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GREELEY'S SPEECH AT CORRY PENNSYLVANIA.

FELLOW CITIZENS: A Presidential election necessarily brings into review the action of your Government, and the measures for good or ill which effect the prosperity of the country, and the welfare of the people. Not that A or B, who may be persons of moderate capacity and still more moderate worth, should be President or hold some other office, but that you, the people, should look over the whole ground, see what is right and what is amiss, and use your best efforts to correct evils, and to sustain what is good. Now, you are aware, as well as I am, that our country has not been reconciled and regulated, and brought into peace and order, and that nearly eight years have elapsed since the war ended, and peace and security ought to have been attained much sooner than this. Look at the difficulties and obstacles to be overcome now. First in point of urgency, was what we call the Ku Klux outrages of the South. Certain persons, mainly open rebels and rebel soldiers, conspired together, formed themselves into companies or organizations of some kind, and in hideous disguise paraded the country,—I mean certain portions of the Southern country, abusing and maltreating innocent, quiet people, mainly black men. I don't say don't mean to say there were no excesses and provocations for these outrages. There were, but I say there were no justifications for any such conduct as that. The pretence generally was that they called the carpet-bag governments were amenable. True or not, that is no excuse for hauling quiet people out of their beds at midnight and subjecting them to all manners of indignities. So, then, I said I did not recommend particular or extreme measures, but I said no doubt it is the duty of the State to protect their citizens respectively, and to put down all lawlessness. But suppose they don't or can't, or won't? The people are entitled to perfect protection. If the State Governments won't give it there must be a power somewhere that will give it. We look after a man who is not more than half a citizen, whom a foreign Government oppresses, and all the power of this great nation is put to work to protect that man, he may perhaps have only declared his intention to become a citizen but all the cannon and all the force we command is employed for his protection. Our Government must have the power to protect its own people at home as well as abroad. So I said a year ago last spring: Let the President tell us what sort of legislation he needs to put down these Ku Klux, and I will back him out to the full extent. He said what he needed. Laws were passed, and after all they did not work. You have not heard of any serious Ku Klux outrages since those acts were passed. Since those acts were passed a year and a half ago, nobody has heard of any serious outrages there, though there have been trials in one or two States, especially in North Carolina, yet they are trials of offences committed two or three years ago, long before the act was passed. So the work was done. The Ku Klux conspiracy was crushed out by the act of Congress, and although outrages occurred in a very narrow district of territory, they discredited and damaged all the Southern people who may be suspected of any sympathy with those who made the outrages that was done but still there remained that other element of discord and discontent at the South which was called the carpet-bag thieves. When they went into the South with our armies, a number of shrewd, unscrupulous men, undertook

