REPUBLICANISM IN THE SOUTH.

A SPEECH BY

HON. J. E. BRYANT,

Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia, at the organization of the State Council of the Union League of America, at Atlanta, Ga., April 2, 1879.

Gentlemen: You have been requested to meet to consider the propriety of organizing a State Council of the Union League of America. The Union League was thoroughly reorganized a few months since with a view of aiding the Republicans of the South, in their efforts to promote the Republican cause in this section.

THE UNION LEAGUE.

The objects of the League are: "To preserve Liberty and the Union of the United States of America; to maintain the Constitution thereof, and the Supremacy of the Laws; to sustain the Government and assist in putting down its enemies; to protect and defend all citizens, without regard to sect, condition or race; and to elect honest and reliable patriots to all offices of profit or trust in National, State and Local Governments; and to secure equal, civil and political rights to all men under the Government."

These principles will, I am sure, be approved by every patriot in the South. The Republicans of Georgia are already in accord with them.

PLATFORM OF THE GEORGIA REPUBLICANS.

The Executive Committee of our Party, on the 17th day of September last, adopted the following resolutions as a platform of principles for the Republican Party in this State:

The Republican Executive Committee of the State of Georgia submit the following resolutions to the Republicans of the State as a platform of principles:

1. Resolved. That we view with pride the work already accomplished by the Republican party of the nation; but important as that has been, other work hardly less important remains to be done.

2. Resolved, That the United States is a nation, not a confedracy; a government of the people, by the people, for the people; not a league of sovereign States.

3. Resolved, That it is the duty of the government to maintain its coin and currency at all times at par with the gold standard of the commercial world

4. Resolved, That the national honor imperatively demands that all financial pledges made in the hour of supreme national peril be maintained inviolate, and redeemed at any sacrifice, and every dollar of the principal and interest of the national debt according to oft-repeated promises.

5. Resolved, That our legal tender notes, having been issued under a solemn promise that they should be redeemed in coin at the earliest practicable moment, and as the time has arrived when it was promised that it should be done, and when it can be done without disturbing the monetary transactions of the nation, and we can thus fulfil the pledge so solemnly made, we denounce all efforts to delay resumption, as well as all efforts to flood the country with an indefinite quantity of irredeemable currency as unwise and dishonorable as public measures, and which would prove in their operation criminally unjust to the laboring classes of the country.

6. Resolved, That the State of Georgia shall ever remain a member of the American Union; the people thereof are part of the American nation; every citizen thereof owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and government of the United States, and no law or ordinance of this State in contravention or subversion thereof shall ever have binding force.

7. Resolved, That the first duty of the government is the protection of all its citizens in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.

Resolved, That prosperity and human liberty depend upon the education of the people; that education increases the security of life and property, prevents crime, makes better citizens, promotes happiness, teaches respectability and independence of character, enlarges the sphere of intellectual enjoyment purifies public morals, and enlists public opinion as well as the influence of religion against immorality and crime.

9. Resolved, That a system of general education, to be forever free to all the children of the State, should be established by the General Assembly and amply maintained by taxation or otherwise.

10. Resolved, That free speech and a free press are essential to the maintenance of human liberty.

11. That the exercise of the elective franchise is one of the most sacred rights and solemn duties of an American citizen, and that every qualified voter should be protected by the full power of the government, if need be, in the free and untrammelled exercise of the right to vote "just once" at all elections.

12. Resolved, That mechanics and laborers should have liens upon the property of their employers for labor performed or material furnished, and that the General Assembly should provide for the speedy enforcement of the same.

13. That we view with apprehension and alarm the following features of the Constitution of 1877, viz: The omission to provide for the protection of mechanics and laborers; the failure to insure an efficient system of free schools; its certain tendency to trammel and unjustly limit the elective franchise, and the refusal of its framers to provide a suitable punishment for persons engaged in dueling; as was provided in the Constitution of 1868, thus virtually re-establishing the code in Georgia.

We therefore earnestly solicit the co-operation of all good citizens in efforts to secure in these particulars, at least, amendments to the Constitution.

14. Resolved, That the present system of punishment for criminals in this State, commonly known as the "chain-gang and farming out convict labor system," is a relic of barbarism, and degrades the honest labor of the State by being brought into competition with it; and we demand that the General Assembly shall remedy this evil at the earliest day possible, by providing a system of punishment for criminals that is not inhuman.

I give to these principles my most hearty approval, and invite your co-operation in the effort to make them living realities. We shall undoubtedly receive very great assistance from the Union League. It is a secret organization, and to some this is an objection; but we may remove much of the secrecy from our proceedings without injury to our cause.

I do not conceal from myself the fact that we have undertaken an herculean task; but trusting to the righteousness of our cause, let us enter upon the conflict and do our duty, no matter what obstacles we may be called upon to encounter.

REPUBLICANISM IN THE SOUTH.

The time has come when the Republicans of the South must move forward and enter upon the discussion of the questions that now present themselves for solution, or disband their organization and abandon the field to those who will do so. For one, I am determined to do my duty in this important conflict, and, God helping me, I expect to give the balance of my life to the advocacy of the great principles upon which the Republican party rests.

The Republican party in the South is entering upon a new era. The old questions have been so far settled that we should discuss new ones and press them upon the attention of the people until victory shall crown our efforts. The questions of slavery, of the preservation of the Union, and the citizenship of the negro have been settled for the present at least; but the protection of the life and rights of the citizen and of the ballot, universal education, encouragement to labor, and the elevation of the masses, are matters of vital importance to the South. These questions now demand our attention.

PROTECTION.

That the colored citizens and their political friends in the Southern States —the Republicans—do not enjoy the rights to which they are entitled as American citizens cannot be truthfully denied. The colored people are, for the most part, Republicans; but it is well known that, as a class, they are not permitted freely to cast Republican ballots. Many have been scourged, robbed and even murdered; but in very few instances have the guilty parties been punished. It is, therefore, a matter of the first importance to decide how the Southern Republicans can be protected; for a government that does not protect its citizens is worthless. I believe that this can only be done by creating a public sentiment among the white people of the South in favor of the proper care of the life and rights of the citizen.

FREE SCHOOLS.

