

THE BROAD AX

HEW TO THE LINE.

VOL. I.

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THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

Address delivered November 1st, 1895, by Julius F. Taylor.

I DESIRE on this occasion to present to you a few plain conclusions, founded upon facts and history, and tending to prove that there is a *New Democracy*, or rather, perhaps a new feature to the old Democracy.

A few years ago it would have been a novelty to see, or hear of a colored Democrat; and even now, in some communities, they are rare species. But my friends, there are thousands of them in the United States, and their number is increasing as intelligence and reason dawn upon the mind of the colored race. I therefore assert that the time has come for the colored people "to divide on party lines."

In time long past, the colored people were taught to believe, and many believe it yet, that the word Democrat meant everything that was opposed to the interest and welfare of the negro. The name was supposed to embody an inveterate hatred and dislike of all our people on account of their race and color. That it meant a desire to keep in perpetual slavery, the mind, body and soul, and that ever since the fortunes of war struck the manacles from the slaves, that the word Democrat meant the incarnation of oppression, outrage and wrong. Starting out with this wrong impression in the mind of the colored man, it perhaps is not to be wondered at, that he treats with disdain and fear the thought of his being a Democrat. This was his early impression, engrafted there by wily and dishonest politicians.

And we all know how lasting our first and earliest impressions are. But my friends the time has come when we must awaken from this nightmare of falsehood, and open our eyes to the true reality we find about us.

Let us now unfold the pages of history, and see if we have not been misled in our early impressions and later conclusions. First, let us see whether or not the Democrats or the people of the Southern States, were the first and only people who favored the establishment of the slavery of the black man in the United States. According to all accepted history, a Dutch vessel sailed up the James River in 1619, with a cargo of twenty colored people, who were sold as slaves to the planters of Virginia. This was just one year before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, and it was the first act of establishing slavery in the United States. But a very few years after, the institution of slavery, spread its clammy fingers over all the provinces of the New World. It is true, it never flourished to any great extent in the frigid New England colonies, but as we shall hereafter see, it was fully recognized and protected even by the Pilgrim Fathers, who them-

selves had sought a new land to enjoy freedom and independence.

New York and Pennsylvania, not only tolerated slavery, but it actually existed within their borders until long after the Revolutionary War.

All the slaves, during the early period of this century, were the product of the African slave trade; the slaves being brought by the shipload direct from Africa and the islands of the tropics. The New England settlers, being expert seamen, and avaricious sailors, engaged largely in the slave trade for the immense profit there was in the business; so thousands of these poor creatures were yearly landed in the Colonies by the shrewd Yankees, who afterward became the ranting abolitionists. It soon became apparent that slavery could not be made profitable to the owners, except in the milder portions of the country, owing to the nature of the Negroes and their long continued habitation of a tropical land. Hence, the institution gradually died out in the colder latitudes, and increased in the warmer or southern portions of the country. This result was in accordance with a natural law, and not the result of any difference or distinction between the white people of the northern and southern portions of the New World. In fact, the history of each, shows that the early settlers of Virginia and Massachusetts, of Georgia and Pennsylvania and of many of the others, were all from England, all of the same blood, the same education, the same religion, and they all received their law from the same source, viz., the common law of England. As time went by, the sturdy New Englander looked with a jealous eye upon the ease and comforts enjoyed by their Southern neighbors, and he naturally attributed the difference in their situations to the result of the advantage of having servants to do the hard labor, incident upon the establishment of civilization in a new continent. This feeling of envy grew, year by year, until it blossomed out in an active opposition of slavery, not upon any moral or benevolent grounds, but in a desire to check the wonderful growth and prosperity of their brethren in the South.

At the close of the war of the Revolution Congress submitted the question of the slave trade to a committee, a majority of whom were Northern men, and on the eight of August, 1787, they reported against any prohibition, thus legalizing the slave-trade forever.

