A SOLDIER'S SENTIMENTS. GREAT SPEECH

OF CAPTAIN CHARLES B. BROCKWAY,

At the Grand Nob Mountain Meeting, Columbia County, on Wednesday, August 30, 1865.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SOLDIERS: It may be according to tactics to put raw recruits in front while these old veterans are kept in reserve, VOLUME 61. but the position is a painful one. Inasmuch, however, as I have been assigned a position in this assault on the enemy, it is my duty to advance to the charge, and if repulsed I shall fall back upon the reserves. We have assembled here, as we have a perfect right to do, alike to taith.

bloody civil war; the garbs of mourning before war is not waged on our part in any spirit of and once a judge advocate, and I know that, Petersburg mine explosion I was sent to Anme, the maimed soldiers who have met here oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or as Senator Hale declared, "they are organized napolis hospital, sick with a fever. The Oc- the right of suffrage because they enlisted in er evidence wanting. The questions are pertiment, what have we fought for? Why is this and why are we as a nation overwhelmed with debt? These are the questions which have been and rights of the several States unimpaired; also selects the judges of the crime; and then of negro troops, who were not and never had the right of suffrage? Yet where is the Aboassigned me, and I will endeavor to state what and that as soon as these objects are accomplish- has the approval of the sentence. There must been citizens of Pennsylvania. They conclu- litionist who advocates their claim or speaks of what we should now insist upon. When we objects of the war stated by the highest author- Constitution prohibits any other means of trial cording to law, because were they not officers heard it day after day for the past four years; contract between the soldiers and the governand I shall-not pretend to give you any origiment. The consideration en our part was our in-chief of our armies who though possessed of As squad after squad of men came in I proall thoughts on the subject, but to revive old lives, our blood; and after we were sworn into boundless power, was the first to curb military posed asking if they were citizens of the Uni-

cause they had been advocates of that doctrine Essex Junto and the Hartford Convention. perseverance we compelled their surrender. They may remember the numerous petitions ngress, praying for a dissolution of the the emancipation proclamation. which I calisted debased by being made a strug-whose rame is synonymous with disunion and gle for giving freedom to a few degraded negroes. lefeat, declared that "he was willing in certain the fugitive slave law, though founded upon direct command of the Constitution, and the set up their own corrupt consciences as At the beginning of the war, according to Pres-

ey were secure from invasion.

their services. and I have no inclination to do so.

hold, occupy and possess the property and terms of intercourse, are again upon you." es belonging to the government, and to col- Another result of giving freedom to the nethe duties and imposts; but beyond what ong the people anywhere."

This was the declaration of the then Presi-5,000 troops, he said it was "to repossess equally strong resolutions, the following: indict Ben. Butler and Ed. Stanton.

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celebrate the establishment of our party, and with slaves or slavery in such States, in disre- least should be. Those of us who have been how my "interference" in an election gave me feated, and then to them was given the honor to renew among our people their political gard of the rights of their owners, or the peace in the service know something about their con- a pleasure trip to the Mississippi. ("Let's hear of first entering and capturing Richmond. ular. They were not opposed to secession, be- else we can claim but little honor for subduing laws of the land. them with our superiour numbers. They

Among the first acts of the administration og from that portion of the United States violating our contract, was the publication of At the time Union. For over thirty years they have declared that "they would have no union with "Pope's felous," but the sufferings of imprison people, and eat out their substance." You have not forgotten that ment were nothing compared to the mental tor-General Banks, who has held high civil and ture on finding the high and noble cause for

