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NEW ADVERTISEMENTS. | NEW ADVERTISEMENTS

GUANAHANI!

AN IMPORTED NATURAL GUANO.

A GENUINE ANIMAL DEPOSIT.

A MONOPOLY OF THIS VALUABLE DEPOSIT HAS BEEN CREATED in favor of this Company by the Crown officers. The name "GUANAHANI!" is a Registered TRADE MARK at the United States PATENT OFFICE, and all persons are warned from making use of the same in connection with fertilizers of any kind.

THE COMPANY GUARANTEE THAT

EVERY CARGO will be ANALYZED BEFORE IT IS OFFERED FOR SALE.

Examine the Analyses and Letters of Prof. P. B. WILSON, Balitimore; Prof. H. C. WHITE, Professor of Chemistry, University of Georgia; Prof. F. A. GENTH, Philadelphia, Professor of Applied Chemistry, University of Pennsylvania.

IMPORTED ONLY BY THE

GUANAHANI GUANO COMPANY,

PETERSBURG, VA.

In offering this FERTILIZER to the Agricultural Community a Second Season we do so with the utmost Confidence, feeling satisfied that the high opinion, we formed, and expressed last season based on its Chemical Constituents have been most satisfactorily borne out by the test, by which all Fertilizers must be judged, that of the Plantation.

Last season, owing to the lateness at which we commenced importing we were forced to put our Guano on the market at once, but now having continued our importations during the summer and fall, and having large and well ventilated Warehouses in this City and City Point, we are enabled to put our Guano on the market, in a condition as to dryness, and freedom from lumps, equal to any Manufactured Fertilizer.

We solicit a careful persual of our Circular containing the certificates sent us, and which can be had on application at this OFFICE, or from any of our AGENTS. Having nothing to conceal, we made an innovation on established usage, by publishing those letters received unfavorable to our Guano, but careful inquiry in many cases proves that the cause of its failure was not owing to any fault in the Guano, but to those far beyond our control We have frequently heard the same complaints of its kindred Fertilizer, Peruvian Guano, but the concurrent testimony of well known Farmers and Planters from Maryland to the extreme Western counties of North Carolina, justify us in claiming a place for our Fertilizer Superior to many, and Second to None.

We confidently expect the continued patronage of the Agricultural Community and no exertion shall be spared on our part to make

GUANAHANI

THE STANDARD FERTILIZER

FOR THE

COTTON, TOBACCO & GRAIN CROPS

OF THE SOUTH.

DIRECTORS.

President, N. M. TANNOR, of Rowlett, Tannor & Co.
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FOR SALE BY

MERONEY & BRO.,

SALISBYRY, N. C.

BURROUGHS & SPRINGS.

CHORLOTTE, N. C.

In offering this Feltilizer to the people of Rowan, and surrounding counties we are satisfied that we offer them the best Guano for the least money now on the market. It has been throughly tried during the past season and the results have been even better than we hoped for. Below we append two of the numerous certificates we have received.

AN IMPORTANT TEST, PAID OVER 600 PER CENT.

SALISBURY, N. C., October 10th, 1874.

Messrs Meroney & Bro.

Gentlemen: In reply to your inquiry as to the merits of the Guanahani Guano, I will state that I have given it a fair, and, as I think, a thorough test, and believe it to be one of the best fertilizers now in use in our country. In the month of February I bought two tons and applied it over my farm at the rate of 200 pounds to the acre under Cotton, and 100 poundsto the acre on Corn. On the 8th of October I picked from one row of Cotton 14 rods long, which had been fertilized at the above rate, 8 pounds of seed cotton; from another immediately by the side of this one, of the same length, to which I had applied no fertilizer, I picked 1½ ounces the same day—showing a difference of over 8500 per cent. between land fertilized and not. I counted the number of unopened bolls in each, and making calculation on this basis, I find that the land without the Guanahani would yield 30 ounces to the row, 80 rows or 150 pounds to the acre; with Guanahani it will yield 12 pounds to the row, 80 rows or 960 pounds to the acre—showing a difference of over 600 per cent.

I have not had an opportunity to test the Corn yet, but from general observation, I feel warranted in making the statement that Guanahani has benefited my Corn at least 100 per cent.

