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BY HOYT & HUMPHREYS.

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JAMES A. HOYT & W. W. HUMPHREYS,  
Proprietors.

**SPEECH OF HON. B. F. PERRY,**  
At the Public Meeting in the  
Court House, Greenville, S. C.,  
on Monday, the 3d day of July,  
1865.

Mr. CHAIRMAN—This public meeting of the citizens of Greenville is one of deep humiliation and sorrow. A cruel and bloody war has swept over the Southern States. One hundred and fifty thousand of our bravest and most gallant men have fallen on the field of battle! The land is filled with mourning widows and orphans. There is scarcely a house in which there has not been weeping for some loved one lost? Three thousand millions of dollars have been spent by the Southern States in carrying on this war! And now we are called upon to give up four millions of slaves, worth two thousand millions of dollars more? Our country has been ravaged and desolated! Our cities, towns and villages, are in smouldering ruins! Conquering armies occupy the country. The Confederacy has fallen, and we have been deprived of all civil government and political rights. We have neither law nor order. There is no protection for life, liberty or property. Everywhere there is demoralization, rapine and murder. Hunger and starvation are upon us! And now we meet as a disgraced and subjugated people to petition the conqueror to restore our lost rights! Such are the bitter fruits of secession!

How different, Mr. Chairman, in tone, spirit and character, was that meeting of the citizens of Greenville, just five years ago, in this same building, which inaugurated this most fatal, bloody and disastrous revolution? Then all was joy, hope, excitement and confidence. Seated in my law office, looking towards this court house, I saw a crowd of persons rushing in, composed of college boys and their professors, merchants, mechanics, doctors, lawyers and idlers from the hotels, with a sprinkling of farmers and planters. Soon I heard the public speaking commence, and the air was rent with the wild and rapturous applause of the excited audience. The more extravagant the denunciations of the Union, the louder were the shouts of applause! I repeated in my heart the memorable words of Christ, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!" My mind was then filled with the worst forebodings as to the future. I thought I foresaw all the evils which have since befallen our beloved country. But my political influence was gone, and my voice was powerless to stay the angry and excited feelings of my fellow citizens.

We were at that time, Mr. Chairman, the most prosperous, free and happy people on the face of the earth. The sun had never shone on an empire or nation whose future was more bright and glorious. But the public mind had unfortunately, been prepared, in the Southern States, for thirty years past, for an effort at disunion. The people had been induced to believe that disunion would be a quiet blessing, and that it might come without war and bloodshed! The leading politicians of the South were anxiously waiting for some plausible pretext for seceding from the American Union. The election of Abraham Lincoln President of the United States by a sectional party, at the North, was regarded as a favorable opportunity for accomplishing their long cherished purpose. We were told, after this event, that there was no longer any safety in the Union for slavery or our constitutional rights!

Let us now see, Mr. Chairman, if there was and truth in this assertion. Mr. Lincoln was elected in direct conformity with the Federal Constitution. He was elected in consequence of the political divisions and dissensions at the South. Had the Southern States been united on one candidate, instead of voting for three, the result would have been different. Mr. Lincoln only received a little more than one third of the votes cast in the Presidential election. He therefore went into office with a large majority of the American people opposed to his administration. There was at that time a majority of twenty-seven members of the House of Representatives in Congress, in opposition to President Lincoln. There was a majority of six members of the Senate of the United States opposed to him. And, sir, a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States was opposed to the avowed principles of the Republican party, which elected Mr. Lincoln. Where, then, was the power of the President to injure the South, or invade the constitutional

rights of the Southern States? He was in a minority in both Houses of Congress, and in the Supreme Court, with a large majority of the American people opposed to him. He was powerless. No legislation could be had, and no appointment made, without the approval of the Southern States through the Democratic party. The election of President Lincoln was, then, no just ground for secession.

