



"To thine own self be true, and it must follow,"

as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."

BY ROBT. A. THOMPSON & CO.

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POETRY.

The Mountain Pine.

BY MISS JULIA PLEASANTS.

Let others sing of the myrtle-tree,
And the oak so proud and tall;
But the myrtle fades, and the oaken shades,
Disappear when the snow-storms fall.

POLITICAL.

Speech of Horace Greeley on Reconstruction.

AT RICHMOND, VA., MAY 4, 1867.

A very large assemblage of persons of diverse views and hues having been convened on brief notice at the spacious African church, Mr. Greeley addressed them as follows:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I did not understand that my invitation to speak here to-night, hasty and informal as it was, was the desire of any party or section of the people. I understood that a few citizens of different views—perhaps I should rather say, of differing antecedents—wished to hear me on the present aspect of our public affairs, and I consented to address them.

"SHALL THE SWORD BE YOUR FOREVER?" So asked of old a Hebrew prophet, standing amid the ruins of his desolated country. So I, an American citizen, standing amid some of the ruins of our great civil war, encircled by a hundred thousand graves of men who fell on this side and on that, in obedience to what they thought, the dictates of duty and of patriotism, shall speak in the spirit of that prophet, asking you whether the time has not fully come when all the differences, all the heart-burnings, all the feuds and the hatreds which necessarily grew up in the midst of our great struggle, should be abandoned forever?

The wise king said, "There is a time for war and a time for peace." I trust that the time for war has wholly passed—that the time for peace has fully come. What obstacles have for the last two years impeded, what obstacles still impede, the full realization of peace to this country? There may be what is called peace, which is only a mockery of peace, when people of different sections and of different parties, in a great struggle still look distrustfully, hatefully, as it were upon each other, and are unwilling to meet and to exchange civilities.

The war for or against the Union virtually ended with the surrender of Gen. Lee's army, more than two years ago. Both parties felt that that surrender was conclusive of the struggle; and, while much had been idly or boastfully said of 20 years of guerrilla war, after the armies should be dispersed, yet, when the surrender was communicated to different sections of the South, the people everywhere said, "This is the end of the war; there is no use in struggling any longer." And, according to ordinary calculations, one year from that hour should have seen a perfect restoration of peace.

Why have we not yet realized that expectation? In the first place, when the National party, if I may so call it—the party of the Union—was in the first flush of a perfect, undivided triumph, an assassin's blow struck down the Chief Magistrate of the Nation. I would be the last to argue, or to insinuate, that that was the act of the defeated party in the nation. [Applause.] Still, there were certain facts connected with it which tended to give an exceedingly malign aspect to that general calamity. The assassin and his fellow-conspirators were violent, vehement partisans of the Southern cause. I believe one of them

had fought for it; while they had all been ardent champions of the principles upon which it was founded, and of the system of human bondage with which it was identified. It was the act of men who were heart and soul with the Confederacy, not merely in its efforts, but in its fundamental aspirations.

As the news was flashed across the country that its Chief had been stricken down in the hour of general exultation, his first assistant in the Government even more foully stabbed and mangled on a bed of sickness and pain, and that co-ordinate efforts had been made to destroy the lives of other heads of the Government, a cry of wild and passionate grief and wrath arose from the whole people. Those who had been pleading for magnanimity and mercy to the conquered—who had been appealing to not unwilling ears in the few days intervening between the close of the war and the occurrence of that terrible calamity—were silenced in a moment by this appalling crime committed upon the person of our great and good President. The Nation could not fairly consider, amid its blind rage and grief, that this assassination was the work of a few unauthorized by and unknown to the great mass of those against whom their fury was directed. It was an unspeakable calamity—a calamity to the Southern quite as much as to the Northern part of the country.

The Military Trials which followed that event—which, I might say, completed the tragedy—were gratifications of the popular wrath which rather tended to stimulate than to appease it. They were the expressions of what the popular heart felt and desired at the time. For my part, I was opposed to them; and I trust that all Americans have, by this time, learned to regret that the regular and ordinary tribunals of the country had not been allowed to deal with these criminals as they deal with others. [Applause.]

