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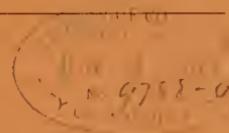


“Manifest Speech.”



BY L. LEOPOLD.

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I am presenting to some of the citizens of Galveston who are personally known to me, and to others by reputation, an essay of mine called a "Manifest Speech." I am led to this step to protect my honor and character and to set bounds and limits to further injnry that might be done to me.

Nobody is under obligations to me, but between this and depriving a man of his business, of society, friends, reputation, health, security, literally taking everything away from him, there is a vast difference—!

The "speech" originally is written in German. The translation is true; sometimes free and at other times restricted. It was written in a state of mental and physical prostration, produced through the above mentioned agencies; for the same reason had I no access to books, wherefore many things are not as accurate as I want them to be. The whole was composed in the city of Galveston, and what is more strange it was never delivered, and had I spoken I would have used perhaps only half of the composition.

Another object I have in view, is to test, if possible, whether I deserved such treatment; and, in proper time, to give to the public at large such particulars and details as are known to me, and appertain to the affair alluded to.

L. LEOPOLD.

WACO, TEXAS, *May, 1883.*

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A "MAIFEST SPEECH."

It is the prevailing custom, as far as my knowledge serves me, that speakers, generally, precede their discourses with preliminary remarks. I would have avoided this practice on the occasion of this Maifest, if unforeseen difficulties, of the greatest importance and extent, had not obstructed my way; and were I to leave them unexplained, it is possible, I fear, that you might be induced to draw wrong conclusions; wherefore, to obviate misunderstandings, I deem it not unmeet, to make a few explanatory remarks. It is conceded that when a speaker on festive occasions, through means of his speech, brings into life or activity, pleasure, hilarity and good feeling generally, or if he takes up a theme which flatters national vanity, that he has wholly, or partially, done his duty. I have concluded to make a deviation, not perhaps for the sake of making an exception, but because time and circumstances demand that something else be discussed, especially a theme which might advance our position and standing, and be at the same time a profit to the community we live in. And this fact becomes a necessity and the duty forces itself on me, when I reflect on the traditions of the Germans, the great influence they wielded in past ages on other peoples and nations, and when I furthermore consider the high position they occupy in all the branches of science, in the arts and industries; and when I bring all this in comparison to our inactivity and disorganization, particularly in this State, it is highly probable that you will give me your assent when I choose to launch on this field. Aside from this, I thereby, by no means, think to act contrary to the spirit of a German custom, or detract the least from the merits of the Maifest, for Tacitus, the Roman historian, in his "Germania," describing the old Germans, mentions amongst other characteristics, that when they assembled, either for peace or war, that they always appeared in full war armour; and in view of the other virtues and

manly qualities which the same author mentions, I take the liberty to assert that this custom did not indicate love for war or dissention, but that it rather indicated, symbolically, *nunquam non paratus*, "to be always ready" for the defense of right and honor. And so may I presume that I may be permitted to make use of such weapons, such mental weapons, for right and honor, which may benefit our well being.

Man in his aboriginal state seeks first protection from dangers, wild animals and the elements of nature. Secure of these he longs for commodities, and then advances on the path which leads to a higher degree of civilization. He enacts laws for the better protection of himself and the community ; he enlarges his knowledge in all spheres ; he labors in the industrial and artistical avocations, and as he has thus in view his own welfare, he labors for the benefit of all. The Germans in Texas have almost a similar history behind them. Coming as we do from our mother country, with many physical and mental advantages, and arriving on these shores, we find ourselves exposed to many contests ; we are wholly unacquainted with the institutions and laws of the country ; also with the customs and habits of the people ; we must acquire another language in addition to our own, and have to struggle against climatic influences. And most of us who have followed up certain life avocations, are forced to seek other means to gain a livelihood, because necessity compels us, or as the case might be, we choose so to do, to ameliorate our condition and "*pour corriger la fortune.*" Through these changes and mutations, but principally because most of us have so accustomed ourselves to this varied mode of life, which needs not be explained here, we forget excellent qualities that are dormant within us, and if these powers were correctly applied it would not only be an honor to us, but as already told, an advantage to the community at large. You will then readily perceive that I am standing before great problems, which I have proposed to myself to discuss ; but to my regret I find myself on the threshold of the many difficulties adverted to ; for to consider these correctly and to discuss them in their proper light, it takes unbounded knowledge in all spheres and branches of the human society, a large amount of self experience, enduring power of speech and ever so many other mental requirements ; qualifications, in short, which in a large degree I am wanting of ; at the same time it would be necessary to point to the precipices, cliffs, chasms and labyrinths that threaten to oppose us. And could such a man be found, which is not impossible, he could not treat such gigantic questions in half an hour, or in an hour in such a degree or manner as the importance of the subject demands. Then comes another difficulty. I have been requested to furnish my own theme. A political or economical discourse, or both blended together, would

be, I think, out of place, also strictly speaking a Manifest speech, for reasons indicated. Therefore I find myself induced to combine, after American fashion, many things with many things, and would therefore beg of you, considering the many drawbacks, not to subject my speech to too severe ~~www.LibertyofSpeech.org~~ test of criticism and not to be too harsh. And having made these preliminaries I will begin with the principal part of my talk, and would request you kindly not to deny me your attention.

While I was engaged endeavoring to divine the origin of the Maifest, the expressive words of Arndt's patriotic song, "What is the German's fatherland?" presented themselves without my volition to my mind, and upon investigation I perceived that it answered two purposes, namely: as the leading thought of my discourse and to unfold much the better the object stated. The poem itself, though well known to us, nevertheless on account of its tendency, as also to prepare your minds to the channel of thought which I am about to pursue, I will quote in brief or in extracts. It reads thus:

"What is the German's fatherland?
Is't Prussianland?
Is't Suabianland?
Is't where on the Rhine the grape vines bloom?
Is't where on the Belt the sea birds fly?
Oh, no! no! no!
His fatherland must greater be!"

In the other verses the author asks if it is in any other of the provinces, denies it always with the same words on the ending of each verse, but solves the question at the end with these beautiful and expressive words:

"It is where the German tongue resounds,

The author could perhaps have chosen other ideas; for instance that the Germany origin is to be traced to the feet of the Himalaya and the banks of the Ganges, where a great culture, thousands of years ago, was in such a high state of perfection that it attracts the attention and the admiration of the civilized world, and that the descendants of this race are now occupying that portion of territory in Europe, as the same author remarks, in another poem, which stretches

"From the Maas on to the Memel,
From the Etsch up to the sound;"

and that they live there in great prosperity, doing honor to their distinguished race. Or he could have said that the cradle of the Germans is to be sought in the oak woods of Germany, (the tree held most sacred amongst the old Germans) that it was consecrated there, and that their mind and spirit was as strong, fresh and free, like the much praised tree itself. Or our author could have adduced a

mystic idea, like the origin of the Greeks or Romans, or any other people. But Arndt contents himself with the language and he expresses so much therewith: it contains the idea that the German people though so often on the brink of destruction and annihilation, that through this most sacred tie, it always found safety and salvation again. It reminds on Luther's translation of the Bible, not alone that he is the creator of the German language in its present form of writing and speaking but by means of this great work, which comprises the language, he laid the foundation for modern free thought. It reminds on Napoleon the First, after he had dissolved the German empire, (founded by Charles the Great), by the forming of the Rhine confederation, and when Germany was crushed and bleeding on a thousand wounds, the sages in the universities, by means of their patriotic harangues, also the language, to their students, called forth that popular storm of 1813, which we best know from verbal and historical traditions, and which eventually led to the dethronement of the emperor. It reminds on the great works of our thinkers and poets, which were created by means of the language.