But it was urged, Mr. Chairman, that the Republican party would soon obtain the ascendancy in both Houses of Congress, and then the constitutional rights of the Southern States would be destroyed. There was no reason for this assertion, when we reflect that a majority of the people of the United States were opposed to the principles of the Republican party. Admit, however, for argument, that the President and his party might be in the ascendancy, and would make aggressions on Southern rights and institutions. Then, sir, we should have had the whole Democracy of the North rallying around their violated Constitution and standing by the South. And if war had come, it would have been at the North, where the people were divided, and not at the South, where they were all united. It would have been a civil, as well as a sectional war, in the Union, and for the Constitution of the Union. But, sir, there was not the slightest probability of such an issue. The Republican party voted almost unanimously, in Congress, in 1860, that they had no power to interfere with slavery in the States, and no wish to do so, if they had. When the Southern States seceded from the Union, and withdrew their members from Congress, they took the Federal Government out of the hands of the Democracy, and turned it over to the Republican party. They abandoned their friends and allies, the Northern Democracy, who had manfully stood by the South for more than a half century, to the tender mercies of their political opponents and enemies? This was not in accordance with Southern honor and chivalry.

What other cause had the Southern States for their act of secession? For eight years immediately preceding this revolution, during the administrations of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, there was not an act of the Federal Government of which they complained. They could not complain, for the Government was in their own hands. It is true the Northern State Legislatures had nullified certain acts of Congress favorable to the South. But was this just cause for rebelling against the Federal Government? Should they not have adhered the closer to that Government, and assisted in enforcing its laws? How strange to think of the Southern States rebelling against a Government of which they did not complain!

It is said that the Southern States left the Union to preserve slavery! How fatal the mistake! Every one ought to have known that slavery was stronger in the Union than it possibly could be out of the Union. Indeed, the Union was its only safety and protection. Whilst in the Union we had the power of re-capturing our fugitive slaves. Out of the Union we could have no such power. The whole civilized world was opposed to us on this question, and as a slave power, would have looked upon us with scornful jealousy.

But, Mr. Chairman, the madness and folly of the Southern States, in commencing this revolution, is now manifest to all. There was fanaticism at the South as well as at the North. Politicians did all they could, in both sections, to stir up the worst passions of the human heart and make the people forget they were fellow-citizens of one great Republic. We were told that the Northern people would not fight, that there would be no war, and offers were made to drink all the blood that would be shed! History should have taught them that no great Government, like ours, ever was, or ever could be, broken up without one and all its dire consequences.

How was it, Mr. Chairman, that the Southern States failed in their rebellion? It is true the contest was a most unequal one—eight millions of persons fighting against twenty millions! The one having neither government, army, navy or manufactures; and the other having all these, with an influx of foreigners and Southern negroes to increase the strength. The Southern people are an impulsive, enthusiastic people, but they want the energy and perseverance of the North. I said to my friends, at the beginning of this war, that my greatest apprehension was, that our soldiers would get tired of the war and quit it. I did not believe it possible to hold in subjection eight millions of people, scattered over such an immense territory as composed the Southern States, if they were disposed to make any and every sacrifice, as the Dutch Republic did in

their war of independence. But, sir, the great cause of our failure was, that the heart of the Southern people never was in this revolution! There was not a State, except South Carolina, in which there was a majority in favor of secession. Even in South Carolina there were many Districts in which one half of the voters did not go to the polls.

Mr. Chairman, I would frankly say, as I have often said during the past four years, that there was not a man in the United States who more deeply regretted the secession of the Southern States than I did, at the beginning of the revolution; and there is not now in the Southern States, any one who feels more bitterly the humiliation and degradation of going back into the Union than I do. Still, I know that we shall be more prosperous and happy in the Union than out of it.

It has been too common, Mr. Chairman, to attribute the failure of this great revolution to the President of the late Confederacy. This, sir, is a mistake. The people were themselves to blame for its failure. They were unwilling to make those sacrifices which were essential to its success. Many who were most prominent in the movement, never did anything for it after the war commenced. Instead of seeking their proper position, in front of the battle, they sought "bomb-proofs" for themselves and their sons. There were others who got into "soft places" and of official position, where they could speculate and make fortunes on Government funds. In fact, towards the latter part of the war, it seemed that every one was trying to keep out of the army, and was willing to pay anything, and make any sacrifice, to do so. When General Johnston surrendered his army he had on his muster roll seventy thousand men, but only fourteen thousand to be carried into battle! General Lee's army in the same condition. Where were the absentees? At home, on furlough, staying over their furloughs, deserted and straggling! At no time during the last three years of the war, was there more than one-third of the army ready to march into battle! How was it possible for the Southern people to succeed, acting thus?