It is to be regretted that so little has been done to educate the masses in the Southern States. In the former Free States as shown by the census of 1870, but seven per cent. of the entire population above ten years of age were unable to read and write, and these were mostly of foreign birth. In the former slave states, forty two per cent. above ten years of age, were unable to read and write; about twenty per cent. of these were whites. In the State of Georgia, fifty-six per cent. of the entire population above ten years of age, were unable to read and write; twenty-five per cent. of the whites of that age were illiterate. Massachusetts, with a population about the same as Georgia, raises for free schools, annually, $6,400,000; Georgia raises about $150,000. Georgia, whose natural resources are far greater than those of Massachusetts, was worth in 1870, as shown by the census, $268,180,543. Massachusetts was worth $2,132,148,741. In the former State, fifty-six in every hundred of the inhabitants, above ten years of age, were unable to read and write; in the latter, but eight. Maine, whose wealth in 1870, was $348,155,671, raised for free schools, $1,313,303; Georgia, for the same purpose, but $465,503.

In this connection the following tables are important.

Tables showing the population, wealth, illiteracy and amount of money raised for free schools in the former free States and former slave States:

FORMER FREE STATES.

STATE.	Population.	Wealth.	Total Illiter. Per cent. of Total illiterates of population ten years of age and upwards.	Per cent. of Total inhabitants above ten years of age in 1870, raised for public schools.
Connecticut	537,454	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
California	560,247	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Illinois	2,539,891	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Indiana	1,680,637	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Iowa	1,194,020	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kansas	364,399	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Maine	626,915	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Massachusetts	1,457,351	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Michigan	1,184,059	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Minnesota	439,706	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nebraska	122,993	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nevada	42,491	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
New Hampshire	318,300	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
New Jersey	906,096	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
New York	4,382,759	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ohio	2,665,260	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oregon	90,923	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pennsylvania	3,521,951	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rhode Island	217,353	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vermont	330,551	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wisconsin	1,054,670	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

FORMER SLAVE STATES.

STATE.	Population.	Wealth.	Total Illiter. Per cent. of Total illiterates of population ten years of age and upwards.	Per cent. of Total inhabitants above ten years of age in 1870, raised for public schools.
Alabama	996,992	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Arkansas	484,471	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Delaware	125,015	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Florida	187,748	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Georgia	1,184,109	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kentucky	1,321,011	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Louisiana	726,915	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Maryland	780,894	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Missouri	1,721,295	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mississippi	827,922	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
North Carolina	1,071,361	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
South Carolina	705,606	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tennessee	1,258,520	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Texas	818,579	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Virginia	1,225,163	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
West Virginia	442,014	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Maine, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota are among the poorest of the Northern and Western States—the former free States. Georgia is one of the wealthiest of the former slave States. The number of illiterate persons in Georgia in 1870 was more than six times as great as in all those States. It is true that but few colored persons live in those States, and that nearly half of the population of Georgia is colored; but in Georgia the white population, ten years of age and upwards, was 462,718, and of these 121,959 were unable to read or write. More than one-fourth of the white population of the State of Georgia, and nearly twice as many as in the States of Maine, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota, were unable to read and write, although the white population of those States was three times as great as that of Georgia. The total wealth of Maine, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota was $845,231,758—about three times as great as that of Georgia. Although the illiteracy in Georgia was six times as great as in all of those States, and their wealth but three times greater, they raised for free schools nineteen times as much money as Georgia. Iowa, like Georgia, is an agricultural State, and depends mainly upon her agricultural products for her wealth. The population of Iowa is about the same as that of Georgia, but the natural advantages of the latter are greater than those of the former. The illiteracy in Georgia is more than ten times as great as in Iowa. The wealth of the latter is nearly three times as great as that of Georgia; but Iowa raises about eighteen times as much for free schools as Georgia. The population of New York, the Empire State of the North, is about four times that of Georgia, the Empire State of the South. The wealth of the former is about twenty-four times that of Georgia. The latter State has twice as many illiterate persons as New York; but that State raises forty-three times more for free schools than Georgia.

THE ARISTOCRACY—THE ENEMIES OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

Nature has done as much for the South as for the North, and her people are equal in natural objects; but the Statesmen of the North have established free schools and have raised by taxation money enough to educate the masses; the men who have ruled the South have done neither. I arraign the aristocratic leaders of the South before the bar of public opinion for their selfishness, and their failure to promote the interests of the people. They have planned and worked for a class—"the landed aristocracy, embracing comparatively few of her people"—but they have been entirely indifferent to the interests of the masses. They attempted to destroy the nation, and establish a government with slavery as the corner-stone. "The rich man's war, but the poor man's fight"—But they forced the poor into the army, and allowed the rich man, who had fifteen slaves, to remain at home. They established no free schools to educate the people, but they appropriated large sums of money to establish and endow colleges, where the children of the rich could be educated. They have exempted the property of the rich from taxation, but have taxed even the pots and kettles in the cabins of the poor. They are responsible for the ignorance that exists in the South, and they are responsible for the condition of this section. As Statesmen these men have shown themselves to be complete failures; they should, therefore, stand aside and allow wiser and more liberal men to lead the people.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO CIVILIZATIONS.

The people of the North and the people of the South have entertained and advocated diverse views of civilization since the first permanent settlements were made on these shores. In the language of a distinguished Statesman:

"One was the idea of free thought and action; of equal rights for all; of the dignity of labor; the idea that every man was his own master and the peer of any other man before the law, however poor or humble his calling, however hard his lot. This idea and the system it founded were planted in the North.

"The other was the idea of aristocracy and caste; of lawful superiority of man over man; of the right of one class to dominate another and appropriate its labor, and to enjoy class, immunity and privilege. This idea, with the system it founded, were planted in the South.

"When the Declaration of Independence was drawn, and still more, when the Constitution was founded, these two conflicting orders of society came into awkward contact. While the Colonies remained separate from each other little friction was felt; but when they united under one government difficulty began. It was hard to agree even on the form of a Constitution, under which the government could be launched. It was still more hard to agree afterwards what the compromises of the Constitution meant and implied.

"From the outset the Legislation of Congress was squared and measured by the antagonistic needs of these different systems; * * nearly all laws, as well as treaties and policies, were largely influenced by sectional and slave holding interests. This was an inevitable and irrepressible conflict. * * The underlying animus of the Southern wing is the old antagonism of ideas and systems, the old Southern sway is uplifting itself again."

Between these two orders of society, there was from the first an irrepressible conflict, which at length culminated in civil war. Defeat upon the battle-field did not change the views of the men who controlled the South and inaugurated the war of the rebellion. With views unchanged they are again thoroughly organized and are making a most desperate struggle to regain their former wealth and power and the control of the nation.