On one acre of ground, as a test, I sowed 400 pounds of Guanahani broadcast, subsoiling at the same time 15 inches deep. This acre, under ordinary circumstances, has average 700 pounds of seed cotton; this year the yield will be at least 1800 pounds E. A. PROPST.

DAVIE CO., N. C.

Messrs Meroney & Bro.

GENTLEMEN:—In reply to your inquiry as to the merits of Guanahani Guano, I would say that I used it last Summer on an old field which would have produced very poorly under ordinary circumstances but which under the application of Guanahani yielded me a very good crop. I had one test row and this showed a diference of over three hundred per cent. in favor of the Guano.

I am satisfied that it is a good Fertilizer and take pleasure in recommending it to every farmer who wishes to increasehis crops as being fully equal if not superior to any Guano on the market.

MATTHIAS MILLER.

WE SELL GUANAHANI AT $40 PER TON.

Freight added.

CALL AND SEE US.

MERONEY & BRO.

Feb. 13th. 1875.—3mos.

THE POLICY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TOWARD THE SOUTHERN STATES,

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. ROBBINS,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 10, 1875.

The House being as a committee of the whole on the State of the Union—

Mr. ROBBINS said: Mr. Speaker, it is undeniable that the policy pursued toward the South since the late war, with the ostensible purpose of rehabilitating that section and restoring to it prosperity, happiness, and hopefulness, has resulted in a most lamentable failure. This is substantially confessed, even by the partisans of the Administration, in the continual charges they are making, that the South is full of violence, disorder, and bloodshed, and that there is no security there for the personal and political rights of a large class of the citizens. Representing in part one of those Southern States, I indignantly repel the accusations of violence and lawlessness put forth against our people, as basely false and slanderous, born either of pitiable ignorance or diabolical hate. But that the course of treatment to which the South has been subjected with a view to its restoration has been somehow or other fatally defective is amply demonstrated by the fact that that naturally fertile and glorious region lies this day in ruins, while the people, after ten years of weary waiting and untold hardships and self-denial, are not only bankrupt, but profoundly disheartened and dismayed at the prospect before them—indeed, contemplate the future with less hope and courage than they did on the day of the surrender. It is a sad, fearful spectacle to see an entire people, by nature proud, brave, energetic, and high-spirited, reduced to the verge of despair by poverty, oppression, robbery, slander, and the persistent injustice and implacable hatred of the rulers. Such is to-day the miserable situation of those ten millions of white men who fill that immense domain stretching from the Potomac yonder to the far-off Rio Grande.

Instead of rebuilding the waste places left by the war, our desolation grows more desolate; no progress, no money, no accumulation of property, no opening to enterprise, no hope. Need we ask who is responsible for all this? There is no difficulty in determining where the responsibility rests. It rests upon the leaders and so-called statesmen of the republican party. The close of the war found that party omnipotent in this country, occupying all the departments of the Government, controlling the Army, and having, also, prestige of the great victory just won in the field—a conjunction of favoring circumstances which might have insured to that party perpetual predominance had not the splendor of its achievements been so soon eclipsed by the magnitude of what I shall call its mistakes—history will call them crimes. The task of rehabilitating the defeated States, and replacing them in normal relations to the rest of the Union, necessarily fell into the hands of the radical leaders. It was theirs to devise and execute the plans for this purpose, and there was none to say them nay or seriously obstruct them. Statesship never had a grander opportunity nor a nobler field in which to exhibit its resources of skill and beneficence. But behold the fruits. Failure, shameful, wretched failure, is the outcome of it all. The people of the whole country have said so in the verdict of utter condemnation they gave in the late elections against the republican party and its policy.

In spite of the overwhelming defeat that party has so recently experienced on account of its mistaken course, its leaders here show no signs of heeding the popular voice, and the Administration appears more recklessly resolved than ever to push forward in the path of the usurpation. These men seem stricken with a fatal blindness, so that they cannot or will not see that their arms are really destructive to all that the American people hold dear. They imagine or pretend that they are saving the institutions of the country, and yet fail to comprehend that those institutions, when transformed as they seek to have them, would really be destroyed or not worth saving. For example, they are trying to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, in order to secure (as they say) free and fair elections, forgetting that the only object of elections ought to be to preserve such sacred privileges as the writ of *habeas corpus* from ever being suspended.