Congress, too, Mr. Chairman, is greatly to blame for their exemptions. All between the ages of eighteen and forty five should have been forced into the army and kept there. It mattered not whether he was doctor, lawyer, preacher, politician, editor, or school-teacher. If an able-bodied man, he should have been sent to the army. But, strange to say, the three classes of men who were mainly instrumental in plunging their country into this mad revolution, were all exempted, by Congress from fighting! I allude to the politicians, newspaper editors and preachers of the Gospel. This was not fair. The man who gets up a fight should always take his share of it.

It has been said, and repeated all over the Southern States, that the South has sustained a great loss in the death of President Lincoln. I do not think so. President Johnson is a much abler and firmer man than Lincoln was. He is in every way more acceptable to the South. In the first place, he is a Southern man, and Lincoln was a Northern man. He is a Democrat, and Lincoln was a Whig and Republican. President Johnson was a slaveholder, well acquainted with the institution, and knows what is proper to be done in the great change which is taking place. President Lincoln was wholly unacquainted with slavery and Southern institutions. President Johnson is a man of iron will and nerve like Andrew Jackson and will adhere to his principles and political faith. On the other hand, President Lincoln showed himself to be nothing more than clay in the hands of the potter, ready to change his measures and principles at the bidding of his party. President Johnson has filled all the highest and most honorable offices in the State of Tennessee, with great ability and satisfaction to the people. There is no stain or blot on his private character. The ablest speech ever delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the issue between the North and South, was made by President Johnson. He voted for Breckinridge in the Presidential canvass of 1860. Judging, then, from his antecedents, the South should have every hope and confidence in him.

Mr. Chairman, the future, to my mind, is not so gloomy as some would have us believe. I have no doubt that in ten years the Southern States will be happy and prosperous again, and we shall find that the loss of slavery will be no loss at all to our real comfort and satisfaction. The planter and farmer will find that his net profits are greater, with hired labor, than with slave labor. Every landholder can rent his farm or plantation for one third of the gross products. This is more than he now makes net, after subsisting

his slaves. In truth, very few farmers in this region of country make any thing except by the increase of his slaves. These are divided out amongst his children, at his death, and they pursue the same course of toiling and struggling through life, to raise negroes for their children. And thus the system goes on, *ad infinitum*, without profit or remuneration. The lands are worn out, and the country remains unimproved. If a planter or farmer is enabled to save any thing, after supporting his establishment, it is invested in the purchase of more slaves. Hence, increased wealth adds nothing to the enjoyment of life, or to the improvement of the country.

The idleness and vagrancy of the negro, in a free state, may be a nuisance to society. It must be corrected in the best way we can. I have no doubt, in nine cases out of ten, freedom will prove a curse instead of a blessing to the negro. No one should turn off his negroes, if they are willing to remain with him for their victuals and clothes and work as they have heretofore done. They have had no agency in bringing about the change which has taken place, and we should feel no ill will towards them on that account.

Mr. Chairman, as much as all feel the humiliation and degradation of our present situation, and deeply lament the losses which have befallen the Southern States; yet we should be happy to know that this cruel and bloody war is over, and that peace is once more restored to our country. This is a great consolation amidst our wants, distresses and humiliation. The husband will no longer have to leave his wife and children; the father and mother will not be called upon any more to give up their sons as victims to the war. It is to be hoped that, in a very short time, civil government will be restored in South Carolina; that law once more will reign supreme over the State, and that life, liberty and property will be protected everywhere, as they heretofore have been.

The resolutions submitted to this meeting express a hope, on the part of the people of Greenville, that the President will enlarge his amnesty proclamation, and grant a pardon to all who are liable to prosecution. The secession of the Southern States was for greater, and very different from a rebellion proper. It was organized by constitutional sovereign States, acting in their sovereign capacity, and not by unauthorized assemblages of citizens. Treason may be committed against the State of South Carolina as well as against the United States. After South Carolina left the Union all her citizens were liable, as traitors, in the State courts, who took sides with the United States and fought against her. If they were liable to be punished as traitors in the United States courts, for taking side with the State, then all were traitors and liable to be executed as traitors, whether they fought for or served one or the other Government! This would indeed be a most cruel and lamentable condition. Death was their portion, act as they might. To stand neutral they could not, and to choose between the State and the United States was death! Surely a principle so monstrous and absurd cannot be enforced. There were thousands and hundreds of thousands in the Southern States who deeply regretted the secession of their State, but after the State seceded, felt that their first allegiance was due the State.