The thought is so simple and so comprehensive that one is almost forced to come to the conclusion that the poet has hid the right idea, and the German people conscious of this fact, chooses to accept the poem and song as the national hymn. Such a striking example being then before my mind, while I was engaged to explore the origin of the Maifest, what need had I to make many investigations, as I will afterwards try to explain; though this question, I may, by the way, add, has no direct connection whatever with Arndt's poem, but as indicated before, it rather served me as a criterion to come to a better and more satisfactory solution. We certainly possess many sources whence and how the Maifest originated, and I allow myself to cite several instances, though they may not be necessary to be mentioned but they are by no means unfit, and may perhaps be of general interest. Thus history furnishes us with a glaring custom out of the middle ages, when the knights throughout the winter season were forced to remain within their castles, at a period when the commodities of fire and light, as we possess them, were not known yet, and the protection for the body against the elements of nature were of such a very precarious kind, that in consequence whereof, hunting, festal games and gatherings, and every kind of warfare had to be stopped, as also the songs of the wandering troubadours had ceased to be heard. The winter was then a trying time. At last spring arrives; snow and ice have melted and the winds and storms have subsided. The month of March is windy and stormy. April is

capriciously changing. Then comes May with all the splendor and glory of nature, like a beautiful rosy cheeked maiden, beaming with joy and gladness, and bringing gifts and offerings to every one. A great change has taken place. The trees have donned new dresses and plants and flowers decorate the earth. All is like newly resurrected and rejoices with the creation. The people at large, out of joy are longing to celebrate a feast. The knights, the lance and shield bearers and other followers, together with the rural population, are making gigantic preparations and assemble for the purpose to celebrate the feast in an appropriate mode, and to make the celebration symbolic, a boy was being dressed, donned with flowers, wreaths and garlands, representing the month of May, whose appearance the participants, in a festive mood, greeted with general acclamation and salutation. Another custom instituted by Charles the Great, causing his vassals to assemble, to consult about the welfare of the empire; the month of May was chosen as the time, and the place where these meetings were held was called "Maifeld," (Mayfield) which custom was kept up throughout the middle ages. Also passages could perhaps be cited from the Edda songs or Niebelungen, and from the elder poets like Walter von der Vogelweide, or from the Minne songs, all or any of which might give us a better insight of the origin of the Maifest. Then we might turn our attention to the customs of peoples of other countries, to the Roman Bachanalias and Saturnalias, how and in what manner they were celebrated; so the lion and bull fights in the capitolium might be mentioned; so the Olympic games of Greece, where the philosophers, statesmen, poets, warriors and artists of all Helas and all the other Grecian colonies assembled to gain prizes in mental, artistic and gymnastical contests and that it was considered the highest honor and glory to be crowned with the olive wreath, and that these feasts were held so high that they were taken as the basis for the computation of time and historical events and were named "Olympiads;" also the Egyptian religious show processions could be adduced and those of Christian countries which are also held in May and are being kept up to this day. All these feasts and festivals are of great importance to the one who studies customs and manners of peoples and are of great value to science generally, but for us, on this occasion, they are of no particular significance. And like Arndt's phrase already adverted to: "His fatherland must greater be." I may be here permitted to remark in relation to the Maifest, "Its origin must greater be." I beg, therefore, to remind you of a word, of a mighty word, and I pronounce it with all reverence and esteem, that I can possibly express on this occasion, as this thought recalls to my mind

the most hallowed memories and reminiscences of childhood. "Its origin must greater be"—it originated in the *school house*. In this abode of peace and blessing, the Maifest received its consecration, which fact alone and solely makes it so all important to us. There we made its acquaintance in the years of blissful innocence, at a period when we know nothing yet of the storms and contests of the world, when we dreamed of our own wealth and fortune and the greatness of our country. Our poets have praised and extolled these days in numberless and varied songs and our musical composers have set them in unsurpassed strains of melody. And the Germans, if they want to celebrate a day in commemoration of their birth and nationality, need not choose the day on which Arminius is supposed to have annihilated the Roman legions, or perhaps the day on which the "battle of nations" of Leipsic was fought, or perhaps that of Sedan, or any other day considered great in their national history. We are celebrating the Maifest in honor of our nationality, because it contains all. The Germans of America have therefore, fitly chosen, and we have the greatest cause to congratulate ourselves to this great day and to welcome and celebrate it as a true and genuine people's feast. And most heartily do I rejoice that the Germans of the city of Galveston are taking such a warm and deepfelt interest, judging from the great preparations that have been made for months past, which shows more than words can express, that our reminiscences of our mother country have not been obliterated yet from our memories. Last, but not least, I must not forget to express our deep and heartfelt thanks to the American population of this city, who in such amiable manner have given us their participation and support.

The other part of my speech, as already indicated, I will devote to describe the condition of the country, with special reference to our own State, including a few brief cursory remarks about the modern laws, by whom and under what circumstances they were enacted, and how injuriously they have affected the country at large, and especially the people of our own State; and that we are still suffering on them, one and all. These laws oppress us like a night-mare; they are an impediment to the development of the whole community; they fasten themselves on all the branches and members of our body politic, and paralyze the whole fabric of State. The only balance which preserves us from the fate of bankruptcy, hunger and perdition, is the immense richness of all sources in all imaginary branches which a people could wish for; and also the sound and practical sense of the Anglo-Saxon race and their adhesion to the laws of Old England, the latter though to a great extent antiquated, offer nevertheless a very strong bulwark to our support and safety. Most deplorable affairs we find, in all directions, and if we are mindful of our own dignity and

pride as men, we ought to leave nothing undone, to banish those old antecedents which have outlived themselves, and those laws which do not comport to growth and healthfulness, and to create new and substantial ones in their place.

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To corroborate my allegations, I will touch a few points in illustration of the condition of affairs and to lay them before you for your kind consideration and reflection. We certainly are possessed of great wealth, but we are poor, very poor, withal. Said not long ago a friend to me, who is a foreigner, belonging to the Latin race, these words: "Your people are all sick," a truth which I knew long ago. Let us contemplate, for example, the merchant, because he is so peculiarly situated and affected on account of the middle part he forms between producer and consumer. He is indeed to be pitied. If he does not make the most gigantic efforts to amass collosal fortunes, he is in danger to succumb in the struggle. He lives in constant excitement and fear, caused through influence of the weather, which might endanger the prospects of the harvest, and which fear lasts through the whole planting season and over; then through the vacillation of the finances, and the fall and decline of the market prices. But his greatest insecurity is caused by his credit sales, for which the laws give him a very poor protection; and a failure of the crops, which might shake and fell the strongest pillars. Judging from his daily habits and intercourse he could almost be compared to a gambler, he has to cudgel his brains with a thousand and one questions per day, he is fidgety and often quite absent-minded, and how badly "he has got it," he knows scarcely himself. But he does know that he has to fight for his credit and for his existence, all the time. The merchant with smaller means is still worse off, who is largely affected of evils of another kind, which fall on the farmer, laborer, mechanic and artizan in the gravest manner and degree, and which I will treat more fully hereafter. The effects are, that feelings of uncertainty, discontent, distrust and selfishness are engendered, which affect all classes of society. Our best human sentiments are nipped in the bud. To be callous is a species of strength; hard-heartedness is explained as a sign of manliness; an innocent and harmless pleasure a waste of time and unbecoming; kindness is weakness; and politeness, "putting on airs." Money is not the means, but the end of life. "Business" is our whole existence; it is almost our every deed and action; it is our laying down and our getting up; it is all beginning and all end. And taking a strict business point of view, it is no business after all. It is a ramble and scramble for profits, and one is trying to overreach the other. Compare the original cost prices on goods in the eastern market, to what your farmer in the prairies has to pay for it, and I come near being right. This point I will touch more fully hereafter. Objections

might be made against these sombre delineations, and I admit, that they might be correct, but to only a very small extent, as I am able to rejoin that many people can allege the contrary only, for no other reason, because capital goes to them and comes through or from no other source than from capital itself, and then it is no reason. Great talent is commanding, is therefore independent, can also be not reckoned. Then there are some people who are possessed of many of the world's goods, which came to them through the assistance of family connections and friends; then there are such people as capitalists, clergymen, office holders, officers of the army and navy, and many other professional men, who accept the situation as it is, and who have some cause to be contented. All these cannot be counted, as they mostly subsist on the surplus of the wealth of our capital, and can form, therefore, no criterion. Most of us know from self-experience and from our daily observations, that it is almost an utter impossibility for a young man to climb up the ladder to wealth or renown, if not any or perhaps all of the above mentioned means are within his reach. To make an ordinary living now, has been reduced to an art. There is no demand for labor. Advertise in your paper and you can find it out from the many applicants; and it is worse at other places than here. Other facts are: increase of baser passions; increase of the prostitution of the female sex; marriages are impeded; it leads to strikes; nourishes and spreads the doctrines of communism and socialism, and the ties of morality are unloosened. The theologian accuses the sins of the world; the laborer, capital and monopoly; the politician, the wrongs of the opposite party; others, the climate, the soil, and the weather; and even in Congress speeches are almost daily made that it is the peculiarity of the people and the development of the country, why general principles, to solve the question, could not be applied. And all who suffer, drudge along as long and as well as they can, console themselves with the childish hope of the coming of better times, and almost everyone knows and feels that he is disappointed. What is the cause of all this? I allow myself to make a few general remarks. It is the faulty division or accumulation of capital, caused by bad laws, which prevent it from running into its proper and natural channels, which again causes stagnation of trade, interruption between supply and demand, uncertainty in the general market, and endangers the labor question. All these difficulties can only be solved with strict rules of logical doctrines and with nothing else.