Leading Republicans, it is true, urged the entingencies to let the Union slide." You measure as a military necessity, as if twenty mil- er. ave not forgotten that a certain representative lions of white men could not subdue eight mil-Congress from that godly city of Boston, Jions South without the aid of a few cowardly and who now holds a high diplomatic position negroes. They also promised reinforcements of the benefits of trial by jury." under the government, declared that "the time white troops. Gov. Yates spoke of the "flam- In addition to the above we would bring had arrived when we must have an anti-Slav- ing giants" of the West who would come to other equally strong charges against the party Ty Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an our rescue; Gov. Andrews said the streets and in power, and the principal one would be Garrison's Liberator, a highways of the East would swarm with pa- suspension of the great writ of right, against law, New England paper, and one exten- triotic troops; while even Greeley promised in sovereign States in profound peace, and rerely circulated in the army by the Sanitary his 900,000 more. Yet they never came save fusing to restore it when there is no war or appearance of one in the land. South, and a few needy foreigners agreement with hell." These men are types from abroad. The natural result of this ill his endeavors to bring back the Southern New England sentiment, and hated alike the timed proclamation was to stop recruiting in States to their loyalty. We want Virginia, nion and the Constitution. Nor were they the North, and from that time large bounties South Carolina, and the rest, all back in the ctuated by a desire to support the laws, be- and heavy drafts had to be resorted to to fill our armies, while so long as the war was for they have refused to carry out the provisions the Union more volunteers were offered than the Washington gave them to us. We would call

the higher law," in following which they claim ident Lincoln's own statement, we had a mathe right to break through all laws—all consti-lutions. These are the men whom I arraign guished the last spark of unionism South, and before you as having been disloyal in the past, and who, when the present war commenced—their property.

the first they ever attempted to support-en- I hold also the war has been unecessarily leavored to pervert its objects. But the main- prolonged, that competent generals have been pring of their action was the love of gain, and removed and their places supplied by experiey have grown rich by taking advantage of mental ones; that our forces were divided where e nation's necessities and the knowledge that they should have been consolidated, and that overtutes of peace from the enemy were rejoc-But, fellow-citizens, outside of New England, ted. The doctrine was openly proclaimed that re to perpetuate the government of our fath- used in order to liberate the negroes. Fellowrs, and to transmit it to our posterity, to re-soldiers, can you affiliate with such men? You at the insult to the flag before me, which the and I have lost beloved comrades, nay suffered s gilding with his setting rays. We could ourselves: yet we must be insulted with assurbear that one star should be taken from its ances that these friends died, or we suffered, The blood of our fathers was embalmed not for the Union, not in defence of the Conred, the purity of their cause in its white stitution, but to make the negro our equal. the freedom they attained in its blue .- That this war was unduly prolonged I can ese considerations induced me and thousands prove by the highest Republican testimonymy comrades to forsake the peaceful advo- Horace Greely-who, in speaking of the Nions of life, and to bare our breasts to the agara Peace Conference said, "Had this wise orm of battle. There were no party distinc- and brave course been taken when Alex. H. and Democrats were among the first to Stephens first publicly solicited permission to visit Washington, I believe it would have saved Having shown the object of the people, let us a quarter of a million of lives an awful amount sider the object of the administration as of devastation and misery, and left our nationlicly declared to us. President Lincoln, in al debt a full billion less than it is to-day." inaugural address, said, "I have no purpose, The President, in refusing overtures of peace, ectly or indirectly, to interfere with the in- also forgot that portion of his annual message ution of slavery in the States where it now of 1862, which says: "Suppose you go to war I believed I have no lawful right to do you cannot fight always; and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you The power confided to me will be used cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to

the duties and imposts; but beyond what groes and placing them in our army was the homes they should not be molested by the Unibellies, there will death of thousands of our brethren in South-ted States authorities. The pledged word of a arriving, the batteries were placed in position, o invasion, no using of force against or a- ern prisons. Our government refused to carry out the cartel of exchange unless some negroes then held by the enemy were liberated. What Lee and the men under him, the true soldier is charged. Of course the main line was taken nt, but further, in his proclamation calling was the consequence? In one year seventeen hundred Pennsylvania soldiers died at Anderforts, places and property of the United sonville prison. I know that Gen. Butler now es, and we should avoid devastation or dis- charges that Secretary Stanton ordered him to bance of peaceful citizens." The famous complicate the exchange in order that the rebmittee of Thirty-three on the state of the el forces should not be strengthened. But what we ever were before. on, of which Thomas Corwin, now Minis- of that? Instead of trying Captain Wirze, the

ed, That we recognize slavery as now The war being over the question occurs how dating in fifteen of the United States, by the shall we secure the objects for which we fought? dants. We want our legislatures to be repreand laws of those States; and we recommended not the selections of a State where it so exists, to interfere of a State where it so exists, to interfere of a State where it so exists, to interfere of the selections of the people, and not the selections of the people and the selections of and laws of those States; and we rec- In the first place, we should return to trial by sentatives of the people, and not the selections of sion. And, soldiers, do you not remember how

dence, appear the following counts:

