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RATIFICATION MEETING OF THE DEMOCRACY OF EDGEFIELD ON 2ND SEPT. 1868.

REMARKS OF COL. A. C. HASKELL, OF ABBEVILLE.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS.— It is with a sense of grave responsibility that I appear before you as a candidate, to represent, and to express the will of the people of South Carolina. Permit me to say that my heart has been cheered, my strength has been revived, and my hope encouraged, since the opening of this campaign, which has for its issue the "preservation of life, liberty and property."

Beginning at the mountain border of this Congressional District, the tremendous power of the people has made itself manifest to me; and as I have passed from Anderson, through Abbeville, the volume has increased, its fervor has intensified, and to-day, this grand accession to its force has made the probability—aye, the probability—of triumph, still more apparent.

The record of the Soldiers, and of the Statesmen, of the District of Edgefield, is so deeply stamped on the hearts of its people, and their patriotic fervor so brightly emblazoned on the shield of the State, that a stranger need not make recital of the names of the former, nor attempt to illustrate the latter, to excite your hearts to the imitation of such examples.

Side by side they stand, but in bold relief, the Districts of Edgefield and Abbeville, as marked in their contrasts as they are distinguished in their past achievements,—as generous in their exultation as they are lofty in their ambition. But however varying in form and habit of life, their object becomes the same whenever the interest of our commonwealth is involved. The "common weal" is then their battle cry, and united devotion is their course. But when, as now, the life,—the alpha and omega—the progenitor and the inheritor of every minor interest,—the glory of the past—the value of the present—the duty of the future—when, I say, as now—this life of South Carolina is at stake—then side by side we stand—shoulder to shoulder—shield linked to shield—lance by lance against the common foe. These and obedient—their own vein—one pulse—one blood—the Patriotic Blood—swaying that phalanx to and fro with its convulsive throbs, and the irrepressible voice burst forth as they move onward, "for our Gods and our country"—to conquer or to die.

In times like these, I am no stranger. Around me I see my comrades; I see those whom it has been my honor as a soldier to obey; I see those whom it has been my pride to command on occasions when the valor of their brilliant reflection upon their leader, I stand beside those who have filled, with honor to themselves and to the State, the chief offices of the Government, in the days when it was noted for its rigid requirements of integrity and ability.

I have before me my fellow citizens of South Carolina, met together to hold counsel in the common cause in which all are equally involved. And I have the honor to appear before so important a portion of "the supreme power of the people,"—i. e., the *women of South Carolina*—as the fair ladies of Edgefield, soliciting that I may be the standard-bearer in this contest, and may be the Herald to announce the victory which is foreshadowed by their presence. Looking with the contempt which becomes their modesty, upon the vulgar cry for woman's rights, which now pests the air, coming from the lips of the radical people of the North, and has been piped across the Atlantic, and settled its misapprehension upon the manufacturing towns of old England; despising this, I say, they have preserved the great power which the Creator gave to woman. As it is to her seed to brood the serpent's head,—and through her that the Saviour came to man; so it is that in the affairs of a nation, the purity of a virtuous womanhood is set forth to subdue the vile corruptions of men, and to raise our hearts, and kindle our energy in the moment of vital issues of the nation. Did not the women of the South cheer the heart, mitigate the sufferings, and give solace to the souls of the dying slaves, and make our army strong in the time of war? Did the Spartan mothers show a stronger breed and higher devotion to duty? Did the women of Carthage show higher courage in their immortal example, by which their men were cheered to the defence? Did not our women make us brave when they stamped with the brand of scorn the Aristodemus who lay in the sick bed when his comrades died at Thermopylae, and have annually—nay, daily and hourly, wreathed with the laurel, the memory of those who like the blind Corymbes, were led to that same great pass of Thermopylae, that with Leonidas he might send back the message, as it stands written on the rock of history.