The reasons which urge the republican party forward still in its unwise course are the same that have led to failure in its whole policy toward the South. It may be useful to inquire concerning the reasons of that failure. I shall not have time to notice many of them, but only one or two of the most prominent.

The first that I will mention is that the men who have controlled the republican party never did know the South, or understand its people. Unlike every other political organization which has ever existed in the United States, the republican party is and has been always essentially a sectional party—a thing which the Father of his Country warned the people against in his farewell address. In its birth that party was sectional. When it acceded to power in 1860 it was exclusively sectional, and the natural result of its entrance into authority was the hostile array of the two sections against each other in mortal strife. To this day that party remains sectional in its whole spirit and tone and leadership, and mainly so its composition; for, with the exception of a small minority of honest, but poorly-informed men, its only supporters in the South are the negroes and carpet-baggers, a few pliable gentlemen who joined its for the sake of office and spoils. During the six years of Grant's administration, no southern man of any race or color has occupied a place in his cabinet. Instead of giving men of that section a share in the Federal administration, it has been common to send northern men down to fill the offices among us, to be legislators and governors for our States, thus converting them into radical satrapies instead of self-governing commonwealths. In brief, under the republican party one end of this country governs the other, and home-rule is utterly ignored.

If the northern people wish to understand how grinding and irritating this is to us let them imagine the tables turned and consider how they would like to have the people of the South intermeddling in all their local and domestic concerns; watching with a jealous and suspicious eye all the movements of their social life; espousing the cause of one class of their population against another; interfering between the capitalist and the operative in Massachusetts or the employer and the miner in Pennsylvania; recognizing or deposing governors, and setting up or putting down State governments at pleasure; imagining all manner of evil concerning them and ever ready to believe the lying stories of their enemies, and renegades; showering all our favors upon the base and venal among them, or upon corrupt political adventurers whom our own society had vomited forth upon them; driving immigration and capital away by holding them up to the world as brutal and barbarous; speaking of them commonly as traitors, murderers, and bandits; sending our military officers among them to hector, browbeat, and threaten; and if under all these accumulated injuries and insults they showed the least anger and resentment, or despair drove them to any rashness, feeling all the tyrant rising up in our souls and longing to clutch them by the throat and crush them into the earth as rebel slaves. Look on this picture, O, men of the North, and tell me, how would you like to have it yours? It is ours. Were that condition your own would you believe yourselves living under a free government? Would your philosophy and self-control enable you to be always calm, always wise? Would not the American freeman's soul within you sometimes burst forth in wild passion and irrepressible rage? We are learning to bear these things with patience. Patience and endurance are our watchwords, and will continue to be so under all the provocations of those who apparently seek to madden us that they make the capital out of our exhibitions of just resentment. Such trials are sore indeed, and would crush the manly spirit of almost any people; but there is a vitality, a fortitude, and a high mettle in that magnificent race of southern white men which will, I trust enable them to go successfully through the dreadful ordeal and come out of the crucible with finer, grander, nobler qualities, and fitted to stamp their impress upon the pages of future history in characters even more resplendent than those which record their past.

