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## Political.

### Great Political Meeting in New York--Speech of Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana.

There was a grand mass meeting in New York City on the 31st ult., which is described by the *World* as "one of the grandest successes in the way of a heart-felt outpouring of the people ever seen." Speeches were made by a number of leading Democrats from the North and West, among them Hon. D. W. VOORHEES, of Indiana. We would be delighted to furnish our readers the entire speech of this eloquent gentleman, but a want of space forbids, and we are constrained to make only the following extracts from the concluding portion. These extracts, however, abundantly show the truthfulness and ability with which the speaker dealt with the question of reconstruction in a national point of view. The election held last week proves that the people of the great Empire State are in unison with the sentiments expressed by the Western orator, and are determined that the progress of Radicalism shall be stayed, and this country redeemed from the blighting influence of negro supremacy in ten States.

By the act of reconstruction the entire black population of the South has been enfranchised and invested with the power of political control. Nearly the entire white population of the South has been disfranchised and deprived of any voice in controlling the present or shaping the future. Thus about six hundred thousand negro votes are added to the strength of the Radical party, and nearly a million white votes are stricken out of existence. This is the initial part of the Radical reconstruction, and it was doubtless chiefly designed in the beginning as a gigantic partisan scheme to ensure future party triumph; but it has rapidly arisen far beyond such ordinary dimensions, and now confronts us as a question of national wealth, civilization and social philosophy. The recent registration and elections in the South established in the face of the world the appalling fact that from the waters of the Chesapeake to the mouth of the Brazos, from the tide-waters of Virginia to the far distant plains of Texas, the negro is his dominion, and is upheld in that dominion by the Federal army. Where the white race outnumbered the black in the registration, as in Virginia and Georgia, a fraudulent apportionment of the basis of representation changes the majority, and the barbarian race, in all its repulsive animal force, rises predominant, and salutes the North as the misapprehended governing element of the rich and inviting regions of all the South. The ancient commonwealth, the home of the peerless Washington, of the philosophic Jefferson, of Madison, Marshall and Patrick Henry, is now given over to the African and her future fortunes are wholly in his hands. The Carolinas bow to the same yoke, and beautiful Alabama and Louisiana, with New Orleans, the natural commercial capital of the valley of the Mississippi, and all the rest are to have their destinies shaped hereafter by the brain and enterprise of the negro. By his vote they will be governed, and the immediate results are plainly visible to even the most casual observer. The instinctive separation which God has implanted in different races for their purity and preservation is already at work. The races are arrayed against each other throughout the earth. Each one, as is natural, votes for its own color; and the negroes are forming Vigilance Committees to enforce obedience to their opinions and submission to their views. As inevitably as the harvest follows seed time, so inevitably will the negroes fill the offices in these unhappy States. They are now engaged in framing their new Constitutions, under which we are to behold the wretched fate of our admission into the Union. State elections will soon follow, and negro Legislatures will deliver messages to negro Legislatures, and together they will assert supreme control over interests more vast than those of many of the leading nations of the world. Recent plantation slaves will take their seats as members of Congress, and in committee and on the floor give deciding votes on the vital questions of finance, commerce and national progress. Mr. Sumner, a few months ago in open Senate, said he hoped soon to welcome negro Senators as his associates in legislating for the country. Well might he anticipate such an event. No power can prevent it under the present organization of the South. Soon the negro will fill the senatorial seats once adorned by Webster and Stas Wright, by Clay and Woodbury. There is no escape from this loathsome conclusion to the scheme of reconstruction. These are its certain and speedy results. Are the people of New York ready for them? The black vote of the South will elect twenty Senators. An equal or superior vote in the State of New York elected two. Are your interests safe under such legislative influences? It will send more than fifty members to the lower House. You send thirty-three. Thus the Southern negro will possess more than twice the power which you yourselves possess over your own public affairs. Shall he also dictate the election of President? He holds nearly a hundred electoral votes. This is a fearful balance of power, and subjects the loftiest positions of the Government to the domination of the negro. It is the design of the Radical leaders to wield it in the coming contest. Who can look upon this portentous issue without the saddest foreboding? Are the vast powers safe in the hands of this widely