The Constitutional Convention submitted this question again to the committee, composed of a majority of Southern men, who reported that the slave-trade should absolutely cease in the year, 1800, which was afterward extended to 1808, by the vote of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. I will say right here, that Thomas Jefferson, the father of Democracy, was the man who introduced the resolution and urged the abolition of the slave-trade, but was met with opposition from New York and New

England, on account of the great profit resulting to those states by its continuance. From 1626 to 1664, Queen Elizabeth, the Stuarts, and even the City of Amsterdam, were patrons and partners of slave vessels, advancing money for outfit and sharing in the returns. (See Bancroft's History, Vol. II, page 60.) Even William Penn, the great Quaker philanthropist, opposed the abolition of slavery in 1701. (Ibid page 218.)

In 1669, an agreement was entered into between England and Spain, whereby the English obtained the monopoly of importing the slaves from Africa to the West Indies and America; and in thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand slaves were brought to this country and sold. Queen Anne and her subjects receiving three-fourths of the profits, and Philip V, of Spain, one fourth; (Ib. page 390.)

The church and leading divines, also encouraged this cruel and inhuman business, on the ground that it brought the African heathen under the influence of Christianity, thus:—

"The slave ships speed from coast to coast, Fanned by the wings of the Holy Ghost."

Having shown you the origin, of the slave-trade and its connection with and support from the northern people of the United States, I will now, for a few minutes, speak upon the recognition of slavery, and the laws respecting the colored people, in the North and East, prior to the civil war. We have seen that our northern fathers were not only slave-owners, but slave-traders; and when it became evident that slavery could not be maintained with profit, they sold their slaves to the planters of the South, and turned abolitionists. Thousands of our race were thus shipped from the New England shores to pass their lives in perpetual bondage in the South.

From a rapid survey of the laws of New England, and other Northern States, I can only refer to a few of the many, that proves the race prejudice and injustice of the whites toward the blacks. No free colored man was permitted to vote in any of the Northern States before the civil war. Many of the leading men of the North, believed the negro an inferior creature. Mr. Lincoln himself, said on September 18th, 1858, "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to marrying with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality." This was the sentiment of the Northern people generally prior to 1860.

In Massachusetts, if an African or negro, not born there, and not in bondage, should tarry within the commonwealth for a longer term than two months, he was imprisoned at hard labor until the next session of court, and if found guilty, be whipped with ten stripes, and ordered out of the state within ten days, and if he went not, the same course to be repeated. (Law of Mass.; Vol. 1, 1788.)

If negroes were found abroad after nine o'clock at night, unless upon an errand for their masters, they were put in the house of correction and whipped. (Ancient Charters; chap. 16, p. 3.)

Any one finding a negro slave five miles from home without a written pass from the master, is authorized to take up the slave and whip him or her on the bare back, not exceeding twenty lashes, and shall have a reward of five shillings, and reasonable charges for returning them to their homes, to be recovered from the owner as any other debt. (Laws of New Jersey, 1784.)

It may be lawful for any master or mistress to punish his or her slave at their discretion, not excluding to life or limb.

(New York, 1730) By the law of New York, a white man was fined five pounds, and a colored man ten pounds for the same offence. In 1822, in New York and in Rhode Island, if any person concealed or assisted in the escape of a slave they were fined three hundred dollars and imprisoned; this was far more severe than the Fugitive Slave Law. In New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut, no colored men could be set free unless security was given for their maintenance, or upon the payment of twenty pounds annually.

In Rhode Island, in 1822, if any person brought into the state any slave with the intent that they may there become free, were fined three hundred dollars for each slave.

The courts of the New England States recognized slavery and protected it, even not many years ago. As time is passing, I will only quote two cases in point: The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in 1819, says: "A bill of sale or other formal instrument, was not necessary to transfer the property of a slave which is a mere personal chattel, but might pass as other chattels by delivery." (16, Mass. Rep. 110 Tyng. Reps.) In 1816, the same court says: "At the time of his birth, Caesar was a slave, and as such was the property of his master, as much as his ox or his horse; he had no civil rights, but that of protection from cruelty; he could acquire no property, nor dispose of any without the consent of his master; his children of the issue of his marriage with a slave, would immediately upon their birth, become the property of his master, or the master of the female slave." (13 Mass. Reps. 547, Parker, Judge.)

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THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

Concluded.

