

paramount to all others in the public mind, namely, the restoration and reconstruction of the Union of the United States.

During the late gigantic civil war, I was a citizen of the State of Kentucky, one of the then slave States which refused to secede from the Union. In that course, I joined most heartily. From the beginning, I saw that the movement of secession was one fraught with danger, poverty, and the defeat of the Confederacy; and I had too long followed the flag of my fathers, to be content to yield it to any other country or Government. I was too much of an Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-American, to give up one foot of that soil for which our fathers fought, bled and died, that they might establish an American republic. (Applause.) Hence it is that I am here on the present occasion, to discuss these questions with you as citizens of the United States of America.

Ninety-one years ago to-day, as you have heard read this morning, our forefathers—the wise, good and great men of that age—met in the old Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, and declared that the then Colonies were the United States; that they were, and of a right ought to be, free, and, amidst the ringing of bells and the rejoicing of the people, they announced the birth of another member into the great family of nations. This was not remarkable. Other nations had been born into the family before; other nations had thrown off the yoke of despotism, and become free and independent Governments before. And this nation knew, in common with its predecessors, that a long struggle would ensue ere the mother country would allow these young Colonies to pluck from her proud brow such a gem as the American Republic. They expected poverty and misfortune, but in the spirit of the immortal declaration of Patrick Henry, they determined to achieve their liberty or receive their death. There was, however, fellow-citizens, another and distinguishing trait of this declaration that had no precedent, and to that I desire to call your careful attention.

Before the meeting of the Congress of 1776—a Congress of authors, philosophers and statesmen—the rights of governments had been derived from various sources—some from discovery, some from conquest, some from the iron arm of war, and others from that dignity and "divinity that doth hedge the king." But, until that memorable fourth day of July, in no authoritative form, had it been announced that the only true principle of government, the only right of government, was to be found in the consent of the people governed. For the first time in the history of the world, it was declared that the only title a government could have to the exhibition and sway of power over a people, was to be found in the hearts of the people over whom it was to be exercised. This is the key-note of the American republic. It is the foundation, the chief corner-stone of the glorious superstructure of American nationality. This principle was announced without limitation; and the only restraint imposed was confined to that class of people who, by reason of youth or moral or intellectual deficiency, were incapable of expressing that assent in the legal form. The principle, however, was universal. It was as broad as the universe, wide as humanity, wherever there was a government, the only rights it could assert were derived from the consent of the people governed. We have not yet realized the entire extent of that immortal doctrine; but he must be an idiot who cannot see, in the logic of events, that we are marching with gigantic strides to the fulfillment of that great principle—that glorious truth which was proclaimed by our fathers with prophetic wisdom.

See what we have accomplished. The thirteen Colonies which skirted the Atlantic Ocean from Georgia to New Hampshire, have increased until we now number thirty-six great States. We have extended the boundaries of the republic from the rock-bound coast of the Atlantic in the East, to the golden sands of the Pacific in the West—from the broad acres of the North to the rolling prairies of Mexico in the South—while latterly we have reached out the strong arm of the republic and brought within its grasp the icebergs where the Russian bear has made his home. And the destiny of this great nation is to still stretch and expand itself until it has become the Ocean-bound Continental Republic of a free, enlightened and happy people. (Cheers.)

Under that declaration, we fought Great Britain for seven years. Our fathers endured danger, toil, privation, poverty and death; they marched over frozen ground with bare and bloody feet; they lay in the cold of Valley Forge without fuel and food; and yet they struggled on, until the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown proclaimed the success of their cause, and that the glorious principle they had planted was about to bear its fruit.

Time wore on. Then came the second war of independence. The haughty mistress of the seas undertook to impress seamen and carry them away in their ships. We declared that American nationality was sacred, and that no American citizen, however humble or weak, should be torn from his allegiance to the country by the hand of a foreign power.

We met this mistress of the seas upon her own battle-field, her own element, and the republic, young as she was, dissipated the title forever.

Then came the war with Mexico. When that treacherous nation invaded our rights, we showed that the Republic was mighty for conquest, and a little handful of men, led by the heroic Taylor and Scott, pierced from the Gulf to the capital, captured a nation of eight millions of people, and took enough of territory to pay the expenses of the conquest, and make them behave themselves in future.