"Stranger, the things to the Spartans tell, That there, obeying their commands, we brothers, Comrades! we are yet living, our fellows, Who died in war, stand in fame with Leonidas and Myrtilus. If by some Aristodemus here—if there is one that has yielded to the sick feeling of inertness or despair—let him know that this is the Platæa,—that the mothers, the sisters, the wives, the daughters, the fair damsels, of your country have come out to see your conduct in this contest. This is not the first of blood, but it is in the same great cause of life and liberty; liberty, human and divine; freedom under the Constitution to which alone we gave allegiance. And this fight demands self-sacrifice, high courage and devotion. It demands that every man shall use all the intelligence, virtue and property which have been put in his possession, and that he shall prove to the world by using, as the Democratic Convention of South Carolina declares on its platform, "the constitutional agencies and peaceful instrumentalities alone to bring us the relief we seek and the reform we need." By his use of these alone to show to the world our spirit of devotion and endurance in the cause of right,—and prove that we are the successors of the colored race. Prove, that although we are the only race of white men on earth who are

the sincere friend of the negro, we will not permit the white race to be degraded and trampled underfoot by the negro, however that race may be aided by the ingenious machinery and devilish contrivances of the corrupt and wicked body which dares to call itself the Congress of the United States. Do this, and then this "supreme power" of your country will welcome you back to your peaceful and happy homes, and say that you have done your duty, and may be added to the list of the brave who have done service to the God and your country; have saved your Churches from being converted into the howling halls of Fetish idolatry; or worse still, from being disgraced by the radical fanaticism of Beecher and Wendell Phillips, who have already raised the cry of "down with Catholicism," and will next demand that all shall be made to join them in their satanic worship, of Abraham Lincoln for the Father,—Thaddeus Stevens for the Son,—hate and desecration for the Holy Spirit,—and the Chicago Platform and Reconstruction Acts for the Law of Revelation.

My fellow citizens, I do not exaggerate,—I cannot portray to you the approaching horrors of this infamous abortion of the Reconstruction Acts,—this so-called government of South Carolina, continues of force. Look for a moment at its features, and see for yourselves in what a chaos you dwell. The elements of a government are the "Legislative," the "Judiciary" and the "Executive." These "powers" are the elements of human nature—*are imparted by the Divine Law; and over-lasting in themselves—*but pass from man as these men are chosen by the supreme power—that is the people who constitute the government; those are the people to whom the territory, that portion of the surface of the globe on which they live, properly belongs. To whom does the State of South Carolina belong? You know too well, my fellow citizens, that your ancestors received this portion of the Ancient Palatine on which Great Britain planted her banner. Your ancestors had this acceded to them by Great Britain, and the world has recognized our right since the war of 1776. The Republican party made our right inalienable by their war proclamations, claiming that South Carolina was fastened to the Union by the Constitution, and could not be severed as long as the United States exists; but that as individuals alone could be at war. As individuals we have been pacified by the amnesty proclamations of the President, performing the duties and exercising the powers granted to him by the Constitution. Such terms we accepted, and under them we hold the property under an indisputable title; and we alone—the "people of South Carolina," whose right it is to frame the government. We did so frame it, in accordance with the terms of surrender; and, in accordance with the Amendment to the Constitution, we abolished slavery; and by ordinance of convention confirmed the same. We gave up the right of secession; we kept our pledge like honest men. For three years we have waited for the United States to fulfill its pledge—to withdraw its military Satraps and their hired Cohorts; to declare their Congressional reconstruction acts unconstitutional, and thereby relieve us from intolerable oppression. But they have gone on. They have proved the truth of Randolph's pithy sentence. "Fanaticism has no stopping place." Of the Statesman's warning sixteen years ago: "It is vain to say that such measures will be unconstitutional. Neither fanaticism nor power can be restrained by the privileges of a Constitution in parchment. No tyrant has ever existed whose power to do evil was so great; whose disposition to do good so small,—a popular tyranny of fanatics and low minded politicians,—a tyranny much more because it is man-made. A popular tyranny, (even when composed of less foul elements), is more delusory than the tyranny of a monarch; in its appetite more inopportune and gross, and in its duration more lasting. It never dies. The gloomy expansion of time which it covers is never irradiated by a Trojan or an Antonian. There is an eternal duration of its vicious qualities, and its rapacious reign. Good God! Is the proud South to bow in submission to such a government? Where is the race of our great men?"