Before the popular frenzy had had time to subside, there assembled, under the military order of the President of the United States, Conventions or Legislatures in the several Southern States, representing only, or mainly, those who had been defeated in our great struggle. I say the Southern Conventions or Legislatures which then met represented mainly those persons; and the first aspect presented to the people of the North by the action of these Legislatures was one of what I may mildly term unfriendliness toward the colored portion of the people of the South.

I am not here to discuss what absolutely was, but what was very apparent at that time. The Southern Legislatures met, and began at once either to enact or revive laws discriminating harshly and unjustly against the colored people of the South, as if the object had been to punish them for their sympathy with the Union in the struggle that had just closed.

I will here merely glance at the substance of these laws. You are familiar with them; for some of them were passed in your own State. There, for instance, are the laws in relation to Marriages, to contracts for labor, to Arms-bearing, and to giving testimony in Courts, which, if they ever had been necessary or wise, had utterly ceased to be applicable after the overthrow of Slavery, and the institutions based upon it. I will not detain you by any comments upon these laws, but will content myself by bringing your attention to two of them, which have been revised in most of these States.

There are, first, the laws forbidding the Black people of the South to bear arms. Now, so long as Slavery existed here and in the other States of the South, it was perfectly reasonable and proper, so far as anything growing out of Slavery was proper, that Blacks should be forbidden to have arms in their hands. You may find fault with Slavery, but you cannot find fault—Slavery being admitted as a fact—with slavelholding legislatures for forbidding the colored people to hold and bear arms. It was not deemed compatible with public safety that Blacks should be allowed to keep and use arms like White persons. But, the moment Slavery had passed away, all possible pretences for disarming Southern Blacks passed away with it. Our Federal Constitution gives the right to the people everywhere to keep and bear arms; and every law whereby any State Legislature undertakes to contravene this, being in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, had no longer any legal force. And, when it was seen that Confederate soldiers in their uniforms of gray went around to Black men's homes and took away arms which they had earned by fighting for the Union, and which had been assigned to them for honorable service, who could this look like but a revival of the Rebellion?

For, when you say a Black is fit to give testimony in a case between a Black and a White man, you must realize that he is at least as well qualified to give testimony in a controversy between two Whites, where it is probable he would have no such bias or partiality as he might have if one of the parties were Black.

I say all these laws, invidious, unnecessary, and degrading as they were, looked to the people of the North like a revival of the Rebellion in a more insidious and a good deal less manly aspect than it wore on the heights of Fredericksburg and in the valley of the Chickamauga. It looked to us at the North as if men who had been beaten in fair, stand up fight chose to revive the contest in such a manner that they could annoy and irritate us without exposing themselves to the perils of battle or the penalties of treason. I say that this legislation, which prevailed more or less throughout the States of the South, was one of the chief obstacles, and is one of the still remaining impediments, to an early and genuine reconstruction of the Union.

I need not more than allude to the deplorable outrages at Memphis and New Orleans, which seemed to indicate the animus to this course of oppressive class legislation. You may not probably know to how great an extent the public feeling and the elections of the North in the year 1866 were affected by what we call the New Orleans Massacre. I don't care to argue or assume that those who were the victims of these outrages were entirely right, nor that their adversaries or slaughterers were wholly wrong. It was a fact that the colored people of Louisiana were trying to get the Right of Suffrage, and by means which their friends thought legitimate. The other party, however, thought otherwise; and, instead of referring the matter to the General in command, or to some peaceful tribunal, the reassembling of the old Constitutional Convention was made the pretext for an attack which resulted in the slaughter of some scores of American citizens, and in a very stern, sad revulsion of public sentiment to the prejudice of those of you who had been in arms against the Union. These outrages, this unwise and invidious legislation, fixed in the minds, I will not say of a majority of the people of the North, but in the minds of a very large proportion of the wise, intelligent, and conscientious people of the North, a conviction which I think will not easily be shaken, that there can be no reconstruction, without the hearty admission on the part of the Southern States, and the securing on the part of the nation, of the right of all men to be governed by equal laws. [Applause.] I will not say that we who so hold constitute a great majority of the Northern people; but I will say that we are very many more than we were prior to the anti-negro enactments of Mr. Johnson's legislatures in the Southern States, and before the outrages of 1866 at Memphis and at New Orleans. I think that, before these conditions were reported to the North, the conviction was fixed in a great many minds, as it now is in a great many more, that no reconstruction would be real and enduring which did not include guaranties for the rights of the colored people of the South; and when I say rights, I mean their equal rights with any and all other persons. [Applause by the negroes.] It is a very common remark, and a very true one, that the North is in honor bound to guarantee the liberties of the Black people of this country, because of their conduct during our great war. I have no doubt that this is true; yet I deem it but half the truth. I hold the South equally bound to secure the same result, because of the conduct of the Blacks toward the Whites of the South in that same civil war.

