"LET ALL THE ENDS THOU AIM'ST AT, BE THY COUNTRY'S, THY GOD'S, AND TRUTHS'."

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THE RACE PROBLEM SENATOR VANCE'S MASTER. LYARGUMENT

In Which He Opposes Senator rotechnical Display.

mother.

Several hundred years ago The great forests which cover- moniously and fraternally. a cargo of slaves into the West placed a general of the Army, injustice which have been for acy in reconstruction, but ought to be. Indies as for his exploits supported by sufficient troops. twenty-five years heaped upon only patriotic benevolence. against the Spaniards. Even To these generals, and their the colored men of the South, Since the restoration of the

The introduction of the cuiti- white people.

manufactures and commerce. State and Federal, equal with to this for so long a time as he that could have been done for Most arrogant and rapacious, largely in purchasing slaves and has been given the ballot prove a failure he graciously done when the management of table in history. It is the conon the African coast, and sell- to protects himself in these promises that he will then public affairs was taken from quering and unconquerable our people as similar violations of States, overcome seven millions ing them to Southern planters. rights, surely the matter will consult with us about some inexperienced and incapable race, through which alone has law are deprecated in the North, of negroes. Then there would be sure as certainty can be made that emancipation overthrown that whatever upon them for the children.

nal working of a good con- grievonsly wrecked. thing which brought fortunes to Virginia and Carolina plan dees, so believe and that, periodes, so believe and that, periodes, who is titterness this conscientious are all the noisy same man bitterness this conscientious are are all in a suffered from a failure of metas in the corps; and the planters of constitution itself, which respected the slaveholder rights under the State laws, as 'a leasure with hell." The inevitable result is fresh in our recollection, with hell." The inevitable result is fresh in our recollection with hell." The inevitable result is fresh in our recollection who may be not been effective in which more than a million of the freedman is which more than a million of the freedman is served up, for campaign, poli-

lives were lost and more than either for attack or defense." were set free.

did the supplying of the newly fore acts of Congress were pass- ment of the poet who says: discovered island and conti- ed directing the subversion of neuts of the West with cheap all law and civil government labor appear, that old John in the States of the South, Hawkins was knighted by under cover of which they Queen Elizabeth, as much for were divided into military dis-Casas, the Spanish apostle to task of forming governments

First and foremost in this militaly control, by suppresscalamitous and iniquitous trafing the vote of every free fic was New England. In fact, white man in those States, who paucity of ideas by the gener- nal, and furnishes ample proof own people can exert over an- great dumping ground of political so anxious were the good peo- having at any time taken an ousness of phraseology. This that he is fed, clothed and other; much less do they reple of those colonies for slaves oath to support the Constituthat they reduced, to bondage tion of the United States, had forensic heavens reminded me death rate, of criminal conviction of the United States, had forensic heavens reminded me death rate, of criminal convictions and the offices from the judiciary down, captured in war, and not un- of the rebellion, and by thrust- description of the remarkable with the gradual and unfailing power, can influence the acfrequently, these wicked peo- ing with military force upon tenuity of the tail of a certain increase of his wealth, which is tion of a race so far inferior use. Nay, under the appeals ple of their own race and blood the ballot-box the entire mass comet. He said that its length abundantly proven by the and still in the shadow of the against the injustice of suppressing. who were guilty of differing of emancipated slaves, to whom was a hundred million miles statistics, all give the lie flatly bondage from which they have the colored vote whoh we daily from them in religious opin- the right to vote had been as it stretched across the skies to the oft-repeated story of op- been withdrawn. given by no law, hu- -that its breadth was 50,000 pression and wrong under Neither has it entered into to express the belief that these The tobacco growing colonies man or divine, known to our miles—and yet the solid matter which he suffered or is said to the consideration of the people great apostles of justice would reof the South soon followed federative system. By the which it contained could be suffer. The truth is, he began of the North to place any stress store right of suffrage to the 225,suit in the importation of Af- constitution thus forced upon condensed and transported in to prosper when the whites upon the fact that there did one people of this District, from rican slaves, and early found the Southern people the ne- a one horse cart. I listened took control. Progress for him exist, and still exists, be-