Born in the year 1776; born in the war mess in Congress of 1814; born with freedom; a leader in the war which attained for the United States "the character which has ever since been its sword and its shield; and born with a great country; outliving the glory of his country; piercing with the eye made of the prophet into the impending gloom; penetrating to the very depth of his conception,—the mind of Langdon Cheves failed to picture the horrors of the radical tyrant's unhampered sway.

Here we, the descendants of the great among the greatest of America, stand in this horrid chaos, surrounded by the fell powers of insult and iniquity; our constitution erased; our government overthrown; our people disfranchised, and a tyrant put over us. The three elements of power ordered by divine law, are put into the hands of ruthless hordes; of fitless vagabonds from abroad; of stupid creatures of a lower race; and worse, yet more, perjured and polluted sons that like the bonds of Hell, of fenshion begot, have turned filial love into fendish hate, and surpass the open foe in the excess of their atrocity. Far, far beyond foresight is this. Yet

"To this lowest depth, a lower deep Shall threatening to devour us, gaze wide, To which the hell we suffer seems a heaven." This ill begotten bastard government has been but recently born—the child comes forth by the lawful dalliance of vicious fanaticism with fetish ignorance—has begun to clamp the clutering claw of its vitlures upon choice members of the fated folk. The jackall is yet but howling in the distance to gnaw the bones when the gluttonous leaders have gorged themselves with the prey. The hyena has not yet come, as he will in the approaching gloom, to crumble in the graves of the great and good, and glut him self with the livid corpses of all that should be precious in the memory of the people. But all this will come, and you and your generation pass away in ignominy, unless this power can be destroyed.

Some have shown apathy; some have hidden their heads to escape the storm. They remind me of the Buffalo calf, that sees the Indian hunter coming, and seeks concealment by sticking its nose in a tuft of grass, and, shutting its eyes, imagines itself secure until the passing hunter sends his arrow through its body.

Some think that the man Scott, called Governor, may be reduced to the poverty pictured by Vallandigham, and be forced to retire as a pauper, and demand support of the County of Henry, in Ohio, at the public charge. That may be, my friends, and will show many years, but not before the last crust of bread has been snatched from the head of your starving child.

The idea has occurred to some credulous persons that the scalawag and rascally judiciary may be electrically touched with a sense of honesty, and be infused with equity, when they take their seats upon the time-honored wool-sack which we have inherited from our British father,—and the dignity of which we have well maintained, as the memory of your Butler and Wardlaw will testify. But such persons of liberal and gentle mind are much mistaken, and they will respect my counsel, and whisper spiritual advice to a mad dog—they would have more hope for success—and be much less badly bitten. I had a jet black kitten when I was a little boy; it was called "the devil," but I said that it was cruel; and I named him Moses. But experience proved me wrong, and Moses was thrown into a burning fire,—the red hot coals round which we boys were playing the Christmas Games, late at night. I throw this out as a fact which did occur, and only to show that it is no use to try to make good of a black cat, and that evil will meet its reward. Besides, the fact that these Courts will commit the atrocity of sitting in violation of the law, their villany will not be so inactive. They fairly promise to do honor to their parentage, and be active in the prosecution of virtue—the indictment of honesty, and the protection of crime. The scene has been recently enacted that verifies my statement. A young man in Columbia, murdered in cold blood by a member of the so-called Legislature. The murderer is arrested by his fellow-municipal police; he is released by his fellow-members under the assertion that the Constitution of South Carolina exempts a member of the General Assembly from being arrested while attending to his legislative functions. This being exposed as a falsehood, by the documents of their own municipal code, the guilty party is arrested after some delay, is marked for indictment, and taken before one of these creatures who dares to peddle with the law; he is bailed for the petty sum of one thousand dollars, and now sits as the "colored man of honor" in the pest hall where stallage and hate are being enacted.