When the war closed, they were disheartened. They had staked everything on the result of the war, and they had lost nearly everything but their land. The masses were willing to accept the terms that were offered them by Congress, but the leaders who did not surrender at Appomattox, the cause for which they fought, refused to do so, and began to prepare for future struggles.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

On the 22d day of February, 1866, Hon. Alexander H. Stephens made a speech before the Legislature of Georgia, in which he foreshadowed the policy to be pursued by those who [illegible] the struggle to regain [illegible] power. He said:

[illegible]

"[illegible] for myself, I [illegible] ment of disloyalty to these great principles of self-government, recognized and embodied in the Constitution of the United States, ever beat or throbbed in breast or heart of mine. To their maintenance my whole soul was ever enlisted; and to this end my whole life has heretofore been devoted, and will continue to be the rest of my days, God willing. * * * Whatever differences existed amongst us arose from differences as to the best and surest means of securing the great ends which was the object of all. It was with this view and for this purpose secession was tried. That has failed. * * * Our only alternative now is either to give up all hope of constitutional liberty, or retrace our steps, and to look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms. In the courts and halls of Legislation, instead of on the field of battle."

HOW TO WIN THE SOUTH.

"We are not without an encouraging example on this line in the history of the mother country. * * * The great friends of liberty in England once, in 1642, abandoned the forum of reason, and appealed [illegible] to the sword, as the surest means, in their judgment, of advancing their cause. * * * But the result was [illegible] people of England to a worse state of oppression than they had been in for centuries. They retraced their steps. * * * The House of Commons and the House of Lords were [illegible] the theaters of their operations. * * * The result was, that in less than thirty years, all their ancient rights and privileges which had been lost in the civil wars, with new securities, were reestablished. * * *

"May we not [illegible] hope, even in the [illegible] as now, from this great example [illegible] if we but do as the friends of liberty there did."

THE FAR REACHING POLICY OF STEPHENS.

The policy thus foreshadowed by Mr. Stephens, has been pursued with a devotion worthy of a better cause. Secession or the "Lost Cause" was presented as the cause of Constitutional Liberty, and made to appear identical with the struggle for liberty in England in 1642. The people were advised to look for the vindication and maintenance of this cause in "the forums of reason and justice," "the courts and halls of Legislation."

And what was this "lost cause?" Simply the right to hold in human bondage four millions of human beings who had souls to be saved or lost.

SLAVERY AND "CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY" THE SAME.

In 1861 Mr. Stephens, then Vice President of the Confederacy, made a speech in Savannah, which has been known as the "Corner Stone" speech. He said:

The new Constitution has put at rest *forever* all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution. African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. * * * The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. * * * Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of the races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when the "storm came and the wind blew."

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition.

Thus our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth. * * Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors with a zeal above knowledge we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind, from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises; so with the anti-slavery fanatics; their conclusions are right if their premises were. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. * * *

In the conflict thus far success has been on our side complete throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world. * * *

If we are true to ourselves, true to our cause, true to our destiny, true to our high mission, in presenting to the world the highest type of civilization ever exhibited by man, there will be found in our lexicon no such word as fail.

Thus spoke Alexander H. Stephens on the 21st day of March, 1861. These were the reasons he gave for attempting to establish the Confederacy. Not one word about "constitutional liberty" in that speech. It was an argument in favor of human bondage. Slavery, not liberty, was the "corner-stone" upon which the Confederacy rested. Said Mr. Stephens:

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition.

It was to establish a government upon such foundations that secession was tried. That was the "lost cause."

In 1866 Mr. Stephens said: "Secession was tried. That has failed. * * Our only alternative now is either to give up all hope of constitutional liberty, or retrace our steps, and to look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice."

According to Stephens, therefore, "*constitutional* liberty" is the right to enslave the negro, for that is "his natural and normal condition." Having failed to secure this liberty (?) on the field of battle, he proposes that its friends "look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice." And that is the "lost cause."

[illegible] OF MR. STEPHENS.

He has been [illegible] devoted to the advocacy of [illegible]. He [illegible] in 18[illegible] [illegible] Georgia Legislature [illegible] Congress in 1843 [illegible] a States Rights Whig [illegible] to draw up the famous "Georgia platform" in 1850 which declared that the State of Georgia "will, and ought to resist, (even as a last resort) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, any future act of Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent and petition of the slaveholders thereof; or any act abolishing slavery in places within the slaveholding States purchased by the United States for the erection of forts, magazines, dock-yards, navy-yards, and other like places; or in any act suppressing the slave trade between slaveholding States; or in any refusal to admit as a State any territory applying, because of the existence of slavery therein; or in any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the territories of Utah and New Mexico; or in any act repealing or materially modifying the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves."

This platform Mr. Stephens most earnestly advocated. In 1852 he refused to support General Scott, the Whig candidate for the Presidency, because he was not sufficiently sound on the slavery question, although he (Stephens) had acted with the Whig party since 1840. He supported the Democratic party in 1856, and advocated the election of Buchanan; and since that time has acted with that party—except in 1872, when he refused to support Mr. Greeley because of his anti-slavery record, and advocated the election of O'Connor, the candidate of the extreme Bourbons.

HIS [illegible] WORK.

We can [illegible] the [illegible] persistence and sagacity with which since 1865, he has pushed his work. When others were willing to "accept the situation," he was preparing for the "coming great struggle." "We tried secession and failed," he said; "now, we will look for the vindication of our cause in the forums of reason and justice." Having foreshadowed the policy to be pursued in his speech before the Georgia Legislature in 1866, he entered upon an active life to prepare the Southern people for the "coming great struggle." His biography was soon after published to lay before the people his ablest speeches and letters in favor of slavery and State sovereignty. In 1868 the first volume of "The War Between the States" was issued, and in 1870 the second volume was published for the purpose of convincing the people that the North was wrong and the South right in the late war. In 1871 he assumed control of the Atlanta Sun, which he edited and published until July, 1873, for the purpose of preparing the people for the "coming great struggle," and sunk the large sum realized as profit, (said to have exceeded twenty thousand dollars,) on his "War Between the States," in this last-named enterprise—sunk it all in a daily paper dedicated to the same object. In 1872 he published a "School History of the United States," to educate the children of the South in the heresy of State sovereignty, and prepare the rising generation for the "coming great struggle."

