

The Orangeburg News.

FIRST OUR HOMES; THEN OUR STATE; FINALLY THE NATION; THESE CONSTITUTE OUR COUNTRY.

VOLUME I.

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THE ORANGEBURG NEWS.

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POETRY.

I've Been Thinking.

I've been thinking, I've been thinking,
What a glorious world were this,
Did folks mind their business more,
And mind their neighbors less.
For instance you and I, my friend,
Are sadly prone to talk
Of matters that concern us not,
And other's follies mock.

I've been thinking, if we'd begin
To mind our own affairs,
That possibly our neighbors might
Contrive to manage theirs.
We've faults enough at home to mend—
It may be so with others;
It would seem strange, if it were not,
Since all mankind were brothers.

Oh! would that we had charity,
For every man and woman,
Forgiveness is the mark of those
Who know "to err is human."
Then let us banish jealousy—
Let's lift our fallen brother,
And as we journey down life's road,
"Do good to one another."

ORIGINAL STORY.

A Fact, not a Fiction.

BY DAISY DALE.

No lady was more cheerfully admitted to Alice's friendship than was Julia Burton, a stylish but sensible girl of eighteen summers. Her parents, with a mere competence, were desirous of indulging their eldest daughter; and while she was fond of embellishing her own home, and improving her mind, she was none the less attentive to her parents; to her sisters and brothers, which rendered her quite attractive to visitors. Alice was received with unreserved affection, at the hearthside, where all the loveliest amenities of life were daily taught by practice. This intimacy rendered Alice happier, for 'tis chiefly by comparison, that we are able to value our blessings; and never till now, had this only child learned to appreciate the lavished tenderness of her parents.

Mrs. Burton had recently become averse to visiting, and while a welcome ever awaited her friends, to frequent evening assemblies was always a trial to her. She would delgate to Mrs. Burton the office of *chaperone* and often the girls would meet in the morning, arrange their plans, and enjoy their mother's surprise at their ready expediency in matters of taste or propriety. On one or two occasions, uncle John had been persuaded to call at Mr. Burton's, and even to be numbered among their escorts. Once, Alice with her quiet fun, had whispered, "Julia, dear, I'll let him be your beau, if you'll be a real good Aunt." To which her friend laughingly replied,

"A creature he,—so cold, so staid,
For him, I am no fitting mate."

In the next breath, that willful child gathered up to Uncle J. and said, "some one called you staidly, you are not haughty, Uncle, are you?"

"He replied, 'I will chide no breather in the world but myself, dear Alice, against whom I know most faults.'"

His voice faltered as he added, "If man's internal griefs were written on the brow, many who now excite envy, would appear to be objects of pity."

Alice's mirth was checked, and she recalled the circumstances once again.

To absent friends, say what is better,
Than memory's talisman,—a letter!

Letters,—O! precious compensation, to those who are considered. They come fearing no contradiction,—dreading no uncharitable insinuation, no criticism. They come relying on Memory's chair, heart-warmer,—soul-cheerers,—life-sustainers. The talkative comforters,—the unconventional index of our thoughts! Oh, let truth be stamped above their margin and kindness breathe from every line. They improve our happiness, or abate our misery. The sympathy, which dictates every word, doubles our joy, or divides our grief. Thank God for such, say we!!

And Edward Roland loved these sheets which often came to light his eye with gladness, and to wing his assiduity in study. He, yet "was needed to complete the satisfaction, at each *foote* or *soicible*, and the *minutiae* were given by Mr. J. or by dear Alice.

And yet he was content to roam
While lived so well by all at home.

"It is now two years since our boy left us, mother," said Mr. J., "and next winter I hope he will return a graduate."

"Ah, husband, I have missed the dear fellow so much, that I scarce am glad to hear, he will study law."

"Well, wife, his talent for elocution was so marked, even from childhood, that I judge it

will be his choice. He has only once alluded to it, but as we are fully able to meet the expense, I think it most advisable.

(To be Continued.)

ADDRESS OF THE Conservative Convention.

To the People of South Carolina.
FELLOW CITIZENS:—In times of great public danger, the instinct of self-preservation prompts a people to assemble and confer together upon the issues that the stern logic of events forces upon their attention. The citizens of South Carolina stand, to-day, in this position. It becomes our duty, therefore, to take counsel together, and to announce our conclusion: temperately, but firmly and fearlessly to the public.

In performing this duty, we shall avoid all terms of animadversion upon men, parties or sections. The vice of misrepresentation and detraction has become the order of the day, and both North and South have suffered from the evils which had their origin in this fruitful source of mischief. The Northern people, flushed with victory, have not been solicitous to ascertain the temper of the Southern mind; and the Southern people, crushed by the loss of their cause and their most cherished hopes, have been alike indifferent to events far which they do not feel themselves responsible, and over which they have not the power of control. In the meantime, wicked and designing men, both at the North and at the South, have not been wanting, to keep alive the fires of sectional hate, until now they threaten to involve the whole country in misrule and anarchy.