We have flattered ourselves that these sealawag, carpet-baggers and Africans might be starved out. The treasury has been emptied by the deprivations of the convention, and the credit of this august body and their "boss" the so-called Governor (who by the way did make a faint effort of his veto privilege to save their discredit from the public view) has so ignominiously perished, that no radical friend would lend money; no negro-rot would give a dollar to give bread to these poor Africans and the hungry dogs that sit with their colored spouses. (Permit me always to except the few true hearted men who sit there to check the atrocities of the sealawags, &c., to whom we are all indebted.)

But we see that the possession of power, however fraudulently obtained, will procure followers; and we are told that the wants of the hungry are satisfied; that a Railroad corporation that desires to run a Railroad through South Carolina, loans \$30,000 to this Assembly, and it returns gas a quarter. I value enterprise and energy, but may the wrath of an injured people fall with terrible force upon any body of men that dares, in violation of ever law of right and humanity, to foster, to give actual subsistence to the men who are culminating the ruin of this long suffering community.

So you see that this Executive, Judiciary and Legislative combination is going on. "It never dies." It has to be made to die.

But you may say that I present only vague and indirect allusions. None yet you upon, quietly conducting the affairs of life and attending to your business. Let me call to your attention a few points. Remember that Ordinance of the so-called Convention which directs the Legislature to appoint salaried Commissioners, of which the so-called Comptroller General is to be one, to buy up land at public and private sales, to buy up the land levied on for taxes, to pay for the land in the Stocks of the State to be issued by this sealawag herd; and then sell it out on credit of three years to such men as the said Commissioners may see fit. That is to say, my fellow citizens, that you are to be taxed for the money which is to buy your lands, to be taken up and given out at the polls for radical votes. And you see the Legislature proceeding to carry this design into effect, and sell the lands, for themselves, if the Railroad friends can't give them sufficient for a comfortable support. In the next place, you see the bill which constitutes a Paid Police Force of 12,600 radical loafers, who are to play the part of Brownlow's armed robbers. Also, a Bill to force Licensed Boats to acknowledge Social Equality. And all this enacted by a General Assembly which you did not elect—nearly two colored to one white—and paying an average tax about \$3.50 ahead; and this only because a few of our good men have been elected; of the radical force there is barely an average of 75 cents a head; and one-half that pay no tax at all. Yet these men, who are representatives of a non-taxed mass of serfs, dare to tax the property-holders, who are not represented, and were not allowed to cast their votes in the election. And in obedience to the scheme of the radical government, they design a tax of \$2,200,000 to conduct their beautiful system of education and office holding; and that all this tax shall come out of the owners of real estate; that they may be ousted from their possessions. Has ever man seen such an out-

rage committed under the name of law. Remember that the tax before the war, was about \$350,000,—now \$2,000,000; that is six times as much. Real estate before the war was worth about \$70,000,000; now it is not worth one-half as much, \$35,000,000. The taxation now will be twelve times as great. Before the war the slaves of South Carolina were worth at least \$150,000,000, and through their owners they bore a share of the taxation. Now they are exempted; and if their value be deducted in your mind, as it has been in fact, it will show to you that the taxation on real estate will now be thirty times as heavy as it was before the war. Does not this reach the hearthstone of every man? Will it not terrify him from his hearthstone, and does it not make his manliness swear that it shall not be so?

Read the appeal of Padgett, how he exposes to the people of the North-West the fact that 6 per cent. is taken in State and United States revenue from the annual production of all the property, dead and alive, in the United States. Raising the production at 8 per cent., which is far beyond our profit, it leaves 2 per cent. to the citizen to meet the expenses of life and production. He said, "this under our own form of government. Take it as it now stands, and we are not taxed 6 per cent., but we are to be robbed at the rate of more than 16 per cent.—All round you will be heard the Auctioneer's hammer, and the dear old homesteads will be driven to the extreme corner of America; and now dying to a man in the fatal conflict with the armies of Sherman and Sheridan.