First we want to consider how and in what manner these laws mentioned were created, the motives and pressure which caused them to be enacted, which is highly important to advert to, in order to be bet-

ter enabled to improve our condition. For this purpose, I deem it first necessary, to make a few remarks about the Southern man, regarding some general traits of his character, his weak and strong points, and some of the circumstances that surrounded him, because we live in his midst, and because he played and is still taking such an all-important part in our legislation: For art, in the sense as we Germans conceive it, he has no love or taste; but the much more is he inclined to religion, to reading and studying history and literature. In the sciences he is behind, owing to the isolated position he held, and which he did not specially require. He honors and esteems the female sex very highly, for which I admire him. He thinks noble and generous, but blinded from wrong views, which he entertains, he acts very often on the opposite; he also entertains the silly idea that noble blood runs in his veins. He possesses great intelligence, but sympathy and passion carry him often away from cool and deliberate reflection. He is a phantast and dreamer, which fact is plainly shown how he suffered himself to be dragged into the war and with what tenacity he clings to the old democratic party, whose doctrines have not the least connection with the questions of the day, save perhaps in integrity and honesty of purpose, which once characterized that party; for though these traits are very important, they are by no means sufficient to accomplish good ends and results, as it takes something else, and much more besides. After the close of the war, after he had everything sacrificed, blood, property, the principles annihilated which he contended for, his country was then given to, and literally sucked out, by unscrupulous politicians, installed by the Federal government, and who connected themselves with the worst elements of society. To make the measure of his misery replete, his former slave was given the right to vote, while he for a long time was deprived of it, which weapon the negro turned now against his former master, with terrible force and effect. Thus stood he there, poor and an object of pity. From the other side, strong reproaches were made to him, that during the war he practiced great cruelties, and after the close of the war, that men were ostracized from his country on account of holding different political opinions, which brought the Northern inhabitants to a high state of indignation, who had made such heavy sacrifices to preserve the Union. I want to be understood. I will not criticize parties, but will only show, or attempt to show, that where such intense hatred and animosities are existing, the prosperity of any country is an utter impossibility. Against us Germans, in particular, the Southern man has very little liking for, because we took sides against him, and this was quite natural, (1) through our education and the then prevailing European views; (2) it was not necessary for us to examine how and in what manner the slave came to be here; (3) we were obliged to

take a stand, when the country was ablaze; (4) the system of slavery was against us.

Against the "Yankee" he is more conciliatory, on account of being nearer connected with him through blood and history. But for causes on the war question, blame, if any, (I must be excused for the expression, for I am reasoning on one side), ought to fall on that other side. I have no right, desire or inclination, under any circumstances, to excuse the part the Germans took, or to throw perhaps hatred into another direction. The fact is, I want all animosity to cease. I only want to show how illogically the Southern man reasons in regard to us, which, of course, is against his interest.

In the field of politics he was beaten time and again, mostly through his own mistakes; but he only blundered as a party man. The other party, though successful as a party organization, committed criminal blunders inside, as the government party. Their leaders wanted to create a spirit of loyalty, which in stupidity surpasses anything and everything ever attempted in that line. Three golden opportunities offered themselves to arouse that spirit: the annexation of Mexico, Cuba and San Domingo, whereby three more additional stars could have been added to the flag of the Union, and perhaps the foundation be thereby laid for the future control of the whole American continent, by the people of the United States. But nothing was done. Their regime was heavy and clumsy, leaving out several other substantives and adjectives. Since the close of the war, no statesman was able to solve the question. Hatred and animosity pervaded the two sections. Sumner, perhaps the ablest, joined the reform movement, which was destined to perdition, merely out of spite and malice against Grant, in regard to the San Domingo question then pending, which island Grant intended to annex; the only smart thought which Grant ever entertained or had that he tried to execute. This same Sumner preached like a genuine fanatic; he took his text from the gospel of the Constitution of the United States, of course just so much as suited him, that all men are created equal, but at the same time he insults the honor, right and feelings of millions of his countrymen, which itself is oppression and tyranny. Johnson was sincere, but rose as an enemy against the party that elevated him to honors, and he was ungrateful, which created distrust and opposition, and brought the country into the greatest disorders. Schurz, our countryman, conceived the question in a statesmanlike manner, but through party malice, he had to succumb, and was paid with ingratitude by those whom he benefitted. The burning flames of party passion, engendered after the close of the war, have been extinguished, but only through the lapse of time; but the embers are still burning, spreading forth occasionally here and there a burning, but harmless spark.

The Southern man, if he wants to accomplish anything, must by all means adjust himself to the spirit of the times. I would not make the least suggestion which might work an injury against him. It cannot be expected that we Germans go to him, but he must approach us; just as he has acted formerly, when he took our part and defeated the Know Nothing party. He remains then true to his traditions, and is and remains thereby a democrat through and through. He can rest assured that we will not leave him to his fate, but we will help him fight and win his battles, and we will assist him to bring this land in such a prosperous condition as he had never known before, not even in the period of its greatest glory. The Southern man must not be

for himself and to himself; he must have a kind word for everybody, especially to strangers; he must make party with the working class, for their interests are his interests, and through this he not only will restore the glory of his ancestors but he will thereby have an excellent opportunity to take a noble revenge.

Another evil how laws are being enacted, is that our legislation (I refer to our own State) is exclusively in the hands of attorneys, instead that the people themselves should take a more active part. Be it understood, for nothing in the world would I say anything against the legal profession (for heaven be praised, or fate be accused, I do not know which) I belong to the fraternity myself. To create laws that they cause no pressure in no direction; to bring the State laws in harmony as much as possible with those of other States; laws which foster commerce and industry; a just levy and just distribution in assessing taxes; laws which insure liberty and at the same time not to forget that too much liberty is no liberty; such a legislation is a great science. But to expound the laws, to explain them, how they relate and comport with other rights and equities, is rather an art, though in very many respects it is and resembles a science, which cannot be denied to our gentlemen lawyers. Do you wish to know how certain laws affect the prosperity of the country? Then ask the merchant, the laborer, the artizan, the mechanic, the manufacturer and his laboring strength, the farmer, etc., and you will much sooner be enabled to arrive at a much better and more satisfactory solution. The people should apply themselves more directly to legislation itself; they should use more their own judgment and should not wait to listen to a politician for instructions until he explains them. And almost every one can say with the old shephard, in the well known poem, who disguised as a bishop answered so fitly for the latter to the emperor; but on being threatened with severe punishment if he falsely answered the third question, gave up his disguise saying, "Though I do not know anything about Latin crumps, I know any how to get the dog out of the hole, (it is a German proverb, and is set in the poem in rhyme, the translation is free). And the Germans in particular, in view of their extended knowledge, cosmopolitan views, great experience in the industries, skill in the arts, and being gifted with a large amount of discretion, would be specially fit and capable to bring on many innovations, and to exercise a beneficent influence in many directions.