Because the radical leaders did not know the South, nor the motives and spirit of its action, nor the real temper of its people, they never comprehended the problem they were set to solve at the close of the war. The task of restoring the Union at that time was far easier and simpler than will ever be believed by those who have so wofully bungled over it. Even assuming that the southern people, in entering upon that great conflict of arms, committed an error of judgment, nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that they were faithful to their solemn convictions of duty; that they were true to their honest opinions concerning the adjustment of powers under our system of government; and that they verily believe their cause was the cause of true liberty on this continent. With this faith in them tens of thousands died for that cause with the purest motives of patriotism, and with the cheerful resignation of martyrs. These are sober truths, and I should think the northern people would love to recognize them as such. If they do not, they must judge all those millions of men who are now their countrymen to be conscious and willful traitors and criminals of the worst type, and surely there would be small satisfaction in thinking thus of so large a number of those who are fellowcitizens with them of this great country. On the other hand no one question that those who fought on the side of the Union were likewise honest, partiots, and thoroughly true to their sense of duty, and the cause of liberty and country as they viewed it. The differences of opinion which divided the combatants were as old as the Government itself. They had been debated bitterly in this very Hall for two generations, but they remained undecided until finally referred to the dread arbitrament of arms where each side maintained its views with a heroism and devotion which struck the nations with awe and shed undying luster upon the American name. The South was overpowered in the fight. Her people gave up forever all claims of the right of secession, and submitted without repining to the abolition of slavery as having been the immediate occasion of the contest in which they were defeated. When the issue was fairly decided by overwhelming, through the force of numbers, their armies in the field, they yielded at once. There never was a great war that ended so suddenly and left so little resentment in the minds of the vanquished. They might have kept up a guerrilla war for an indefinite period, and bankrupted the continent. But they yielded to their fate with that resignation which became a brave and patriotic and Christian people, as they are; for they felt they were surrendering not merely to the bayonets of their adversaries, but to the inscrutable decree of the God of battles; and they felt, also, that the welfare of their country required that, if they yielded at all, they should yield without reserve. That people, whose types and leaders were God-fearing heroes, like Jackson and Lee, may have been mistaken, but must have been conscientious.

How easily could the breach between the sections have been healed then by the exercise of magnanimity and wise forbearance on the part of those who shaped the policy of the victors. Suppose, when the folds of the old flag of our fathers, so glorious with their deeds, floated out over us again, there had come with it the assurance that we were under the ægis of constitutional law and liberty, even as understood by our adversaries when the fight began. Suppose it had been said to us, "You have sought to divide the Union. That never shall be done. But, having saved the Union and destroyed the institution which threatened it, we now invite you back to your place under the common Government. Let us forget our strifes and be brothers again, and unite in building up and beautifying our common glorious heritage." Could there but have been in the rulers of this country the faith and charity to have spoken such words, the wind and waves of sectional conflict would soon have subsided into a great calm, and the people would have wellnigh forgotten, before this time, the horrors of that strife. I say this knowing as well as any how the defeated felt, for I was one of those who fought it through to the last, with my whole soul enlisted in the cause, and with no thought of giving it up while there remained a shadow of hope; and the bitterness of defeat was made more poignant to me by the recollection of many dearest friends fallen in vain.

I have heard republicans in this Congress boast of their magnanimity to the South in that they put nobody to death after the war. Well, as I will not be unfair or unjust, I deem it due to say, what is a matter for universal pride and congratulation, that the American people, both North and South, are free from that blood-thirsty temper which marks some races of men, and which takes delight in blood and butchery for their own sake. History will record with satisfaction the fact that no vengeful slaughter of vanquished foes added to the rivers of fraternal blood which the war itself had shed. But candor requires the confession that no such slaughter could have occurred except through wanton barbarity, and in contravention of the law; for it is, I believe, well understood that even the confederate president was released from prison without a trial for treason because the ablest jurist of the country gave it as their opinion that he could not be convicted under the laws of the land; and the Government of the United States, having triumphed in the field, did not care to risk submitting the questions thereby decided to a new trial before a court and jury. Pardon my saying another thing. If the death-penalty had been resorted to, whether by regular trials in the law-courts or through drum-head court-martial, it would have been out of the question to put to death the whole southern people, or even any considerable portion of them. Perhaps a hundred, or at all events, a thousand victims would have satisfied a blood-thirsty people, and I have already said that the men of the North are not of that disposition. Now, I hope I shall not be considered as indulging in bravado when I express the deliberate opinion that if the southern people could have foreseen all that has befallen them since the surrender—the infinite wrong and ruin, the oppressions, humiliations, petty insults, and indescribable villainies—and had been offered the choice of suffering all that or, on the other hand, to stand up and abide the casting of the lot, so as to furnish from their whole number a thousand men to be offered up as a sacrifice to the wrath of their enemies, they would have chosen the latter alternately as the more merciful.