alien and uncivilized race? I speak not with the prejudice of caste. All the works of Deity find sympathy with me. I would lighten the burden of the oppressed, and help forward the lowly in the race of life. But does the well-known history of the African race warrant the statesman, the Christian, the philanthropist, in yielding to him the possession and guardianship of the political, moral, social and material prosperity, and progress of great and powerful States? We hear of human equality. The inalienable rights equally belong to all. The right to secure the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property I would guarantee to all races. But, with the open-spread map of the world before us, who wishes the dusky empire of the negro to rise and overshadow the fairest portions of the Republic? Where are the testimonials of his capacity for government with which he has ornamented annals of the human race? Where is the land he has developed and made to bloom by his intelligent enterprise? Where is the nation he has crowned with glory? Where are the cities he has built? Where is the commerce he has established? Where are his inventions in behalf of industrial advancement? Where are his plows, his reapers, his steamboats, his railroads and his talking cables around the earth? He challenges the supremacy of the white race throughout one-third of the boundaries of the Republic, and the Congress of the United States awards it to him. Let the negro islands of the West Indies proclaim the fate of the South. Withered, blighted and blasted, its resources will speedily perish. The white man will be driven North, or remain to grapple in the most appalling and sanguinary war of races the world ever saw. The negro, free to follow his native impulses, will soon appear the primitive barbarian, as we find him wherever the sustaining and civilizing influences of the white man has been withdrawn, or have never reached him. Am I told that he has not had an equal chance with the other races in the grand career of history, and hence the utter blank where his achievements should have been recorded? He has had all the earth before him where to choose from the beginning. No one has had more. All fields of action, of wealth and renown have been alike open to him. The same tempting fields which excited the toil of other races likewise invited him to amass agricultural stores and contribute to the granaries of the world. The rivers and the oceans, the common highways of the earth, have for all the ages since creation invited his ships of commerce, and invited them in vain. The same continents which other races now possess were open to him to discover, conquer, people and adorn with Christian civilization. But no step forward has been taken, no history has he written. There lies Africa today as dark, forbidding and dense in its barbarism as it was in the twilight morning of the world. Even the combined benevolent efforts of all the civilized nations have failed to inspire her with life or motion. Nor does the experiment of Siberia relieve the sombre night which there prevails. A half of a century of attempted self-government, upheld by all the Christian powers of the earth, has borne not a single fruit, or developed a single element of national greatness. Is the reason of all this a mystery in the philosophy of God's creation? Is the inequality of races a new wonder of the nineteenth century? No more than that He who made the sun in its majestic strength and splendor made also the lesser lights which move in their subordinate spheres through the realms of space. No more than that He who made the lion, made also the creeping mole. No more than that He who made the eagle to scale the blue empire, also made the moping owl to inhabit the darkened grove. While the Saxon, the Celtic, the Fenian races have bounded forward on all the great avenues of human progress, the African, the Malay, the Mongolian, and all the various tribes and kindreds which crowd the sun-faded plains of the almost immitable East have slept through thousands of years in a state of torpid lethargy. To us has been given dominion and power because to our race was given the ten talents. We have founded empires and engrained on them the science of free government. We wrought out *Magna Charta*, achieved the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and accomplished the revolution of 1776. We have carried the cross into the wilderness, the desert, and the far off islands of the sea.

We have poured the sunlight of civilization into the dark parts of the earth, and caused art, literature and science to flourish like the grapes in immortal beauty. These are some of the achievements of that race which Congress says shall give way to the rule and supremacy of the lowest link in the chain of human being. Does he inspire this policy as a punishment to the people of the South? Pardon, my fellow-citizens, and answer me? Whose country is this? Who fought to preserve the Southern States to the Union? Virginia is your State and mine. The Carolinas are ours, and all the rest. Our country is not divided by sections. It is all ours to protect and save from ruin. Can we permit our most fertile and productive patrimony to be dragged to perdition and the hopeless depths of a horrid barbarism? This is the question for the North to consider. Will we suffer our country to be changed into the likeness of Dahomy? Shall this black and stigmatized border encircle all our Southern boundaries, whereon shall be written for every white man and woman "whoever enters this doleful realm leaves hope behind?" Shall Virginia, our close neighbor, become a Saint Domingo, Georgia a Jamaica, and Louisiana a Hayti? This is no mere Southern question. It is local to your interests as well, and is supremely national in all its bearings. I ask the people of New York