Having finished this subject I will now begin to examine several laws, their nature and bearing, and first of all will notice the protective tariff, whose baneful consequence affect the whole continent and invade almost all classes and casts of society. This tariff, if I am not mistaken, was principally created to reconcile the different party factions; perhaps to silence the abolitionists, whose politics might have been considered as a pretext; or the Southern man, in his mood of liberality, in consequence of having such great wealth to dispose of, or perhaps out of pity or good will to let the inhabitants of the barren States of New England gain also more wealth, suffered himself to be taxed in this manner. What at one time was given out of magnamity is now considered with a brazen impudence, a duty. And the advocates of the high tariff if any one doubts the genuineness of their doctrines, consider it to commit high treason on the country. The poor laborer living in want and poverty is subjected to great pangs and fears, as he is told and made to believe, that the English, if it

were not for the high tariff, would soon come over and over-run America with their goods and fabrics, that American honor and pride would be humbled and crushed ; that their wives and children, though not living in luxuries, had enough to live on ; that our state of affairs though not exactly brilliant, would be nothing if compared to the scenes that were awaiting them, when want and hunger would stare them and theirs in their faces ; that the glorious Union with the great past behind, and the great future before them, would soon resemble one huge wilderness, if they allowed themselves to be swayed away with contrary opinions from those they held. What such reasoning cannot accomplish the capital does, to control the influence of the press, and the paid eloquence of politicians who, by the way, have their fox-eyes turned to the rich offices ; and it is immaterial to what party they belong to. And how deeply works this sophistry, for the unaware can easily satisfy his mind by reasoning thus: What all "honest, upright and smart men" of both parties can agree upon must eventually be the truth ; and how deeply have not struck the roots in the minds of the people ? It is terrible to contemplate. In no other State of the Union is the national animosity and hatred against England so much fed and stirred up as in the New England States. With what delight do not these people imagine themselves back in the times of the revolution, and with what zest and self satisfaction do they recount those deeds which may best arouse the hellish spectres of revenge and retribution. For what ends then to entertain such thoughts of malice ? Victory remained on this side. The war ended gloriously for the States, and England had to withdraw, conquered. Out of the colonies sprang up, Phoenix like, a giant nation, and what greater satisfaction could a people have ? On the place of the self-willed George the Third governs now a strictly constitutional government ; and neither the English people nor government, would under no circumstances approve to-day their former government's policy towards the colonies, a fact which is plainly shown by the amicable relations existing between all English colonies and their mother country. On the other hand the New Englanders retain the warmest affection for old England, to judge from the love and veneration they bear to its thinkers and philosophers, their boast of the Magna Charta and the other charters of liberty and from the interest they take in all questions which spring up and are being agitated there. Under ordinary circumstances a "reconciliation" (?) could have taken place long ago, if it had not been for the purpose to throw sand into the eyes of the people and in order to keep up so much the better and easier the high tariff. Another great danger which we are in is caused by the troubles and agitations between the English and Irish on the continent. The Irish in this country cheerfully adopt the views of the protectionists and in their rage and excitement are desperate to set the knife on their own throats to end their own lives, if only they could inflict thereby a harmless scratch on the English. They think that the only hope for Ireland can come from the United States, and their every instinct tells them "to help to build up the country," and to me it seems, they are a unit on that question.

Let us illustrate the workings of the protective tariff a little more practically. Before going further I must make a halt to show how these same protectionists gained probably double. It will be remembered that during the war, bonds were issued by our government, of which the interest were payable in gold, which bonds, in

consequence of the low state of the currency, could be had cheap, if we take gold as the standard, as being dear; or in other words, these bonds were in value with the times. Andrew Johnson, whom I heard in a speech, said that the average interests on these bonds were 18 per cent. per annum, on their original value. Then I believe these bonds were not taxed, which was not the case with property and other occupations; then these bonds were to be redeemed in gold at what would be a profit of 100 per cent. or more. And it is very probable that these same men defended and advocated the high tariff system, and always got through what they wanted. To judge justly: the people sacrificed life and fought for principle; the capitalist lent his money, gets a big interest and profit, which the people have to pay for; 18 per cent. annual interest and 100 cents on the dollar, what cost originally 50 cents and less in value; and it may be stated that many goods, when these bonds were issued, were five times as high as they are now, or in other words the farmer or producer would have to give three or five times more in quantity or in value now, than the bonds were worth at that time. How many millions and billions have not these usury kings pocketed? It is not too difficult to compute.

To our tariff: To my sorrow I lack statistical reports and other works, which on account of the brevity of time and some other peculiarities of a local nature, which surpasses anything and everything the most fiery imagination could dream of, and which I only partially comprehend. I am therefore constrained to rely principally on my own estimation, and should it be ever so defective, the effects would nevertheless be the same. What amount the annual importations are, I know not; but so much I believe I do know: that any importer who has not some kind of a secret arrangement with the custom-house officials, cannot carry on well the importation business. To comprehend the situation better, let us name a few seaport cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, San Francisco, and many other places; besides, let us consider the great extended coast, which cannot be realized with the bare mind; and in view of this fact, would an estimate of twenty-five million dollars' worth of goods (it might just as well be double or more) which are brought annually into the American market, and which in consequence of the venality of the officials or the dexterity of smugglers, can be sold at a much lower price, than goods on which the full amount of duty is to be paid, be too high? I think not. Here then is an unjust pressure of the greatest magnitude. Again, all importers are not "paying" alike (a genial expression) the same "ratio," which also causes a fluctuation. These importers, however, can always save themselves; but the position of the merchant becomes a very precarious one. By the way, the same theory may be applied on spirituous liquors, tobacco and cigars, home production and manufacture, on which very high inland duties are paid; and considering that officials are about of the same calibre when they collect customs and duties, we may assume that the commerce in these great staples is also greatly afflicted, and in the same manner. To return to our theme: importation. How does the theory comport with our industry? The manufacturer is forced to withstand a very strong competition. The missiles come from all sides, and a positive calculation is out of question. He is therefore obliged to reduce the wages of the working man to a minimum, and to prolong the work hours as much

as he can. Could these duties be collected honestly, probably the roughest part of the chaos could be avoided, but such a thing seems to be an utter impossibility under our present system of politics. If the tariff were lower, of course the dangers would be narrowed down. There is also a great demand for foreign goods, such as articles of luxury, which are worked very tasty and artistically, and against which we cannot compete. To stem the tide of foreign goods, for the apparent benefit of the people of the United States, our protectionists want a high tariff, which they contend is for the interests of the workmen, manufacturer and merchant, and for the glory of the country. Of course the current is checked, but the chaos on the other side remains, viz: the workman is pressed from the manufacturer; the manufacturer is pressed from foreign goods being smuggled here, or goods on which full duty is not paid; the merchant suffers likewise, and the glory of the country is by no means advanced. On the whole it seems to me to be one of the most damnable and hellish tricks that was ever played on the American people. Another loss is, that many enterprises are left neglected, which otherwise would be brought to life, if it were not for the great costs and outlays, caused through the high tariff, and which makes the prospect of a gain or dividend too uncertain, which not alone works a pressure on the working class, but leaves many a field unexplored, to the loss of the country at large.

Also a wrong idea in favor of keeping up a high tariff is entertained by the merchant, from two grounds:

1st. By having large supplies of goods on hand, which they have to keep, and fearing as they do, a great decline, may jeopardize their standing and credit, and of those merchants they are in business connection with. This fear, however, it may be remarked, is rather imaginary, it would sooner be equalized than perhaps they have an idea of themselves; but the evils as they are now existing, are much more dangerous and real than that decline which they dread.