Frequent reference is also made in the debates here to the liberality which has been shown to the southern men in the removal of disabilities and restoration to the privileges of citizenship. But it ought not to be forgotten that those who now boast of removing disabilities first imposed those disabilities, and for the most selfishly partisan purpose that they might tie the hand of the most intelligent and experienced class of the southern people until carpet-baggers and negroes, backed up by the military, could seize upon the governments of all those States and control them for the republican party. The manner in which those disabilities were imposed, was also in violation of every principal of justice and liberty, for they were in the nature of penalties laid upon individuals without trial, and for offenses whereof they were never convicted Their operation was most unfair and inequitable, for they often fell upon men who had been at heart faithful to the Union, while many of the most active confederates entirely escaped. Those disabilities were never removed until the radical leaders supposed their grip upon the South was too secure ever to be seriously endangered by any opposition. And now, when they behold the intellect and virtue of the South once more partially unfettered, and advancing to that supremacy there which those attributes always will and ought to maintain in every community of enlightened people, the Administration in Washington becomes profoundly uneasy, because ignorance and dishonesty are losing control of the South; and at this very moment the most high-handed and tyrannical schemes are being devised here by which new shackles may be put on the limbs of southern white men, so that the subservient tools of the Administration may be enabled to wriggle their slimy way up again into place and power in that hapless section. All this is done, too, upon the pretext that the South is plotting a renewal of the war, when every man in America with a spoonful of brains ought to know that such an idea is as preposterous as it would be to expect a volcano to burst out this day on Pennsylvania avenue.

No; the course of the leaders the of dominant party is not and never has been magnanimous towards the South but tyrannical, unpatriotic, exasperating, and thoroughly selfish.

For one, I have always believed if that kind-hearted man who was assassinated in this city on the 14th of April, 1865, had lived to deal with the problem of reconstruction, the South would have been generously treated, and would have been happy and prosperous long ago. Not that the man who succeeded him in the Presidency was wanting in honesty or faithfulness to his sense of duty; but Abraham Lincoln was the only man able to control the republican party who possessed the spirit of clemency and charity. There were many other men in high places equal to him, perhaps, in intelect, but he alone of them all seems to have had any soul. O, mysterious Fate! to quench the warm pulses of that kind heart, and turn us over to the tender mercies of bitter, implacable tyrants!

Among the causes which have gone far to produce incalculable evils to the whole country, and greatly hindered the solution of the problem of southern restoration, must be specially noted that selfish ambition of the radical leaders which has prompted, and still prompts them, to labor with far more zeal for the perpetuation of their own political assendency than for the welfare of the American people and the preservation of our free institutions. I say the *leaders*, because I wish it to be well understood that in this as well as every other point of my arraignment of the republican party, I draw a broad line of distinction between the motives of those *leaders*, and of the *masses* who have followed and been misled by them. I believe in the people, I have an abiding faith in the upright and patriotic impulse of the popular masses, both North and South, in their fidelity to the principles of free government, and in their wish to do right, if they know what right is, and are not misled by demagogues and deceivers

I am satisfied that the northern people, and especially those gallant Union soldiers who constitute so considerable a part of that people, and between whom and us there sprang up so profound a respect for each other in the long and well-fought contest, would never have sanctioned the unjust and despotic measures imposed upon the South if they could have known our real situations and purposes, and if their passions and prejudices had not been aroused against us by those scheming, daring plotters who sought a selfish advantage from these sectional strifes and hatreds It is upon these, and not upon the people whom they have deceived, that my censures are ment to fall. What words can portray the wickedness of those who have not allowed the people of the two bleeding sections of this country to be at peace though the fight was over; who have kept alive the strife; who have fanned the flames of discord; who have, for ten long years, been nurturing the seeds of hate, because out of all this wide-spread misery and ruin they could reap preferment of coin gold for themselves? Surely, surely, the execration of posterity and the malediction of Heaven must light upon such unparalleled criminality!

