

ADDRESS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO
THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The Republican members of the Legislature of North Carolina, upon earnest and careful deliberation, have resolved to issue to the people of the State, the following address on the condition of our public affairs, and to ask for it a calm and unprejudiced consideration :

FELLOW-CITIZENS : In response to our election by you, as members of the Legislature, we have been in session for a short time, and have done such things as seemed to us to be necessary to organize the new State Government, and set it to work ; and without doing much that is indispensable to be done soon, we have adjourned, in order that we may return to you for conference and advice, that we may proceed cautiously and wisely. We are your representatives—you elected us. You are our friends, and we are yours ; and under ordinary circumstances, we should expect your confidence and assistance. But the embarrassments now around us are extraordinary and peculiar, and give us extraordinary claims upon you for assistance and support.

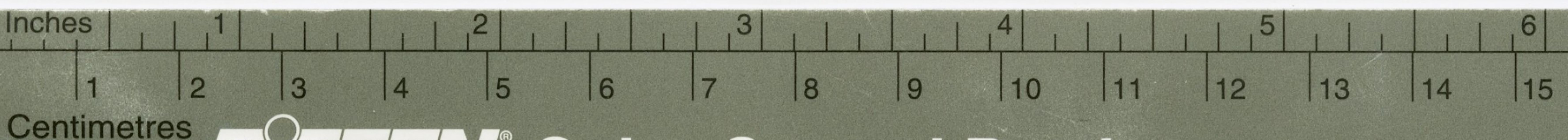
WAR THREATENED.

For, we tell you in the utmost frankness, and with deep feeling, that the greatest possible danger overhangs the Government, and we believe that another war is certainly in the near future, unless the people arouse themselves to avert it. When in the early history of the country, we had a Revolution, and at the end of it, had to form new Gov-

ernments, the matter was found to be difficult enough, even with the people united, and desirous of forming good governments. But how is it now ? We have had a war, and a new government is to be formed. If we were united, and anxious to form the best government we could, it would be difficult enough to do it. But instead of being united, we are bitterly divided, and a very large portion of the people, many of whom have been, and some of whom now are in high positions of trust, declare that the State Government, as at present organized, is illegal and void, and must be overthrown by force of arms, immediately after the election this fall.

DUPPLICITY AND BAD FAITH.

The persons and the party, who thus declare, went into the late election as candidates for the offices of the Government as if every thing was valid. And so, every thing would have been valid if they had been elected. But failing in the election, they forthwith declare that the offices which they sought, and the Government itself are null and void, and must and shall be destroyed ; and some of them, who were elected to the Legislature and other offices in the State, and took an oath to support the Constitution, now say that the Constitution, which they swore to support, is no Constitution at all ; that the Legislature of which they are members, and in which they are receiving their pay, is no Legislature at all. That you have no Governor, no Judges, no Sheriffs, or other



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officers, and that everything which has been done, or is now doing, is illegal and void; that your property and lives are without protection, and that anarchy prevails. It is so extraordinary that such a state of things should exist, that we would expect you to be slow to believe it, and therefore we proceed to lay before you the proofs.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY REJECTED.

After the war ended, three years ago, the President of the United States suggested that, if the people of the State would meet in convention and frame a constitution, the State might be admitted back into the Union. The people accordingly called a convention, which framed a constitution, and that constitution was submitted to the people to be ratified; but just before the election, the same class of persons who now say that the present constitution is void, said then that that constitution was void, and they induced the people of the State to reject it. That constitution was the old constitution under which we had always lived, with some alterations. Notwithstanding there were no radical changes in it, yet its rejection by the people was demanded and accomplished.

THE HOWARD AMENDMENT REJECTED.

Congress then said that, if the State would adopt the "Howard Amendment," which left the question of suffrage with the State, to regulate as it thought proper, it might be restored to the Union. But the State, under the lead of the same class of men, who now declare the Government void, refused to adopt the Howard Amendment.

THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS RENDERED NECESSARY.

Congress then said, well, if the white people will not form a government and come back to the Union, we will authorize the colored citizens to vote, who never voted before; and, under that law, another convention was held, another constitution formed, submitted to

the people and ratified by more than 20,000 majority; and under that constitution the present State Government is organized, and we have been admitted back to the Union, and now ought to be at peace and trying to retrieve our fortunes.

STILL DISTURBING THE PUBLIC PEACE.

But now, we find these same men saying: "This Constitution and Government shall not stand." They defeated the constitution three years ago by voting it down; they defeated the Howard Amendment by voting it down. They failed to vote down the present constitution, and now they say they will tear it down by force. Why would they do this? Because, they say, this is a white man's government and colored men are permitted to vote.

COLORED SUFFRAGE A MERE PRETEXT.

But then we call your attention to the fact, that they rejected the constitution three years ago, which had no colored vote in it. They rejected the Howard Amendment which had no colored vote in it, and so they would reject this if it had no colored vote in it. The secret is, they hate the Government, and many of them love strife, confusion and war.

We proceed to offer the proofs that those persons who now assume the name of democrats, but who are in reality, as a general thing, the same old secession and war party, mean to break up the government by force of arms, and that war must follow the attempt.

THE PROOFS.

I. The first proof we offer is the declaration of the President, Andrew Johnson. In a proclamation, which he issued on the 7th July, 1868, he speaks of the present Governor of this State, as the man "who writes himself Governor," thereby meaning to say that he is not the rightful Governor. And in a recent message to Congress he says, "It clearly follows that all the State Governments organized in those States under the acts of Congress for that purpose

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and under military control, are illegitimate and of no validity whatever." Thus it appears that the President of the United States clearly and distinctly declares that the present State Government is null and void.

II. Again, the Democratic National Convention, which nominated Seymour and Blair as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, in their platform say that, "The reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress are usurpatious and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void." So the whole Democratic party have thus declared that the present State Government is null and void.

III. Just before the said Democratic National Convention met, Gen. Blair was requested to say whether he would accept the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. He answered in a letter, which was published, in which he declared that if he was nominated it must be with the understanding that the reconstruction acts were unconstitutional and that the State Governments reconstructed under them were null and void, and that they must be overthrown by force. We quote his own words as follows: "If the President elected by the Democracy enforce, or permit others to enforce, the reconstruction acts, the Radicals, by the accession of twenty spurious Senators, and fifty representatives, will control both branches of Congress, and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson. There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is, for the President elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State Governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives."

Thus it will be seen that the nominee for Vice-President not only declares the State Governments void, but says distinctly that the President elect must declare them null and void, and must

disperse them at the point of the bayonet, and that he must do this of his own head without any law, and against the power of Congress, which is the law-making power, and without suggesting any reference to the Supreme Court, which is the proper and only tribunal to pass upon constitutional questions. All which would be a clear usurpation of power by the President, and revolutionary in its character, and would inevitably result in immediate bloodshed and civil war. And he also says that he regards this as the only issue in the presidential election. Nor does the reason which he gives avail anything. He says the President must disperse the present governments with the army, in order that the white people may have the opportunity of forming their governments. But then, we have already stated that, three years ago, the President did send an army here, and by terrible devastation and bloodshed, he overthrew the governments which were then existing, and permitted the white people (not a colored man among them) to form a constitution. But these men, not then satisfied with that proceeding, persuaded the people to reject the constitution, for the same reason that the nominee for Vice-President now says the present government must be overthrown—viz: because it was unconstitutional, illegal and void. Gen. Blair and the party which supports him, now demand that the operation attempted to be carried out by the President three years ago, shall be again attempted by the President elect of that party. Will these Southern allies of the Democratic party, who rejected that plan of the President, three years ago, because, as they said, it was unconstitutional, illegal and void, now think better of it, retrace their steps, eat their own words, and assist in the consummation of what they then so bitterly denounced? Their pretended opinions and wishes fully indicate the wisdom and patriotism of those whom they vindictively denounced and villified three years ago, for