2d. From falsely misconceived economical principles, which happily do not require a great understanding in order to be comprehended. By far the greatest number of merchants are of the opinion that through high prices (by what cause they are produced, seems to be immaterial) a greater profit could be realized, and that it would be better for the country at large. This doctrine is altogether false according to all and every arithmetical and logical reasoning, and can be denied and proven to be so, without many difficulties, viz: *The smaller the amount, to make a certain gain, the greater* is the percentage or profit. For the consumer remains then a surplus in his pocket, with which he can buy for and indulge in greater comforts and luxuries, and the consumption and the demand for better and improved quantities will be increased. A failure of the crops in one season could not bring the State on the brink of perdition. The merchant would be the better able to keep up his credit, and a greater firmness and stability as well as in the expansion of trade, as also a higher state of civilization and prosperity would thereby be accomplished. Let us contemplate the condition of affairs in our own State a little more closely. An industry, strictly speaking, we possess not. Art is not in demand, and if it is, only so much as belongs to the "*bon ton*," and for that what is wanted, only medium prices are paid for. People have desire and taste only for ordinary and every day things. From the workman and we demand a great deal; need be less fine and artistic but the much more of it. Quantity must make up what quality lacks. In

the Eastern States they manufacture specially for our consumption, as species of cloths and wear, shoes, boots, arms, implements of all kinds, eatables, spirituous drinks and liquors and too many other things too numerous to mention. Most of these articles are of such a kind and are being sent to Texas, or any Southern State, about in the same manner, as we perhaps ~~would dispose of~~ ^{maps} them to the Indians. We sell these goods to our rural population, workingmen and all classes of people, retaining, however, for ourselves our own true and better opinion; which practically can only be our worst opinion. And the money goes by millions into the pockets of Eastern capitalists and manufacturers. The implements we cultivate the ground with, the plow, the spade, the hoe, the hammer, the saw, the knife, the axe with which the pioneer fells the tree of the wilderness making the ground fertile to civilization; the stove we cook our meals on; medicines wherewith we try to cure or keep off diseases, especially can that be said of the farmer and laborer who are exposed to the deadly miasma of the swamps, and to the parching rays of a tropical summer sun. All these and many, many more articles are protected through the high tariff.

Let us examine the theory with figures: Supposing a farmer spends annually \$500 in support of himself and family, also for implements, utensils and improvements he might make on his farm or property. I have an idea that the average expedititure of a family is much more than that. However, we pass on. I will furthermore assume that the average of the tariff is 33 per cent.; which makes a sum of \$165, or thereabout. Well, then, would not \$25 be enough? Say \$40, \$50, say \$60, but \$165 for a single man, for a farmer, who has to work in the sweat of his brow, to pay for this pseudo patriotism, as the German proverb says, "beats even the bean song." Not alone that it affects the farmer, but every one of us. After a superficial estimate of mine, the inhabitants of this State may expend annually \$100,000,000 in all kinds of goods which is enhanced by the high tariff say \$25,000,000 only. Should my figures be very defective in one direction they will be balanced in another; but on the whole I consider them to be very moderate and rather less than more. Take this sum, \$25,000,000 annually, for ten years, calculate the interest and the compound interest; extend it to all the Southern States, and to the Western States, and what shocking proportions does this evil not assume? Is it a wonder that we are wretchedly poor? Is it a wonder that we live in troubles and misery? And would it not be high time to arrest this evil that sucks the very marrow from our bones and threatens our very existence?

We also have heard a great deal of creating an infusion of money, through which means, everybody would get money in his pocket. But the money thus created only aids certain classes, as capitalists and speculators, who, when a crash comes, can always save themselves with "glory," and all the misfortunes and the miseries fall on the people. But by a great reduction, or by a suspension of the tariff, a natural infusion would set in, by which everyone could be enabled to retain a surplus in his pocket—but not by an infusion.

There is also a great evil in our own midst, which will assume just such gigantic proportions as in the East. This class of people will soon play the "lords paramount." Tariff is the lord superior or king, whom we all must do homage to. I refer to the sheep-men and wool-raisers, who also are claiming for protection. If I am not mistaken,

the duty on cloth is sixty per cent. or more. As I understand, this business is connected with very little cost and labor, and with comparatively no risk, while almost every other occupation is more liable to the dangers of risk. Shall I make an estimate of this risk and labor in comparison to other occupations in figures? and perhaps one-third would not be too much. I am further informed that they are making a net gain annually of one hundred per cent. on stock and wool. Capital of \$50,000 will accumulate in one year to \$100,000; of course this keeps up in geometrical progression. I have nothing to say because a certain class of people are making a big profit. I believe with them, that "business is business," provided they shift for themselves, and would not ask for protection, and that a net gain of seventy-five per cent, or even less on their capital invested would be plenty. The next thing in order is, that in all likelihood, there will soon spring up another craft, then another, and then another, and so on; and each one is clamorous to elevate the spirit of patriotism and the glory of the country, and will join in the chorus "Hallelujah, Amien," to the well known tune, "This is the best government the world ever saw," and each one wants a tariff, the higher, the more glory for the country, of course, and so it goes on. One thing is certain, the farmer receives no protection through a tariff on his products, but he is governed by the market prices of the world. Another great truth is, that most articles of our food are much cheaper here than in Europe, which is only too evident from our vast exportations in that line, which forms another very strong ground for the reduction and perhaps entire abolition of the tariff, because we are then better enabled to feed our workingmen cheaper than it could be done in Europe, and the farmer could also be enabled to dispose of his products for less; therefore all evils which are feared, all interruptions which are so much dreaded, could be sooner overhauled than the most sanguine could expect. Very soon we would be in a position to compete with European art and taste, and the amount realized for our exports of sugar and cotton and other products would come back to us in good and solid specie.

The evil, as it is, increases daily; the rich become richer, and the poor, poorer; so increases misery and oppression; so the prostitution of woman! The philanthropist may well ponder and grieve of such a state of affairs, in one of the grandest countries of the world, with an intelligent population, characterized for honor, honesty and integrity.

A glance to other countries! Look to the condition of the working man in France. There he receives high wages, his art is remunerated; time for labor is humane; he lives well; he drinks his wine at table; attends the drama and the show, and is the happiest man in the world. Also the workingmen of England are happy and contented. Germany, to my sorrow and regret, becomes also poorer every day, undoubtedly caused by a perverted finance policy of her statesmen.

Our politicians, manufacturers, capitalists, bankers, stock-owners, all of them can look on in complacency. They are for the most part great lights in their respective churches, are elders of the church, teach Sunday-school, lead the singing in the church-choirs, join temperance societies, preach and teach how sweet it is to suffer, that all is perishable, and promise great rewards in the next world to come. And, in the language of a friend of mine, it could be asked, "how can they promise anything which they themselves do

not possess?" But they themselves live on luxuries and extravagances, and when Thanksgivings day comes, they praise the Supreme Ruler "for the bountiful mercies vouchsafed," while thousands and thousands of their fellow beings are languishing in poverty and misery. Most, the communist champion, and the much abused "fanatic" is by no means so crazy as the American press gives him out to be; for no prophet has ever told a greater truth than he when he says that the condition of the workingmen of this country was a more precarious one than that of the workingmen in Europe, and that those of the United States were completely the slaves of the money kings. Be this as it may, the tariff men, with a sarcastical, sophistical and unheard of lying impudence, assert that all misfortune, all misery and oppression, comes from drinking and tasting a glass of wine or beer; and with fletched teeth, savage eyes, grinning features and foaming mouth, are yelling and shouting, "Rum! rum!" as their battle cry, and they declare us war to the knife!

However, I will hope that their reign, if it can be called such, has been the longest, and that their nefarious doings will soon be made an end of, and at not a very distant time too. Of course we will not act as Most, the communist apostle says, but we will leave them their booty. And we Germans will do our duty as freemen and not as bondmen.

I am of the humble opinion that with a strong reduction and perhaps an entire abolition of the high tariff, that the condition of the whole country will be a better one; and instead of being a people pressed down with cares, we would be happy and contented, and that the virtues of the American home, known for its hospitality, peace and good will, will rest on a firmer foundation than ever. And as far as our own State, Texas, is concerned, instead, as is foolishly asserted and widely believed, that we are surrounded by tigers, lions, leopards, crocodiles, rattlesnakes, huge boa-constrictors, hyenas, bears, wolves, etc., or that the wild cow-boys and savage murderers are standing on every cross-road threatening with pistol and knife to take the life of every traveler; all such foolish, nonsensical talk would soon cease itself, and our State would soon be regarded as the grandest, most fertile and prosperous of all the States in the Union. So much for the protective tariff.

We will now treat on our homestead law. It comes from Mexico. Whether it originates from Spain I doubt very much; because the whole Latin race accepted the Roman civil law, as their fundamental law. And so much is certain that the proceeding against the defaulting debtor according to the tenor of the twelve tables, and the code Justinian, was a most cruel one. Also the Germans accepted the Roman Pandects; aside from this they (the Germans) from the remotest time of antiquity have been very punctuous and scrupulous to meet their obligations. With the same fidelity and faith they served as soldiers in the army, or obeyed their superiors, temporal or spiritual, as well as all their doings indicated, which is strongly expressed by the popular proverb, which every one of us have heard thousands of times already:

"A man, a word."

