

LETTER

OF

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN

ACCEPTING THE

NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

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# GENERAL LOGAN'S LETTER

## ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

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WASHINGTON, July 19, 1884.

DEAR SIR, — Having received from you, on the 24th of June, the official notification of my nomination by the National Republican Convention as the Republican candidate for Vice-President of the United States, and considering it to be the duty of every man devoting himself to the public service to assume any position to which he may be called by the voice of his countrymen, I accept the nomination with a grateful heart, and a deep sense of its responsibilities; and, if elected, shall endeavor to discharge the duties of the office to the best of my ability.

This honor, as is well understood, was wholly unsought by me. That it was tendered by the representatives of the party, in a manner so flattering, will serve to lighten whatever labors I may be called upon to perform.

Although the variety of subjects covered in the very excellent and vigorous declaration of principles adopted by the late convention prohibits, upon an occasion calling for brevity of expression, that full elaboration of which they are susceptible, I avail myself of party usage to signify my approval of the various resolutions of the platform, and to discuss them briefly.

### PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

The resolution of the platform declaring for a levy of such duties "as to afford security to our diversified industries, and



protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just award, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity," meets my hearty approval.

If there be a nation on the face of the earth which might, if it were a desirable thing, build a wall upon its every boundary-line, deny communion to all the world, and proceed to live upon its own resources and productions, that nation is the United States. There is hardly a legitimate necessity of civilized communities which cannot be produced from the extraordinary resources of our several States and Territories, with their manufactories, mines, farms, timber-lands, and water-ways. This circumstance, taken in connection with the fact that our form of government is entirely unique among the nations of the world, makes it utterly absurd to institute comparisons between our own economic systems and those of other governments; and, especially, to attempt to borrow systems from them. We stand alone in our circumstances, our forces, our possibilities, and our aspirations.

In all successful government it is a prime requisite that capital and labor should be upon the best terms, and that both should enjoy the highest attainable prosperity. If there be a disturbance of the just balance between them, one or the other suffers; and dissatisfaction follows, which is harmful to both.

The lessons furnished by the comparatively short history of our own national life have been too much overlooked by our people. The fundamental article in the old Democratic creed proclaimed almost absolute free trade, and this, too, no more than a quarter of a century ago. The low condition of our national credit, the financial and business uncertainties, and general lack of prosperity, under that system, can be remembered by every man now in middle life.

Although, in the great number of reforms instituted by the Republican party, sufficient credit has not been publicly awarded to that of tariff-reform, its benefits have nevertheless been felt throughout the land. The principle underlying this measure has been in process of gradual development by the Republican

party during the comparatively brief period of its power ; and to-day a portion of its antiquated Democratic opponents make unwilling concession to the correctness of the doctrine of an equitably adjusted protective tariff, by following slowly in its footsteps, though a very long way in the rear.

The principle involved is one of no great obscurity, and can be readily comprehended by any intelligent person calmly reflecting upon it. The political and social systems of some of our trade-competing nations have created working-classes miserable in the extreme. They receive the merest stipend for their daily toil, and, in the great expense of the necessities of life, are deprived of those comforts of clothing, housing, and health-producing food, which with wholesome mental and social recreation can alone make existence happy and desirable.

Now, if the products of those countries are to be placed in our markets alongside of American products, either the American capitalist must suffer in his legitimate profits, or he must make the American laborer suffer in the attempt to compete with the species of labor above referred to. In the case of a substantial reduction of pay, there can be no compensating advantages for the American laborer, because the articles of daily consumption which he uses—with the exception of articles not produced in the United States, and easy of being specially provided for, as coffee and tea—are grown in our own country, and would not be affected in price by a lowering in duties. Therefore, while he would receive less for his labor, his cost of living would not be decreased. Being practically placed upon the pay of the European laborer, our own would be deprived of facilities for educating and sustaining his family respectably ; he would be shorn of the proper opportunities of self-improvement, and his value as a citizen, charged with a portion of the obligations of government, would be lessened ; the moral tone of the laboring-class would suffer ; and, in turn, the interests of capital, and the well-being of orderly citizens in general, would be menaced, while one evil would re-act upon another until there would be a general disturbance of the whole community. The true problem of a good and stable government is, how to



infuse prosperity among all classes of people,—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer, alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security of capital, and the very best guaranty of general peace and happiness.

The obvious policy of our Government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people. The National Convention, in view of the special dangers menacing the wool interests of the United States, deemed it wise to adopt a separate resolution on the subject of its proper protection. This industry is a very large and important one. The necessary legislation to sustain this industry upon a prosperous basis should be extended.