At first he had but few adherents. Men like Toombs and Davis were advocates of the same line of policy, but the men who controlled the masses refused to follow them. In 1872 Ben Hill led the Democratic party of Georgia into the Greeley movement, but Stephens, Toombs and a few followers abandoned the Democratic party and supported O'Connor for the Presidency. The defeat of Greeley was the triumph of Stephens and his associates in the South. Soon they were the acknowledged leaders of the Southern Democracy. Ben Hill, and men like him, were compelled to fall into line, or leave the Democratic party. This was a great triumph, and established the reputation of Mr. Stephens as one of the greatest thinkers and most sagacious leaders of the Democratic party in the Southern States. He is a thinker as well as a leader of the people; but Hill is simply a demagogue, who panders to the people for votes.

THE CONFEDERACY RESURRECTED.

Stephens was the most conspicuous advocate of the policy foreshadowed in his speech before the Georgia Legislature in 1866, until July, 1873. At that time he retired from the Atlanta Sun, and has not since publicly advocated the Confederate cause as zealously as before; but in his speech in Congress in opposition to the Civil Rights bill, January 5, 1874, and in his Fourth of July oration in Atlanta in 1875, he presented, with his accustomed adroitness, the arguments in favor of State sovereignty. An explanation of [illegible] of interest in the "Lost Cause" may be found in the fact that, in August, 1873, representatives from twelve Southern States met at [illegible] Montgomery [illegible], and organized a society called the Southern Historical Society [illegible] of [illegible] Mr. Stephens [illegible] the close of the war, Jefferson Davis was present and was received by the representatives of the "Lost Cause" as "President Davis," and with all the honors due to the President of the United States. The headquarters of the Society were soon removed to Richmond, Va., the capital of the Confederacy.

WHY THE CONFEDERATE LEADERS ORGANIZED.

The objects for which this society was organized are thus explained by Mr. Henry Eubank, its general agent:

"It is not only [illegible] pond into an antagonism, powerful to repel the insidious advances of those vicious principles which are now so [illegible] undermining the civilization of the North."

In other words, the object, as explained by Mr. Eubank, is, to prevent the southern people from being converted to Republican ideas.

REASONS GIVEN BY WADE HAMPTON.

The purposes for which the Society was organized were more fully explained by Wade Hampton in a speech made before the Society in the Senate chamber at Richmond, Va., October 29, 1873, from which I make the following extract:

As it was the duty of every man to devote himself to the services of his country in the great struggle which has just ended so disastrously, not only to the South, but to the cause of constitutional government under republican institutions in the new world; so now, when that country is prostrate in the dust, weeping for her dead who died in vain to save her liberties, every patriotic impulse should urge her surviving children to vindicate the great principles for which she fought. * * *

CHILDREN TO BE TAUGHT TO FIGHT FOR THE "LOST CAUSE."

These are the imperative duties imposed upon us of the South; and the chief peril of the times is, that, in our despair at the evil that has fallen on us, we forget these obligations to the eternal principle for which we fought; to the martyred dead who gave up their lives for their principles; * * * and to our children who should be taught to cling to them with unswerving fidelity. If those who are to come after us, and to whose hands the destinies of our country are soon to be committed, are properly instructed in the theory and practice of republican institutions; if they are made to comprehend the origin, progress and culmination of that great controversy between the antagonistic sections of [illegible] at Appomattox [illegible], they cannot fail to see that [illegible] right [illegible] were on the side of their fathers, and they will surely strive to bring back to the Republic those cardinal principles on which it was founded, and on which alone it can exist.

HOW SUCCESS IS TO BE SECURED.

"Our eyes should be to bring her (the Republic) back to her old and safe anchorage. * * It is amid these gloomy surroundings and sad forebodings, gentlemen of the Historical Society, that we who have not lost all hope and faith are met to take counsel together. We may be able, it is true, to save but little from the general wreck, but we can, at least, leave to future generations the true record of our struggle in a righteous cause.

This Society proposes to publish regularly and systematically all contributions which elucidate the truth, reflect the glory, and maintain the principles involved in the late war, and it calls upon all who are not lost to honor, to aid in this laudable undertaking. It wishes to enrol not only every true man, but every true woman, in its ranks. * * *

"Maid, mother, wife, gave freely to that country the most cherished objects of their affections. * * * It was wisely done, therefore, to invoke their aid in behalf of our society. * * * It is theirs to teach our children that their fathers were neither traitors nor rebels; that we believed as firmly as in the eternal Word of God that we were in the right; and that we have a settled faith which no trials can shake, that in His own good time, the right will be made manifest.

LESSONS FROM HISTORY.

"These are the lessons our children should learn from their mothers. Nor are these the only ones which should be inculcated, for the pages of history furnish many which should not be overlooked. These teach in the clearest and most emphatic manner, that there is always hope for a people who cherish the spirit of freedom, who will not tamely give up their rights, and who, amid all the clouds of time, the trials of adversity, remain steadfast to their convictions that liberty is their birthright. * * *

THE SOUTH COMPARED TO PRUSSIA AND THE NORTH TO FRANCE.

"When Napoleon in that wonderful campaign of Jena, struck down in a few weeks the whole military strength of Prussia, destroyed the army with which the great Frederick had held at bay the combined forces of Europe, and crushed out, apparently forever, the liberties and [illegible] the very existence of that great State, [illegible] was left [illegible]. As far as human foresight could penetrate the future, this hope appeared but a vain and delusive one; yet only a few years passed before her troops turned the scale of victory at Waterloo, and the treaty of Paris atoned in part for the humiliation of that of Tilsit. * * *

"So [illegible] her children by a system [illegible] she kept alive the sacred fire of patriotism; she [illegible] Paris, [illegible] to throw off the yoke of Austria [illegible] as [illegible] of Austria, exercises a controlling power in that great empire.

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the Soci-

city, the task assigned to me by your partial kindness, be duly shirked. * * *

It seems to me not inappropriate, while explaining the purposes of the Society, to show to you how important are the objects it contemplates, how vital to the future condition of our people, and how vast the influence it may exercise if properly directed. History teaches itself, and history is plainspoken teaching by example. If the examples presented to you have kindled one zeal in behalf of our suffering country, if they have inspired in your hearts any ray of hope for its redemption, my efforts have not been in vain."

THE POLICY OF HAMPTON SIMILAR TO THAT OF STEPHENS.

The policy advocated by Hampton is similar to that advocated by Stephens. Both manifest a deep devotion for the "Lost Cause," and express the belief that it may be vindicated and maintained in the forum. But Hampton proposed that the children should be educated by a system which will make them "good citizens in peace and formidable soldiers in war," so that should the Southern leaders fail to control the nation as the Hungarians control Austria, they may meet their old antagonists upon the battle field and "wipe out, by glorious victories," the shame of their defeats of yore, as the Prussians have done. It is unnecessary for me to inform you that the children of the class represented by Wade Hampton are being thus educated. He spoke to the Southern people as the representative of a society composed of men who had once ruled the South and were destined to do so again within a few years.