I fully admit the obligations of the North (or the Nation) to the Blacks. Some may exaggerate their services, others unduly depreciate them; but there was the general fact, that, whereas, in the beginning of the war, when nothing was said about Emancipation, the Blacks of the South shouted with their masters without knowing much about the cause of the war, yet, as the struggle proceeded and became more deadly, and the North found itself obliged to proclaim Emancipation as a means of putting down the resistance at the South, the sympathies of the colored people of the South, however silently expressed, became from that hour more and more decided and unanimous on the side of the Union. They did not at first comprehend the contest; and yet thousands, from mere instinct, from what they heard at Southern barbecues and in their masters' houses, learned that the war on the part of the South was a war for Slavery; and they naturally argued that the war on the part of the North either was or must become a war for Freedom. [Applause.]—Now, then, I say that, while the North is under obligations to those people for thousands of acts of kindness toward our soldiers, who were sometimes scattered as fugitives in a hostile territory, and for acts of positive aid on the battle-field and in the camp, the South also owes a debt of gratitude to these people for their general fidelity and good-will, as well as good sense, displayed in resisting every temptation to take advantage of their masters' extremity to achieve at any cost their own liberties. I believe Southern men will do the Blacks of the South the justice to say that very often whole neighborhoods were almost stripped of White men of any considerable force, and lay wholly at the mercy of those White men's slaves. Those knew what the contest meant; they knew that they might, if they chose to do so, commit massacre, and, having desolated their masters' households, they might fly to the Yankees, by whom they reasonably hoped to be protected. But I do not know, out of the ten thousand instances where these temptations were presented, that there were ever five cases in all where they were not resisted. You heard it said that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation was intended to put

the knife to the throats of all the Southern Whites—that it was a general proclamation of liberty to kill, and burn, and ravage, throughout the South. In that light, it was held up to general reprobation. I ask you all to bear witness, that this prediction was nowhere justified by the event. The colored people of the South who were still held as slaves, uniformly felt their affection for their masters and families was such, that they would be the dearest dye, if they should take advantage of their masters' absence in the war to avenge their families. The Southern Whites ought to feel, and I trust that many of them do feel, gratitude toward the colored people for their general deportment throughout the war. The Blacks often ran away to the Union armies and enlisted there; but they took no undue advantage of the opportunities offered by their masters' absence. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, there have been many instances wherein men held in Slavery have been instantly or gradually, by one means or another, emancipated, but I don't remember any instance where a fettered race was liberated from Slavery, and yet kept for generations in a servile, abject, degraded condition. There is the great slavelholding Empire of Brazil—always slavelholding since it had any consequence at all—wherein men who are slaves to-day may be free to-morrow, and thenceforth eligible to any trust, any office, being voters and citizens, precisely as though born free and White. Such was the course pursued by Great Britain in respect to the slaves emancipated in her Colonies. Slavery is one thing, Freedom another. But there is an intermediate condition, which is neither Slavery or Liberty, that invites all the energy and aspiration of freemen, and yet involves more than half the disabilities of the slave. Such a condition as that, I believe, was never long maintained or endured in any civilized country. And yet, that seems to be the condition which the dominant race in the South destined the Blacks to occupy by the legislation of 1865—66—a condition which is neither Slavery nor Freedom, and one which men partly educated, and who felt themselves to a certain extent emancipated, would find utterly unbearable.