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sustaining the proposed mode of establishing a government in this State. Should they succeed in having the existing government of the State again broken up by the army, under the order of the President, do they mean, in good faith, to reverse their action of three years ago? Or are their present professions a mere shift of necessity, a faithless pretext to produce civil strife, confusion and war, for the chance of realizing, amidst another storm of terror and blood, their discreetly concealed, but ever cherished hopes of the final success of the "lost cause."

And so it is, that we are to have no peace. No matter what is done or who does it, these same men move upon the prejudices and distresses of the people, and say that is not what ought to be, but something else is. And here, it is to be noted, that while they have opposed everything that has been done by others to restore the country, they have done nothing themselves; nor do they now propose anything but another war.

It seems that the only remedy which the Southern wing of the party believes adequate or desirable, is, amid the confusion they seek to inaugurate, to find some possible opportunity again to raise the flag of treason, establish their still longed-for Confederacy, and to restore slavery.

They have been mighty to destroy but feeble to build up. They tell us, that everything is null and void, but their remedy they do not deem it prudent to suggest at this time. General Blair suggests an initiatory measure, and he tells us in no uncertain terms how it is to be enforced. Take the army, he says, and go to North Carolina, and undo—"disperse"—whatever has been done, and begin anew. And let it be farther noticed, that this remedy was not proposed while the governments were being formed—not at all. They waited to take their chances in the elections to the Convention which formed the government, and many of them took seats in that Convention.

They then took their chances, along with the colored and whites, to get control of the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary, and all the County offices. They had full tickets for all, but failing to get into the offices by the ballot, which was the proper mode, Gen. Blair comes out and declares that they shall be put in by the bullet.

And note further, that he is the man to do it. He knows what supplanting governments with bullets means. He was with Sherman when he came into North Carolina, and dispersed the government and set up another in its stead. And whom did they set up? Ask Governor Vance, and all the State officers if they were not dispersed by Blair. Ask if he did not put Governor Holden in the same position which he now occupies. Yes, fellow-citizens, Blair means what he says; he means war; he means to send the army into North Carolina and disperse the government.

But then it may be asked, suppose Blair does mean war, yet, the mass of the party do not intend war by voting for him. Grant it. But if you elect him, you put him beyond your control. The people generally, we know, do not want war, any more than they did in 1860. But do you not know that fifty, yea, a dozen politicians, put in power, can precipitate a war in spite of the people? And note, especially, that while the New York Democratic Convention had twenty two ballots before they could agree upon a candidate for President, yet with Blair's letter before them, and upon the single issue which he presented, of breaking up the Government by force, they nominated him unanimously *upon the first ballot*; and he is now uniformly endorsed by the whole party.

But then it is said, that while it is the purpose to overthrow the government as Blair says, yet there need be no bloodshed. As soon as the President takes the army to break up the government, let Congress say not a word, let the governments all disperse,

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and then everything will be peaceable, and no more blood will be spilt than may be "*wiped up with a pocket handkerchief.*" But, our countrymen, when did such a thing ever happen? Does the history of the world furnish any instance of governments being overthrown *peaceably*? Overthrow the government *peaceably*! Repeat the terrible story of the late war! The governments were then to be overthrown *peaceably*. But were they? A pocket handkerchief was then to wipe up all the blood! but soon, all the handkerchiefs and all the cloths were insufficient to bandage the wounds. Depend upon it, when the President takes the army, which he has no right to take for any such purpose, to destroy the governments, which Congress and the people have formed, Congress will not stand idle, nor will the governments. There will be fighting; and when it is announced that the purpose is to deprive 4,000,000 of people of liberty, the fighting will be terrible, and the shedders of blood will be round about your houses, like the locusts of Egypt. How different from all this is the sentiment of Gen. Grant, "*let us have peace!*"

IV. After the late elections, and when the time had arrived for Gov. Holden to take possession of the office, the Ex-Provisional Governor, Jonathan Worth, declined to vacate until he was informed by the military that he must do so. He then vacated the office under a written protest, in which he said, "I do not recognise the validity of the late election, under which you, and those co-operating with you, claim to be invested with the civil government of the State."