THE LEADERS OF "THE SOLID SOUTH."

When that Society was organized the Republicans controlled seven Southern States, and Republican ideas had found a lodgment in every Southern State. In each a free school system had been established, and the tendency of public opinion was towards liberal ideas; but in less than one year afterwards there was a perceptible change in favor of the old ideas. Eubank was right. The "Southern Historical Society" has possessed a vitality and has exerted an influence through the whole South that has "steadily and irresistibly expanded into an antagonism powerful to repel the insidious advance" of Republican ideas. Vance, of North Carolina; Butler, of South Carolina; Colquitt, of Georgia; Call, of Florida; Garland, of Arkansas, and Harris, of Tennessee, were chosen Vice-Presidents of the Society, and Wade Hampton was one of the leading spirits. On the 18th day of February, 1874, a State branch of the Society was organized in this State—Gen. Colquitt, now the Governor, presiding. January 20th, 1875, "The Survivor's Association of Confederate Soldiers of the State of Georgia" was organized. General Gordon was subsequently made President of the Association, and Ben Hill was one of the leading spirits. Vance, Colquitt, Garland and Hampton have since been Governors of their respective States. Vance, Butler, Call, Garland, Harris, Hampton, Gordon and Hill now have seats in the United States Senate; and no truthful person will deny but that these men and their associates now control the "solid South."

ANOTHER REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

Gen. John S. Preston, of South Carolina, a representative of the aristocracy of that State, was selected by the alumni of the University of Virginia, to deliver the annual address at that institution July 1, 1875, "the fiftieth year of the University." An eye-witness who reported the speech said:

"At half-past 12 P.M., the public hall was filled with a distinguished company, who listened to an address so extraordinary in its character that it will never be forgotten by those who had the good fortune to be present. Southern enthusiasm was aroused to the highest altitudes, and General Preston's appeal to Southern patriotism fell on susceptible minds and touched the hearts of those who were familiar with the memories of the past."

ADDRESS OF GEN. PRESTON.

The following extracts will convey to your minds some idea of the animus of the address:

The whole brood of nurslings—the offspring of fifty years' annual parturition of the foremost school of letters, science and philosophy in the New World—have called me, one of the firstborn but humblest of the flock, to stand here by our nursery cradle and speak to them and to you. * * *

Be charitable to these gray hairs, and to one who offered his life, and gave all the rest, that you might be free—and lost all save this poor woeful remnant of that life. * * *

I am endeavoring in an humble way, to display the logic of fundamental principles and potential events in a people's history. * * *

THE CONDITION OF THE SOUTH.

The bloody tumult of that storm which fell upon our peaceful grandeur may have sighed, but our poor water-logged vessel is still hopping her shivered sails, and rolling heavily and helplessly in the yawning troughs, and her way back to her haven can be known only by measuring to nature the strength and force of opposing currents. What are these?

THE TWO PEOPLES.

Unhappily for mankind, for truth, and for us who dwelt under its promises in this great work of our fathers, there was associated a people of different origin, of hostile sentiment, who early resolved that we should not worship in our own temple, or be free under our own covenants, except we did both according to their judgment and their consciences.

For a time, however, our services went on under the guidance and priesthood of Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, and their compeers, sustained by the genius and spirit which brought unpolluted to this Continent, the great principles and usages of the English constitution of liberty. But these people who came to this Continent coeval with our progenitors, and in some sort partook of the strife which caused the political separation from England, dated the manner of liberty I have attempted to describe, became restrained their carnivalings by the dictates of self-conscience and liberal protections of equal Law. They were originally driven from England for violation of fundamental laws, and, therefore, could not bring with them motives and sentiments in accordance with, but in fact and meta ally adverse to, the principles of English constitutional liberty, and of English religious freedom. They came not as refugees from unlawful persecution and tyranny, but as escaped convicts from the just penalties of a turbulent heresy and an ambitious rebellion which sought by violence to enforce their consciences on England's law. Instead, therefore, of bringing the laws and usages spreading out of the charters of English liberty, they brought only crude and shallow systems, philosophical, theological, and political fictions, scarcely above the vain babblings of mediæval speculations, mingled with the poisons of licentious fanaticism; establishing upon them municipal forms of * * * superficial content, and firm system of * * * traditional training, calculated to perpetuate ignorance and substitute individual craft for public virtue. * * * The Mayflower freight under the laws of England was heresy and crime. The Jamestown emigrant was an English freeman, loyal to his country and his God, with England's honor in his heart and English piety his soul, and carrying in his right hand the charters, usages and the laws which were achieving the regeneration of England. * * * These two peoples spoke the same language, and nominally read the same Bible; but like the off-spring of the Syrian princess, they were two manner of people, and they could not coalesce or commune. Their feud began beyond the broad Atlantic, and has never ceased on its western shores. Not space, or time, or the convenience of any human law, or the power of any human arm, can reconcile institutions for the turbulent fanatic of Plymouth Rock and the God-fearing Christian of Jamestown. You may assign them to the closest territorial proximity, with all the forms, modes and shows of civilization; but you can never cement them into the bonds of brotherhood. Great Nature, in her supremest law, forbids it. Territorial localization drove them to a hollow and unnatural armistice in effecting their segregation from England—the one for the lucre of traffic, the other to obtain a more perfect law of liberty; the one to destroy foreign tea, the other to drive out foreign tyrants; the one to offer thanksgiving for the fruit of the earth, the other to celebrate the gift of grace in the birth of Christ. * * *

The Greek philosopher and statesman long ago proclaimed the irreversible maxim: "You may combine for the pursuits of trade, or form alliances for defense, but Corinth and Megara can never be one state; they are two people."

These, in general terms, I regard as the ethnographical principles and the ethical attributes on which were based the statesmanship of New England, as manifested by Seward, the philanthropy of New England as represented by Sumner, and the Christianity of New England as practiced by Plymouth churches. * * *

TO REGAIN THE LOST "CAUSE."