When the subject is looked at closely, it is astounding to perceive how greatly the leaders of the republican party have been governed in their whole policy by the ambition to strengthen their own grasp upon the reins of power. Common sense might have taught that, in rebuilding the scattered fabric of civil institutions in the South, those classes of people should have been allowed to bear a share in the work whose experience and knowledge of affairs fitted them for it. But by the ingenious contrivance of disfranchisement and test-oaths, most of those men were banned and excluded from the councils of their respective States and communities at that most trying and important crisis. Why was this done? Simply because those were men of two stubborn and independent material to become the tools of the dominant party. It is false to say they were excluded because they would have been dangerous to the country by forming new plans to reopen the war. Every man knew that this was impossible; and none knew it better than those who, having just overthrown the mighty armies of the confederacy, felt themselves able to put down, without the slightest effort, any new outbreak. No, sir; those men would have built well enough for the welfare and peace of the country, for the restoration of the Union, for the happiness and renewed prosperity of the defeated States—ay, they were the only men, with a few exceptions, who could secure these things—but they would not serve the ends of the radical leaders. It was not happy, prospero s, resurrected States that were wanted; it was States that would vote the radical ticket. A restored Union was not the object, but a Union in which the radical leaders could rule and revel in power and plunder.

For the same reason the poor, confiding, ignorant freedmen were given the ballot, all utterly unprepared as they were to use it except for their own injury and that of the communities of which they formed a component part. No impartial man can deny that the grant of universal suffrage to the colored race so soon after their liberation was a most dangerous experiment, full of peril to popular government, fraught with evil to that race itself, and leading to inevitable civil confusion and pecuniary rain in several States. Even its mad authors shrank back at first from this measure and confessed it wild and impracticablle. But the need of votes for their party overcame their scruples and drove them on to perpetrate what I unhesitatingly denounce here, as I have often done elsewhere, as a crime against civilization. When I speak thus, I know there are those who will seek to pervert my meaning and charged me with hostility to the colored people. But I have no such feeling, nor have those whom I represent here. Between the southern white people and the negroes, with scarcely an exception, there always existed a good understanding and sentiments of friendshin and kindly regard. This is incomprehensible to those self-conceited fanatics whose knowledge of southern affairs is not derived from a study of the facts but "evolved from their own inner consciousness" and poisoned with prejudice.

No friend of the negro could fail to perceive that the preservation of those relations of mutual confidence and benevolence between him and the white people among whom his lot is cast is of the highest importance to him. But these pretended friends of the negro have done all they could to bring about race antagonisms. The negro, when freed and thrown out to shift for nimself, needed to go to work industriously and without distraction, so as to secure a competency for himself and family. But the radicals diverted him from this plain road of honest thrift, and made him a noisy, lazy politician, and in too many cases the only thing he does now is to steal and vote, while the men he elects to office govern and steal. Suffrage was given to him, they said, to enable him to protect himself, and now they say suffrage is no protection, but a peril to him; and they propose to pass the most extraordinary laws, even going so far as to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, in order to secure to the negro his right to vote. Through such contradictory theories and inconsistent pretexts the devious policy of the radical leaders proceeds, consistent only in this, that its sole and constant aim is their own aggrandizement.

Instead of fostering peace between the races, so needful to both and especially to the weaker, these selfish men banded the negroes together in secret, oath-bound leagues, instilled into their minds jealousy and hostility toward the white people, led them to the polls *en masse* to vote into office the vilest of men, used them to overthrow the governments and plunder the people of States, to ruin credit, insult decency, and trample out all hopes of prosperity; in short, these men have led the negroes to disgrace themselves by their miserable failures in spheres of action for which they were unfit, and also to become, as far as possible, a nuisance to the communities in which they live. In spite of all this, the generous-hearted people of the South, who know the poor negro, do not hate him—they only pity him. They know that he is little to blame for it all, for in his ignorance he has simply been the deluded tool of designing hypocrities, who told him pleasing lies, but cared nothing for him except to get his vote.

One of the great incidental infuries done the negro in this whole business is that he has been taught to depend so entirely on others and not on himself for his advancement—a trait which is naturally prominent in his negative, parasitical character, and needs to be eradicated and not fostered, if you would make a man of him. Another thing is the wild and extravagant notions that have been awakened in his bosom concerning what is to be done for him, concerning his rights and his wrongs, and his whole relations to be American Government and people. For example, some of you sedulously inculcate upon the negro, and try ourselves to believe, that his inferiority in mental and moral advancement is the result of his former subjection in the South. I have more than once heard the expression on this floor that the "negro has been brutalized by southern slavery." It is time for such preposterous and slanderous nonsense to stop. A century or two ago the negroes went into that slavery, a few utterly degraded, besotted, grub-eating, snake-worshiping savages. Ten years ago they came out from that yoke, millions of civilized, Christianized men, even able, in your opinion, to help govern this glorious country. Strange "brutalizing" that!