V. One of the leading organs of the Democrats in North Carolina, approved the protest of Governor Worth, and said he was still the lawful Governor of the State, and that his protest might be "*useful in the future.*" Now, how useful in the future? What does that mean? It means that Gov. Holden may be thrown out and Gov. Worth will still be Governor. The "Sentinel,"

the leading organ of the party in this State, also approved Gov. Worth's course, and copied the above article. Another leading Democratic Journal, the New York "World," in an article copied by the "Sentinel," and headed "The Right Spirit," says that if the coming elections are not conducted as they think they ought to be, and the result is different from what they think it ought to be, then the Democrats will appeal to "physical strength." The precise language is, "If they exclude us from the polls or refuse to count our votes, we shall be none the less a majority, and having the preponderance of physical strength, the Democratic party will not be found so wanting in manhood, as to be ruled by a wreckless usurping minority." Now, what does this threat of "physical force" by the Democratic party mean? It means what the words plainly declare, that, if they are not satisfied with the election, this fall, they will not be ruled by what they call a usurping minority. They say now that Congress is a usurping minority, and they mean to declare that if they cannot change things by the ballot, they will by the bullet.

VI. The North Carolina Democratic Convention, which assembled in Raleigh on the 13th August, in the first resolution of its platform, endorses Gen. Blair as a man of "sound political principles," and "recommends him to the hearty support of the people." It also approved the platform of the National Democratic Convention which declared the State Governments void. And it is to be especially noted, that the said Democratic Convention utters not a word of disapproval of Blair's letter. On the contrary, they fully endorse his "principles" as "sound." It is true, they do say "they desire and intend to bring about these wholesome changes by the peaceful means of the ballot box." Of course they do desire to do it by peaceful means, if it can be done peacefully. They would be demons, if they preferred war to peace. But suppose they

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cannot effect the changes by peaceful measures—how then? will they stop at that? If so, why did they not say so? They do not say so. They take especial pains not to say so. Read their resolutions, and it is apparent that they purposely dodged saying so. They knew of Blair's letter. They knew of the terror it was spreading over the country. How easy, and proper would it have been, therefore, for them to have said, we do not approve of that letter! What they do say in substance is, that they desire to accomplish their purposes peaceably if they can, but at all events they must be accomplished; and if it cannot be done peaceably, then let Blair come on. He is the right man. "His principles are sound."

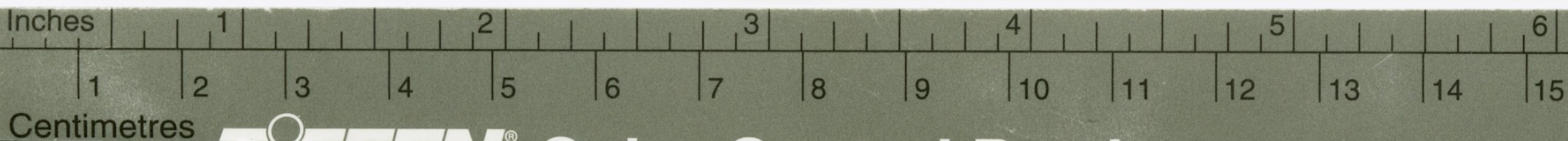
But suppose nothing else had been said by any body, except that the State government is void and must be overthrown. The question would immediately occur, how is it to be overthrown? The election of a President of the United States, no matter of which party, does not effect the validity of the State Governments.

