

**LETTERS OF MR. WILLIAM E.
CHANDLER RELATIVE TO
THE SO-CALLED SOUTHERN
POLICY OF PRESIDENT HAYES**

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Letters of Mr. William E. Chandler Relative to the So-called Southern Policy of President Hayes
by William Lloyd Garrison

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

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LETTERS
OF
MR. WILLIAM E. CHANDLER

RELATIVE TO THE SO-CALLED

Southern Policy of President Hayes,

TOGETHER WITH A LETTER TO MR. CHANDLER OF

MR. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

"I do not care for myself, but I do care for the poor colored men of the South. The colored man's fate will be worse than when he was in slavery."

"The loyal people of the South need special and powerful protection."

"Loyalty should be respected, and treason made odious."

"If you want a law faithfully and fairly administered, entrust power only to its friends."

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"How he stands condemned out of his own mouth. How he has broken all his oft-repeated pledges of protection to those who, to save his election, heroically encountered terrible sufferings and deadly perils in getting to the polls."

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

1878.

MONITOR AND STATESMAN OFFICE,
CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

GIBSON BROTHERS, 1012 Penna. Ave., Washington, D. C.

[Where Orders should be addressed. See last page of cover.]

Wm. C. L.
3-27-61
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L E T T E R S
OF
W M . E . C H A N D L E R .

[INTRODUCTORY NOTE.]

CONCORD, N. H., *February 11, 1878.*

Continued requests for copies of Mr. Chandler's letters have made necessary this edition, [in connection with which is published a letter from Mr. William Lloyd Garrison.]

Notwithstanding the criticisms and denunciations which the letters have elicited, none of the statements of fact therein have been effectively denied or disproved. No person named has made denial over his own signature, and various reported interviews have contained only evasions, or denials of facts not charged. The substantial correctness of all the facts stated in the letters is hereby re-affirmed.

Persistent attempts have been made by hostile newspapers to create the impression that the letters assail the title of President Hayes and propose to reopen the Presidential election-controversy. This misrepresentation was promoted by the fact that the telegraphic reports of the letters gave in full, point numbered IV, relative to the fulfilment of the Louisiana bargain, but only a brief summary of the remainder. An entire perusal of the letters will correct all misapprehension on this point. They contain expressions like the following :

“ Unquestionably he should have asserted in every possible way the moral and legal validity of his own title.”

“ Wisdom and honor, therefore, it seems to me, clearly required that President Hayes should maintain his own rightfulness of title. * * * Had he done so, in my

“belief, the Democratic cry of fraud would have been the
“merest folly.”

In fact, instead of assailing the Presidential title, one complaint in the letters is that President Hayes has himself effected a taint upon his own title by his betrayal and destruction of the lawful governments of South Carolina and Louisiana, and his abandonment of the principles of the Republican party and adoption of the principles of the Democratic party, which it is inconceivable that he would have done if he had believed in his own rightfulness of title, and desired to stand by and vindicate it. Therefore, for whatever re-agitation or re-investigation of the Presidential question there may take place, the President and his advisers, the Louisiana bargainers who sold their republican birthright for a mess of pottage, are responsible, and not those Republicans who denounce and repudiate the trade and the treason.

It may also be added that it cannot be possible that the true interests of the Republican party are to be subserved by denying or concealing any fact connected with the Presidential canvass or countings. If any such exist discreditable or dishonoring to the party or to the President, to Secretary Sherman, or Senator Matthews, or Mr. Chandler, or any other members of the party, the sooner they are exposed, reprobated, and repudiated, the better and safer for the future of Republican principles and the Republican organization.

The briefest possible summary of the points of the letters is—

I. That President Hayes was chosen President by the Republican party on a radical platform pledging federal power to protect human rights and lawful governments at the South; South Carolina and Louisiana giving him their indispensable votes, and also electing Republican State governments.

II. That after his actual installation, secured by a prior secret bargain that he should do so, he actively and personally tore down the lawful State governments of South Carolina and Louisiana, and established rebel mob governments in their stead; violated the Republican pledges to protect human rights and maintain the supremacy of the law, released negro-murderers whom he was elected to prosecute and punish, gave federal power at the South to rebel Democrats, glorified the rebel soldiers at the expense of Union soldiers, taunted the black race with its helplessness, and shamefully boasted of his betrayal of it.

III. That this, his degradation of himself and his betrayal of his party, has annihilated its organization at the South, making Republican ascendancy there impossible, and has almost destroyed the party at the North, so that the only way to prevent a Democratic victory in 1880 by reason of a solid South and a divided North, is to promptly repudiate an administration and a policy which is dishonoring, paralyzing, and destroying the Republican party.

If to utter these facts and conclusions be treason, let the most be made of it. Mr. Chandler is content to rest upon the following endorsement by Mr. Garrison, whose unselfish devotion to the cause of human rights, and whose clear vision and calm judgment make his commendation, if not wholly deserved, yet most warmly gratifying:

“ HONORING YOU FOR YOUR POLITICAL COURAGE AND PATRIOTIC FIDELITY, I AM EMULOUS TO MEET ANY AMOUNT OF PERSONAL DETRACTION IN COMMON WITH YOURSELF. ACTIVE AND SERVICEABLE AS YOU HAVE BEEN IN THE REPUBLICAN RANKS, YOU HAVE NEVER DONE, BECAUSE YOU COULD NOT HAVE DONE, AN ACT MORE HONORABLE TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, OR MORE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS REGISTERED PROMISES AND PLEDGES, OR MORE IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE ITS INTEGRITY TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND EQUAL RIGHTS, AND ITS SUPREMACY OVER THE LAND, THAN IN WRITING AND

" PUBLISHING YOUR LETTER TO THE REPUBLICANS OF NEW
" HAMPSHIRE. FEEL NO ANXIETY AS TO WHAT WILL BE THE
" JUDGMENT OF THE FUTURE, AND CARE NOTHING FOR THE
" DENUNCIATIONS OF THE MISLED AND TIME-SERVING.

" MY FAITH IN THE TRIUMPH OF THE RIGHT LIES IN THE NOT
" FAR DISTANT FUTURE, THOUGH FOR THE PRESENT IT IS BE-
" TRAYED.

" VERY TRULY YOURS,

" WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

" JANUARY 29, 1878."

CONCORD, N. H., Dec. 26, 1877.

To the Republicans of New Hampshire :

It is my privilege and duty as your representative on the Republican National Committee to state to you the reasons for my hostility to the so-called southern policy of the administration of President Hayes.

I.

The Presidential campaign of 1876 was carried on with no announced change of the principles of the Republican party concerning the Southern States lately in rebellion.

The Cincinnati Convention had declared the Republican party to be "sacredly pledged" to the complete protection of all the citizens of the South "in the free enjoyment of all their rights." "We declare it to be the solemn obligation of the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government to put in immediate exercise all their constitutional powers * * * for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and Chief Executive whose COURAGE and FIDELITY to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall."

Mr. George William Curtis, in the Convention, had commended his favorite candidate as one who, "armed with the power of the Government of the United States as district attorney of Kentucky, hunted and hunted and hunted the Ku-Klux until the Ku-Klux disappeared." "The life of every man at the South is safe in the hands of this man from Kentucky, who has known, as you of the South have bitterly learned, * * * the mortal perils of the struggle."

Governor Hayes, in his letter of acceptance, endorsed the resolutions, and specially declared himself in favor of "the complete protection of all citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights." "What the