Then came the saddest chapter of all—the gigantic revolution among ourselves, this terrible civil war, which has devastated the country, and under the iron reign of which a million of men went down into their graves both North and South. It cost millions of dollars, it created a debt the magnitude of which is startling to the mind, it called for men and soldiers by hundreds of thousands, it spread demoralization like a pall over the land, and yet the Government, animated by this immortal principle, by the aid of God, showed that it was able to withstand the shock of civil war, and to-day the banner of the free floats triumphant over every foot of soil in the great Republic. (Cheers.)

Of the causes of that war, I do not intend to speak, except in so far as may be necessary to throw light upon the present situation and future condition. I approach the subject without any feeling of unkindness. I have offered my life as a guarantee of the sincerity of my convictions, and have suffered, perhaps, in the loss of my all, as much as any man in the broad South; but God forbid there should be in my heart a single thought of revenge against the people, misguided and wrong, though I think they were, who originated this tremendous rebellion. I know "it is human to err, but divine to forgive."

I want to see my countrymen, without distinction of race or color, live together in peace, prosperity, happiness and liberty. I want to see my country, with its wounds all healed, become, under the influence of our institutions, the best and the grandest nation on the globe. As one of those rams in Charleston harbor was able to sink a steamer by a single blow, so would I like to see the United States so powerful and great, that we can alter the map of the world by a single stroke of our arms. (Applause.)

What, then, were the causes which led to the struggle? They were two—mutual and auxiliary—acting upon each other. These were African slavery and State rights. Both of these questions have been settled by the war. No power, short of Omnipotence, can restore them.

Now, understand me. The white people of the South are no more to blame for holding slaves than slaves were to blame for not being so well informed as the whites are. Slavery came to this people from their ancestors. It was an institution they found among themselves. It was not their fault, although it has turned out to be their misfortune. It is said that the colored people are ignorant, but they are not to blame for that. Henceforth, however, we shall all be to blame, if we do not furnish you with the means of education, and of advancing you to a condition in which your mental improvement will enable you to meet wants which result from your new condition.

It is a mistake so suppose that a large portion of the people of the South owned slaves. An examination shows that only about one in nineteen did so; but these were the governing classes. They believed that slavery was a divine right, and they searched back to Shem, Ham and Japhet to prove it. They intended to preserve and perpetuate the institution, but this time "vaulting ambition o'erleaped itself and fell on 'other side."

As a corollary to this condition of things, the people had been educated in the doctrine of State rights, but this, like slavery, has been settled by the war. What a thought! That as far as our flag extends, from the gulf to the lakes, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, human slavery has no more a name or place, and that every man, without regard to class or grade, stands upright as God made him—free and independent! That the doctrine of State rights, as taught in the South, has been forever swept away by shell and bolt and bayonet, in the hands of "the boys in blue;" and that everybody now understands that this is not merely one government, but a strong government at that. Thus much, therefore, has been accomplished. It belongs to the past. Now, let us start right. The two races of the South owe much to each other. And allow me to say here, that there are two classes of men in the South alike dangerous to the colored population. One class talks to you in this way: "Don't allow anybody from another State to advise you; you must trust your own people—those at home—your former masters; they are your political guides, as they were your personal guides before."

I do not approve of any such theory. I am an American in the broadest sense of the term; and while I regard it an honor to be a citizen of South Carolina, as I did of Kentucky, I rejoice in the prouder, nobler appellation of an American citizen. Hence, I say, if a man comes from any part of the United States,

and gives you good advice, take it. Truth is eternal; it cannot be injured or destroyed. You cannot destroy truth until you destroy God, who is himself truth.

There is another class who tell you to have nothing to do with the white people of the South—to organize yourselves without reference to them. These are just as mischievous as the first. I tell you that you cannot make this war upon the white people, and it is your duty to live with them in harmony and peace. Although you may be in a majority in South Carolina, remember that your State is but a small portion of the Union. Love it. Labor for its institutions; labor to create prosperity for yourselves and your neighbors; labor in concord with the white population; maintain your self-respect; do right, and make no war upon anybody who belongs to the United States of America.

Another thing, fellow-citizens; you must not be too severe upon those persons who were in this war. Men will not voluntarily face death in behalf of a principle unless they think they are right; and when six hundred thousand went into the field and offered their lives, they testified that they were honest, and they deserve the respect that should be accorded to the brave. I do not propose to ostracise men who have shown such gallantry and devotion, even in a bad cause.