All of the foregoing shows conclusively that the sentiment of the Northern people, as expressed by their laws, decisions and speeches, was not as friendly towards the colored race, as many of our people think today. But a large number of our colored people, say the Republican party, and the Federal army by virtue of Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, succeeded in liberating the slaves and, hence, as an act of gratitude, they should support that party with their votes, and for ever abhor the south and the Democratic party, because they were the former masters of the negro. The abolition of slavery in 1862-3, was the result of the fortunes of war. As we have already seen, Mr. Lincoln, seven years before his death, expressed sentiments of hostility to the equality of the races. The great Emancipation proclamation, which emanated from this noble man, was only intended as a war measure to aid in crowning the Northern army with the laurels of victory; even at that date the noted President, in order to achieve success in putting down the rebellion, proposed to the South, if they would lay down their arms and return to their allegiance to the Federal government, they would be permitted to retain all their slaves. Let us see what the history shows. (See "The American Conflict," by Horace Greeley, Vol. II, page 255. The excepted parts were: 13 parishes in Louisiana and the city of New Orleans; forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia; seven counties in Virginia, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth; and the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland and Delaware, and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.)

From this, my friends, you could not infer that it was the design of the Republican party or of Mr. Lincoln, to free the slaves, but it was the fortunes of war, or the result of accident.

The Republican party was made up largely of the old Whig party, which had always been composed of men who believed slavery was not vice or an immoral institution. The Republican platform, in 1860, went no further than an opposition to the extension of slavery or its admission into the Territories. In

fact the platform went so far as to declare in the strongest language, the party's adherence to the doctrine of State Rights, and that each state should have absolute control over its own institutions. (See section 4 of platform.) It is evident from the foregoing, that the great Republican party was no especial friend of the colored race up to the emancipation of the slaves. It now remains for us to consider the treatment of the colored people by their supposed Northern friends from that time until the present. It is said that the new condition of liberty of the negro, awakened at once a flame of love and admiration on the part of the whites of the North, for their dark skinned brothers, and that hereafter the two races would be as a black Damon, and a white Pythias. I regret, however, to say that subsequent events have not verified this dream of fancy. The fabled "Forty acres of land and a blind mule," was never donated to the freedman, even in a figurative sense; instead we got the *Freedman's Bureau*, which became a savings bank for these children of the South and soon failed without assets, hereby these poor people lost hundreds of thousands of dollars; this was one Southern outrage, that was never used for political purposes by the G. O. P. The colored people in the South, after the war, were turned over to the tender mercies of the unscrupulous carpet-bagger, under whose influence they became a mere tool for those adventurers, who went South for the avowed purpose of oppressing the whites and of misguiding and robbing the blacks. During the period of reconstruction, and until 1876, the negroes, and their proxies, the carpet-baggers, held control over the greater portions of the Southern States; these poor ignorant people were used as a "cat's paw," for the consummation of a system of legislation and corrupt management of the affairs of the state, that ever disgraced or demoralized a civilized community; the effect of which was simply to degrade and debauch the helpless colored people. In 1876 a new regime came about, and the negro was once more put under the dominion of the old masters, the whites of the South. From that period on to the present, our race have made such advance and improvement, in morality, wealth and education, as to startle and surprise the civilized world. The negroes of the South today are prosperous and happy; they are the possessors of over two hundred millions worth of property; they have built churches, school houses and colleges; they have entered into all the various trades and professions; they fill many offices of trust and honor by virtue of the votes of white men; the latter being something which rarely occurs north of the Mason and Dixon line; notwithstanding the large Republican majorities in some of the Northern and New England States, and their professed love and regard for a colored man, not one has yet been chosen to represent them in Congress, or to fill any other high or important office. On the other hand the *New Democracy* of the South have kindly taken the negro by the hand, and since 1876, both races have been improving their condition step by step, and the whites have honored and loved the negro, and the negro, with natural instinct, love and respect their old masters and their descendants. There has been no such brutish oppression of the blacks in the South as we have heard. Most of these weird and horrible tales published in the Northern press, are for sensation and political effect.