to make themselves rich out of the property and misery of the vanquished South. They made themselves special leaders and champions of the black people there; they organized Union Leagues and other secret societies, of which the first effect was to combine all the black men of the South in a consolidated phalanx, and thus give the direction, real government, and management of these black men to these white leaders who were called carpet-baggers; so then they nominated those for office, and they made themselves Governors and Congressmen, and Secretaries, and soon they, through the machinery of legislation, using simple, ignorant, negroes, some as legislators, and there commenced measures of gigantic robbery. In the first place they made for themselves great salaries, such as the poor Southern States were unable to pay, and they pretended to start a great many internal improvements, and issued bonds in behalf or in aid of those improvements, and they contrived to steal the bonds, sell them for the most they could get, make no improvements, and leave the States, war-wasted and desolate before overwhelmed with debt. I doubt whether these debts ever can be paid, and I am sure there is very little disposition to pay them among the people who own the property of the South. They regard them as frauds, simple iniquity imposed upon them, and the charges unjust burdens they cannot bear. I apprehend that if they were to sell out all the property in South Carolina to-day, it would not very much more than pay these pretended debts which have been imposed upon her by the carpet-baggers who rule the negro legislators. Some of them negroes, and all of them being without property, were without proper responsibility. There is an element of discord and hatred, and a general belief on the part of the Southern people that we of the North sent these villains down there to rob them, and by enfranchising the blacks, and other measures of reconstruction, we have delivered these people bound hand and foot into the clutches of these corrupt carpet-baggers, to be robbed at their mercy. Now let me try to give you an illustration of the way the thing works. Men say suppose they do steal, what can we do about it? You pretend to be in favor of local self government they have got it, and these local self government authorities are the rebels. What are you going to do about it? I will tell you of a case. In the year 1868 the State of Arkansas, among other States, was reconstructed under our Republican legislation. They reconstructed a very large portion of her people; probably one half of the whole people being disfranchised, not allowed to vote; that is, the poor whites, whom they regarded of no account, voted, while property holding whites were disfranchised, and allowed no voice in the administration of their Government. So, then, Powell Clayton a Kansas man, who came in there as a commander of a regiment of our soldiers, or else following in their wake and one of the leaders of the carpet-bag crowd, was elected Gov. of the State. The Constitution then prescribed that all whom Congress had disfranchised should be denied the right to vote. Well, Congress proceeded very properly though tardily, to take off this disfranchisement, so that the ninety-five or ninety-nine, certainly ninety-five out of every hundred of those who had been disfranchised as Rebels were re-enfranchised, by Congress but the carpet-baggers said no. Congress has nothing to do with it. Our State Constitution, which we framed in 1868, disfranchised these men whom Congress had there disfranchised. Now Congress takes off the ban; we do not. We are going to keep them tight. They appoint this Governor Clayton; he appoints the Board of Registration for every county, and from the decisions of that Board there is no appeal, and they put in the registry just whoever they please. I met thirty or forty citizens of Arkansas in Louisville two or three days ago, and they told me that over 20,000 of the property-holders and land owners of Arkansas were now disfranchised, kept off the register; not that the laws require so many, but where the laws did not, the Register did. They had the power, and they would put on such as they chose, and no more; and when they found they were not going to get the majority without striking off, they would strike off, so as to have the vote kept tight. That is the government under which the people to-day are living there. The land-holders ought to be enfranchised but they are disfranchised by the carpet-bag Government, which means to cause

the Electoral vote of the State against the people of the State, by keeping a large part of the people disfranchised and at the late Grant State Convention it was solemnly resolved that none of these people disfranchised should be allowed to vote this fall. After that they would see about it. Let me tell you how it operates. In the year 1870 they had their second election, under the State Government, not for Governor, but for Legislature and Congress. Powell Clayton, the Gov. of the State, controller of all this election machinery, appointed the Register all over the State, and was a candidate for United States Senator. It was a safe thing. He would be elected under that system—first making all the Registers and then putting on just as many voters as they saw fit. Suppose you have a title to be on the registry, they will not put you on, and you cannot get on, and there is no remedy for it. There is another hitch beyond that: Powell Clayton, Governor, and his subordinates are the State Board of Canvassers, with absolute power to reject whatever votes they see fit, and bring out such a result as they choose. So then, it appeared, when the Legislature was chosen, that it was largely Republican, yet Mr Clayton had not got control of it enough to elect him for the Senate. He has to throw out votes as President of the Board of Canvassers. He discards these votes, those that he pleases, so as to bring in the candidate that he pleases. For instance, in one county there was an anti-Clayton ticket. He throws votes out,—three-fourths of the Republican vote. He throws out these and brings in the Democratic ticket, rather than have the Republican ticket elected which was against him; so he goes through like this, and makes out a Clayton majority, which elects him to the Senate. But in doing this, you understand that you cannot reject the votes cast for one officer, and admit the votes cast by the same voters for another officer. That is perfectly plain. If you decide that this poll is not a legal poll, you have got to throw it out for all purposes. So Mr. Clayton throws out the votes of the Republicans there, because they were electing anti-Clayton ticket, and thereby defeats Thomas Bowles, Republican candidate, and elects John Edwards, the Democratic candidate. John Edwards comes forward with a certificate as good as anybody. Mr Bowles don't like it. People generally don't. He goes and contests the election, and with abundance of testimony, proves that these votes of his, thrown out for the sake of electing Clayton, were not rightfully thrown out, and a Committee of the House of representatives takes the case up, considers it from top to bottom, and says unanimously, without a dissenting voice, the people elected Bowles. He must have the vote; so that on the vote it goes up to the House, which, by an equally unanimous vote says the same thing, and Bowles is cut in. It was not because he was a Republican, because they fought just the same thing in Texas, where they turned out Wm. T. Clark, a Republican, and put in D. C. Giddings, a Democrat, because he was elected by a good majority, and there was not a dissenting voice in the Committee or in the House. So then you see you are not resting on my story about Mr. Clayton and his government. Here is a unanimous decision of the Committee on Elections, that Mr. Clayton had fraudulently returned the votes, and had returned the man not elected; then ousted the man who was elected. This is not a statement, but a conclusion by the highest authority. Well, gentlemen, the Federal Court was convened and held a session two or three months after these outrages, of which I tell you, by Clayton and his board, and the Grand Jury of that court, examined into these facts and indicted Powell Clayton and his confederates for this crime. Mr. Catterson, appointed by General Grant, as good a Republican as ever lived, was going to put Mr. Clayton through, and the State's Prison was before him; but now Clayton and his satellites walked on to Washington, and induced General Grant to remove that righteous and faithful District Attorney, put one of Clayton's tools in his place, and that is the end of the prosecution. That was the end of the whole thing,—all gone to rack and ruin. Mr. Clayton goes swimming into the United States Senate instead of into the State's Prison. You are asked what the Government has to do about it? I will tell you. They all back themselves right on the power at Washington. They all cry out, "Hurrah for Grant; give him two terms." Give him twenty terms if you