No, fellow-citizens, the true and honorable policy of the colored population of the South is to live in harmony and peace with all men; to educate yourselves and your children; to carry yourselves forward and upward in the intellectual scale as rapidly as possible; to do, in short, what is necessary in order that you shall become a worthy part of the great Government of the greatest people upon the habitable globe. (Great applause.)

The war is over, but the revolution is not. The first gun fired in Charleston harbor at the American flag began the revolution that is not yet complete, and when it will end, depends upon the good sense of the people of the United States. It is true that war has its purposes. As in nature, the shower you have just experienced, the rolling thunder and forked lightning, serve to clear the atmosphere, so in the political world the clash of arms, although it leaves its sad mementoes behind, as it has done in your own beautiful city, purifies the air, gives a new impetus to life, and prompts man to take a step forward in progress and humanity.

I have said that the war has ended, but the revolution has not; and, fellow-citizens, it never will until all these States return to the constellation of the Union, and, with equal rights, a free people are again mustered under the glorious flag of the republic.

It is said by a great many honest and well-meaning people that the course of the Congress of the United States is unconstitutional. That is a question which it is unnecessary to discuss, because when the clang of arms is heard, the laws are silent. If it be so, it is the result of the revolution begun in South Carolina, the reverberation of whose guns is heard in the political world to-day, and that revolution will not terminate until these States are again in the Union and under the protecting folds of the Constitution. (Cheers.)

The Constitution, the laws, precedents, are but gossamer webs, through which the arm of power breaks, with no palpable resistance. Until God creates men over again, and humanity has another damper, the conqueror always will dictate terms to the conquered. We were a great people; we attempted independence; it slipped from our grasp; the flag of our Government is under the foot of the power that has conquered us, and we must accept such terms as the conqueror gives us. Such ought to be the reasoning of the people of the South. Yet, some say, "We would rather have a military government forever, than accept the proffers of a radical Congress."

I do not like this kind of stoicism at all. The doctrine of the stoic is, if you don't like a thing, why, kill yourself. Now, I am not so anxious to get out of the world as that; I prefer to stay where I am better acquainted, as the sick man said. (Laughter.) The true policy is, undoubtedly, to get back into the Union. It is our birth-right to be in it. It is death to be out of it. We are weak, powerless—we are nothing, and count as nothing.

Military government is a blight upon republican institutions, and, under it, you would be as much enslaved as you ever were. Liberty and the bayonet do not go hand in hand. The free consent of honest hearts is the only criterion of government—not swords, not bayonets. Hence I am surprised that men choose as some seem to have done. The terms are such as Congress has seen fit to propose. As a citizen of South Carolina, I am bound to accept them. As a citizen of the United States, I am bound to accept them. As one looking to the prosperity of the South, I must accept them, as an alternative of that military despotism which, with its iron heel, will crush out every remnant of liberty in the country.

Many persons consider these terms harsh and oppressive. They are such as the conqueror has chosen to dictate to us. But whether harsh or oppressive, I may say that there never was a civil war on the habitable globe, where the terms have been so

little oppressive as in this case. Never was there an instance in which the conqueror showed such unbounded mercy to the conquered. Consider that six hundred thousand men—the flower of the youth of the North—have been offered up to this god of war. Every house is a house of mourning; the land has been bathed in tears; thousands upon their crutches are limping through the high-ways and the by-ways of the country, and a nation has wept over the dead and the dying.

The war over, Lee, Johnston and Dick Taylor surrendered; yet not one drop of blood has been shed in punishment for what had occurred; no man has been executed. The people of the North have shown that what they were fighting for was the domination of American sovereignty and the perpetuity of the American Union. They demanded no victim, and sacrificed no one upon the altar. I wonder if the people of the South had been the conquerors, they would have offered better terms or shown themselves more merciful. If so, I think they would have been more humane than I think it possible for humanity to be.

The North offers to the South the privilege of re-entering the Union on certain conditions—namely: that there shall be certain equal rights and privileges between all classes and conditions of men. It having been understood that the vast mass of the colored people were favorable to the cause of the North, can it be expected that a government sustained by the sympathies and arms of this race would leave them to the tender mercies of anybody, to be deprived of the liberty they had fought for and won in this great contest? Are not the people of the South willing to accept these conditions? Much depends upon you, my colored friends, in the adjustment of this matter, and I say to you again, educate your children; send them to school; pursue your avocations honestly, like men of sense, industriously and energetically; and when you go to the polls, go as freemen, as Americans, not as colored men, not as the members of any class, but as belonging to the whole United States, and vote for those men and principles which you believe most conducive to the liberty, prosperity, greatness and glory of your country.

