanism, but it is equally true of the Republican party. It cannot win unless it appeals to this most potent sentiment of equality of right with persistence, vigor and without a hint of compromise on the possibility of its being ^{again} relegated to a secondary place.

You wonder why I have written you as long a letter in response to your brief one. It is not my habit to write long letters or many letters and I know your life is a busy one. Yours letter came however at a time when I was revolving the question in my own mind, and when I had pretty nearly decided that there had better be some organized, concerted ac-

tion among Free Suffrage
Republicans during the next four
months and perhaps a Conven-
tion in the Fall or early next
Spring, 1892. — probably next Au-
tumn.

I do not think it should
start with any ^{one} officially connect-
ed with the party, but be an
outside, voluntary matter, which
of course will naturally include
all those who supported the bill
in Congress and make an
impressive show of the actual
free and fair suffrage sentiment.

Of course, I have elaborated no
details; but I have asked myself
whether, — as I have long been iden-
tified with this particular phase of
Republicanism — I ought not, in
some manner to inaugurate

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the movement. I have per-
haps ^{one} advantage over almost
any one else. I have not and
cannot have any personal in-
terest in the result. ^{I have nothing} ~~to fear as far as~~
~~going to Georgia by its success or to New~~
~~York by its failure.~~ ~~social-political aspirations are~~
~~ceased, I am beyond the party's~~
~~help or the party's power.~~ I have
no future to be harmed and
no past to be mended — noth-
ing to fear and nothing to
hope for. I am out of the play,
individually, and cursed
— or blessed it may be —
with conditions that make me,
while able to help or harm
others, unable to serve any au-
thority I might have for my-
self. I think a side-show
might be organized which

under the present conditions of affairs, would find it no difficult task to change the tone of the party without disturbing to any serious extent, its personal-ity. Such was a movement I think very strongly of inaugurating, and it is your misfortune to be the first one to whom I have revealed such purpose.

We are going to have a mixed mess in '92 but I think if we can ~~compel~~ ^{compel} the Repⁿ press and party to stand up to a better ideal, the "Silver" and "Alliance" sores will slough off and leave some clean flesh to graft on.

Though not personally acquainted, we are not stran-

gers, and because of the character of your letter and what I know of you, I have ventured to ask you first of all, to think of this ~~matter~~ ^{inquiry} and let me hear your opinion ~~on it~~. Those who first move in it, should be men who believe: doubters may come afterwards.

Trusting that the necessity of unfolding this idea may pardon the prolix-ity of this ~~letter~~ ^{epistle}, I am

Sincerely Yours

Wm. D. Tourgée