It is only by true knowledge of the past that those who come after can be made the patriots and the heroes whose high destiny it may be to conduct their country to deliverance and liberty. * * *

"If, then, this function is duly performed, our vocation is to unveil the foulest crime which stains the annals of human history, by unfolding the causes and relating the facts and results of the recent war between New England and the Confederate States. * * *

Let your historians tell it to posterity, and your poets sing of it in funeral chant. But let them, with it, say, We were not subdued when Lee surrendered his starvelings at Appomattox. * * *

Suppression, then, is the policy of the representatives of victorious, triumphant New England. What is the policy, or its synonym and complement, the duty of the defeated, dejected felon and rebel? Manifestation, open, wide manifestation. To tell the world and posterity why we fought, for what we fought, and how we fought, and how we have struggled and suffered. To tell all, suppress nothing, and let the bright record of truth, valor and heroic fortitude—the sad story of defeat and abjection—go to these children as an example. * * *

THE STAKE FOR WHICH THE CONFEDERATES FOUGHT.

Our stake was not only land and liberty, but all the forms, modes, purposes, habitudes and sympathies of social organisms, fixed for centuries and sealed to us by the sacrifice of blood. * * *

PREPARE FOR THE COMING GREAT STRUGGLE.

But, comrades and brothers, here we are to-day, after over fifty years, our country the skeleton of nations, and here around us the ghostly sepulchre; if not the scorn, at best the object of the fruitless pity of our fellowmen; the only heritage we can bequeath to these children, the opprobrium of their birth, the woes we suffer, the insults they cannot avenge. Here we stand this day, the beaten, defeated, degraded strugglers after the existence of liberty, our lances broken, our shields battered, and our banners draggled in the dirt and filth of the earth. * * *

But when I look at you to-day and see your earnest and pious souls gleaming forth in your eager, bright eyes, * * * I cannot but feel that the sacred spirit is still alive in your hearts, and will again appear and move in you a triumphant ending.

STEPHENS, HAMPTON AND PRESTON.

This is the language of a representative of the class that ruled the South and the national government from its formation until 1861. He was *the* representative whom the alumni of the "foremost school of letters, science, and philosophy" in the Southern States, selected to deliver the address on the fiftieth anniversary of that institution. His address was received with enthusiasm by the distinguished company who listened to it; and it was published extensively in the South and received favorably by the aristocracy. It was more poetical than either the speech of Stephens or the address of Hampton, but the line of thought is identical with theirs. All are champions of the "Lost Cause;" all mourn over the downfall of the Confederacy, and all predict the final triumph of the "cause" for which they fought—human bondage; or, as Mr. Stephens puts it, the subordination of the negro to the superior race. It cannot be truthfully denied that these men correctly represent the views and purposes of the aristocracy.

NEW ENGLAND.

It has been a favorite pastime of the aristocracy to denounce and ridicule the people, the institutions, the civilization of New England. Thus the masses have been taught to hate and despise that people. Between the statesmen of the North and the aristocracy of the South, there has been a bitter antagonism. It is, indeed, true that "the feud began beyond the broad Atlantic." It in fact commenced with the Reformation. From the first New England has been controlled by the commonalty; the South by the aristocracy.

D'Aubigne, the great historian of the Reformation, says that the religion of Jesus Christ exerted on Germany "its appropriate influence. The commonalty advanced rapidly. In the different parts of the empire, particularly in the free cities, numerous institutions arose calculated to develop this imposing mass of the people." It was not magistrates, who are often compelled to adapt their conduct to the political exigencies of the times; or nobles, passionately fond of military glory above all things; or an ambitious and greedy priesthood, trading with religion as its peculiar property, that were to found the reformation in Germany. It was to be the work of the middle classes—of the people—of the whole nation." The Reformation gave to the masses new ideas of the rights of man. "The enfranchisement of the mind from religious despotism, led directly to inquiries into the nature of civil government." John Calvin, one of the ablest coadjutors of Luther, "skilled alike in theology and civil law, in the duties of magistrates and the dialectics of religious controversy, entering the republic of Geneva and conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, established a party, of which Englishmen became members, and New England the asylum." These men came to New England because of the implacable differences between themselves and the established Anglican church. Bancroft says that "the doctrines of popular liberty which sheltered their infancy in the wilderness of the newly-discovered continent, within the short space of two centuries, have infused themselves into the life-blood of every rising State from Labrador to Chili, have erected outposts on the Oregon and in Liberia, and, making a proselyte of enlightened France, have disturbed all the ancient governments of Europe, by awakening the public mind to resistless action, from the shores of Portugal to the palaces of the czars."

The King of England was the pope in his own dominions. Freedom of private inquiry was not recognized as a right, and even the means of forming a judgment on religious subjects was denied. A statute, "alike arrogant in its pretensions and vindictive in its menaces," was enacted by parliament "for abolishing diversity of opinions." "The establishment of the English church under the king was inexorably sustained. No virtue, no eminence conferred security. * * * "Death was denounced against the Catholic who denied the king's supremacy, and the Protestant who denied his creed. Had Luther been an Englishman he might have perished by fire." "The spirit of inquiry rebelled against proscription," and the austere principle was announced, "that not even a ceremony should be tolerated, unless it was enjoined by the word of God. And this was Puritanism." The church of England was established by an act of Parliament or a royal ordinance; but the Puritans would admit no voucher but the Bible. The first martyrs of Protestant England were Puritans. They never sought by concessions to escape the flames. "For them compromise was itself apostasy." The Puritan clergy became the political leaders of the people, and the pulpit was the place for the freedom of discussion. An historian not friendly to the Puritans says: "The precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone." They desired to assemble and have the liberty of free discussion; but the king denied their petition, saying:

You are aiming at a Scot's prosbytery which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil.

This was the class of men who came to the wilderness of New England to escape from the persecution of tyrants in England. Of such was the Mayflower freight. It is true, as Preston says, that "under the laws of England," they were guilty of "heresy and crime," but the laws of England were made by tyrants; and the heresy and crime of which they were guilty, was in not conforming their religious belief to the laws of parliament. They "became the sole guardians of popular liberty" in England. "The established church and the monarch, on the one side, were arrayed against the Puritan clergy and the people," and thus "a war of opinion began." The contest was transmitted to other generations and to these shores. The interests of human freedom have been and are at issue on the contest.

The Pilgrims who came to New England "were Englishmen, Protestants—exiles for religion; men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank and rights, and bound by no code but that of religion or the public will." Before they landed from the Mayflower "the manner in which their government should be constituted, was considered, and they formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn voluntary compact."

THE COMPACT OF THE PILGRIMS.

In the name of God, Amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

This instrument was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred, the whole colony, "the proper Democracy," that arrived in New England. This was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. The middle aged had been familiar with charters and constitutions; but they had been mere compacts for immunities, partial enfranchisements, patents of nobility, concessions of municipal privileges, or limitations of the sovereign power in favor of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the Mayflower, humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of 'equal laws' for 'the general good.'" (Bancroft, vol. 1, pages 308, 309, 310.)