like. These other fellows are disloyal. They are one term men. Put them out, they say; turn them out and put in these men who will stand by Clayton and his board, and it is done. I want you to see that this thing goes all back on you. People of the United States, you are sustainers of these iniquities. If we had a Government in Washington which frowned upon the evils, that Government would stop all this business in a short time. [Applause.] The men who are robbing South Carolina to-day would be on a dead race out of that State two days after they had heard that another Government was about to be installed at Washington, just as Bullock, of Georgia, resigned and ran away; so these men would all get out if they did not feel that the mighty arm of the Federal Government was outstretched for their protection and defence. It is against this iniquity that we fight. The villains who corrupt elections in Arkansas are all shouting for Grant, shouting and working for him, and they are gaining immunity for their crimes. Fellow citizens, I do not know what will be the decision of the people in the contest now before us. Everybody else is confident that what they wish will be the result. I only know that if the people could look into these wicked Governments at the South, and see them as they are, they would no longer be sustained by the public sentiment of the North. I know that, and I believe that light is creeping in. Two thirds of your journals have never told the people what the truth is about these carpet-bag villains. They suppress the facts. They conceal the facts, and, as a consequence, the people do not understand to-day. They say what reconciliation do you want? They say we are reconciled. What more do you want? Now, I am not reconciled to have such robbers govern the States. I want to be reconciled. I want Governments that honest men can afford to be reconciled to. I plead for reconciliation. The Southern people have greatly sinned, in my judgment, and have greatly suffered. I have a friend who went down to South Carolina and spent some time there and came back. He is a very zealous Republican, and he said that he had seen many things that he did not like. He said: "I saw a man who, when the secession began, was living in Paris on an allowance from his father of \$25,000 a year. He is now clerk to a negro assessor in Charleston at \$2 a day, and mighty glad to get it." Now, such things do take place, and I do think that the people have suffered a good deal. I think that it is time that a generous hand was outstretched to aid them. I think it is time that the Northern people should say: "Country men of the South, we have insisted that all the blacks shall be enfranchised, and they have been enfranchised. Now, then, we insist that you shall all be enfranchised likewise." There are twenty thousand disfranchised this day in Arkansas, and the only hope of carrying that State for Grant is to keep them disfranchised. That is one of their purposes to keep them disfranchised; and all over the South there are such iniquities as this, I think, hiding from the light. Now, then, we want the Northern people to say to the South, to those who have been our enemies: "Let us forget the past; let us come together on one common platform. We wipe out all disfranchisement, all proscriptions; stand with us on a common platform of nationality, equal rights, equal law for all the people, and let us all again take hold and push forward this mighty Republic on its career of greatness and prosperity." This is what I think the people ought to see in this election, and make the Southern people feel that, though they have been very wrong, and we have forgotten all that wrong, and are now prepared to take hold with them, and to carry forward the destinies, to promote and advance the greatness and glory of this country as one united fraternal people. To that end I labored; that end I seek, and I do believe that that movement, the Cincinnati movement, of which I am the exposition and symbol before you, is calculated to produce that end. To secure the end, I am individually nothing, but that movement was right, and was not a moment too soon. [Applause.] I implore the people to take care and reach it successfully and triumphantly. [Three cheers.]

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