gave a further impetus to slave- ted States had in like manner ed. Suddenly, before the light South would have made that remembered that, in addition was not an outrige to suppress holding, and made the chief been so amended as to forbid expired and we were left in fairest portion of the American to his ignorance and inexperi- white votes; or, again, than it was ern regions to depend mainly discrimination against the the solution was justice, which, In short, it would have been man still leans upon and looks suppress the vote by law on acapon this enforced labor negro race, or in any manner however sententious it might Africanized, a fate which even to his former master for direc-Whilst the want of profitable impairing the rights which had be, was about as definite and the Senator from Kansas says is tion and advice—universally returns gradually lessened the thus been conferred upon them real as the twinklings which, taken so in all matters except politics; But I positively deny that there is hold of the North upon slavery Again, we in the South though remain under the closed eyelids into connection with his open- that he is almost always either any systematic, authorized, or of its great profits constantly in we had arrived at the end of after the withdrawal of after the withdra creased that hold upon the our troubles connected with light. the negro question. Surely, we Justice, as he explains it, eration of races, means much man belongs to a race which the South! The stony and sterile fields reasoned, as the colored man is means our submission to ne- more than appears on the the senator from Kansas says of New England called for now free, as he is made by law gro rule. Having submitted surface. The best thing, then, is the-That commerce consisted very the white man in all respects thinks would be fair, should it the negro was that which was the most exclusive and indomi-Thus their interests constantly now be at rest. We can close other solution of the problem! hands and placed with the taken possession of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and their perpetrators are punish as solution of the physical and t drifted the Northern and the chasm which the agitation What are the facts which natural and competent rulers cal and moral world. To our ed by our courts with much more that would stay solved. Southern people apart in regard about him has created between support this grandiose slander of the land. to African slavery. After a us and our Northern neighbors. of an entire people? What Where, then, I ask again, does religion, for literature, for the violators of the fugitive slave those who assume that the whites

time it ceased to exist altogeth- Again, were we sadly mistaken. wrongs and injustice have been the outrage on the colored man civilization. It has a genius laws were punished in th North, or exercise no influence over the neer in the North, by reason of After forty years of bitter done by the Southern people come in? emancipation laws made to agitation, four years of bloody take effect at fixed periods, and the strategy and near a quarter of central control of the strategy by their sales to their South- tury more of trial under the dagger?" They have been to the overthrow of reconstructive races have been its enemies or nal in behalf of the Republican ern neighbors. By this time order of things, the negro again given the right of suffrage, not tion. He says: the wrongfulness of holding "bobs up serenely," and for his by the free action of the South- "Until 1877 the unstable Is it possible that such a slaves fully dawned upon the sake we are to-day threatened ern whites, I admit, but at fabric erected by the architects race of men as this cannot friends, for the offense of debauchconscience of the Northern peo- not only with a political least by their reluctant assent. of reconstruction was upheld by without brutal violence or de- ing and attempting to debauch the with truth that, I have no personal than if he had them not. Nature whites and blacks which is ple. Its prickings became so agitation sufficiently disastrous Since their admission to citi- the militia of the United States, testable fraud maintain its su- purity of the ballot-box. He is yet knowledge of the occurrence of ally he will drop his brother bes necessary to both. active that they not only deem. within itself, but with a service zenship they have been elected and when this was withdrawn premacy over such a race as the at large and defiant. The condiany riot or public disturbance any bind and stride forward. The ated it a sin to hold slaves them- was whose weapons shall be the to both branches of Congress the incongruous edifice toppled negro? Is it states manlike to to both branches of Congress the incongruous edifice toppled negro? Is it states manlike to both branches of Congress the incongruous edifice toppled negro? selves, but to permit anybody midnight torch and the assas- and have occupied almost headlong and vanished away as assume that it can legitimately regard to crime is ample proof of races that was not at the instigation is unnatural and he will negroes a great damage by your selves, but to permit anybody midnight torch and the assaselse to hold one, even though there was no responsibility was no responsibility. They have controllthere was no responsibility shall be sleeping women and selves, but to permit anybody midnight torch and the assaselse to hold one, even though the assastion is unnatural and he will negroes a great damage by your this. In criminal statistics we do not fear to compare records with in every case the blacks have got shall be sleeping women and support the assastion is unnatural and he will negroes a great damage by your the baseless fabric of a vision. It disappeared in cruel and force over the weaker and more any neonle. In the category of the most of the fabric of a vision of some white scoundrel, and in every case the blacks have got the baseless fabric of a vision. It disappeared in cruel and force over the weaker and more any neonle. In the category of the most of the fabric of a vision of some white scoundrel, and in every case the blacks have got the baseless fabric of a vision. It disappeared in cruel and the assasto hold one, even though the assasto hold hildren.