If you will glance over the map, you will see that it was intended for but one country. Beginning at the mouth of the Rio Grande, where, among the quiet recesses of the coast, the doves of commerce find shelter from the storm, look upwards until your eye rests on the Bay of Passamaquoddy; thence cross the great inland seas that divide the country from British America; thence move across the plains towards the Rocky Mountains, where the iron horse is so fast making its way that, in a year from now, he will scale the highest crag, and, with a joyous note of triumph, pursue his way down the Pacific slope, to hold forevermore the Eastern and Western portions of the continent in loving union; return down the Pacific coast to the point whence you started, and then look over the country, with its mighty rivers, bearing upon their bosom so much of its vast wealth; see a land where every conceivable character of soil, climate, production and resources exist in every stage of development, from the simplest to the grandest; look at the people, their language, habits, genius, enterprise and worth; their devotion to a cause in which, believing they were right, they sacrificed a million of human lives—a people whom God has planted upon this continent, so full of excellence, and glory, and power, and beauty; and when you take the whole scene in—these mighty rivers, these cloud-kissing mountains, and great inland seas, all a part of the glory of this great republic—tell me if, when God created the world, He did not design this to be one country, one nationality, one Union, forever? (Great applause.) And what "God has joined together, let no man dare to put asunder." (Renewed cheering.)

In the providence of the God of Battles and of Nations, this is to be the great and mighty nation of earth. Here the tree of civil and religious liberty, (as was eloquently said in the opening prayer,) planted and watered by the blood of patriots and the tears of saints, is to grow until all the people of the United States may repose in peace, freedom and safety beneath its shade. Until the sun himself shall "pale his intellectual fires," and God snuff out the moon and stars, the American republic will exist—powerful, mighty, free. Will you not, my countrymen, all take part in this great work, and participate in the benefits that will accrue? Under our American institutions, the humblest individual may aspire to the loftiest trust. Some urchin is on the farm or in the school-house to-day, who will be the President of the United States. Power and fame in America do not depend upon conquest and title, but upon the energy, talent and virtue of the individual aspirant.

My countrymen, let us understand the full dignity of our position. All over the world, except in the United States, the armed heel of power crushes the spirit of liberty. All over the world, the despot revels in luxury, while the miserable victim clanks his chains. Men tell us about the freedom of England. True, some persons are free; but how many are not! It is the freest Government

upon earth, except our own; and yet millions of young people are at this hour delving in mines, who never saw the sun in the heavens. They were born in the mines; they labor and dig and die in the mines; and the great parks and baronial mansions are thus built up with the fruits of the most hateful slavery on earth. While England has been growing great, and her possessions are increasing in wealth in every part of the globe, she has crushed labor and destroyed freedom, to build up a bloated and effete prosperity, and at this hour there ascends to "the God of Nations a cry more fearful than that of those souls who, under the altar, cried in their agony, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou not avenge our blood upon those who dwell upon the earth?"

Recent events have put us in a position in which our institutions are no longer exceptionable. The privilege of being free implies a corresponding obligation to be honest, industrious and respectable. Allegiance and Government are reciprocal. You owe allegiance to the Government, and with your enfranchisement come grave duties to humanity, which must be fulfilled—duties which you owe not more to your people and your Government than to your God.

With these responsibilities upon you, fellow-citizens, let me trust that you will make active use of your opportunities to improve your condition; that you will make only just laws, under which all men may live harmoniously, and that you will discard whatever feelings of unkindness are calculated to excite prejudice or beget animosity. Let the dead past bury its dead. Live for a living present and future Government of free, enlightened and independent people.

As I remarked in commencing this address, I had no time to prepare a set oration, and I have thrown out desultory thoughts as they occurred to my mind. To thank you cordially is the best return I can make for your attention; and allow me to express, in conclusion, the wish that you and your children and your posterity may sit under the vine and fig tree of American freedom, and continue a prosperous and powerful nation until time shall be no more.

On the conclusion of these remarks, P. Nowell, B. F. Randolph and other colored speakers, delivered addresses, but owing to the rain and untoward circumstances, we were unable to procure them. The procession was then reformed, marched back to their place of assembling and there dismissed.