SPEECH OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

In that masterly oration at Plymouth, Mass., on the 22d day of December, 1820, Daniel Webster said:

Let us rejoice that we behold this day! Let us be thankful that we have lived to see the bright and happy breaking of the auspicious morn, which commences the third century of the history of New England. Auspicious, indeed—bringing a happiness beyond the common allotment of Providence to man—full of present joy, and gilding with bright beams the prospect of futurity, is the dawn that awakens us to the commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims. * * *

We have come to this rock, to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers; our sympathy in their sufferings; our gratitude for their labors; our admiration of their virtues; our veneration for their piety, and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty, which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of Heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile and famine, to enjoy and establish. . . .

We feel that we are on the spot where the first scene of our history was laid; where the hearths and altars of New England were first planted; where Christianity and civilization and letters made their first lodgment, in a vast extent of country, covered with a wilderness, and peopled by roving barbarians. . . .

SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

The settlement of New England by the Colony, which landed here on the 22d day of December, 1620, although not the first European establishment in what now constitutes the United States, was yet so peculiar in its causes and character, and has been followed and must still be followed by such consequences, as to give it a high claim to lasting commemoration. . . .

THE MOTIVES OF THE PILGRIMS.

Of the motives which influenced the first settlers to a voluntary exile, induced them to relinquish their native country and to seek an asylum in this then unexplored wilderness, the first and principal, no doubt were connected with religion. They sought to enjoy a higher degree of religious freedom, and what they esteemed a purer form of religious worship than was allowed to their choice, or presented to their imitation, in the Old World. . . .

They fled not so much from the civil government, as from the hierarchy, and the laws which enforced conformity to the church establishment. . . .

This was not the flight of guilt, but of virtue. It was an humble and peaceable religion, flying from causeless oppression. It was conscience attempting to escape from the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts. . . . Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty! May its standard, reared here, remain forever! May it rise up as high as Heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the nations! . . . .

CIVILIZATION OF THE PILGRIMS.

The morning that beamed on the first night of their repose, saw the Pilgrims already established in their country. There were political institutions, and civil liberty, and religious worship. Poetry has fancied nothing in the wanderings of heroes, so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, indeed, unprotected and unprovided for, on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness; but it was politic, intelligent and educated man. Everything was civilized but the physical world. Institutions containing in substance all that ages had done for human government, were founded in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature; and, more than all, a government and a country were to commence, with the very first foundation laid under the divine light of the christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy future! Who would wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun? Who would desire the power of going back to the ages of fable? Who would wish for an origin obscured in the darkness of antiquity? Who would wish for other emblazonry of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence, her first breath the inspiration of liberty, her first principle the truth of divine religion? * * *

The second century opened upon New England under circumstances which evinced that much had already been accomplished, and that still better prospects and brighter hopes were before her. She had laid, deep and strong, the foundations of her society. Her religious principles were firm, and her moral habits exemplary. Her public schools had begun to diffuse widely the elements of knowledge; and the college under the excellent and acceptable administration of Leverett, had been raised to a higher degree of credit and usefulness. * * *

FREE SCHOOLS.

Having detained you so long with these observations, I must yet advert to another most interesting topic—the free schools. In this particular New England may be allowed to claim, I think, a merit of peculiar character. She early adopted, and has constantly maintained the principle, that it is the undoubted right and bounden duty of the government to provide for the instruction of all youth. That which is elsewhere left to chance or to charity, we secure by law. For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question, whether he himself have or have not children to be benefitted by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of policy, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured. We seek to prevent in some measure the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge at an early age. We hope to excite a feeling of respectability, and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacity and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment. By general instruction, we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere; to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time when, in the villages and farm-houses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors. And knowing that our government rests directly on the public will, that we may preserve it, we endeavor to give a safe and proper direction to that public will. We do not, indeed, expect all men to be philosophers or statesmen; but we confidently trust, and our expectation of the duration of our system of government rests on that trust, that by the diffusion of general knowledge and good and virtuous sentiments, the political fabric may be secure, as well against open violence and overthrow, as against the slow, but sure, undermining of licentiousness. . . . .

RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE PILGRIMS.

Finally, let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought hither by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light, and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate its principles with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, or literary. Let us cherish the sentiments, and extend this influence still more widely, in the full conviction that that is the happiest society which partakes in the highest degree of the mild and peaceful spirit of Christianity."

WEBSTER OR PRESTON.

Thus spoke the great Webster. Such are the people, the institutions, the civilization that Preston and the class he represents have taught the Southern people to despise, to hate, to fight upon the battle-field. But Preston and his class, the slave aristocracy, have no sympathy for the masses; nor has the aristocracy of any country. The masses have never looked to the aristocracy for civil and religious liberty.

THE SOUTHERN ARISTOCRACY NOT THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

But the southern aristocracy are not the southern people. We may divide the southern people into two classes: the aristocracy and the commonalty, or the common people. The former number not more than one million, the latter not less than thirteen millions. That there should be a deep-seated antagonism between the aristocracy of the South and the common people of the North is not strange; for, as we have before seen, the commonalty have been the friends of human liberty since the Reformation; but the aristocracy, in all countries and all ages, have been the enemies of civil and religious freedom. But there is no good reason why an antagonism should exist between the common people of the North and the common people of the South.

THE JAMESTOWN EMIGRANT.

Preston says that "The Jamestown emigrant was an English freeman, loyal to his country and his God, with England's honor in his heart and English piety in his soul, and carrying in his right hand the charters, usages and the laws which were achieving the regeneration of England."

When it is remembered that England was ruled by one of the most despotic monarchs that ever sat upon the English throne; that "English piety" was regulated by the statutes of a parliament controlled by a feudal aristocracy not distinguished for piety or even virtue; and that "the charters, usages and laws which were achieving the regeneration of England," were such as deprived the masses of civil and religious liberty, and conferred upon the aristocracy power and wealth, the compliment is, to say the least, not one that will be appreciated by Americans. It will be received with greater favor by the English nobility than by American freemen.

THE CIVILIZATION OF JAMESTOWN.