In England we find the same strict proceeding; it is incorporated in the common law, known under the name "distress;" and very high authorities ascribe the cause of England's wealth to this measure. It comes then from Mexico. It is an exotic plant. When Texas was

wrested from Mexico, we found it domiciled here, and it soon found its way rapidly all over the Southern States; and the Southern man, true to his nature, to be the much better secluded to himself, also thinking that the interest of his country would be the much better secured, or most probably, to use a childish revenge against the inhabitants of the Northern States; also out of sympathy, coupled with a spirit of chivalry, that they should not come and take away and deprive the widow, the helpless old man and the orphan of their home and shelter, is fire and flame for this new-fangled idea. And I may make a suggestion here; had the same law originated in any of the New England States, it is probable that our Southern man would have scornfully rejected it as a "Yankee trick." How utterly false is the theory of this law and how injuriously has it not worked? First, millions and millions of dollars are taken away annually from the channels of trade, as all real estate could be used as flowing capital. Nine cases out of ten sharpers are taking advantage of this law, self evidently to the detriment of the creditors; and for those whom it is destined to be as a protection, receive comparatively little or no benefit; and Goethe's words from his "Faust" "*sense becomes nonsense and charity a curse*" might find a fit application. You may firmly believe it, that no merchant or capitalist would sell forcibly the house of a widow or orphan, public opinion would act so strongly against him that he could do no more business in the whole community. But this is rather an extreme view, for the merchants as a class are the most liberal and generous of all. When a misfortune befalls any part of the country, North or South, they give most cheerfully and liberally to alleviate the sufferings. And should a creditor want to go to the extreme, which I think does not occur, it is strictly speaking a right, a just right and an inherent right. It is *his* property and it does not belong to the debtor. If a line is to be drawn it must be drawn in his favor. And if there are people with sympathy, *they* should pay the debt. "*Fiat justitia!*" The millennium has not come yet, when the lion and the lamb walk together. This is a world of facts and figures, and if one should have sympathy for everything that comes along our path, there would be no end. "Charity begins at home" many will say. True enough, but it must not come from another man's goods and property, as it was understood and contracted for, that payment should be made. In all cases the debtor has always friends, relations or other means which would enable him to pay his honest debts, instead of leaving a hundred doors open for rascality and dishonesty.

The consequences are: The State suffers on credit; the merchant is in a state of suspense on account of losses, which he counts with certainty on. The shrewd merchant counts his risks ratably: on the homestead law, failure of the crops, and other incidental mishaps which are liable to fall on the debtor. He is therefore obliged, in order to save himself, to make up for these expected losses by charging a higher profit on all his sales, cash or credit; the guilty with the innocent, therefore, must suffer alike. And we Germans, honesty for our watchword, have, as a class, to suffer most. I would by no means say others are not honest; but what I fear of them is "not the mouse, but the hole."

The merchant by his adhesion to the high tariff, wrongs the farmer and workman, and these in return cling to the homestead law as a sort of retracting agent; and who, might be asked, makes the most of it?

The same sickly sympathy underlies this law, as is evidenced by many other questions or customs. For example: the greatest murderer or criminal, fit for the gallows, by machinations is set free, because he is otherwise a "gentleman," or he "stands well," or on account of "family connections," or "he did not mean to do it." It is the same sickly sentiment which causes "men" with a silly baby talk to address sensible women; or, if the latter are less steadfast in character, that we are trying to make mere doll babies out of them, and, of course, to their great injury. It is the same moral nonsense that the mere taste of a glass of beer or wine will lead to perdition; or, that if a person does not share certain religious sentiments, that he is given up to eternal punishment. All such talk and reasoning should by no means influence a man of sense. And this homestead law, we ought to make short work with, if we want to count on the prosperity of the future, and if we want to stand before the world as men.

Two other questions I now wish to make mention of, and that superficially, because fearing as I do, my speech might be too extended. The one is an improvement and a change in the jury system, after the mode and manner it is in use in French and German courts. It would be specially adaptable for the peculiar wants and requirements of this country and people. It would give greater satisfaction as to justice; would lessen the costs, and the great protraction of suits would be greatly obviated. But to my regret, I am compelled to state that our attorneys are the greatest impediment, who oppose any change because and only because they cling with too much tenacity on the teachings of Blackstone; and because on account of his great renown and merits as a jurist, and as an incomparable commentator. But this is no reason why he should be infallible; and besides, he wrote over one hundred years ago, and then for the peculiar wants of the English, and which system may be very well suited for them to-day. Blackstone may be right that among an unlettered people the English jury system is to be preferred to the Roman, with their voluminous writings and reports, and on account of the venality of courts and judges; especially when all the jurymen and the whole "neighborhood" are all honorable, straightforward people, as with the Anglo-Saxons, which, as far as we know, was not the case in Rome. There, honor and integrity, and all the learning, was confined to the aristocracy; and it may be said of them that the sanctity of home and family was, in the earlier times, of the strictest moral character, and that corruption set in with the loose morality of the succeeding times.

In the United States, the jury system is rather an artistic manipulation, and seems to be more of a business. In England the law of evidence was not known, or very little, because when a witness appeared, twelve compurgators had to appear, testifying to his belief. This is a jury in itself. Besides, equity was not known then in England; not to the courts, still less to juries. And equity forms now a most important part in our courts, for which jurists are better able to decide than jurors, in all instances, as well as on the laws of evidence. Blackstone is the great eulogist of English institutions, the common law, the English race and worship, almost everything that savors of English. To my humble understanding, he defends and advocates many a dark side, especially when it pertains to history, and falls into an error when he brings other countries in comparison with the jury system of England. He maintains, namely, that England's greatness, or the preservation of the English, is solely

due to the jury system, and intimates strongly that other nations who did not know or use it, were either left behind or became extinguished for the want of it. This may be rebutted by many instances: Rome grew up to be the greatest power of the world without it, and has not succumbed through the want of it. Greece climbed up the ladder of fame and immortality, which causes the wonder and admiration of the world, ~~without the jury system~~; they vanquished the immense number of the Persian host, which deed has no equal in history, without having this jury system in use; and the Grecians have also not succumbed through the want of it. Germany, at the end of the thirty years' war, was a huge desert; the want of the law did not reduce it to such a state, and neither is the present state of affairs due to the system. France became also great without that law. The Netherlanders defended themselves like lions for forty years against the giant power of Spain, without having in use the same law. So has Switzerland kept itself up; so the Jews as a religious nation. The honest and just sense alone of the Anglo-Saxon race kept the English up; also the natural barriers, protected her from great invasions, which was not the case with the Romans, Carthaginians, Greeks, Germans, French and others. English history records thousands of examples of oppression, cruelties, persecution, bloodshed, oppression by the courts, and tyrannical acts through their monarchs, revolutions, etc. The jury system did not restore peace; but order had to be restored first, and then the jury system was again reinstated. As remarked, the jury law may be well in England to-day, but in the United States as it is works evil; it is an ulcer which ought to be cut out, and that with burning, fiery tongs, if necessary. And if our attorneys cling to it *because* Blackstone defends it so warmly, and *because* it is of such a venerable age, they fall into a grave error. In what manner the jury system should receive changes, and in what particular cases it should find application, belongs to the branch of jurisprudence, which the occasion would not allow to treat on. But one thing I will mention, that the advantages which would be derived therefrom, would be of incalculable benefit.

The other proposition which I desire to name is, to organize a commission of immigration, consisting of several of our German citizens to devise ways and means to further the projects, and that to this end it should enter into communication with certain officials of our State government, and I have not the least doubt that such an undertaking would be received and met with a most agreeable reception and in all likelihood would perhaps receive material and substantial aid.