Let me here meet an objection which is sometimes offered. Some men say "The Black people of the South are, to a great extent, ignorant and degraded; how then can you insist that they are qualified to enjoy all the privileges of citizens?" I say if you make ignorance a uniform ground of exclusion from political power, I can comprehend the justice of your rule, your objection. But, so long as ignorance or degradation is no bar to citizenship as to White men, I protest against making it a bar to suffrage on the part of Black men, who have excuses for ignorance which White men have not. [Applause.]

But then, there are peculiar reasons why this race among us should have its liberties secured by the most stringent, firmest guaranties. They are and must remain, to some extent, a separate and peculiar people in the land. They will be exposed at every step to perils and antipathies which other men are not, not only because of their color, but because of their weakness as well. For they are not only a minority of our people, but their numerical importance is steadily declining. When our first Federal census was taken, in 1790, they were nearly a fifth of our entire population; when our last census was taken, in 1860, they were but an eighth; and the child is now born who will see them no more than a twentieth. I do not believe that among us as freemen, nor that they will prove less prolific in freedom than in bondage. But there is no African immigration to this country, and never has been any voluntary immigration of negroes to any region outside of the tropics. They may be dragged into the temperate zone in fetters, as they have been; but in freedom their tendency is wholly the other way. And, on the other hand, the waves of a great and steadily swelling European immigration are constantly breaking on our shores, depositing here some 250,000 people per annum, mainly in the prime of youthful vigor. By this gigantic influx, the character of our population is being constantly modified, so that the Blacks, now a majority in two or three States, will soon be a minority in each, and an inconsiderable, powerless fraction of our whole people. The present, therefore, is the accepted time to secure their rights, when there is a public interest felt in them, and when there are obligations of honor incumbent upon the whole country which it cannot well disregard. Their equal rights as citizens are to be secured now or not at all. I insist, then, in the name of Justice and Humanity, in the name of our country and of every righteous interest and section of that country, that the rights of all the American people—native or naturalized in the State Constitutions first, and in the Federal Constitution so soon as possible—that we make it a fundamental condition of American law and policy that every citizen shall have in the eye of the law, every right of every other citizen. [Applause.] I would make the equal rights of the colored people of the country, under the laws and the constitutions thereof, the cornerstone of a true beneficent reconstruction. [Applause.] I wish to be done with the topic at once and forever. I wish to have it disposed of and out of the way, so that we can go on to other topics and other interests that demand our attention. I long to say that we have settled forever the question of Black men's rights by imbedding them in the Constitutions of the States and the Nation, so that they cannot be disturbed hereafter. If this had been promptly and heartily done, two years ago, in the Johnson Legislatures of the South, as assembled—every State of the South would have been in the Union ere this, and every apprehension of penalties to be inflicted on the people of the

South would have been banished forever.

But it is said that there are Republican States, or States under Republican rulers, which have not granted to the Blacks their full rights. That is disgracefully true. The great mass of the Republicans have always insisted that Black enfranchisement was a necessity, and have uniformly insisted that it should be effected. We have been resisted, and to some extent overborne, by a mere shred of our party combining with the Democrats to defeat us. Still, public sentiment has steadily improved, until nearly every Republican in the North, with many who have acted with the Democrats, now heartily favor a National guaranty of All Rights to All. [Applause.]

If there be any who think the Republican party ought to be dissolved—if there be one present who desires that it should get out of the way to give room for new combinations—I say to him, Help us to finish this controversy by imbedding in every Constitution (State or National) a provision that every citizen shall have all the legal rights of every other citizen, and no more. Let us be done with this matter, and then we can move on to what may be the next question in order. [Applause.]