Suppose the election was over, and the Democratic candidate was elected—would not the State governments remain precisely as they are? Of course they would. What can be meant, therefore, by the Presidential election overthrowing the State Government of North Carolina? Governor Holden is elected for four years. The Legislature for two or four years, and the Judiciary for eight years. How are they to be superceded? Blair tells you. And every body that endorses him tells you. It is to be done with the army! and that is war and nothing else.

Under the forms of law, the result of the Presidential election cannot possibly affect the State Governments. If unconstitutional and void, they would be so declared by the Supreme Court under the administration of one President as soon as another. The only way in which they can be affected by the result of the Presidential election, is the

one indicated by Gen. Blair's letter—viz: to pledge a candidate and his party that, in the event of his election, he will usurp the constitutional jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court, disregard the forms of law, take the army in his hand, and by force and bloodshed make his own political opinions and wishes the law of the land. And such are the means proposed and the purposes avowed by Gen. Blair. And his party endorsed him at New York, and his party adherents in North Carolina, solemnly resolved, in their State Convention, that he and his principles are "sound." They leave us no room to doubt. The will of the President elect is to take the place of a decision of the Supreme Court, and the army is to be "compelled" to execute his individual mandates, be the consequences what they may. If all men quietly submit to this usurpation, it is peace. But if Congress, or the State Governments, or the law-loving and law-abiding portion of the people, resist the overthrow of the constitution and laws, and the tyranny of a Military Dictatorship, it must be war. In a nation of freemen, who love liberty and hate tyranny, no man can doubt the result.

Mr. Seymour, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, whom the party has committed to these dangerous views and purposes, and who is to execute them, presided over the Convention which put them forth in its platform and nominated Blair unanimously on the first ballot. He assented to and approved the whole, and stands pledged before the country, and to his party, in the event of his election, to declare the State governments in the South illegal and void, and to compel the army to overthrow them at the point of the bayonet. It is true, in his letter accepting the nomination of the Convention over which he presided, he does not, in words, endorse Blair's letter, and he prudently refrains from violent language. But he does not intimate in the least degree, that he disapproves of any part of Blair's letter, or of the platform and proceedings of the Convention, or that he will hesitate a moment, whatever the consequences may be, to carry out fully and desperately the pur-



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poses and policy which his party has marked out for him. No man can doubt his intention and his purposes.

We have now offered you the proof. The President says the State government is void. The National Democratic Convention says so. Gov. Worth says so. The North Carolina Democratic Convention says so. The public press says so. All say it must be overthrown. Blair says it must be overthrown with the sword; and all of them endorse Blair and his principles as "sound."

It is necessary to the peace and safety of the country for the people to discountenance and rebuke this bold and defiant effort of disappointed and desperate men, to rekindle the fires of civil war. The election of General Grant to the Presidency is the most effective and peaceable means by which to rebuke and forever to silence and quiet them. They, themselves, know and acknowledge this. Hence the unusual and desperate efforts which they are making to defeat him. His election would place the Executive and legislative branches of the government in entire accord, and thus restore confidence, improve the public credit, and secure the general peace and quiet of the nation. The uncertainty and excitement of the last three years has resulted from the bitter antagonism between Congress and the President. To continue this antagonism four years longer, by the election of Mr. Seymour, would continue the unsettled condition of affairs, and be fraught with serious and incalculable dangers. Those who wish stability and peace, would deplore such a result in the approaching election. But those who hope to attain their ends amid the uncertainties of turmoil and strife, are resorting to every means in their power to bring about such a result.

THREATS AND INTIMIDATION.