But the negro is kept unhappy and restless with the idea that he is still a terribly wronged man. Instead of teaching him to use wisely the gifts he has received, you keep him pining for some great imaginary blessing still ahead, some El Dorado, some Hesperian garden, to which your legislation is to transport him, where the ills which, alas, must always oppress poor humanity, white and black alike, cannot come. I was greatly struck with this thought the other day during the debate on the so-called "civil rights" bill. One colored member said, "Pass this bill and give my people a chance in the race of life." Another said, "Give us our liberties; give us our rights; give us our privileges." No thought seemed to enter their minds that anything had yet been done for them, or that there was any savor of absurdity or ingratitude in their present clamor. A few years ago those men were slaves, hoeing in some master's cotton-patch or corn-field. Now, they are not only freed and made citizens, but promoted to be rulers and law-makers for the proudest nation in the world. If there be a spectacle on earth more transcendently ludicrous than all others it certainly is to behold a corn-field negro standing up in the Congress of the United States and exclaiming in piteous tones of grief and supplication, "Do give the poor African some chance; give us our rights; give us our liberties."

After what I have said in regard to the folly and absurdity of the policy which has been pursued with respect to the negro, it is proper that I shall add that I know of no serious purpose on the part of anybody to deprive the negro of the privilege of voting, or any other privilege which has been conferred on him.—We do, some of us, think that the Government might wisely cease to bolster up ignorance and incompetency, mainly represented by the negro, stop interfering with the natural order of things and trying to make the pyramid stand on its apex, and allow the virtue and intelligence of the South, at present mainly found with the white race, to resume their normal control in that section. *The radical plan* is to make slaves of ten million white men for the pretended good of four million blacks. *Ours* is to shape the conduct of affairs that all, both white and black, may be happy and free. In a word, our principle is "home rule." Since every other programme has failed, would it not now be wise to try this?

Another grand reason, which I must mention but have not time to elaborate, why the radical policy has failed to restore confidence and tranquility to the South and to the whole country, is that the leaders of that party have been secretly engaged in revolutionizing our Government in its very essence. They never have been willing to see the Government re-established on the basis whereon the fathers founded it, even with slavery abolished and the privileges of the negro guaranteed. Herein is a marvelous thing, and yet true, that those who prate so much about the "life of the Government" should be seeking to destroy it indirectly. In the Inter-Ocean, one of the most prominent organs of radical opinion, I observed only a few days since the bold avowal "that this is no longer a government founded on the consent of the people, but a government of force."

If I mistake not, the American people will soon demonstrate to everybody that they entertain a very different opinion. But radicalism would make our Government one of force. It has been trying for years to rule ten millions of citizens by force and fear; and if it could succeed, pray how much liberty would be left in the land? There are persons even in this Congress whose geography seems to be at fault, and who talk about affairs in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, as if those were provinces in Central or South America, whose sufferings and wrongs could not vitally effect them, forgetting that the gangrene which is beginning there at the extremities will soon eat into the heart of the body-politic, if it is not arrested. But we are told that the "results of the war" must be secured, and it is under this pretext that most of the dangerous innovations in our system of government are being made. Of course, as one of those who fought on the other side, I cannot with decorum, say that you ought not to secure the legitimate results of the war; but every American has a right to ask what they are.