I will now touch upon the prohibition law, and if we do not sharpen all our wits, it is possible that we might be defeated. And what a disgrace that would be for us! First of all I desire to make a few remarks in regard to our own character and traits, because we are altogether misjudged, and especially the Americans, as a class, entertain the queerest ideas of us. We possess the most contrary and varied qualities than perhaps any other people on the face of the earth. The ancient Germans were especially known for it. Tacitus makes mention of it; so Blackstone describing the Saxons, and many other writers besides agree upon it, and which peculiarities can be traced to this day. With us is found the greatest self-abnegation, veneration of God and religion, at the side of the most abstract atheism; the purest virtue at the side of the greatest vice and crime; the deep

seriousness and earnestness at the side of gayety and humor, as is best marked out in the tribal character of the Suabians, Austrians and Low Germans, who for inherent wit are unequalled by any nation. The character is also specially marked out individually: the nobleman, the student, the soldier, the mechanic, the farmer, the every day laborer, the officer, the merchant, even every profession, the province he comes from, not to say anything from the dialect, which changes almost every twenty miles; every one you can almost detect instantly on his address, manners or movements, which cannot be done with the American, who to-day may be a merchant, to-morrow a soldier, then a farmer and you would not be able to detect anything on the surface. Extremes go with us hand in hand; light and shade walk together. The German clergyman is not afraid to drink beer or wine on public occasions, or in certain public localities, while the Puritan doctor of divinity would fall in convulsions at such an idea. The Germans before '70 were considered by the French as a people of musicians and singers, whom they could easily whip out of the field. True enough, the Germans did sing, namely, "the Watch on the Rhine," and other stirring songs, and to such a degree that the sounds re-echoed throughout all France. And Heine's words come to their full value when he says that the habits of the Hottentots, if they should daily turn somersaults is as natural to them, as we drink beer; or when a certain professor (whose name I believe he mentions) when he lectures every day or occasionally, on a certain subject. And this great truth ought to guide us, when we judge the Americans, and wherein we ourselves fall into the greatest errors, to our own injury and disadvantage.

To our text: If we put up a certain proposition, it at same time may contain the negative or the opposite. In party questions the latter is generally the rule. If, for example, the temperance apostles advance the proposition that the consumption of alcoholic drink is the origin of all evil, it includes the idea, that they are pure and innocent lambs, that they represent virtue and uprightness in a superior degree that we are cursed with the greatest vices and crimes, that we stand in compact with the devil and that we are bringing untold misery into the midst of the inhabitants of this country. That such views are not alone altogether false, but are the greatest insults that could be offered to us, and we hurl them back, with indignation, to the source they come from. We, on the contrary, allege with positiveness, we detest drunkenness and abhor the vice. Here then, before we proceed further, we must come to an understanding. We must make distinction between drinking and the "mania of drinking" (Trunksucht). The moderate drinking which intelligent gentlemen and ladies may indulge in, and who could not be reproached of doing a moral wrong. Or supposing two business men are about closing up a trade, or they want to establish a greater degree of friendship between them, and they take a drink together to seal it up as it were. Now our temperance man comes along with his great speech, swinging his umbrella over our two friends heads, telling them to stop, that liquor is poison, that it leads to the prison, to the insane assylum, to stop! to stop! to stop! What would our two business say? I leave it to the imagination of everybody. If our temperance friend wants to stop the mania, the drunkenness, well enough, we grasp hands, and by the heavens it shall be done! Now, dear "brother," we are getting a little nearer related—let us see what we can agree on and on what we

cannot. We can agree on abolishing drunkenness, or on that portion which works a hurt or an injury; and we can also agree that virtue and morality shall be preserved. About the ends we are a unit, but not on the means to accomplish it. Can it be prohibited by absolute legislation? Not alone that the individual is thereby deprived of his personal liberty, which is against the spirit and laws of the country; but ~~practical experience~~ proves it to be a failure. In the State of Maine, where is total prohibition, according to their tax list, there is as much spirituous liquors consumed as in any other State in proportion to population, but under an additional heading "for medical purposes;" not to say anything of the secret boxes, said to contain oil or other fluids, which undoubtedly are shipped there from the States. A man does not permit himself to be forbidden to drink liquor when he chooses to, for there are plenty of means to evade it. On the contrary there will be much more demand for it, as forbidden fruit tastes better. Should (to our greatest regret) this law nevertheless find introduction here, we can accept it as a certainty that all the property will at least decline one-fourth in value, which loss will amount to millions. Immigration will of course cease, because the immigrants would not want to be tyranized with such a nonsense, and a stampede of people leaving our State will follow. It would also incommodate largely our negro element, who form a considerable portion of our community. They are contented for their food, with corn bread, ham, greens and whisky, these are the most substantial portions of their eating, and whisky is the most all-important. Will our temperance man replace the whisky through other drinks and eatables? Perhaps chocolate de Paris, which gives a great deal of strength; or bouillon de France, or sauce de pomme de terre, or perhaps through food the substance which gives great strength, as boeuf de jardinier, bouef a la mode, Hamburger steak with eggs, maccaronies, etc., etc. Not alone that our negroes would reject such eating with horror, but they want their corn bread and whisky. Therefore if immigration is impeded, and if many people will leave the State, and if our negroes are interrupted in their mode of living, which will also interfere with this labor; and if in consequence property declines in value, and labor is interfered with, then according to all economical and statistical experiences, an increase of poverty will set in, and vice and crimes, which the temperance man wants to prevent, will increase. Another fine idea our temperance advocate treats us with, is, that all alcoholic spirits contain large quantities of poison. It may be true, for I have not investigated the matter and I understand nothing of chemistry. But supposing it does contain poison, who is to blame? Our temperance man of course! Because he causes too great a tax to be levied thereon; and competition being too great, and in consequence of the venality of the collecting officers by which the trade itself is affected, of which I made allusion to before, many who are engaged in the trade resort to art and science, because it is much cheaper, they are making independent fortunes, and can so much the better stand competition. And what power may not these whisky kings or rings have? Heaven only knows; we do not. To my mind it seems there exist a great conspiracy composed of importers, capitalists, railroad men, whisky men, manufacturers, merchants, ill-advised laborers, government officials, temperance fools, preachers, and others; all, all combining for the wholesale robbery of the country.

If taxes were lower, we would have purer liquors and particularly better beer; the latter would contain more hops and barley. There would be a greater demand for the products and the duties would be made up in another direction, as the farmer would plant more; and instead of getting a small glass of beer, on account of which many of us could shed bitter tears, we could get a "shoo fly" or a "schooner," better and richer beer and that for the same price. If we contend that we are paying so and so much tax to the country, we are showing our weakness. Not alone that liquors are not more pure, but it effects most seriously our working classes. It may be also said that before the war, when tax was low, we had purer liquors and that they did not contain that poison, that at that time nobody thought of prohibition and all that talk was unknown. It may be the high tax that is the cause. The many crimes supposed to be caused by means of alcoholic spirits I strongly contend emanate from other causes, as extreme poverty, desperation, hopelessness, degradation, ill-fated speculations, disappointed love, jealousy, despair, shame, dissensions, contentions, etc., and because many people expect a partial relief by intoxication or to drown their misery or perhaps commit suicide, or take revenge on the person who caused an imaginary or real injury by taking his life or mutilating his body. And most people when they are about to commit these crimes, drink rather freely, partly to have more courage and to be more daring. Then there are men, who if they cannot have their own way in everything, or in particular things, seek contentions, imbibe liquor rather freely, because the law palliates the crime or shields the criminal from too severe a punishment. It is a favorite scheme of our jurists trying to define crime with hair splitting logic and classification and degree. But if we execute the law fully and thoroughly, and let the people, or jury, make the classification, and let the lawyers bother their heads with their logic, bring the evil doers to justice, and if such a criminal is conscious of this fact, such an one would remain sober, if he knew beforehand that drunkenness would not help or excuse. Liquor therefore is not the immediate cause; the fact is that it has no bearing with any of the instances mentioned. Our temperance man also says that so and so many are languishing in prisons, must therefore come from the crimes committed and not from liquor drinking; and that so and so may be in the insane asylum, may be true. I contend there are many lunatics in our midst who ought to be chained and handcuffed. From the good sides our friends do not seem to want to know anything. Only a few examples will suffice. Through the planting of the grape vine a new branch of agricultural production is created, like in Missouri, Virginia and most of the other States, and so in our own, which is yielding a very profitable income to those engaged in it. It may be further asked what harm can there be, if the laborer would drink his wine at his meals? How many business transactions, ties of friendship are made secure almost every day. Statesmen have prevented many a calamitous war by just partaking of the hilarating spirits, and many a difficult problem which statesmanship could not adjust was solved thereby. Supposing beer and wine were wanting at the Maifest, what would we do? We would try to chant hymns, and as we are not in practice and most of us have forgotten this style of singing, it might cause misunderstanding.