It is the white man's country, and so shall forever be. Become the white man's enemy, and you are gone, and more swiftly than the Indian. The white man of the South, your old master, has been your friend. You still are useful; you still have a claim upon him; he still holds out to you the hand of peace; he still tries to convince you of the ruin which is hanging over you if you follow the mischievous advice of the unprincipled-radical emissaries. He holds out to you the same security of "life, liberty and property" which he claims for himself; he promises to you a qualified suffrage; a right for educated or property holding colored men to vote; not because it is your right, but because he is willing to give you encouragement and reward. If you have sense in your heads; if you can take the truth and be warned, come away, I tell you, from the Union Leagues; those vile secret organizations, framed for evil and fraught with ruin to your race. Come back with confidence and trust to your old masters. If you feel like that, and will vote, vote with them; if you cannot do this, keep away from the polls; drop politics; have nothing to do with them. For, if you persist in radicalism and cling to Union Leagues, and continue to vote for Sealawags and Carpet-Baggers, then God help you, for your chance of future happiness is small.

The radicals tell you to vote for "Constitutional Liberty." I advise you to vote for peace, and quiet and happiness; for a home; for meat and for bread; to keep away from these things you know not what. We would not have you slaves again at any price. That defeated us in the last war. We had the whole world against us, because white men wanted the "Aristocracy" of the South, and wanted the land that the negro tilled for the aristocrat. They freed you, not to save you, but to ruin us. They have done a good deal of it, but not all. They will ruin you next, and then take the land for themselves. If you mean Grant & Colfax, are elected, they will drop you like a hot brick, the moment they go into office, and employ the next four years to win over the 8,000,000 white men who will be worth more than 2,000,000 black men. They would have dropped you long ago if we would have gone to them as some of the sagacious politicians urged. But thank God! he freed our people right. The memory of our dead kept out from that corrupt tempting policy; and we will yet come out wearing the laurel of a political victory in the cause of many right. Then you poor creatures, who have been fishing with radical bait, will meet old Ned's unhappy fate. He went to fish for Constitutional Liberty; and went to sleep with the line wrapped round the neck of his leg. Liberty came along in the shape of a fish; and grabbed his bait. The hook took the fish in his upper jaw; he jerked away in a burst of wrath, capsize the boat, and drowned old Ned.

"And the fishermen found them side by side, In a common death, and together bound, In the line that circled them round and round, So hooped and tangled together, That their fate was involved in a dark mystery As to which was the Catcher and which the Caught For the fish was hooked hand and fast by the gill. And the darkey was lashed round the heel, And the fishermen thought could never be known After all their tinking and figuring, Whether the nigger was fishing bad gone Or the fish had gone out a nigginging."

When the Emperor or Dictator Grant goes into power; when the Constitution is dead; Beat Butler will find you dead by its side, and as he turns you over with the spoon, the grave dubitation will be lyingly uttered by him,

"Whether the nigger was fishing bad gone Or the fish had gone out a nigginging." But they know already that it is their design, and that is your inevitable fate if you stand against the white men of the South, and by your vote oppress the white men of the North.

In conclusion, my friends and fellow citizens, I invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon the spirit which has been awakened in your hearts. Unite; be one man; be no Republic has ever been made. Be without party division; be devoid of bitterness; be ignorant of traitorous ambition or wily schemes of self-aggrandisement; save your District from the shame of having within her limits a radical white man. Unite, and devote to the cause for the coming contest, your intelligence, your virtue, and your property,—which, when rightly handled, always rule the country. Secure the election of Seymour & Blair; and you establish the principles which they represent,—on which principles the South is willing to rest its destiny. Unite, organize as men, as well as in heart and intention. Organize to keep the peace; to

strong for defence. Forbear; but command the peace. Do this, and whether you succeed, or whether you fail, you can stand proudly erect, when the Grand Judge calls to account for your duty to your country, and answer, "Done!" Done, as my patriotic ancestors wrote it down to be done, and my brother sealed it with his blood!

REMARKS OF GEN. H. W. GARY.
FELLOW-CITIZENS.—It gives me pleasure to meet you here to-day, to give you an account of the manner in which I have discharged the delicate and responsible duties that were committed to me, as the Delegate from the Third Congressional District, to the National Democratic Convention, that assembled lately in the City of New York.