But, Mr. Chairman, the secession of eleven or twelve sovereign States, composing one-half of the territory of the United States, was something more than a rebellion. It was legitimate war between the two sections; and they acted towards each other, throughout the war, as recognized belligerents, and were so treated and recognized by foreign nations. Prisoners were exchanged between the two belligerents, and none were treated as traitors, during the whole of the four year's war. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners were thus exchanged. The highest generals, as well as the humblest privates, were treated as captured soldiers by both Governments and exchanged. Surely a general officer who has been exchanged while this gigantic war was waging cannot now be demanded as a traitor, tried and executed as a traitor. There have been a few national wars in Europe in which greater armies were carried into service on the field of battle. To call such a war a rebellion is a misapplication of terms. The greatest and best men of the Southern States were most conscientiously leading this war, either in council or on the field of battle. In all history there is not a more perfect model of a pure and great man (save Washington) than General Lee. That he should now be hung as a traitor, would be an act of national infamy, that would shock the whole civilized world, and ren-

der the name of the United States odious in history.

Whilst I do not think, Mr. Chairman, that the whole people of the South have behaved well in this war, and done their duty at home and on the field of battle, yet there is a very large proportion of them who have won immortal honors, and whose glory in war, and wisdom in council, will illustrate many a bright page in history. They have been unsuccessful in their revolution, but this should not, and does not, detract from their heroic gallantry on the field of battle, or their statesmanship in the cabinet or halls of legislation. They will be remembered and honored as heroes and patriots, not only at the South, but in the North too, as soon as passion subsides, and sober reason and calm reflection assume their sway over the public mind.

I cannot, and would not, Mr. Chairman, ask my fellow-citizens to forget the past, in this war, so far as the North is concerned. There have been deeds of atrocity committed by the United States armies which never can be forgotten in the Southern States. But I do entreat them to become loyal citizens, and respect the national authorities of the Republic. Abandon, at once and forever, all notions of secession, nullification and disunion. Determine to live, and teach your children to live, as true American citizens. There will be in future, if there is not now, as much of pride and grandeur in the name of "American citizen," as there once was in that of "Roman citizen." The Republic is destined to go on increasing in national power and greatness for centuries to come. As soon as the ferment of the revolution subsides, we shall be restored to all our civil rights, and be as free and republican as we ever were. There is no reason why there should be any sectional jealousy or ill feeling between the North and the South. They are greatly necessary to each other. Their interests are dependent, and not rival interests; and now that slavery is abolished, there will be no bone of contention between the two sections.

I thought, Mr. Chairman, that when the Southern States seceded there was an end to republican institutions, that the great American experiment was a failure, and that we should soon have, both at North and in the South, strong military governments, which would be republican in name only. But, sir, my hope of republican institutions has revived with the restoration of the Union. It is a crying shame to think that mankind, free and enlightened, are not capable of governing themselves! That they must have a master, or ruler, in the shape of a king or monarch, to govern them, who may not have as much sense or virtue as the humblest of his subjects! If civil government is once more restored in the South, and the ship of State gets fairly under way again, we may be assured of the perpetuity of republican principles.

In all the seceded States except South Carolina and Florida, Provisional Governors have been appointed with a view to the restoration of civil authority in those States. This has not been done in South Carolina, because the people have not yet given sufficient demonstration of their willingness to return to their allegiance to the United States. As soon as this is done by the people, in their primary assemblies, a Provisional Governor will be appointed by the President, with power to call a Convention of the State, for the purpose of reforming the Constitution and abolishing slavery. When this is done, and the Constitution approved by Congress, the State will be allowed to resume her position again in the Federal Union. The people will elect their members of the Legislature, and govern themselves as they heretofore have done. The military authorities will be withdrawn, and civil government restored. In North Carolina all loyal citizens are allowed to vote for members of the Convention who were legal voters there previous to the revolution. The same course will be pursued in all the States. The right of suffrage will be regulated by the Legislature of each State.