Probably in nothing is the purpose of the extreme men of the Democratic party to do mischief more apparent than in their denunciations of all who are opposed to them. It is not to be denied that a very considerable portion of the capitalists and property holders are of these extreme men. Some of them may be good men. Many of them are those who, by unscrupulous means, have accumulated from the distresses of the people large estates, and have thus been enabled to assume unmerited importance. These men have not only assumed a superiority over those who differ with them, but now seek to intimidate, and coerce them. They

speak of the colored people as ignorant, depraved, vicious, idle and dangerous, and of the white people who support the Government as meaner than the colored men.—

In the resolutions adopted at their public meetings, and in their speeches, they declare that those who differ with them whether white or black, shall be proscribed in social as well as business relations. In one of their public meetings, lately held in Caswell county (which was of like character with most of the meetings held in other counties, and is designated only for convenience) in which several of the most distinguished men in the State spoke, one of the resolutions declares in substance, that they would not employ laborers who differed with them in politics, and one of the distinguished speakers said, "we have the land and we have the houses, and we have the meat, and we mean to control the next election."

We desire to call attention to the dangers which these men are provoking upon the country. We do not question the legal right of any man to employ whom he pleases, or not to employ at all. We do not deny that if a poor man come to our door in the cold and storm of night, we have the right to deny him admittance. But if he perish before morning, whether we would not, in the sight of God, be murderers is another question. There are in North Carolina about 1,000,000 of human beings, but not one person in twenty in the State owns land. Have these few the moral right to say to the many, we own the world which God made and you shall not live in it? "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." We grant that, we may say, that if a man will not work neither shall he eat, but have we the right to say that he shall neither work nor eat?

Ten years ago, what would have been considered more disreputable than to attempt to bribe or intimidate a voter? But now it is everywhere a matter of boasting that "we have the land, and the houses and the meat," and we will make the poor vote as we please. Again we say, we wish you to consider not only the gross immorality but the terrible dangers which such a course is calculated to provoke. What is to be the end of all this? If the voters submit to be intimidated and the many agree to vote with the few, through compulsion, the effect will be to destroy the freedom of elections, and to change the republic to an oligarchy. But suppose these voters do

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not choose to submit to be intimidated. Suppose they conclude that their rights and liberties are in danger, and that the object of those who seek to intimidate or coerce, is to oppress and enslave them, and to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that their safety consists in their independence and demands resistance. When you tell them that they shall not till the soil to make their bread, suppose they say we are obliged to make bread or die, and we cannot submit to die. When you tell them that they shall not have a shelter from the cold, suppose they determine that neither shall you have a shelter from the cold. When you tell them they shall not have meat, suppose they tell you that they are willing to work, but that they are not willing to starve. What may all this come to? Does the history of the world furnish us no lessons of the masses driven to desperation by oppression? Is our society in a condition to be arrayed, one class against another? Did you ever hear a multitude cry for bread? Such scenes have been confined to the oppressed of the old world, but as often as such a cry has been heard, property and life have gone down before it.

Have you, who threaten thus to intimidate and coerce, thought well, or have you thought at all of the danger you are provoking upon yourselves and upon the country? You say that the colored men are ignorant, depraved, vicious, idle and dangerous. Suppose that betwixt, what then? You will admit that they are in considerable numbers, and in many localities they are the majorities. If they are as you say they are, why is it that their villainies have not everywhere exhibited themselves? Why is it that your property and lives have been safe? Why is it that you sleep soundly at night? This would not be the case, if you were surrounded only with desperadoes. If these people are bad men, and yet do no harm, may it not be because of some good influences exercised over them? Have you exercised any good influences over them? Your complaint is that you have no influence at all. They do not vote for you nor with you. You do not offer to be their candidate, nor ask for their votes. You say they shall not vote at all. Yet somebody or something does exercise a good influence. Can it be the white men who act with them, and who are so bitterly denounced by you as meaner than the colored men themselves? And while you have been abusing those who treat the colored men generously, and are willing to act with them politically,

did it never occur to you, that these same men have been and may still be in some measure your protection and your defence? It may be that those whites whom you abuse so much for acting with the colored men politically, have exercised, and desire only to exercise a wholesome influence, and neither you, nor your wives nor your children may know how much you are indebted to them for the good order and safety of society.