ed entire States, counties and ferocious convulsions which ignorant? Are there no undismunicipalities, and in every form one of the most shameful puted facts sufficient to justify some of our communities are open white allies when the bullets bewhite allies when the bullets bewhite allies when the bullets beshall control strength, that ignor well-being depends upon their They even went so far in ened war is to arise from one instance their rule was marked and shocking of all bloody reasoning men everywhere in to severe criticism. I contend that gan to fly. obeying the dictates of con- of two facts: Either the by failure and ruin. It was a tragedies of history. The at- doubting the truth of these the records will show that in the cience, that they did not hesi- friends of the negro in the war against property, intelli- tempt to re-organgize society stories of outrage and wrong? more odious, baser, and less manly well aware that the interference legislation to place ignorance and than upon anything else; yet you tate to stand up boldly in the North are disappointed because gence and respectability. The upon the basis of numbers For example, I am glad to say crimes many of the Northren of outside friends has always inn- vice in control of knowledge and are constantly endeavoring to sight of God, with the purchase their well-laid schemes of recon few years of their misrule in failed." money in their pockets, and struction failed to secure the the South will be forever re- Perhaps the Senator alludes the States in the South where known in the South. denounce the vengeance of Republican party any aid from membered in our history for to the stealing of the Presi- there is little complaint of Be that as it may, however, the and determined to rule his own to enact that the civilization of the deavor to make them altogether heaven against their Southern States or because their corruption and retrogres- dency by his party, which hap- infringement of the colored formand to rule the states or because their corruption and retrogres- dency by his party, which hap- infringement of the colored formand to rule the colored formand to rul heaven against their Southern states or because their corruption and retrogres-dency by his party, which hap-infringement of the southern states or because their corruption and retrogres-dency by his party, which hap-infringement of the colored name in the southern states or because their corruption and retrogres-dency by his party, which hap-infringement of the colored name in the southern states or because their corruption and retrogres-dency by his party, which hap-infringement of the colored in that year and which, has endowed them; that three weak so many promises that they have nable blot on the memory of or not they are treated with interpretation and the colored name in the colored name in the colored that the southern states or because their corruption and retrogres-dence them, that he has yet never deceived them; that the has endowed them; that three weak so many promises that they have not interpretation to the colored name in the colored in the colored name in the colored in the colored name in the colored in that year and which, has endowed them; that three weak or name in the colored name in the colored in that year and which, has endowed them; that three weak or name in the colored name in th ty for helping himself and for those who authorized it, and shocking, and in which the at- justice.