The war was begun to prevent the division of the Union. That was the prime cause for which your brave men came forth in such overwhelming numbers against us. Has not that result been secured? Has it not been ten years since we sheathed our swords, hauled down our bullet-rent battle-flags, and swore by the honor of soldiers to accept the Union as perpetual? You ought to believe us, for whatever else we have done, we have never deceived you. We did not do so at the beginning of that war.—There was no sneaking conspiracy nor dishonorable double-dealing on our side then. Our Representatives went forth from these halls proclaiming openly the purpose of the South. Our movements were all made in the broad daylight, without any attempt at concealment or fraud. Standing before you, therefore, in the attitude of men who have never been false to honor, we demand that you trust us when we give our sworn pledges of eternal fidelity to the Union. If foe should attempt it, we shall see who can strike the most gallant blows in its defense. During the war the issue was extended so as to include the abolition of negro slavery. Many of your soldiers were displeased, but they were induced to acquiesce upon the plea that it was this slavery that had endangered the Union. Thus the war was fought through and no other question arose during its continuance. The negro was freed, every Southern State so amending its constitution as forever to prohibit involuntary servitude within its borders.

Thus both the objects of the war were attained, the perpetuity of the Union and the emancipation of the negro. All other pretended results of the war, of which we hear so much, are ingenious subterfuges, invented long since the war by those who were seeking excuses by which they could cajole a confiding people into supporting them in the most selfish and sinister designs. And so subtle an influence have these plotters acquired, that if any American looks back to and longs for something like the republic of the fathers he is hooted as a "Bourbon." The results of the war, indeed! Why, sir, if the gallant heroes who fell under the Stars and Stripes could see the ruin you have wrought, the outrages you have perpetrated, States wrecked, millions of white men enslaved, the travesties of governments you have set up, bayonets in legislative halls, farce and tragedy stalking alternately across the stage, American free institutions themselves in deadly peril, and could hear you say this was what they fought and died for, they would turn over in their graves this day.

My time is nearly out, and I must close, leaving many things unsaid which ought to be said, in justice to the honest, patriotic people who sent me here. Before I ever came to Congress, I longed for the opportunity to speak to the people of the North from some elevated platform like this, and tell them the real feelings and purposes of the sorely-maligned people of my section, believing that, if the popular masses of both sections could understand one another, we should at once see genuine peace and friendship restored. This I have endeavored to do on the few occasions during this term of Congress when I could obtain the floor; but in doing this, you can bear witness that I never have spoken (as I never shall) in the whining tones of the whipped spaniel, but in the independent and fearless spirit of a foreman who represents freemen. We speak out boldly and bluntly our thoughts, because we have no sinister designs to cover up, and we are too proud to be treacherous. If ever the time shall come here when I must tune my voice to soft accents and speak with bated breath for fear of offending some tyrant, then I shall leave these halls forever, and seeking a home in some quiet cove of our mountains, try to forget that I ever had a country.

But, thank God, no such evil foreboding is called for now, for the future is brightening, and the old-time spirit of American liberty is awaking out of sleep. The great North has seen through the mists of misrepresentation with which radicalism has so long hid the truth respecting the affairs of the South, and in the fall elections pronounced her emphatic condemnation of the men in power. We in the South understand what this means. It means that our fellow-countrymen of the Northern States are willing to trust our patriotic fidelity to the common country, its institutions, its grand progressive aims, and its future greatness and glory; and we are resolved not to disappoint their confidence. I am aware that hard trials await us, and we shall be subjected to severe temptations. I know that the radical leaders, in their chagrin at the prospect of deposition from power, are concocting the most desperate and daring measures for the purpose of recovering control in the South. They even contemplate a suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, that great safeguard of personal liberty, in order to harrass, oppress, and exasperate the southern people and drive them to desperation. Ominous whispers are heard in the political circles of this city that the intention is to provoke outbreaks and bloodshed in th Southern States, and that legislation aimed really to bring about these things is to be perfected before this session of Congress terminates. Thus a pretext is to be sought for sending the military into all those States to intimidate and overawe the people, and either secure their votes in the next presidential election or find excuses for throwing them out of the count. Let me say to these desperate schemers that we mean to foil their plans by the sublimity of our patience. Keep the peace, obey the law, and trust in God and the justice of the American people. These are the guiding stars by which we shall continue to steer; and we look forward with confident anticipations to the achievement of a glorious victory by the conservative and the democratic voters of the North and South in the great contest of 1876, when a President who reveres the Constitution and respects popular rights shall take control of affairs, and the centennial of American Independence shall dawn upon our country happy and united, and our free Government rescued from the perils which now threaten it.