Of the late war, it is not our purpose now to speak—the sanguinary fact will stand forth forever in the history of these American States. Our duty now is with present evils, and their future consequences. The emancipation policy of the Government was and is the great fountain-head from which springs, and will continue to spring, the thousand evils by which we are environed.

What but disaster could follow in the footsteps of the hasty inconsiderate policy, by which 4,600,000 of slaves, without education, and without the least preparation for the change, were turned adrift from the discipline and tutored care of the master, to provide for themselves. Must it not be self-evident to any thinking man, no matter what his prejudices, that nothing he can now propose will be able to convert an idle, roving, thriftless, free negro population into the steady, healthy, laboring population that we formerly employed in our fields at the South. But gloomy as the prospect may be, the people at the South must regard this disastrous result as now fixed and settled beyond recall. Slavery is at an end. We do not propose that what has been done should be undone; but we do propose to show that, with the present free negro labor, the industrial resources of the South are in no condition to contribute to the prosperity of the country. It is the part of wisdom to look our misfortunes in the face. We should not deceive ourselves, either at the North, or at the South. Three years of experience by both Northern and Southern men attest the fact that the cultivation of both rice and cotton—the great staples of the South—is, under the present system of free negro labor, the most uncertain, the least remunerative, and the most harassing employment in the world. Had a gradual system of emancipation been adopted, men would by degrees have accommodated themselves to the gradual change, and the industry of the country would have received no such shock as now prostrates the South and overwhelms her in despair. Upon the agriculture of the country mainly depends the wealth and prosperity of the country. But a few years ago, the cotton exported from the United States controlled foreign exchange, and held the monopoly in foreign markets. How is it to-day, and how will it be in the future? Instead of five millions of bales, sent forward to exercise the further influence upon trade, we have not more than one-third of the crop of 1860, coming into market, and that at a price considered—very little, if anything, in advance of what was realized per pound for the large crops of former years, paid in gold. Why is this? it may be asked. The lands are the same—the seasons are the same—the climate is the same—why, then, the difference? We answer, the labor is not the same. Instead of industry, we have idleness; instead of system, we have disorder; and instead of profits, we have losses. Shall we be able to drive out competition in the future as we have in the past? Surely not. But a few years before the war one of our most intelligent planters represented this State at the World's Exhibition, in Paris, and upon his return, reported that he saw upon exhibition there, the cottons from Algiers and from the East which were in every way equal to the finest productions of the United States. He asked why cannot these cottons compete with the American cot-

tons? The answer was, because we cannot produce the article for the same price; we are compelled to hire the labor which you own—ours is unreliable, idle and costly, while yours is under control, steady and cheap. From these reasons, you will always be able to drive us out of the market. But what now is the condition of the Southern planter? His labor is much more costly than that of Algiers or the East, equally unsteady, and, probably, less under his control, and he finds himself now, after an exhausting war, driven from the market by prices which his former competitors can afford to make. The present low price of cotton is but the evidence of the causes already stated. And it may be that, in a few years, we shall be importing cotton and rice into the United States, instead of exporting these great commodities. We are now eating, in the interior of South Carolina, rice imported from China, and we have been credibly informed that East Indian cotton has been imported into New York. How soon the State-craft of Great Britain may find it expedient to impose an import duty upon American cottons, who can tell? But it may be asked, is there no remedy for these calamities to the Southern people? We answer, most probably no immediate remedy. Time is the great master of the situation. If our people will give up the delusive hope of growing rich by the cultivation of cotton—thereby probably working their utter ruin—they will cultivate less cotton and more breadstuff; raise for their own use and for sale horses, mules and stock of all kinds; cure their own hay, make their own butter, and sell the surplus; if they will labor to fill the land with plenty they will, in a short time, realize a change for the better in their own condition and the condition of the South; at least they shall not have debts and disappointments added to their other calamities. And in raising our own food and supplies at the South, we should also manufacture our own cloths and implements, upon our own soil. There can be no more auspicious moment than the present to begin, at the South, the manufacture of goods from our own raw material. This was done to a great extent during the war. No matter on how small a scale, let the work begin. To be successful, we must begin at the beginning, and work upward, as our population and wealth increase. We repeat that we would not now re-establish slavery at the South. It is too late to correct the error of its sudden extinction. It is to our interest to make the most of the circumstances by which we are surrounded. We cannot recall the past. "Let the dead past bury its dead." But let us not be entirely hopeless of the future.