The Resolutions which I have had the honor of submitting for the adoption of this meeting, are similar, in purport, to those adopted at Charleston, Columbia, Abbeville and other places. They simply express our willingness to adopt the terms of the President's proclamation and return to our allegiance. We likewise ask for the appointment of a Provisional Governor and the restoration of the civil authorities. There is nothing in these resolutions to which the most sensitive can object. If a man is in a loathsome dungeon, there is no impropriety in asking to be released, no matter how innocent he may have been. Nor is there anything wrong in his promising to behave himself if restored to his liberty. The

resolutions likewise provides for sending some one to represent the situation of the country to the President. This has been done in other States, and in other Districts of this State. It may have some influence on the action of the Federal Government, to have a free and full conference with the President, in reference to the condition, wishes and feelings of the State. It is reported that President Johnson receives kindly all suggestion which are made in reference to the reconstruction of the States.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you, sir, and this large and most respectable assemblage of the citizens of Greenville, for their patience and courtesy in listening to me, and most devoutly pray to God that we may be once more a FREE, HAPPY AND UNITED PEOPLE.

**Interesting Sketch of Col. Mosby.**  
The Boston Traveller has been furnished with the following interesting sketch of Mosby:

The future historian will accord to Mosby a bravery and sagacity worthy to place him beyond Marion and Mural. He began at the foot of the ladder, having at first enlisted or rather he took up arms on his own account as did many others who were in the first battle of Bull Run, where he rendered good service. His thorough knowledge of the country soon after attracted the attention of Jeff. Davis, and he was promoted, and well did he earn the rank of Colonel, which he subsequently held. His command, which at no time exceeded five hundred men, harassed us more than any other ten thousand rebels. Ever since the first year of the war, his raids have been the terror of the Union people in the upper part of Virginia. Though nominally in our possession it has been unsafe for a Union man there to avow his sentiments. He did so, all the horses, stock, household goods, etc., were sure to be "gobbled up." Mosby entered our lines with impunity, securing what he required, and returning in safety. He hung, sullen, defiant and dangerous on our rear in a retreat, driving back and burning our wagon trains, and destroying all the forage which was likely to fall into our hands. He sought to win and rarely entered into an engagement without good chances of success.

No prisoners were treated harshly, but all were made to give up their money and swap clothes, if his men were to be benefited by the trade. On one raid he captured two of our paymasters, and as the term is expressed by our prisoners, they went through them. On a division made among those who were on this raid each one's share was \$2,160. In person, Mosby is not formidable. He is not over five feet seven inches high, is thin and spare, and can clasp his body with his hands. His age is about thirty years. He is insensible to fatigue; knows no such thing as fear; has the piercing eye of an eagle, and impresses a person with the idea that he can fathom his innermost thoughts. Though genial he is exacting. He is a skillful horseman and a dead shot; drinks no intoxicating liquors, and his favorite beverage is strong coffee. He allowed no man of his command to make use of ardent spirits, and destroyed all that came within reach. Strategy was no myth with him. On one occasion, being severely wounded by our men, he ordered his aid to strip his insignia of rank from his shoulder and leave him to his fate. Our soldiers approached him, stripped him of his boots, and left him, seemingly in the last throes of life, little dreaming that there lay one feigning mortal wounds whose death would have been worth thousands of men to our men. But to him this was only another exploit.

On another occasion, Gen. Lee wished to deal with a man by the name of Delanie, who had left the Confederacy and come within our lines at Alexandria, and he detailed Mosby to capture him. In the evening, attended by a single orderly, he made his way through our lines to Delanie's house and knocked at the door, when his summons was answered by him in person. Mosby informed him that he was a prisoner, took him through the streets of Alexandria passed the pickets in safety, and in due time delivered the man in Richmond. There were no dangerous missions to which he ordered a man which he was not willing to share with them. Not a man who is in his command has a word to say against him, and they express the opinion that he has made nothing by his raids. He loved excitement, and a sharp contest was the best place to display his coolness and daring. Before the war, he was a lawyer, of no great reputation for ability.

Mrs. Gen. John Morgan arrived at Murfreesboro a day or two since from the South. A younger brother of the General accompanied her.