science was present. Slave- The Senator from Kansas, in Republican and the victims certain extent fail, I did not where the complaints on behalf tation; nor does it matter whether victims alike of Northern scounholding was not only unprofi- his speech a few days ago, in- were Democrats. table, as has been said, upon dignantly denied the former Whilst ever they could hold zed at a bloody tragedy. their soil and in their climate assertion, and put the action the throttled State in the It is, however, an unequive. months past the negroes in by; that is not their object. their soil and in their climate but the lucrative trade of supplying the Southern planters of his friends altogether upon plying the Southern planters of the Senate and planters of th was abolished by the Censtituwas abolished by the Censtitupatriotism. He was so candid House of Representatives to and incongruous—mild terms haps of three or four thousand walk. The negro and his wrongs said they did in our Peedee count well, I was born and reared was abolished by the Censututon. In addition to this their in admitting the fault of his strengthen Republican hands indeed for this most infernal per month to this very State of and rights will never be quiet so ry, where some of the finest bottom among them, and have all my life language them. They are not got language to the fault of his strengthen republican hands indeed for this most infernal per month to this very State of and rights will never be quiet so ry, where some of the finest bottom among them, and have all my life language them. sense of rectitude was unpard- people for the introduction of against "the cowardly and de- episode in our history—that it line to Kangas or any other and him to have all my life lands were stated off at a dollar lived in close association with onably offended by the con- slavery into this country, and graded element in the North was upheld alone by military ing to Kansas or any other ride him. It has often been as a peg, guaranteed by the United them. I affirm to you, not that out losing some of his original powtemplation of the well-doing of for its retention in the North that sympathized with trea- power, and disappeared when Northern State, but to Mis- serted that a superior and an infe- States Government to hold forty he is incapable of civilization, but letted and amended constitutions. their neighbors. Of course, until it ceased to be profitable son," not a word of protest was withdrawn. No men who burnt witches, banish- that I was in hopes to hear heard from that entire party of wrong upon the negro appears pose of having their votes suped or enslaved Quakers, and him admit wish equal candor justice and modest righteous- there. It seems that these pressed and of being slaughter- same government with equal rights passage of civil rights bills for the tion of the race to which we belong. had made fortunes by the hor- that the whole scheme of re- ness. But as soon as this cor- intolerable outrages, to which ed—to Arkansas and to Texas. and laws. This may or may not purpose of hoising them into posirors of "the middle passage," construction was intended for partisan Republican purposes. But as soon as this cormon of the middle passage," construction was intended for partisan Republican purposes. But as soon as this cormon of social equality with the must be or a low order compared to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to ours. Any attempt, therefore, submitted so long, are supposed to which brought fortunes and candidly admit that he the union of all the best ele- that the overthrow of this in- and demand. For two or three weaker; but there is one proposi- friend or phlianthropist for help, to Virginia and Carolina plan does so believe and that, per- ments in the South, aided by congruous structure—the crea- years past Eastern North Caro- tion, Nr. President, of which you but they search at once for old

ly as much of citizenship has at its results.

how profitable this cheap and gross were made voters and and listened with the greatest would have been as impossible tween the former owner and was about to prove here an incon-

knows why citizenship was giv. the powers of the States, and tical purposes here. I do not The South, Mr. President, is safety-valve. I venture the prothree billion of property de- In other words, here is a en to the negro and the reason no serious effort has been made wish to be misunderstood in standing upon a voicano, the South phecy that should the Southever be stroyed, and as much of in- frank admission that twenty- of the bitter disappointment to deprive them of their sedebtedness incurred. The slaves five years of freedom and near- which is everywhere confessed rious acquisition. I beg to re- instances of mistreatment and They are breeding innumerable ed citizens would crowd into the Those of us in the South proved a lamentable failure. There is surely here no out—many serious efforts have been gross now and then occurring

Water of Fact Over Ingalls Py- and deplored the agitation whites in the South are to for revolution and blood. The guilty acquisition. which led to it, as we sat in blame for it; that they have wrong was against the white But, inasmuch as the powers has not yet arrived in the land the ashes of our own homes employed force, violence, and man, and was redressed by him of the States are recognized by of reconstruction; the reign of Sanator Vance said: "Mr. and scraped ourselves with the fraud, of which I will say more without revolution. In obed- the Constitution, it is strange President one of the earliest potsherds of desolation, yet hereafter, I will only make ience to the Constitution the that the possession of them by ers are visited upon the chil- the devastation of our fields ly out numbered the whites ipation in all the legal rights tion. That is another way of by the reflection that this, at they are either intimid. enjoyed by white citizens. But the taking and keeping of that imaginary division. saying that the mistakes of one least, was the end; that the ed from voting or are de- They were placed in the jury- possession of the powers of the There is no suppression of the gaying that the mistages of the great original wrong commit frauded in the counting of box commissioned as magistra- States seems to be the wrong popular vote by gerrymander ted by our fathers had at last their votes, is not that a strong tes, permitted to form cempa- inflicted upon the colored man. or otherwise; there is no purbeen atoned for; that the Union argument against their suppos- nies in the volunteer militia The gravamen of that wrong chase of the floating vote in slavery. The serpent thus en- forth homogeneous, could pur- stantly to be tutored and pro- schools, in proportion to their Republican presidents. There spread of intelligence and tered into our political Eden. sue their great destiny har tected in its exercise? Is a numbers, with all possible are many errors of assumption increased appreciation of the man fitted to run a lace who fairness. Asylums were built required to make up this sup- virtues of the negroes, one How little we knew the tem- has to be held up in order that for the care of 'heir insane, posed wrong. In the first place, black man may soon be sent to morals of the age justified the would lead men as far as even contract, but I have not known white legislators on their white that every colored Republican for the colored brother; that holding barbarous races in the prickings of conscience for men fit for freedom who would constituents who paid at least is necessarily incapable of one colored postmaster for a bondage. The favorite places an unprofitable sin had done. be beterred from its exercise in bondage. for obtaining bondsmen was No sooner had we fairly wit- the face of inferior numbers. the little which the negroes the arts of the electioneerer, in the North; that the State of the African coast. So desirable nessed the end of hostilities be- Is there anything in the sentithem. If there be any wrong, for the Republican nominees. friendship for the colored man, injustice, in all this it can They who reason thus go to the a respectable negro, duly surely be seen only by that in census tables and ascertain the nominated on the Republican