Ladies, Please Notice.
UMBRELLAS, PARASOLS, FANS and JEWELRY neatly repaired.
New FANS made for those furnishing feathered.
CLOCKS repaired, cleaned and warranted, by
J. E. LUMSDEN,
Corner Lady and Assembly streets.
April 19

TO RENT.
THE ROOM over the store of Thomson Earle. Apply to
ALFRED TOLLESON.
April 19

NEW AND DESIRABLE GOODS JUST IN.

WE HAVE RECEIVED, amongst our NEW GOODS, the following:
A COMPLETE LINE OF ENGLISH HOSIERY.
Every style of HOOP SKIRT, comprising the following: Tip-Top, Demi-Quaker, Invisible Quaker, Demi-Duplex, Paris Trail, Ladies' Extra Long Demi-Quaker, Child's Single Steel, Misses Single Steel, in movable and immovable fastenings, &c., &c.
REAL VAL. INSERTINGS, GUIPURE EDGINGS, BLACK SILK LACES and EDGINGS, Swiss Mulls, White Silk Laces and Edgings, Thread Bradings, Real SWISSES, Paris, Swiss, Nainsooks and Mulls, JACONET and SWISS EDGING, &c., &c. Also,
BOBBINET MOSQUITO NETTING—ALL WIDTHS AND PRICES.
FRENCH WOVE CORSETS, at Lowest Possible Prices.
R. C. SHIVER.
June 27
WASHINGTON WASHING MACHINES.
THE SUBSCRIBERS have just received the agency of the celebrated Washington Washing Machines and Patent Clothes Wringers. They are remarkable for their simplicity and durability, and are decidedly the best article yet introduced. Price of Machine and Wringer, complete, \$25.
March 21 J. & T. B. AGNEW.

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THOMPSON'S GENUINE EYE WATER, for sore and inflamed eyes.
McAllister's All-healing Salve—a valuable ointment for old sores.
Dalby's Carmine for Children.
Fly Poison Paper, for instant death to flies.
Harvey's Rat Plums, the rat annihilator.
"Harlem Oil," the Dutch specific—a cure-all.
Extract Lemon and Vanilla, for flavoring.
Flea Powder, for insects, ants, &c.
Soothing Syrup, for children teething.
Sugar Plums, for worms—the Pontons.
Soda Water Powders, for a cool drink.
For sale by FISHER & HEINTSH, June 1 Druggists.

Agricultural and Horticultural Implements.

At the Sign of the Golden Pad-Lock.
A LARGE SUPPLY of the above, consisting in part of PLOWS, HARROWS, FAN MILLS, GRAIN CRADLES, Scythes, Straw Cutters, Corn Shellers, &c.
Pruning Saws and Knives, Ladies' Garden Tools, in sets and pairs; Transplanting Trowels and Forks, Spades, Spading Forks, Rakes, Hoes, Lines, &c. In store and for sale LOW for CASH by
April 5 JOHN C. DIAL.

TO SOUTHERN MERCHANTS!

ROCK ISLAND GOODS.

If you desire to supply yourselves for the FALL and WINTER TRADE, with the VERY BEST DESCRIPTIONS and STYLES of
All-wool Cassimeres!
AND WITH THE MOST DURABLE
Jeans and Kersey Fabrics!
All free from shoddy and other impurities, Order Samples from the subscriber, and they will be forwarded, with prices attached, during the months of July and August. From these samples you can make your selections and return your orders; and the goods will be forwarded directly from the manufactory.
JOHN A. YOUNG,
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June 24mo Charlotte, N. C.

SEEING IS BELIEVING.

THE undersigned informs the public that he is making weekly additions to his stock of goods; and as he purchased for cash, will dispose of them at reasonable figures.
He invites an inspection of his stock, which consists of
WATCHES,
JEWELRY,
CLOCKS,
SPECTACLES,
GOLD PENS, &c.

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PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO.
HAIR JEWELRY and ORNAMENTS prepared in various styles.
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At Sulzbacher & Co.'s, Assembly st.
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HAVING resumed the above business, I am prepared to execute all kinds of work in the above line at the shortest notice and most reasonable prices.
A variety of COFFINS constantly on hand. Funerals promptly attended.
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At Brennan & Carroll's Carriage Factor y.