All the colored men and mean whites are against you, you say, and they are more numerous than you; and yet you provoke them with all your power of hard words. And now you threaten that you have the lands and they shall not make their bread, unless they vote with you; and that you have the houses and they shall not live in them, unless they vote with you; and that you have the meat and that they shall not eat it, unless they vote with you; and that they have to live by their labor, and that you will not employ them unless they vote with you; and that they shall quit your service, though they have not bread for to-morrow to keep their children from starving, unless they vote with you. This is not aimed at colored men alone, but at all white men who live by their labor.

Did it never occur to you, ye gentlemen of education, property and character, to you, ye men and especially ye women, who never received anything from these colored people, but services, kindness and protection—did it never occur to you, that these same people, who are so very bad, will not be willing to sleep in the cold, when your houses are denied them, merely because they will not vote as you do? That they may not be willing to starve while they are willing to work for bread? Did it never occur to you that revenge, which is so sweet to you, may be as sweet to them? Hear us, if nothing else you will hear, did it never occur to you that if you kill their children with hunger, they will kill your children with fear? Did it never occur to you, that if you good people maliciously determine that they shall have no shelter, they may determine that you shall have no shelter?

One of the distinguished speakers in the meeting referred to, also said that if any white man stepped over the line (that is voted in opposition to the Democratic party) and afterwards attempted to enter decent society, he should be kicked out.

Men who speak or attempt to act thus, or who approve or countenance such, are the personal enemies of those against whom it is aimed

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and should be so treated by them in all the relations of life.

And now be it remembered that in the late election, there were more than 20,000 majority of the free men of North Carolina who voted in opposition to the Democratic party. Will it be safe for the land holders, the house holders and the meat holders to attempt to kick into disgrace and starve to death 20,000 majority of the free men of the State?

In the Democratic convention for the State of North Carolina which assembled in Raleigh on the 13th of August, the most gifted and popular speaker in the body, said that heretofore, we had been accustomed to treat Chief Justice Pearson and other distinguished gentlemen with respect, but now they have "disgraced" themselves by uniting with the opposition, and they are to be no longer recognized. What is to be the effect of all this? Can the Chief Justice and others almost as distinguished as he, and who have served and honored the State so long, can they submit to be kicked and disgraced by those who have the "land and the houses and the meat?" Will these persistent fomenters of mischief and treason never cry—hold! enough? Is it not enough, that they destroyed the government and filled the land with widows and orphans and bankrupts? Is it not enough that they have destroyed our peace and prosperity, our common schools, internal improvements and every other interest, and left us poor and dishonored? With their hands red with the blood of sons and brothers slain, and their hearts black with the basest of crimes—with murders and thefts—the starving of prisoners and the most revolting outrages upon women and aged men, must they still cry "havoc! and let slip the dogs of war?" Are we never to have peace? Are our sons to be reared only for the slaughter field, that these mischief makers may enjoy, to the exclusion of all others, "their lands, and their houses and their meat," and that they may have the refined pleasure of kicking men better than themselves out of "decent society?" Our older sons were killed or crippled in the late war. But three years have elapsed. Have our younger sons had time to grow up fat for the slaughter? Shall they go into the ditches again, while others stay at home to enjoy "their lands and their houses and their meat," and keep themselves so "decent" that if you attempt to enter their society you must be "kicked out?"

But let it not be supposed that all who

have lands and houses and meat are of the mischievous class of which we have spoken. We hope that a very large majority of those who have lands and houses and meat, are humane, christian gentlemen, who scorn to countenance the oppression which is threatened. The Chief Justice and the thousands who act with him have lands, and houses, and meat, but they do not have them to use for oppression. And we know that some of those who threaten, have neither lands, nor houses, nor meat, nor have they any decency to spare, much less, boast. But in times of violence extreme men assume unwonted importance, and we therefore call on all reasonable and moderate men, whether they have lands, and houses, and meat or not, to arouse themselves and prevent these desperate mischief makers from again plunging the country into strife, anarchy and bloodshed.