No one realizes more fully than myself the great delicacy and difficulty of adjusting a tariff so nicely and equitably as to protect every home industry, sustain every class of American labor, promote to the highest point our great agricultural interests, and at the same time to give to one and all the advantages pertaining to foreign productions not in competition with our own; thus not only building up our foreign commerce, but taking measures to carry it in our own bottoms.

Difficult as this work appears, and really is, it is susceptible of accomplishment by patient and intelligent labor; and to no hands can it be committed with as great assurance of success as to those of the Republican party.

#### OUR MONETARY SYSTEM.

The Republican party is the indisputable author of a financial and monetary system which it is safe to say has never before been equalled by that of any other nation.

Under the operation of our system of finance, the country was safely carried through an extended and expensive war, with a national credit which has risen higher and higher with each succeeding year, until now the credit of the United States is surpassed by that of no other nation, while its securities, at a

constantly increasing premium, are eagerly sought after by investors in all parts of the world.

Our system of currency is most admirable in construction. While all the conveniences of a bill circulation attach to it, every dollar of paper represents a dollar of the world's money standards; and, as long as the just and wise policy of the Republican party is continued, there can be no impairment of the national credit. Therefore, under present laws relating thereto, it will be impossible for any man to lose a penny in the bonds or bills of the United States, or in the bills of the national banks.

The advantage of having a banknote in the house which will be as good in the morning as it was the night before should be appreciated by all.

The convertibility of the currency should be maintained intact; and the establishment of an international standard among all commercial nations, fixing the relative values of gold and silver coinage, would be a measure of peculiar advantage.

#### INTER-STATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The subjects embraced in the resolutions respectively looking to the promotion of our inter-State and foreign commerce, and to the matter of our foreign relations, are fraught with the greatest importance to our people.

In respect to inter-State commerce, there is much to be desired in the way of equitable rates and facilities of transportation, that commerce may flow freely between the States themselves, diversity of industries and employments be promoted in all sections of our country, and that the great granaries and manufacturing establishments of the interior may be enabled to send their products to the seaboard for shipment to foreign countries, relieved of vexatious restrictions and discriminations in matters of which it may emphatically be said, "Time is money," and also of unjust charges upon articles destined to meet close competition from the products of other parts of the world.



As to our foreign commerce, the enormous growth of our industries, and our surprising production of cereals and other necessities of life, imperatively require that immediate and effective means be taken, through peaceful, orderly, and conservative methods, to open markets which have been and are now monopolized largely by other nations. This more particularly relates to our sister republics of Spanish America, as also to our friends the people of the Brazilian Empire.

The republics of Spanish America are allied to us by the very closest and warmest feelings, based upon similarity of institutions and government, common aspirations, and mutual hopes. The "Great Republic," as they proudly term the United States, is looked upon by their people with affectionate admiration, and as the model for them to build upon; and we should cultivate between them and ourselves closer commercial relations, which will bind all together by the ties of friendly intercourse and mutual advantage. Further than this, being small commonwealths, in the military and naval sense of the European powers, they look to us as at least a moral defender against a system of territorial and other encroachments, which, aggressive in the past, has not been abandoned at this day. Diplomacy and intrigue have done much more to wrest the commerce of Spanish America from the United States than has legitimate commercial competition.

Politically we should be bound to the republics of our continent by the closest ties, and communication by ships and railroads should be encouraged to the fullest possible extent consistent with a wise and conservative public policy. Above all, we should be upon such terms of friendship as to preclude the possibility of national misunderstandings between ourselves and any of the American republican family. The best method to promote uninterrupted peace between one and all would lie in the meeting of a general conference or congress, whereby an agreement to submit all international differences to the peaceful decision of friendly arbitration might be reached.

An agreement of this kind would give to our sister republics confidence in each other and in us; closer communication would

at once ensue; reciprocally advantageous commercial treaties might be made, whereby much of the commerce which now flows across the Atlantic would seek its legitimate channels, and inure to the greater prosperity of all the American commonwealths. The full advantages of a policy of this nature could not be stated in a brief discussion like the present.