You have all seen the result of the deliberations of that body in the Platform that was adopted, and the nomination of SEYMOUR & BLAIR as the candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States. In my judgment, this ticket is the strongest that could have been put before the people. SEYMOUR has been a life-long Democrat, and I believe, it is universally conceded that he is the ablest Statesman in the United States. The Platform adopted was made by the men of the North-West, and was known as the "greenback currency" and "white man's Government" platform, as these are the leading features of it, and the most prominent issues now before the American people.

By taking the Presidential candidate from the great State of New York, and the East, where most of the Government bonds are owned, and placing him upon the Western Platform, we harmonized all differences, and thereby secured the strength of the party.

The selection of BLAIR, as second on the ticket, satisfied the Army influence, and the West in the loss of their favorite for the first place. And we of the South were satisfied, for East, West, North and South, all agreed that the Reconstruction Acts of Congress were unconstitutional, and that the attempt to place the negro over the white man, was not only a violation of the supreme law of the land, but at war with the noblest instincts of our race; and a foul slander upon the record of the Caucasian, who has always been dominant, progressive, and refined, and the invincible standard-bearer of Christianity and Civilization.

The preamble to the Platform announces that "recognizing the question of Slavery and Secession, as having been settled for all time to come, by the war, or the voluntary action of all the Southern States in Constitutional Convention assembled, and never to be renewed or reargued." This declaration must give a quietus to all the slumbering hopes, if there exist any amongst you, as to the revival of the question of Slavery or Secession.

I do not propose to be wise after the facts and lights of the war, for no one was more devoted to Slavery and the just cause of Secession than myself; but by way of consolation, if there be any present, who still cherish a hope that they may be revived, and to show to the North, East and West what we now think of these questions, I propose to consider them briefly, divested of former prejudices and opinions. I believe now that the Emancipation of the Slaves of the South will redound to her material benefit; and of the truth of this I have not the shadow of a doubt. To illustrate this proposition, suppose we take a practical case. Before the war, to carry on a small cotton farm, say five hundred acres, required an investment of Seventeen Thousand Dollars; five hundred acres, at ten dollars per acre, amounted to five thousand dollars; five miles, at two hundred dollars per head, one thousand dollars; agricultural implements, one thousand dollars; ten good negro hands to work the farm, would be worth ten thousand dollars. What are the facts now? You can buy the same land for twenty-five hundred dollars,—the mules at the same,—the agricultural implements at the same,—and you can hire ten freedmen to work the same farm for one thousand dollars, and all things remaining equal, your net income would be the same. So you perceive that for five thousand five hundred dollars, you will have the same income that an investment of seventeen thousand dollars gave you before the Emancipation of the slaves, with the liberation of eleven thousand five hundred dollars, from an investment in perishable property, ready for other uses. In the mind of a practical business man, can there be a doubt that the free labor system is the cheaper, and therefore, the most profitable?

You already see the effects of the liberation of the capital that arises from the sale of your crops, which was formerly invested in negroes; you now invest it in improvements upon your real estate, reducing the number of acres cultivated, and increasing the yield of your crops, by the use of the best fertilizers, and labor-saving implements, and in the adornment and beautifying of your recently desolated homes. The law of primogeniture having been abolished in this State, and the United States, the estates of individuals, at their deaths, are divided between the heirs-at-law, hence each one becomes more or less the architect of his own fortune; and large estates are therefore not usual in this country, and seldom remain in the same families. So at the farthest the South will regain her material prosperity in thirty years, by her new system of economy, and by having saved at the expiration of that time two billion of dollars, that we formerly deliberately buried.