to night what they will do with these ten States that belong equally to you as well as to all other American citizens? Shall their inexhaustible productiveness go to decay? I might here deal in statistics of their agricultural wealth before the war. I might show the mighty revenues which, in prosperity, they can contribute to the national coffers. Can commerce give up the produce of Southern soil? Can our financial condition afford to let richer mines than those of gold and precious stones lie barren and idle? When the Radical insanity of the hour makes the negro the ruler of the South it strikes a vital blow at trade and commerce, and poisons forever one of the sweetest and most copious fountains of national wealth. Even now what value attaches there to property, and who will send means there for investment to be at the mercy of the African law maker? The events of the last few weeks have placed a gulf between Northern capital and the inviting and prolific fields of the South. We stand aghast and recoil with horror from the fearful apparition which has suddenly arisen in that afflicted region. It seems no longer our country, but given over to the orgies of the savage and the dominion of animal force and brutal lust. Shall we reclaim? Shall this priceless heritage remain to us and our children according to the devise of our fathers? Shall it be open to the emigration and enterprise of your posterity there to live under the blessings of free government and civilization? These are the great and momentous questions of the day, and they now demand your answer. Who can doubt the popular verdict on such an issue? Better for that section of our once happy country that fire from Heaven had engulfed it with the cities of the plain than the fate with which political madness, ambition and vengeance has overwhelmed it. Reach forth your hands to the rescue next Tuesday. Let your voice arise, mingling with the voices of Connecticut, Maine, California, Ohio and Pennsylvania, until all the borders of the Republic are filled with the sound of its deliverance. Ladies and gentlemen, there are other themes which invite discussion, but there are many distinguished gentlemen here to discuss them. I have dwelt upon but one, and that I conceive to be of supreme importance. The immediate picture to my eye is enveloped in darkness and uncertainty. The approaching Congress will mark an eventful era in American history. One department alone of the Government seeks to withstand the Radical carnival of destruction. The castle of the Executive, though closely besieged, has not yet been stormed and sacked. The President, in the midst of perils and surrounded by treachery and deception, has been true to principle, and upon the lofty ability, purity, and soundness of his State papers, he will enter the portals of history as the peer of the wisest and truest who ever held his high place before him. If for this unyielding devotion to the Constitution, this faithful performance of duty, Andrew Johnson is to be assailed by an infamous impeachment, may the people on whom he has ever relied not desert him in that trying hour. If the moneyed interest of the country, the bondholder and the banker, can risk the convulsions which will follow the displacement of the Executive and the inauguration of Mr. Wade, so also can the laboring men. This issue is one of the immediate incidents of the Congressional policy of reconstruction, and as such let the people pass in condemnation upon it. Citizens of New York, in all your dealings with the results of the dreadful civil war which trampled with the fiery foot of destruction the naked and bleeding breast of the South, remember that you are prosperous, happy and great; and that nothing will so quickly cause such a people as the bright jewel of magnanimity. To power belongs the sweet prerogative of mercy. The North is omnipotent, and in such an hour it is only our own souls that thirst for vengeance. Take the South by the hand in her fallen estate, lift her up and sustain her. Say to her: "It is true we have warred, but we are kindred, born of the same mother, and we will be friends." Let the Lethian waters of oblivion wash away all bitter memories. The brightest names in history, that shine forever like stars in the clear firmament, are of those who, in the hour of triumph, forgave their prostrate foes. Scipio was generous, Pericles was merciful, Washington was unmerciful, and the history of these heavenly virtues far outshines on the pages of history, the brilliant fame of their warlike deeds. Ananias is an attribute of the blessed Nazarene. He extended it from the cross to a ruined world that slew him. Charity is of celestial origin, an inhabitant of the Christian heaven. I invoke its presence in all the thoughts, purposes, and actions of the estranged and alienated American people. It pleads for a union of love and not of hate and force. It brings with it an inspiration from the region of perpetual peace. Those who follow its counsels will be known in both worlds as human benefactors. The Radical leader of the day has no such consolator, and draws no such inspiration. Thermis and Caligula, Hyder, Ah and Alario, Robespierre and Murat are the examples of his conduct; and hate and revenge, and all the ruthless furies conspire below to inspire his motives. All the moral influence of the universe are at war with him. The virtuous living and the sainted dead cry out against his spirit of vengeance. Those who fell on the battle-fields from both sections, who now sleep softly side by side in distant graves, appeal from their mute and narrow beds to every hearthstone in the land in favor of mercy, charity and love. Their heroic spirits, that have met on the perpetual plains of immortality, where no strife ever comes, are whispering through all the air, over the moun-

tain and the valleys, and up and down the busy rivers and along the shores of the two oceans, saying to the angry and restless hearts of their living countrymen, "Peace, be still."