Our race is improving more rap-

idly under *Democratic influence* than they ever did under *Republican protection*. No, my friends, the Democrats are not your natural foes and enemies, but they are your best friends. Why, under the present Democratic administration, there are over two thousand colored people employed in the various departments at Washington. President Cleveland has done what no Republican President dared to do, viz.: Appoint a colored minister to a *white republic*. He also appointed Mr. Taylor, a colored man, recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia; and even reinstated the colored coachman, Hawkins, who had been removed by Ben. Harrison, to make a place for an alien *Englishman*. In the far South, colored orators are stump-ing the country for Democracy, and are listened to by the cultured whites as well as the blacks. Only a few days ago, the eloquent and gifted colored speaker, Professor B. T. Washington, was invited to be the orator of the day at the opening ceremonies of the Atlanta Cotton exposition, away down in Georgia. His words of thrilling eloquence, like burning fire, awoke a storm of applause and enthusiasm from white and black, unprecedented in the South and unknown to the North. Read what the gentleman himself says about this incident, as published in one of your own home papers, and then tell me if there is not a *new Democracy* and a *new negro*.

I only wish we had more such men as Professor Washington, to warm the hearts and open the eyes of the colored men and women who are scattered throughout the North, and whose blood is chilled, and whose understanding is clouded by the bygone prejudice and wanton hypocrisy of the politician of the North. Let us, as colored people, take the picture of our past wrongs and turn its ugly features to the wall, and let us open our eyes to the radiant warmth of a new day.

Sorrow remaineth for the night, but joy cometh in the morning.

The progress and success of our race is now in our own hands, and if we would win in the struggle for existence, we must keep up with the spirit of the age, and show it to the world of mankind that we are a race of men, who can and will be as broad-minded and liberal to our fellow-men, as any people on earth.

Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

Our first duty is to banish from our minds every vestige of prejudice and ill feeling toward the Democracy and the white people of the South, on account of the old memories of the past. "Let the dead past bury its dead" and let us assimilate ourselves with the industrial world.

The opportunity to make our race great, and glorious, is at hand. Let us write our wrongs in water, and our deeds on brass and granite. One of the most dangerous species of thralldom and servitude, is that *mental* bondage that would chain the negro race to the Republican juggernaut car of prejudice; and cause them to cling to that party, for no other or better reason, than a sentiment of dead issues; or the recollection of a troubled dream. It is not expected that we all should be Democrats; nor is there any reason on earth why we should all be Republicans; to be a part of the great *American citizenship* should be the pride and ambition of every colored voter. And to attain this elevation, we must first throw off our own race prejudice. We no longer need the protection and guardianship of any

political party, and as long as we do rely on such a conservator, we simply admit our own weakness; and by implication become the wards of the party who will use our vote to advance their own ends. And at the same time despise our weakness and ignore our claims. If any of you doubt this statement, you need but to look around you, either in this city or in any other Republican community, and observe the insincerity of this party, toward the colored men, in the distribution of office and places of trust and honor. The colored race is now free and equal before the law, and will remain so forever, if they will not fetter themselves by alignment with the party, for the soul reason that they are *negroes*. Your destiny is in your own hands, and you must work out your own salvation, by the exercise and display of inherent, manly qualities.

The *New Democracy* stands with extended hands and open arms, inviting you to tread the pathway of human progress by her side. She asks you to receive the comfort and sympathy you so much need and desire; she desires that you should become intelligent, and study the public questions of the day, and act freely and conscientiously thereon. She wants you to be good and noble men and women, and to prosper and be happy, and leave behind you examples of virtue as imperishable as the mountain ranges that overshadow this beautiful valley. And finally she claims you as her child and brother; your home is with her children, your songs, your tears, your joys, have for generations been mingled with hers, and at last, your dust will be consigned to mother earth, side by side with the sons and daughters of this new Democracy, to wait the unknown events of time and eternity. Shall we not reach out our hands and accept this proffered gift? Shall we not thus encircle our race with the halo of sunshine and glory, which will linger with us to the end of time? Let us dedicate our strength anew, for the cause of liberty and justice, and at last,

There shall come a time when brotherhood
Shows stronger than the narrow bonds,
Which now distract the world. When
canons
Roar and trumpets blare no longer.
When ironclads rust, and battle flags are
Furled, when the bars of creed and
speech,
And race which sever, shall be fused in
one
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