Little more than half a century ago, the great commodity exported from this State was indigo. It ceased to be profitable here, because it could be more cheaply cultivated elsewhere. Cotton was introduced in its stead, and was cultivated with unparalleled success. Tobacco and rice contributed to increase the wealth of the South. If these staples cease to be as remunerative in the future as they have been in the past, we still have a great country left to us, and with something like good government, our necessities will give rise to new expedients. To conquer our difficulties, we must meet them with patience, fortitude and courage. But shall we have a good government? That is the great question presented in the next point that we propose to consider.

To admit as a fact, as has been assumed to be the result of the war, that the Government of the United States is supreme, and that the States have no rights, or if they have rights, that they are subordinate to the Government of the United States, or which is the same thing subordinate to the will of a majority having control of the Government, is to admit the abrogation of the Constitution, and to ignore the facts of history. In other words, it is to acknowledge that we have a Government of absolute powers instead of a Government of limited and delegated powers. It is admitted, that any Government, however limited, may for a time usurp all power. A single man may rise up and say, "I am the State." Any assembly of men may, for a season, arrogate, to themselves all power—executive, legislative and judicial. But the question recurs, is this law, or is this usurpation? Is this good government, or is it revolution? Mere physical force is not law. It may compel obedience, but it cannot give to its acts the sanction of law; unless it be in those countries where the will of an absolute despot is the recognized law of the land. To admit that the war has established such a power in the United States, is to admit that all constitutional government is at an end, and that as States, or as individuals, we hold our life, liberty and property at the will and pleasure of any majority, which, for the time being, may hold the power. Such today, may be practically the condition of ten States of the American Union. But, are we prepared to endorse these proceedings and engage so monstrous a proposition into our governmental polity? That is the question that the people of the North as well as of the South are called upon to consider! The great object

of laws, of constitutions and of government, is to protect the weak against the strong—to shield minorities against encroachments of majorities. It is a political axiom that a majority can protect itself. Acting by the sheer exercise of arbitrary power, a majority may for a time set at naught all laws within these States—it may enforce an obedience to military decrees, from which there is no appeal—it may administer a purely military government according to its own will, and as such it must be obeyed. But when we are called upon to sanction such government as being in accordance with the constitution and the laws, we have a right to test the question according to the rule proposed and to withhold our assent. We admit the fact that martial law exists in South Carolina; but we do not admit the principle that martial law has the right to impose a civil government upon us without our consent. Far be it from us to raise a factions opposition to the reconstruction acts of Congress. We believe that those acts and the measures they propose are destructive, not only to our constitutional rights, but to our social peace. With us it is not a question of party, nor of political power. We care nothing for these things. We are quite willing that others should enjoy all the honors, all the emoluments of office, all the pomp and circumstance of place. What we desire is peace—not the semblance of peace, but the substance of peace—peace at our own firesides and throughout all our borders. We desire peace to enable us to build up our waste places, our temples of worship, our sacked and ruined cities now lying in ashes, our dismantled dwellings and our prostrate credit. We desire peace for its own sake; for its holy Christian influence, and for the civilization and refinement which spring up in its path. Do the Reconstruction Acts of Congress propose to give us this peace? No, they give us war and anarchy, rather. They sow the seeds of discord in our midst, and place the best interests of society into the hands of an ignorant mob. They disfranchise the white citizen and enfranchise the newly emancipated slave. The slave of yesterday, who knew no law but the will of the master, is to-day about to be invested with the control of the Government. In all popular Governments, the two great sources of power may be traced: 1st. To the exercise of the ballot. 2d. To the franchise of the jury-box. Invest any people with these two great powers, and they have at once the government of the country in their hands. By the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, these powers are conferred upon the negro—he can make and unmake the Constitution and the laws, which he will administer according to the dictates of others, or his own caprice.

We are not unfriendly to the negro; on the contrary, we know that we are his best friends. While he occupied the position of a slave, he was protected by the laws, according to his condition in life. And now, that he has been made free, we are not only willing to confer upon him every civil right, but to protect him in the full and free enjoyment of those rights. In this property, in his life, and in his person, we are willing that the black man and the white man shall stand together upon the same platform, and be shielded by the same equal laws. We venture the opinion, that the people of South Carolina are prepared to adopt, as their own, the Constitution of any New England or other Northern State, wherein it is supposed that the civil rights of the negro are most fully and amply secured. But upon a question involving such grave and momentous issues, we should be untrue to ourselves, and unfair to our opponents, were we to withhold the frank and full expression of our opinions. We, therefore, feeling the responsibility of the subject and the occasion, enter our most solemn protest against the policy of investing the negro with political rights. The black man is what God and nature and circumstances have made him. That he is not fit to be invested with these important rights, may be no fault of his. But the fact is patent to all, that the negro is utterly unfitted to exercise the highest functions of the citizen. The government of the country should not be permitted to pass from the hands of the white man into the hands of the negro. The enforcement of the Reconstruction Acts by military power, under the guise of negro conventions, cannot lawfully re-establish civil government in South Carolina. It may for a time hold us in subjection to a quasi civil government, backed by military force, but it can do no more. As citizens of the United States, we should not consent to live under negro supremacy, nor should we acquiesce in negro equality. Not for ourselves only, but on behalf of the Anglo-Saxon race and blood in this country, do we protest against this subversion of the great social law, whereby an ignorant and depraved race is placed in power and influence above the virtuous, the educated and the refined. By these Acts of Congress, intelligence and virtue are put under foot, while ignorance and vice are lifted into power.