We would then turn our attention to the discussion of theological questions. Of course every one would defend his own religious views.

We would soon find out that we cannot comport ourselves much longer. One tries to overreach the other, and one wishes the other to be in a very lively place—. So things go from bad to worse. I stop; it is too terrible even to think of it! Next comes the sheriff, with a *posse comitatus* intervening, takes us by the ears and puts us in jail. That would be a nice time, would it not? But in the manner we are celebrating the ~~wfeast~~ *list of men*, every one enjoys himself, drinks his beer and wine, is happy and amuses himself, and everything else does not concern us. This is much nicer anyhow; is it not? True enough, I must not be blind to some evil consequences of alcoholic spirits. There is no rule without exceptions. But look to other fields—to railroads and steamships. How many accidents and how many lives are annually destroyed through them. Shall they therefore be abolished? By no means, no! The gas we burn is dangerous, if not properly cared for. The match which we use to kindle fire with has poisonous phosphorus at its end, which is dangerous. The man who shaves his face with a razor, while in the act is in some sort of danger. One single match may cause a whole city to be set on fire. Everything in this world must be regulated and cared for, else it dies in the incipiency, or that it may outgrow its limit. As Schiller says:

Wohlthaetig ist des Feuer's Macht,
Wenn sie der Mensch bezaehmt, bewacht.

We may also add to it the passions of man; theologians dread it with horror, and prescribe fetters and curses for it: but philosophy treats it as a moral power. Theology treats pleasure and mirth as the destroyers of virtue, modern views the contrary. There are also other causes which cause destruction of life, such as warfare, famine, epidemics, cyclones, inundations, wild animals, reptiles, etc. All we can say is, we must accept it. If we ask questions, we will be left. I do not assert that I am positively right in all; but I do know that our prohibitionist is altogether wrong. If an amelioration of human society and the preservation of virtue and morality is to be sought for, our prohibitionist must begin at the other end, which I have endeavored to indicate; and if, after that, any room is left, we will take up the liquor question; but I am afraid our friend will have very little room left so stand upon.

Who ever has heard of prohibition? In no country, in no clime, at no time and no age, did ever anybody dream of such a thing. The greatest men, the greatest moralists have been drinking alcoholic spirits, especially the juice of the grape. Where did it originate? In Maine, the State of Maine, way up, on the top of the United States; from there then shall all salvation come. Oh! wonderful and sublime! I believe I pointed out where all the misery comes from; it is to cover their own hypocrisy and crimes, and give us the blame. The Southern people ought to raise en masse against it, and treat it as an outright, contemptible "Yankee trick." And that is all what it is!

However, with argument alone you cannot convince these people. With abuse, nothing either; besides, it would be unbecoming. Self-evidently our music and song come in suspicion; so our great masters of the art, whom we so much honor and venerate; so our science and literature are becoming reduced in public estimation. How these people, with their immense stupidity and ignorance, defile and slander us! But patience, we are not depraved in vice; we have strong bodies and healthy minds, and we will fight them out of the field, if only we

were cognizant of our strength and make avail of it in the proper manner, and victory will not be doubtful. And to strengthen us still more in the matter, I beg therefore to lay a proposition before you, which, if properly carried out, would perhaps make the blows of our adversaries perfectly harmless, and would give us an additional weapon which we could use against the foe with a powerful force, and at the same time add greatly to our honor and satisfaction. And that is the establishing of a German High School for boys from the respective ages, from about the tenth to the sixteenth, after the model of a German "Realschule" or Gymnasium, in which the higher branches of academical sciences are taught. Then five or six very efficient teachers or professors, specially ordered from Germany, shall be the instructors, and the whole to be under the supervision and control of a committee of German citizens, wholly disinterested, as far as pecuniary gain is concerned. After a superficial estimate of mine, such an institution could be supported by an attendance of from sixty to eighty pupils of German parents. Should the amount not suffice, a small donation on the part of our citizens could supply the deficiency. But it is highly probable that the institution may become in a very short period perhaps more than self-sustaining, for our American population may send a considerable number; and it is more than probable that the rural population, and the inhabitants of the larger cities and towns, would send a very large number. For many a German would be only too glad to give his son a thorough education, if occasion only would offer itself, instead that such a boy grow up more resembling in manners a cowboy or a wild raucher on our prairies. Then the respective parents of these children would have sufficient guarantee for their safety, as the management of the institution would be under well known and respected citizens, and not a private institution; and Galveston, with its harbor, commerce, and other attractions, and on account of its locality, for Texas, not alone that is the place, but would also be much more preferable to an institution in any of the Western and Northern States. A young man with such an education can easily take up the contest with the world, and would be an host for himself and an acquisition to society. And the German song could resound as pure and undefiled on the plains of Texas, as well as in the valleys of the Rhine, the banks of the Danube, or in the Hartz mountains in our mother country.

What I have said of our German men, could also be accomplished by our German ladies. As Schiller says:

"Ehret die Frauen,
Sie flechten und weben
Himmliche Kraenze
In's irdische Leben."

We could press a similar weapon into their hands, namely, the establishing of a High School for young ladies, in which also the higher branches may be taught, and resting on the same basis, like the first named institution. With such two strongholds we could more accomplish than the greatest enthusiast could possibly expect, and could otherwise be accompanied with the best results. The principal thing we have to do first is to examine everything carefully and sift everything out in its minutest details, then push it through with a firm will and a determined purpose; and it is all important to be careful that no laxation intervenes, as it would be the greatest danger of all undertakings of this kind.

It is far from my purpose to form a nation within a nation, but I want to see so much accomplished, that that which is considered a weakness will be formed to a strength and power, and when we are spoken of as a class, that this be done with respect and not in a forced manner, but as being quite natural and as a matter of course; for we have done nothing to merit censure or reprobation, as we are acting as men of honor and sense, and as law abiding citizens. And on the other hand we claim no thanks due us, for any deeds of merit we might have accomplished, as this was our simple duty so to do. When Max Mueller, probably the greatest living philosopher in England in the year 1873, when the Strassburg University was reopened again for Germany, had himself added to the faculty, in his salutatory address said, that since the last twenty-five years (that was the period that time) he had had his workshop in England; that he always had given himself out, and did not want to be anything else but a German, and that he was honored and respected for that, and had he pretended to be English, that respect which they entertained for him would have been much impaired.

We can celebrate the Maifest as Germans, for such is the Constitution of the United States, and that without the least infringing on the loyalty we owe to this country. And we can think and act as Americans, help to build up the country, obey the laws, without neglecting or being ashamed of our Germanism, and if we do gather and congregate as Germans, it is not for selfish purposes and ends, but for some greater end, namely, for the public good in general.

I have nearly come to the end of my harangue. I can assume that I have said many practical things; also much which is superfluous, and there are still more objects which I have left out. If only the least part of what I mentioned be accepted or acted upon, I will be contented because I must be satisfied that I cannot convince you of the correctness of my propositions and the feasibility to execute them. All I rely on is your impartial and just judgment, and with that I shall rest satisfied.

My sincerest wish now is that the participation and interest of all classes, and especially of the German-Americans, will increase from year to year, and that the recollections, so dear to us all, will be revived to such a degree, as to induce us with greater vigor and earnestness to introduce into this, with liberty blessed country, our arts, sciences and industries. And now one word more; as there have been sufficient provisions made for pleasure and amusement, let me give you some wholesome advice: to lay aside all cares, business affairs, ill humors, love troubles, and all other ills, and be lively and merry; thereby we will go hence more refreshed and be better able to attend to our daily avocations. And one more word, as a hint to our gentlemen, to act and treat like true cavaliers the gentler sex and to show them all attention possible; and when the hour comes that the festival closes that each and every one of us go hence and leave this place with contentment and with the best and most agreeable recollections of the twelfth Galveston Maifest.

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