It is strange that none of the Statesmen of the South ever discussed the question of Slavery in its Politico-Economical relations to society. The constitutional right of slavery, its being an institution recognized in Scriptures, and the moral effect of it, have all been ably considered, but seldom if ever has the Southern Statesmen even touched upon or argued the question as to which was the cheaper system of labor, the free or slave labor system; which, in my judgment, was the practical question of that day. Mr. Calhoun, who was our political idol, was a leading actor at the time the question of the abolition of slavery was first agitated, and when the North offered gradual emancipation, with compensation to the South, it was rejected by her favorite son, and his distinguished associates. They closed their eyes to the progressive spirit of Europe, as evidenced by the declarations upon this subject that emanated from Exeter Hall, and the denunciations of O'Connell, the great agitator of England, as far back as the year 1835. The passage of the bill for the universal emancipation of the British West Indies, failed to awaken their attention to a calm consideration of the arguments for and against slave labor, nor did the gradual emancipation of the Northern States, and the sale of them to the South, dispel this infatuation. Even after the war had begun, Mr. Stevens of Georgia, was so much afflicted with this political blindness, as to declare that slavery was the Corner Stone of the Southern Confederacy. If we had succeeded in establishing a Southern Confederacy, the ghost of abolition would have continued to haunt the political visions of our law makers, despite the Constitutional prohibitions intended to prevent it; for human nature is the same everywhere, North or South, and men will act from self interest. Now, if these Statesmen did not perceive the importance of discussing the institution of Slavery in its Politico-Economical relations to the South, they, in my judgment, fell short of the highest standard of political excellence; and if they saw the importance of it, and shirked the responsible duty of considering and deciding it, they were not patriotic, but became cringing demagogues to a prejudice that they themselves had created.

Taking either horn of the dilemma, it must prove prejudicial to their reputations either as Statesmen or patriots. It is true that South Carolina had a son who watched her interest with devotion from a foreign standpoint, and fully appreciated the shallows and quick sands that those who were then in charge of the Ship of State, suffered her to drift upon. I refer to the erudite scholar, the accomplished gentleman, the eloquent and finished orator, and the prophetic statesman, Hugh Swinton Legare, who, while Minister at Brussels, predicted the evils that Slavery and Secession would bring upon us. His prophecies, alas! have proved too true, and we now see and feel the evil results of these twin curses of the South.

I never was one of those who believed that Secession was a peaceable or Constitutional remedy. I never could get my consent that those who formed the Constitution put any clause in it that empowered a State to withdraw from the Union, on account of actual or fancied privations. My idea of a Government is that it is an Unity, an Entirety. Perpetuity is necessarily the predominant idea that must influence the minds of all founders of a Government, be it Monarchical, Aristocratic, or Republican; *Esse perpetua* is the universal maxim of all Governments, and this Government is no exception to the rule. Those who formed the Constitution, provided for the redress of the grievances or wrongs of the States, by establishing a Supr. we Court, wherein the rights of the States, if infringed upon by Congress, or any of the co-ordinate departments of the Government, could be peaceably adjudicated. To seek redress in any other way was simply to exercise the inalienable right of man to revolution. Secession and Nullification were nothing more nor less than the exercise of this right, stripped of the metaphysical theories and subtleties that ingenious minds attempted to throw around them. For when the batteries of West Carolina fired into the Star of the South, the fimsy veil of Secession was torn aside, and every one saw revealed revolution and war, and that too in its bloodiest form.

Amid the smoke, carnage, and livid flames of the fierce and continuous battle, however, this miserable subterfuge of aspiring politicians and would-be statesmen, was overlooked by the excited combatants. But as "the ear-piercing life, the spirit stirring drum" have ceased to arouse our martial ardor, and we no longer feel the enthusiastic thrill of victory or the reckless depression of defeat; and as peace, gentle peace, with its soft mellowing light, is breaking in upon the conquered and dismembered South, from the East, West, and the North, we can calmly ask how stands now the great battle-field for Constitutional Liberty? While I think that the announcement of this preamble, that "the questions of Slavery and Secession have been settled by the war, or the voluntary action of all the Southern States in Constitutional Convention assembled, for all time to

"come," is true, I can not admit that they were the important or controlling issues that induced the South to attempt to throw off the United States Government, and establish one of her own. Secession and Slavery were important incidents in the late struggle, but in my humble judgment, it would be making a too narrow and contracted view of the political philosophy involved in this great Revolution, to limit the principles of action of those who participated in it, to such狭小 issues.