## FOREIGN POLITICAL RELATIONS.

The United States has grown to be a government representing more than fifty million people, and in every sense, excepting that of mere naval power, is one of the first nations of the world. As such, its citizenship should be valuable, entitling its possessor to protection in every quarter of the globe. I do not consider it necessary that our Government should construct enormous fleets of approved iron-clads, and maintain a commensurate body of seamen, in order to place ourselves on a war footing with the military and naval powers of Europe. Such a course would not be compatible with the peaceful policy of our country; though it seems absurd that we have not the effective means to repel a wanton invasion of our coast, and give protection to our coast towns and cities against any power. The great moral force of our country is so universally recognized, as to render an appeal to arms by us, either in protection of our citizens abroad or in recognition of any just international right, quite improbable. What we most need in this direction is a firm and vigorous assertion of every right and privilege belonging to our government or its citizens, as well as an equally firm assertion of the rights and privileges belonging to the general family of American republics situated upon this continent, when opposed, if ever they should be, by the different systems of government upon another continent.

An appeal to the right by such a government as ours could not be disregarded by any civilized nation. In the Treaty of Washington we led the world to the means of escape from the horrors of war, and it is to be hoped that the era when all international differences shall be decided by peaceful arbitration is not far off.



## EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

The central idea of a republican form of government is the rule of the whole people; as opposed to the other forms, which rest upon a privileged class.

Our forefathers, in the attempt to erect a new government which might represent the advanced thought of the world at that period upon the subject of governmental reform, adopted the idea of the people's sovereignty, and thus laid the basis of our present Republic. While technically a government of the people, it was in strictness only a government of a portion of the people; excluding from all participation a certain other portion, held in a condition of absolute, despotic, and hopeless servitude, the parallel to which, fortunately, does not now exist in any modern Christian nation.

With the culmination, however, of another cycle of advanced thought, the American Republic suddenly assumed the full character of a government of the whole people; and four million human creatures emerged from the condition of bondmen to the full status of freemen, theoretically invested with the same civil and political rights possessed by their former masters. The subsequent legislation, which guaranteed by every legal title the citizenship and full equality before the law in all respects of this previously disfranchised people, amply covers the requirements, and secures to them, so far as legislation can, the privileges of American citizenship. But the disagreeable fact of the case is, that, while theoretically we are in the enjoyment of a government of the whole people, practically we are almost as far from it as we were in the ante-bellum days of the Republic. There are but a few leading and indisputable facts which cover the whole statement of the case. In many of the Southern States the colored population is in large excess of the white. The colored people are Republicans, as are also a considerable portion of the white people. The remaining portion of the latter are Democrats. In face of this incontestable truth, these States invariably return Democratic majorities. In other States of the South the colored people, though

not a majority, form a very considerable body of the population, and, with the white Republicans, are numerically in excess of the Democrats; yet precisely the same political result obtains, — the Democratic party invariably carrying the elections. It is not even thought advisable to allow an occasional or unimportant election to be carried by the Republicans as a “blind,” or as a stroke of finesse.

Careful and impartial investigation has shown these results to follow the systematic exercise of physical intimidation and violence, conjoined with the most shameful devices ever practised in the name of free elections. So confirmed has this result become, that we are brought face to face with the extraordinary political fact that the Democratic party of the South relies almost entirely upon the methods stated for its success in national elections.

This unlawful perversion of the popular franchise, which I desire to state dispassionately, and in a manner comporting with the proper dignity of the occasion, is one of deep gravity to the American people, in a double sense.

First, It is in violation — open, direct, and flagrant — of the primary principle upon which our government is supposed to rest; viz., that the control of the government is participated in by all legally qualified citizens, in accordance with the plan of popular government, that majorities must rule in the decision of all questions.

Second, It is in violation of the rights and interests of the States wherein are particularly centred the great wealth and industries of the nation, and which pay an overwhelming portion of the national taxes. The immense aggregation of interests embraced within, and the enormously greater population of, these other States of the Union, are subjected every four years to the dangers of a wholly fraudulent show of numerical strength.

Under this system minorities actually attempt to direct the course of national affairs; and though up to this time success has not attended their efforts to elect a President, yet success has been so perilously imminent as to encourage a repe-



tition of the effort at each quadrennial election, and to subject the interests of an overwhelming majority of our people, North and South, to the hazards of illegal subversion.

The stereotyped argument in refutation of these plain truths is, that if the Republican element were really in the majority they could not be deprived of their rights and privileges by a minority ; but neither statistics of population, nor the unavoidable logic of the situation, can be overridden or escaped. The colored people of the South have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors ; they have but few of the advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites.