I come now to Proscription as another obstacle, impediment, or whatever you may choose to call it, to the reconciliation of the Southern people to the Union. It is asked, and very cogently, "How can you expect us to be reconciled to a Government which denies us the right to vote or to hold office under it?" A very fair question. In my judgment, there is no reason why any man who, to-day, is a thoroughly loyal and faithful citizen of the United States, should be restrained from voting. This, however, is a matter which rests entirely with Congress; and what I offer are my own private views. It is just and wise to disfranchise men who are still disloyal, and who desire that disloyal men should obtain the mastery of this country. I deny that those who are implacably hostile to the National authority—who are wandering off to Brazil, to Mexico, &c.—have any natural right to a voice in the government of the country. And that there is a class in the South who merely submit or acquiesce—who are reconciled only so far that they don't choose to put themselves in the way of punishment—there can be very little doubt. I hope the number of this class is comparatively small now, and that it is daily diminishing. May I not hope that the things in this city this week have contributed somewhat to diminish its numbers? The Government should not, therefore, disfranchise men who have no control in the country. The people should deny to any man who would divide the country, or refuses to be reconciled to it, a share in its government. I accept the proscription embodied in the Military Reconstruction act of Congress only as a precaution against present disloyalty; and I believe the nation will insist on such proscription being removed so soon as reasonable and proper assurances are given that disloyalty has ceased to be powerful and dangerous in the Southern States.

Then as to the question of Confiscation, what is to be said? What is the truth about Confiscation? I have been told, since I came here, that the colored people of this city and the State were refusing to buy for themselves homes, because they were imbued with the belief that Congress would very soon confiscate and distribute the lands of the Rebels of this State, and give each of them a share. If this be so, I beg you to believe that you are more likely to earn a home than get one by any form of confiscation. I have no right to speak for Congress, and cannot say what it will do; but I have a right to say what Congress has done. Now we have had, since the war closed, two years of violent political contest. Acts have been done and feelings evinced in the South within those years which were strongly calculated to irritate the overwhelming majority in Congress. Then there has been at the head—perhaps I should say the head and foot—of the movement for confiscation, the very ablest as well as the oldest member of Congress, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, one of the strongest men who has been seen in Congress at any time, and who has achieved great influence at the North by forty years of uncompromising warfare against every species of human bondage. He has been the recognized leader of the House for the last six or eight years. Mr. Stevens has made speeches for confiscation, first, to his constituents; next, in Congress; and he has lately written a letter condemning those men who are "peddling out amnesty," and insisting upon confiscation. But if any other member of Congress has gravely proposed any measure of confiscation at all, I don't remember the fact; and if any Committee of either House has reported any scheme of confiscation since the close of the war, I am not aware of it. I say no bill has been even reported which proposed to take away the property of persons merely because they have been Rebels, and give it to others because they were loyal. These are the facts in the past. You can judge of the future as well as I can. I don't mean to say that Congress could not be provoked to decree confiscation by means of violence and acts of outrage at the South. I don't pretend to know what Congress may do under some conceivable circumstances; I state what it has done and has intimated its purpose to do, so far as I can speak from knowledge and recollection.

Let me speak for myself only as to the general policy of Confiscation. If half the vacant, waste lands of the South could be instantly distributed among the landless, I have no doubt that the effect would be beneficent. I think that such an allotment of a small farm to every poor man would do good to the many and no real harm to the few. But, when you come to the practical work of Confiscation, it will be found a very tedious process that years would be required to consummate. And,

meanwhile, what is to become of those who must live by their daily labor? Who is to fence and cultivate the land? What is to become of the great mass of the poor who must live by cultivating the earth? When we reflect upon the general devastation of the South, by reason of the turmoil and ravage of War, and consider how all industry would be paralyzed by the prospect and the process of confiscation, we shall realize that inevitable evils of Confiscation are too great to justify an experiment of this character. In my judgment, any general confiscation will produce general bankruptcy and desolating famine. I judge that the evils of such confiscation exceed all that have been experienced by the country in all its past convulsions.