When we attempted to throw off the Government of the United States, the Republican party had absolute control of Congress; they had recently elected a President, upon a platform of principles which they characterized as the "higher law doctrine,"—principles of action not to be found in the Constitution, but higher, as they asserted, than the Constitution,—higher than the relations of the Great God, that created and governs the universe. Having entire control of the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government, and having declared their purpose of reorganizing the Judicial Department, and paralyzing its influence, by the joint action of the Executive and Legislative departments, their usurpation was complete. It was for these usurpations and abuses of power that the South poised her lance and drew her sword. It was not for Slavery or Secession—the one the irritating cause, the other a supposed means of redress,—but for Constitutional Liberty against the Stars and Stripes, out of the Union of the United States.

And as proof of this, the Confederate Government adopted the Constitution of the United States with only a few unimportant changes and amendments thereto. The war has settled forever these side issues, but where stand the Constitution and the liberties of the people of the United States? The Republican or Radical party still has control of Congress. The bullet of the assassin Booth, placed the standard of Constitutional Liberty in the hands of Andrew Johnson, who has bravely defended it, amidst the attacks of Congress to emasculate his high office. This party has succeeded in paralyzing the action of the Judicial Department of the Government with legislation "outside of the Constitution." These who fought for Constitutional Liberty in the Federal Army failed to secure it, as did those who fought for it in the Confederate Army; and what they have failed to achieve upon the battlefield, they are now endeavoring to obtain at the ballot box. Forcible the bitter prejudices and hostilities that had been nurtured for years, and all sectional differences, but mutually comprising the galleries, galleries, and heroisms of those who fall following their flags for four long years,—whose bravery and patriotism will ever live in story and song,—the one struggling for Constitutional Liberty under the Flag, and in the Union, and the other fighting for it, against the F.A.J. and out of the Union,—they have united together in the great National Democratic Party, and have placed their colors in the hands of Seymour & Blair, who will gladly bear them to successful peace, and a restoration of the Union, under the sacred leaves of the Constitution.

It comes now, Fellow-Citizens, to the consideration of the most important part of the Platform of the Democratic Party, to the people of the South, and more especially of this State: The abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy, the restoration of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens, and the declaration that the Reconstruction Acts are usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary and void. We see then, fellow citizens, that the exercise of the elective franchise on the part of the freedmen is without Constitutional authority, and this attempt on the part of Congress to place it upon you, by means of their Reconstruction Acts, is nugatory and void. It is true that by the force of the bayonet, you have been disfranchised and driven from the ballot-box, and this once proved privilege is now being enjoyed by sealawags, carpet-baggers, and ignorant freedmen, to your exclusion. That the Democratic party has announced that these acts of the Republican party are unconstitutional, and of course they will, when placed in power, repeal them. The decision in the Dred Scott case, settled their unconstitutionality, which decision was: this effect, "That no person whose ancestors were imported and sold as slaves, had any right to sue in a Court of the United States, or could become a citizen of the United States." This is conclusive as to domestic negroes or those imported and sold as slaves. But the clause in the Constitution in reference to naturalization, prohibits any one from being naturalized unless he be a free white man. To meet these Constitutional impediments, the Radicals have endeavored to secure the adoption of the Fourteenth Constitutional amendment. So far they have failed in doing so, except through the aid of their unconstitutional State Legislatures.

It is then left the white citizens of this State to determine who shall be allowed to exercise the right of suffrage. The sentiment of the Northern States is well defined upon this subject. Northern, Eastern, and Western Democrats are determined that this shall remain a White Man's Government; and a large number of Radicals have reached this same conclusion, as evidenced by their recent elections in Michigan, in which they denied the negro the right of suffrage; and by the large accession from the Radical party to the ranks of the Democracy; showing that the negro shall not become a part of the body politic, or from any qualifications, either as to education or property, be allowed to vote in this country, is clearly and explicitly set forth in the Platform and Policy of the Democratic party. Seymour & Blair have accepted the nomination upon this platform.

I have, then, read with regret in the public speeches and letters of distinguished men of this State, and the South, that they are still

you are still