Mr. Voorhees' speech was interrupted and followed by applause.

### Address to the People.

The address of the Conservative Convention to the people of South Carolina is an important and well-considered document. We regret that limited space prevents its publication entire in this issue. The address begins with a reference to the necessity for counsel among the people at this time, and alludes to the evil of misrepresentation North and South. It then proceeds to show that the emancipation policy of the Government is the Pandora's box from whence springs the thousand evils by which we are environed, and declares that the cultivation of cotton and rice, under the present system of labor, is the most uncertain, the least remunerative and most harassing employment of the world. The exports of cotton and its controlling influence on foreign markets, prior to the war, is contrasted with the condition of things now, when the competition from East India counterbalances the importance of American cotton. For all this there is probably no immediate remedy, but the address urges the people to give up the delusive hope of growing rich by the cultivation of cotton; advises the raising of breadstuffs, more attention to stock of all kinds, and every other effort to fill the land with plenty, and inaugurate a new system of agriculture. Manufactures will follow, and to be successful, must begin at the beginning, and work upward, as our population and wealth increase. The declaration is then made that the people of the South would not now re-establish slavery, and while we cannot and would not recall the past, "let the dead past bury its dead," but let us not be entirely hopeless of the future. With something like good government, our necessities will give rise to new expedients, and to conquer our difficulties, we must meet them with patience, fortitude and courage. The great question of government is next considered, and the address proceeds as follows:

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 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, to-day, may be practically the condition of ten States of the American Union. But are we prepared to endorse these proceedings and engrail so monstrous a proposition into our government 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 the encroachments of majorities. It is a political aphorism 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 em-

blance 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 seed 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 today 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 his 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, where in 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 into 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 voters and 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 majorities, if not so great, are almost as decided. In those States where the white vote is in the ascendant, 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 ten 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 five hundred can write his name; and multitudes of whom are so profoundly ignorant, as to be unable to remember the names by which they have registered. Verily, this seems to be converting a popular Government, of which we have been so 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 own doors--whether the poisoned cup may not be returned to their own lips. But if it may be asked, why do not the Southern people accept the situation and outbid 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 the excited and ignorant mind, than the wisest counsels of a free people. Besides the foundation stone upon which

Republican Government rests is, that the election franchise is to be exercised by a free, intelligent and unbiassed judgment; and whenever it is admitted that this franchise is to be controlled, or, in other words, to be made the subject of undue influence and of bribes, then, too, it must be admitted that Republican Government is at an end, and must, sooner or later, give way to such other Government as may be forced upon a depraved and already corrupt 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 wise government is to prevent the evil, and not open the door to the mischief which others are admonished they must be prepared, by trick or 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 even 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, be it 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 engrail upon it such an enormity as negro-jury-men, fresh from the cotton and rice fields of the south? Think you, that when John Rutledge and his illustrious compeers signed that instrument on the part of South Carolina, that they intended to forge a chain which 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; and from 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. Eastern negro supremacy upon the South, and it must be felt through all of her relations with the North--whether commercial, political or social. Should a Northern man--and how often must such necessarily be the case--be brought to trial in the State or Federal courts at the South, his life or liberty must be passed upon by ignorant negro jurors. Should the most difficult and complicated questions of property arise in Southern courts, and how often must such be the case, arising from inter-marriage, inheritance or trade--the cause of the Northern man must be decided by the same ignorant tribunal. Nor is this yet all. The highest prerogative of government is the taxing power, and the efforts of the wisest statesmen have been expended to guard this great power against abuse. No power has been more jealously watched than this. No power has given rise to so much strife and bloodshed in the history of the world. The contest between the mother country and the colonies originated in her assumption of the right to tax without representation. By the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, the taxing power is placed in the hands of those who own no property, and is taken away from those who hold the property and must pay the taxes. The war that has always existed between capital and labor is decided in favor of the latter, and the wealth of the country is prostrated at the feet of those who have nothing at stake but their daily wages and their daily bread. How will this power be exercised? Can it be supposed for a moment that it will be exercised in any other way than to impose such burdens upon the tax payers as will amount, in the end, to practical confiscation of the small remaining substance of our people? But we must forbear. Such are some of the immediate consequences of the Reconstruction Acts upon the people of the South and upon the whole country.