Again, Mr. Stevens proposes to pay five hundred million dollars into the Treasury by a "mild process of confiscation." I do not know what could be done in this way; but I am very confident that all the confiscations that have ever taken place since men first went to war have not altogether resulted in putting \$500,000,000 into the public treasuries of nations. I do not speak of those confiscations whereby some great conquerors seized and appropriated the treasures and jewels of an oriental king; I speak of the confiscation of individual property in the shape of lands and houses. Individuals have grown enormously rich by confiscation—have secured to themselves dukedoms and principalities; but they were the men who worked the machinery; [applause and laughter] the great mass derived no benefit, or very little, from their plunder.

Now as to providing poor men with lands by any such process as this. I admit the premise that the poor should have lands. I have for many years advocated the policy of allowing every poor man to help himself to a portion of the public lands upon the easiest terms. There are hundreds of millions of acres still belonging to the Republic in the South as well as in the North and West—in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, as well as in States further North. These lands are public property, and 160 acres of them are offered to actual settlers on the payment of ten dollars, which is charged to cover the expense of surveys, deeds, &c. I have always been in favor of encouraging settlement upon the public lands, and I am of the opinion now that it will be easier and much wiser for the colored man to acquire a home in this form than be vainly awaiting the possible chance of acquiring one by confiscation. I may speak confidently of what has occurred in other lands, and I say confidently that confiscation has rarely or never aided the poor to secure homes any more than it has filled treasuries. It has bred deadly feuds and perpetuated class hatreds. Many of the lands confiscated in Ireland two centuries ago by Cromwell and yet the occasion of strife and bitterness; the heirs of the original owners believing themselves to-day justly entitled to those lands, and that any means of recovering them, rebellion inclusive, would be justifiable.

I believe no man who is the true friend of our colored people would advise them to help themselves to the lands which had been wrested from their White neighbors by confiscation. I will not further insist upon the fact that confiscation shrivels and paralyzes the industry of the whole community subjected to its influence; but in my judgment, if all the property of the Southern States were taken by confiscation to-morrow, and put up at auction, you could not get five hundred millions of dollars out of it and into the Treasury.—How fraud and perjury would flourish, what mountains of falsehood would be conjured up by the presence of general confiscation. I need not say. Instantly, every one who apprehended danger to his property would make a sham sale or transfer of it to some loyal cousin or nephew whom he thinks he can trust, to be kept up until the proper time for its restoration; when he might find that his trusted relative had concluded to keep it. So it has been, so it would be. All manner of deceit, fraud, corruption, and miscellaneous iniquity, flourishes in the presence of any attempt at general confiscation.

I do not approve of appeals to any particular class, and I make no claim to be a special friend of the colored people; but this I say, friends and countrymen, since I have been here I have been more than ever before impressed with the exceeding cheapness of Virginia lands. I believe there are lands selling to-day near this city at ten dollars per acre which will be worth in a few years ten times that price; and I say to all, if you can buy lands in Virginia and pay for them, buy them; for they are certain to be dearer in the early future. I am confident buying lands is the cheapest way of getting them. I am confident that buying these lands is the cheapest possible mode of securing a homestead. Carlyle says that the great mistake of Rob Roy was his failure to realize that he could obtain his beef cheaper in the grass market of Glasgow than by harrying the low lands; and he will repeat that mistake who fails to secure a farm by purchase to-day in Virginia because he hopes to obtain one under some future act of confiscation.

I urge you, poor men of Virginia, whether White or Black, to secure yourselves homes of your own forthwith. If you can buy them here, do so, before the coming influx of immigration shall have rendered lands too dear.—If not, strike off to the Public Lands, South, North and West, and how out for yourselves homes as my ancestors did in New Hampshire, and as millions have done throughout the country. Become land owners, all of you, so soon as you may. Own something which you can call a home. It will give you a deep and feeling of independence and of self-respect, and do not wait to obtain a home by confiscation. [Applause.]

"Well," says a Conservative, "what you [SEE SECOND PAGE.]