As I have heretofore maintained, in order to achieve the ideal perfection of a popular government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This proposition applies with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages, and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people. In the mean time it is the duty of the National Government to go beyond resolutions and declarations on the subject, and to take such action as may lie in its power to secure the absolute freedom of national elections everywhere ; to the end that our Congress may cease to contain members representing fictitious majorities of their people, thus misdirecting the popular will concerning national legislation, and especially to the end, that, in presidential contests, the great business and other interests of the country may not be placed in fear and trembling, lest an unscrupulous minority should succeed in stifling the wishes of the majority.

In accordance with the spirit of the last resolution of the Chicago platform, measures should be taken at once to remedy this great evil.

## FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

Under our liberal institutions the subjects and citizens of every nation have been welcomed to a home in our midst, and, on a compliance with our laws, to a co-operation in our government. While it is the policy of the Republican party to encourage the oppressed of other nations, and offer them facilities for becoming useful and intelligent citizens in the legal definition of the term, the party has never contemplated the admission of a class of servile people who are not only unable to comprehend our institutions, but indisposed to become a part of our national family, or to embrace any higher civilization than their own. To admit such immigrants would be only to throw a retarding element into the very path of our progress. Our legislation should be amply protective against this danger, and if not sufficiently so now should be made so to the full extent allowed by our treaties with friendly powers.

## THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The subject of civil service administration is a problem that has occupied the earnest thought of statesmen for a number of years past, and the record will show that toward its solution many results of a valuable and comprehensive character have been attained by the Republican party since its accession to power. In the partisan warfare made upon the latter, with the view of weakening it in the public confidence, a great deal has been alleged in connection with the abuse of the civil service; the party making the indiscriminate charges seeming to have entirely forgotten that it was under the full sway of the Democratic organization, that the motto, "To the victors belong the spoils," became a cardinal article in the Democratic creed.

With the determination to elevate our governmental administration to a standard of justice, excellence, and public morality, the Republican party has sedulously endeavored to lay the foundation of a system which shall reach the highest perfection under the plastic hand of time, and accumulating ex-



perience. The problem is one of far greater intricacy than appears upon its superficial consideration, and embraces the sub-questions of how to avoid the abuses possible to the lodgment of an immense number of appointments in the hands of the Executive; of how to give encouragement to, and provoke emulation in, the various government employees, in order that they may strive for proficiency, and rest their hopes of advancement upon the attributes of official merit, good conduct, and exemplary honesty; and how best to avoid the evils of creating a privileged class in the government service, who, in imitation of European prototypes, may gradually lose all proficiency and value, in the belief that they possess a life-calling, only to be taken away in case of some flagrant abuse.

The thinking, earnest men of the Republican party have made no mere wordy demonstration upon this subject; but they have endeavored to quietly perform that which their opponents are constantly promising without performing. Under Republican rule the result has been, that, without ingrafting any of the objectionable features of the European systems upon our own, there has been a steady, and even rapid, elevation of the civil service in all of its departments, until it can now be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that the service is more just, more efficient, and purer in all of its features, than ever before since the establishment of our government; and, if defects still exist in our system, the country can safely rely upon the Republican party as the most efficient instrument for their removal.

I am in favor of the highest standard of excellence in the administration of the civil service, and will lend my best efforts to the accomplishment of the greatest attainable perfection in this branch of our service.

#### THE REMAINING TWIN RELIC OF BARBARISM.

The Republican party came into existence in a crusade against the Democratic institutions of slavery and polygamy. The first of these has been buried beneath the embers of civil

war. The party should continue its efforts until the remaining iniquity shall disappear from our civilization under the force of faithfully executed laws.

There are other subjects of importance which I would gladly touch upon, did space permit. I limit myself to saying, that, while there should be the most rigid economy of governmental administration, there should be no self-defeating parsimony either in our domestic or foreign service. Official dishonesty should be promptly and relentlessly punished. Our obligations to the defenders of our country should never be forgotten, and the liberal system of pensions provided by the Republican party should not be imperilled by adverse legislation. The law establishing a Labor Bureau, through which the interests of labor can be placed in an organized condition, I regard as a salutary measure. The eight-hour law should be enforced as rigidly as any other. We should increase our navy to a degree enabling us to amply protect our coast-lines, our commerce, and to give us a force in foreign waters which shall be a respectable and proper representative of a country like our own. The public lands belong to the people, and should not be alienated from them, but reserved for free homes for all desiring to possess them; and, finally, our present Indian policy should be continued and improved upon as our experience in its administration may from time to time suggest.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN,

To the Hon. JOHN B. HENDERSON,

*Chairman of the Committee.*