mind the Senator, however, that occasionally cruelty to the ne-Builers Bill and Pours the Cold who had deprecated the war It is true that he says the rage against the negro that calls made to deprive them of their in the South I candidly admit

The discovery of a colored one accomplished colored man Democratic vote in the ballot- may be sent abroad to represent so great and good a man as Las bayonets was committed the without revolution and blood." South to the control of its own box is accepted as prima facie his country in some other More than once this is repeat- people the progress and pros- evidence of fraud. If those land than Hayti or Liberia. the Indians, once advocated for the people of these over- ed, It constitutes the burden perity of the negroes have been majorities are not forthcoming, the introduction of African thrown States. This they did of his speech, around which is as great as, if not greater than, they conclude that the vote of Republican party of the North by holding elections under clustered the brightest display in any other country where their friends has been suppress- may find the colored man fit to forcibily of an astronomer's tions, and of illiteracy, taken all its intelligence, wealth and

race humanity is indebted for good faith and promptitude than

victims.

know was properly characteri- of the colored men are loudest the weal of the negro or the public dress for their personal profit, and and most vehement, yet for six generally is to be advanced there

and regret. The millennium ger is advised."

perfect righteousness, of absolute justice, has not yet been recorded utterances of inspirations consoled ourselves for the class that swarm around excuse and justification for such a consoled ourselves for the class that swarm around excuse and justification for such a consoled ourselves for the class that swarm around excuse and justification for such a consoled ourselves for the class that swarm around excuse and justification for such a consoled ourselves. The consoled ourselves for the class that swarm around excuse and justification for such a consoled ourselves. tion is that the sins of the fath- slaughter of our kindred and that in States where they large- colored citizens to a full partic- be a violation of the Constitu- Dixon's line, though of course immediately follows, it is venient presence caused the supt is in full operation just North open to the construction that it is

Several hundred years ago been atoned for; that the Union argument against their suppose that the negro can no longer blocks of five, no ejectment of to me, is proof positive of their sand here Republican Senetars colored to me, is proof positive of their this fair land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, and the land of ours, which having been declared inclusions of their land of ours, and the land of ourse, and the land of ours, and the land of ourse, and the land of ourse, and the land of ourse, and the lan t would seem God had special of the chosen seat ished, the one great stumbling ern themselves and others who them and normal school es- and representatives from the schools or colored men from and the extraordinary idea of block and stone of offense was removed, and the people of ed by the introduction of human red by th for labor to remove them, for per of the victors in that great he may walk? I have, indeed, deaf, dumb, and blind, wherein it is assumed that the vote is came upon the Southern people as for labor to remove them, for per of the victors in that great he may walk. I have, heard of a beef which had to they receive the same treatsuppressed on the ground that some railroad attorney or a severe war, attended with whatcoming immigration of the tion for the fact that the be held up in order to be ment as the whites. The taxes every colored man is a Re-millionaire will make room in ever horrors it might be waged, afforded. The necessities of party supremacy knocked down to fill an army for all this were levied by the publican. Next, it is assumed the Senate of the United States we need look for no belp from the If he speaks truly in this he pass-

ever politician dared utter. The Senator says:

That no other people on the "reaching far as angels ken," qualified age, the number of vote of his party, and not be among us did not raise up and do face of this earth have ever beholds no motive for the pres. white voters likewise, and then scratched almost to the point us harm in the hour of our extremhis successful introduction of tricts, over each of which was submitted to the wrongs, the ervation of Republican supremi estimate what their majorities of defeat by those who love est adversity, even for the great him, as he was in Topeka; that boon of freedom and amidst the Let us hop e even that the grea-

bia, apon whose helpless people every worn-out partisan for whom hear, it would be a rapture of hope whom it was taken on the well known ground that the negro vote involuntary labor was in the invested with the like privi- entertainment to that speech under his own rule as it was the present freedman many of venience. It might be replied, filled your armies for the defence raising of their great staple. leges in all respects as the leges in all r where the remedy for the evil, more of such government as tions which existed between suppressing votes depended upon ranks of the defenders of the vation and uses of cotton soon The Constitution of the Uni- and when it would be announc- reconstruction fixed upon the master and slave. It must be the color of the vote, and that it Constitution after the Union was principle of our law, fundamental party in North Carolina, headed by prosperity of all the South- the States from making any darkness, he announced that continent a howling wilderness. ence of affairs, the colored believe that there would be no committed shall rule within limits in these seats before me. Orations

count of ignorance, nativity, or in such a crisis. But, Mr. Presi- as old as man himself, that the quences were freely delivered, and poverty, as so long prevailed in dent, we shall not need to call for strongest shall rule without limit? with applause, before the classes of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. help; we could manage such a war What is strength in a state? Other our university. This cause, under "blood-poisoning" by the adult- the white man, and that white teed rights of the colored man in I positively aver that these con-

Every requisite to the effect- governing of a good con- grievonsly wrecked.

The State of Mississippi is matter to those men of that parts form, whilst from the days of repair of the States of the South who expected to profit by the agriculture of the states of the South who expected to profit by the agriculture of the states of the South who expected to profit by the agriculture of the states of the South who expected to profit by the agriculture of the states of the state

The use of the torch and the dag-

This is reasonably construed as an incitation to the work of murder and arson, and although he says he "deplores it," yet as the by the class that swarm around an indirect invitation to these peo-ple to lay our homes in askes while come here to make traffic of their we sleep, and murder unsuspecting wrom The suppossition that they are

capable of such atrocities, it seems know anything of the inflammable their numbers have given the nature of the negro of the South or South. Is it not possible that he would not have ventured on the you are again mistaken as to expression of such a threat. He the nature of the evils which affurthermore told us in this connec- | feet them and what would be best tion that in case such a calamity for them? When you assume that people of our blood in the North; that we must "tread the wine press

es the blackest and vilest judgment upon his own people that But, Mr. President, I do not believe one word of it. As the negro

most tempting excitement, but continued faithful to their masters and their families even within bearing of the guns that were roaring to set them free, so I do not believe that they can be thus incited to attempt it now. They have more State and sec

tional pride and of neighborly affection for the people among whom they live than the Senator s willing to give them credib- for. Nor do I believe that what he has is true; on the contrary, I believe noble qualities of the great race to which I belong, that hundreds of thousands of stout hearts would come to our assistance on the ed of absolute legal equality, dwells ed of absolute legal equality, dwells trary, it is your interference that wings of steam preceded by the messenger of lightning, should we of recoulty barbaric origin, with

mostly be composed of what he calls the "cowardly and degraded saved; but, for the sake of our com- in its nature, that the majority of many of our greatest and most mon kindred and common glory, I those to whom the franchise is honored citizens, some of whom sat such feeling and no party division Is it a principle of natural law, against slavery and its consestitutional obligations concerning ed and alone kept the whole power the colored people are observed of the Union, with its unlimited knowledge, courage, skill in the with them, began their interference. in good faith and that all individu- forces and untold treasure, at bay use of weapons and tools, race A crusade against slavery and al infringements upon them are as or four long years, could easily, pride, traditions, experience of slave-holding, in defiance of legal much deprecated by the majority of with the aid of the great border affairs, and self-control. Placing rights, was begun and kept up,

But a great mistake is made by for conquest for politics for than election bribery is punished gross except by force or traud, the stronger the former will be generated into doing right. Know, theresince their freedom has in the keep together, and, however great people, with a view to subject them party had been shielded from jus- main been good and gentle. All the powers of the swifter, if com- to the rule of their emancipated tice by the connivance of his party things considered, it has been pelled to wait for his feebler broth slaves, defers indefinitely that wonderful. I believe I can say er, his powers are of no more use state of cordial harmony between ed entire States, counties and ferocious convulsious which ignorant? Are there no undis-