The Jamestown emigrant came under the superintendence of a council in England and the local administration was intrusted to a council residing within its limits. "The members of the superior council in England were appointed exclusively by the king, and the tenure of their office was his good pleasure. Over the colonial councils the king likewise preserved a control; for the members of them were from time to time to be ordained, made, and removed, according to royal instructions. Supreme legislative authority over the colonies, extending alike to their general condition and the most minute regulations, was likewise expressly reserved to the monarch." "To the emigrants themselves the charter conceded not one elective franchise, not one of the rights of self-government. They were subjected to the ordinances of a commercial corporation, of which they could not be members; to the dominion of a domestic council, in appointing which they had no voice; to the control of a superior council in England, which had no sympathies with their rights; and finally to the arbitrary legislation of the sovereign." "The superior council in England was permitted to name the colonial council, which was constituted a pure aristocracy, entirely independent of the emigrants whom they were to govern." "Not one element of popular liberty was introduced into the form of government. Religion was specially enjoined to be established according to the doctrine and rites of the Church of England." (Bancroft, vol. 1., pp. 14, 122, 123.)

Thus were the political forms of the colony established. The colonists consisted of "gentlemen" and "laborers," a distinction which has been maintained from that day to this. Of the one hundred and five emigrants who first came, forty-eight were "gentlemen," who, of course, did no work, as "gentlemen" never work. None of the emigrants had families. John Smith, an English cavalier and an adventurer, was the presiding genius.

These were the Jamestown emigrants; this the type of civilization which General Preston holds up for our admiration.

THE SLAVE ARISTOCRACY.

The early introduction of slavery into the colonies increased the wealth, power and self-importance of the "gentlemen;" thus forming the SLAVE ARISTOCRACY whom Stephens, Hampton and Preston now represent; the effect of which was to degrade the laboring class by placing them, in the estimation of the aristocracy, on a level with the slave.

THE STATESMANSHIP OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH.

The aristocratic leaders claim that the statesmanship as well as the civilization of the South, has been superior to that of the North. This question can be fairly considered and a correct judgment formed by contrasting the advancement of the people of the two sections in all things that stamp true statesmanship upon either citizens or States.

BEN HILL ON SOUTHERN STATESMANSHIP.

Ben Hill in one of his lucid moments is reported to have said:

In 1787 wise men predicted that the Southern States would excel all the others in point of population, wealth and power, owing to their area, their fertility, their vast industrial and commercial resources. But in spite of these established facts, why is it that the sayings of these wise men have not been realized? Other sections of country inferior to ours in every respect, have attracted the notice of the world, * * * and why has the superior South been ignored? Do not charge God with it; for He has not favored more highly than he has the South any country upon the face of the earth. He has created for us a Paradise, but we have not appreciated the gift. Why have States, inferior to us, advanced with such giant strides, and developed every element of power, while we have been content to look upon their towering greatness without even the desire to emulate their progress? Our failure is to be accounted for in ourselves. *The primal cause of our failure, as a people, is the fact that our system of labor was slavery.* The strength of a people lies in the establishment and maintainance of good schools; knowledge is power; ignorance is death. We have not improved our natural blessings, because labor has been degraded and dishonored.

(Address of B. H. Hill, at the University of Georgia, June, 1871.)

THE TWO CIVILIZATIONS CONTRASTED.

Less than one hundred years ago the Constitution was formed, and the United States became a member of the family of nations. But we were two peoples, with two civilizations. It is true, as Ben Hill says, that "wise men predicted that the Southern States would excel all the others in point of population, wealth and power, owing to their area, their fertility, their vast industrial and commercial resources." "But, in spite of these established facts," "the sayings of these wise men have not been realized." Why? Simply because the Statesmanship of the South, if, indeed, it may be called Statesmanship, has not equalled that of the North.

The Statesmen of the North founded their civilization upon the free school and free labor as the corner stone; the Statesmen (?) of the South founded theirs upon slavery without the free school. In 1870, the population of the North was 24,546,578, that of the South was 14,009,315. The wealth of the North was $24,493,917,830, that of the South was $5,559,524,092. In the Northern States 1,940,045 persons, over ten years of age, were unable to read and write, and most of these were of foreign birth; but in the Southern States, 5,573,642 of the same age were unable to read and write and nearly all of these were natives. We send North for the fertilizers to give life to our originally fertile now deadened soil, for the tools to work our fields, for the food to feed our people and stock. Our physicians send there for medicines to heal the sick and for the instruments that secure skill in their profession; our lawyers send there for books that they may learn how to secure justice to our people; our preachers send there for commentaries on the Bible, that they may be prepared the better to lead the people to Christ; our editors send North for the type and the presses they use in abusing the Northern people, and our aristocratic leaders with Northern hats on their heads, Northeran coats on their backs, Northern shoes on their feet, and Northern jewelry to adorn their persons, swell around, denounce the North as Preston did, and boast of their superiority over the statesmen of that section. It is time that these men stopped this bombastic nonsense, and went to work to improve the condition of our people by increasing the intelligence of the masses, thus making our section wealthy and powerful.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, gentlemen of the State Council of the Union League of America, I beg to remind you that our organization is a champion of the ideas that have made the North great and powerful. We believe as do the statesmen of that section, that "it is the undoubted right and bounden duty of government to provide for the instruction of all youth." We hold that every one should be subject to taxation in proportion to his property to provide such instruction, "whether he himself have, or have not, children to be benefitted by the education for which he pays. We regard this as a wise and liberal system of policy, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured. We seek to prevent, in some measure, the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge at an early age. We hope to excite a feeling of respectability and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacity and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment. By general instruction, we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere, to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censure of the law and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security beyond the law and above the law, in the prevalence of enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment."

The Southern Historical Society is a representative of the ideas of aristocracy and caste that were brought to this continent by the "Jamestown emigrant." The men who control that organization seek to promote the interests of the aristocratic class alone, comprising few of our people; we labor to improve the condition of all the people. They represent the aristocracy—not more than one million of the Southern people; we represent the views of the commonalty—not less than thirteen millions of our people. We admire the beauty and virtue of the women who belong to an elegant select society, and the great ability that representatives of the aristocracy have displayed in the field, the cabinet and the learned professions, and we would take from that class none of its wealth; but we seek to elevate the common people to a higher plane of civilization. We would not, if we could, injure the aristocracy, but we do desire to elevate the community, that their daughters may be more beautiful and refined, and their sons more highly educated and better fitted to perform the duties devolving upon them. Thus will we add to the glory of our section, thus will we add to its wealth and power. Then will the Southern people, the common people as well as the aristocracy, be equal to any people on the face of the earth. This is our mission.

It is a noble mission! Let us enter upon it with courage, knowing that we are right, and that the right will triumph if we are true to ourselves and to this great cause.