The desperate spirit which is manifested towards the government has rendered it necessary for us to provide the requisite means to preserve peace and order. We have provided for organizing the Militia and rendering a sufficient portion of it effective in case it be needed to overcome violence and execute the laws. But white and colored citizens are to be organized separately.— We have deemed it necessary to pass a stringent law against the bribery and intimidation of voters. The object of these and other measures has been only to provide for preserving the public peace, to secure a fair and untrammelled expression of the popular will in elections, and to furnish the government, with the means to enforce its authority and have the laws promptly executed.

We now appeal to all the law-loving and law-abiding people of the nation, but especially to you, men of North Carolina, whose ancestors were the first to declare for that Independence under which the Union was formed and liberty secured; to you, who were the last to be driven into secession and rebellion against the Union—to you, who were the most bitterly reviled and the most grievously scourged by Confederate tyrants, during the dark days of treason and blood. We appeal to you, men of the mountains, of the mid lands, and of the seaboard, to come forward in defence of the Union, the Constitution and the laws, and to command the peace! Make known to these ever-restless and turbulent revolutionists, who once deceived, and then oppressed and ruined you, that freemen have rights which are sacred; that they establish governments and make laws to be obeyed; and that they possess the will and power to enforce their rights and to de-

send their governments and their laws against the threats and violence of all who attempt to overthrow them.

We need peace. Who among the freemen of America has a hand strong enough to maintain the authority of the nation and awe turbulent and rebellious men into submission and obedience? That Providence which has ever seemed to take under especial care the affairs and destinies of this Republic, has raised up for us, in these times of trouble, such a man. In the struggle to establish this Government, it gave us General Washington. In the struggle to preserve it against rebellion and treason, it has given us General Grant. With the reins of Government in his hands, would any traitor dare attempt further disturbance of the public peace? They feel and confess that their last hope is staked on defeating his election to the Presidency. Will you, our countrymen, allow them to realize that hope, and again plunge this land into strife, bloodshed and desolation? You may avert it and secure lasting peace by your ballots in the approaching election. If not, you must submit to give up your liberties, or prepare to resist the army which General Blair and his *President elect* will "compel" to come down upon you, to undo, overthrow and break up; to substitute anarchy and war in the place of order and peace. May we be spared the dreadful scenes that must follow!

"Let us have peace!" These are the words of General Grant. Sustain him with your votes, and you sustain peace. Like "the still small voice" to the Prophet on Horeb, after the winds and the earthquake and the fire, so now to the American people come the gentle words, "Let us have peace." While the discontented, the proud and the turbulent threaten war and blood, let this people arise in their majesty and command the peace! And in order to secure it for the future, let them place Gen. Grant in the Presidential chair.

We have thus plainly spoken to the people of North Carolina, because we believe that to apprise them of existing danger, and to indicate whence it is threatened, is the best means of averting it.

If the disreputable and criminal threats to revolutionize and overthrow the Government, and to coerce the voters of the country by starvation and social proscription to vote with those who propose it, are attempted to be executed, the most terrible scenes of violence, bloodshed and civil war must inevitably come upon us. But if those who are warned in time, can be persuaded or

compelled to abandon their treasonable and wicked designs and practices, to obey the laws, keep the peace and submit to the will of the people, expressed in fair elections, untrammelled by violence, threats, or intimidation, good order will prevail in every branch of society and among all classes of our citizens; the Government will go on calmly and peaceably in the exercise of its legitimate and accustomed functions, the rights of all will be protected, the public peace will be preserved, and prosperity, good will and kind feeling will soon return to bless a distressed and suffering people, and to secure and perpetuate their liberties for generations to come.

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Inches

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