> that North Carolina is one of States are far ahead of anything red to their disatvantage. They virtue because of the superior drive the wedge between them to know, too, that however arbitrary numbers of the ignorant would be push them futher apart. You enjustice and oppression, it does not could perform nor intended to per- based, shall forever control two and have come to believe that it matter to those men of that party form, whilst from the days of re- white men, however wise and is the duty of others to provide for political demagogues for their the highest natural and moral aggrandizement; from the selling laws which have been impressed Helps, remarks that the considerate tions of social equality with the whites. They know, too, that when

John Browns an Nat Turners. Al- the ranks of her armies in numbers ready mutterings of discontent by fully proportioned to the black allegation that they are forever hostile organizations are heard, population. I think our Northern friends who so glibly undertake to settle the negro question have they have been in close contact yet to make the acquaintance of the negro himself. Their judgment of him is formed manifestly pression of the suffrage of this and in turn you endeavor to make profit for your part by legislation directed towards those

supposed wrongs.

You acknowledge yourselves because they mostly profess your politics and vote your tickets that, therefore, they are in a state of discontent that threatens at any noment to break forth in a bloody uprising, may you not be mistaken in the extent of your influence over them? Are you not aware of the difficulty the constant tutelage, and the vast amount of money you are compelled to employ to keep them in subjection to a party whose

active and respectable corporation

South, are their neighbors, land-

lords, and employers. Mr. President, what is the so called negro problem? As I understand it, it is one that can not be solved by speculation or legis hand in providing those laws and ation; but it is a question that will be settled by nature herself if her laws are not interfered with by the folly and passion of men. Nature will solve it as she does waste, destruction, and all incon-Give a highspirited, liberty-loving able citizens under the wiser of cultivated and dominating race, occupying a free state of their It might be that they would no race tradition, with no history of progress, but lately inveted with these unaccustomed and unearned franchises-how shall the

fraternity and progress ? without assistance. Had the things being equal, numbers give the influence of its great advocates, Senator been a participant in or a stength; but in the States of the would soon have claimed a majority would know that the eleven South. ed of, other things are far from ern States, which, though much equal. The whites where not who, as Carlyle says, divided among themselves, unaid. actually in superior numbers are anxious to serve God that they these two side by side, is it not as until so far was the cause of control it ? Nature would reverse great and honored North Caroall her own decisions if it were not linians would have suffered insult

ance and vice shall control knowly being on good terms with their The negroes know this, and are edge and virtue. To attempt by landlords and employers more

The mere statement of the pro- done to any people. position shows that it is bostile to

result in nothing else but the

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had. No where have they improv ed them.

I know not wnetner I should give credence to the ofterepeated feeling the effect of their anceste curse, but this I do know, that with every civilization of which we have any knowledge; with the oldest Egyptian, the Assyro-Baby lonian, the Grecian, the Roman, and the modern; in each of them we read of his presence, in every

He learned nothing for the bethot wis race from his masters in all these ages. He has made more progress in one hundred years as a Southern slave than he made in all the five thousand years intervening from his creaion until his landing on these

He has no type now living on th's earth equal to those of the and raised in the Slave States of America. All of which should be considered, by those who have pholosophy and fairness enough to look at the matter in some other light than the necessities of the Republican party in the next campaign. The fact dwelt upon by the

Senator from Kansas concerning their behavior towards their masters during the war is fully admitted. It is a strong argument to prove either that they were -unfitted for the great boon of liberty or that the horrid stories of inhuman treatment by their masters were lies I am not only willing but anxious to have justice done them in everything, and to do all that is as far distant from them as its may be required of me to aid them promises are from its performance; in the difficulties of their position; whilst the Democroatic party, combut I am not willing that they posed of the white men of the should rule me or my people. It is my pride that my State has been just to them and generous, and that in the adjusting of the new order of things after their enfranchisement I had no inconsiderable institutions which have made them comparatively well content in North Carolina.

I believe them irneanable for many reasons, of propety controlling public affairs, but I do besaid about the feeling of the North Clima a higheristed liberty levels. It may be thus stated: lieve them capable of making values causes or aggravates whatever of

> Such is the nature of man. We two be made to dwell together in have no right to order. Within This is the question. It is a strong and growing anti-slavery those firey zealots of the North,

> > There is another way by which

and glorified the negro, and offici. progress can spect or self reliance, a class of men