In South Carolina, the negro majority, under the Reconstruction Acts, is much more

than two to one. In most of the other Southern States, the negro majority is not so great as almost as decided. In those States where the white vote is in the ascendancy, the election districts have been so arranged, as to take the political power from the white vote and cast it in favor of the negro vote. What, then, is the inevitable result? It invests the negro with absolute political power in each of the Southern States, and at the same time invests him with the balance of power in the United States. Nor is this all—the reconstruction scheme closes the ballot-box against the best informed and educated classes in the community, and opens it to the negro of whom not more than one in a hundred can read a word, and not more than one in a hundred can write his name; and multitudes of whom are so profoundly ignorant, as to be unable to remember the name by which they have been registered. Verily, this seems to be converting a popular Government, of whom we have been justly proud, into a popular farce; and we would be content so to consider it, if it did not involve the issue of life and death to the form of Government established by our fathers for the benefit of themselves and their posterity. If the object of the framers of the Reconstruction Acts was to degrade the Southern people, it is time for them to consider whether the degradation may not be brought to their very doors—whether the poisoned cup may not be returned to their own lips. But it may be asked, why do not the Southern people accept the situation and control the negro element? This question is much more easily asked than answered. In the first place, it may be said that the influence of the corrupt and intriguing demagogue, who will appeal to passion and prejudice, has always been found to be more powerful with excited and ignorant mobs than the wisest counsels of the best friends. Besides, the foundation stone upon which Republican Government rests is, that the elective franchise is to be exercised by a free, intelligent and unbiased judgment, and the negro is admitted that this franchise is to be controlled, or, in other words, to be made the subject of undue influences and of bribes, their will must be admitted that Republican Government is an end, and must sooner or later give way to such other Government as may be forced upon a depraved and already corrupted people. But if it is proposed in advance to place the enfranchised negro under control, why confer the franchise at all? Surely, the part of a wise government is to prevent the evil, and not open the door to the mischief which others are unmolested they must be prepared, by strict management, to avert. But why press the subject further? It is enough for us to know that this wild and reckless experiment comes home to the hearth-stone of every citizen, and involves family and property, society, liberty and life itself. Nor is this all: The courts of justice are dragged into the mire from their high position; our most intelligent white citizens are excluded from the jury, while the ignorant negro is elevated to that responsible position; the jury lists are made up from the lists of registered voters, which, as we have said, are more than two to one in favor of the negro. Not only, but it is remembered, is the negro admitted to the jury-box, but the white man is excluded therefrom. Think you that when the great masters of the common law of England pronounced their encomium upon the trial by jury, that they contemplated for a moment such an instrument as an ignorant negro panel? Think you, that when the framers of the Constitution of the United States incorporated into that instrument the provision that the trial by jury should always be held inviolate, that they intended to engraft upon it such an enormity as negro jurymen, fresh from the cotton and rice fields of the South? Think you, that when John Rutledge and his illustrious co-peers signed that instrument on the part of South Carolina, that they intended to forge a chain upon it, in a period no longer than an ordinary life-time, would drag their grand-children (who were then playing around their knees, and some of whom are now living, for trial before a jury of their own slaves? Talk of additional humiliation, talk of confiscation, complain of clemency to rebels, after this! God forbid! The Government of the United States has enforced against the Southern people the most stupendous act of confiscation that has ever been enforced in the history of nations; their property in slaves has been confiscated to the amount of three thousand millions of dollars; other personal property, in the shape of cotton, provisions, stock, plate and money, has been captured or destroyed, to the value of one thousand millions of dollars; a front these causes their land has deteriorated to the extent of one thousand millions of dollars—making in the aggregate the enormous sum of five thousand millions of dollars. These overwhelming pecuniary losses fall exclusively upon the Southern people. The political evils complained of will, of course, fall chiefly upon the people of the South, but not exclusively upon them. Fasten negro supremacy upon the

[CONCLUDED ON SECOND PAGE.]