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil pow-

"For imposing taxes on us without our con-

Union, not as territories, but as free, sovereign to the memory of President Johnson the declaration he made in 1860 in the United States Senate, when he said: "When the time comes, if it ever does come, which God forbid, I intend to place my feet upon that Constitution which I have sworn to support, and to stand there and battle for all its guarantees; and it this Constitution is to be violated or this Union broken, it shall be done by those who are stealthily and insidiously making encroachments upon its very foundation." In this reorgani zation we would also ask that some mercy be shown the people lately in rebellion. True when they opposed us with arms in their hands we could inflict the usual punishment; but grand moving cause was patriotism, the de- the "last man and the last dollar" should be when they grounded their arms, when they submitted to the laws in good faith, we should not oppress them. The man is a coward who would insult our late foes, who would wreak vengeance on unarmed men, upon women and children. Shakspeare truly said:

The quality of mercy is not strained ; It droppeth as the gentle rain from Heaven. Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed It blesseth him that gives and him that takes: 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes The throned monarch better than his crown; His scentre shows the force of temporal power, The attribute to awe and majesty, Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings : But mercy is above his sceptred sway, It is enthroned in the hearts of kings, It is an attribute to God himself; And earthly power doth then show likest God's When mercy seasons justice.'

Thank God, none but the political elergy rate of vengeance, a class of men who did

of society." Added to this we had the almost stitution and powers. While in the army I it—tell it.") Last fall, about the time of the Unanimous resolution of Congress, "That this was several times a member of a court martial Columbia county invasion, and soon after the Give your answer at the polls. But if they prove the desperation of the struggle, were oth- subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or in- to convict." Woe be to the civilians who come tober election coming on, in order to see how war, the same privilege should be at least granfair land filled with cripples, with mourning tain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to ignorant of the charges against them, and have captain from Philadelphia was made judge, to the Army of the Potomac, and among the we fought for, what we did not fight for, and ed the war ought to cease." Here we have the be a return to civil law, not only because the del it was unnecessary to swear the board, aconsider the conflicting upinions of leading men, ities in the land. It was not to be for conquest than by a jury, but even military writers agree and was not their word sufficient? I protested of different communities, the importance of a or subjugation; not to overthrow the institu- that civilians are not subject to military rule. invain, because I was alone. They at once proper solution of the question will be appar- tion of slavery or any other institution without We have assumed the garb of citizens; and let in conjunction with some chaplains, commenc-The subject is an old one; you have the consent of the States interested. It was a us maintain their rights. Let us emulate the ed electioneering and circulating Abolition balthe service, we were coolly informed that the power and make it subordinate to the civil. I ted States or of Pennsylvania; whether they The object of the South, I take it, was to objects for which we enlisted should not be car- would also have you emulate that beau ideal of were of age, or had paid tax within two years. stablish a separate government among States ried out, and thus the solemn pledges of 1861 Democracy, Andrew Jackson. Look at him But I was asked if I was not ashamed to press like interested in the preservation of the insti- were broken, and the war made one for the ne- at New Orleans, when he had achieved that such matters; these men were soldiers, and tation of slavery, which they claimed had been gro and not for the Union. We want these memorable victory over a veteran English ar- was I opposed to letting soldiers vote? I had illegally interfered with. Doubtless other causes impelled them to this course, but this was

pledges kept. We have done our duty in this my. Millions were rejoicing; and he was the
contest, as the blood shed during the past four hero of the day. In this hour of triumph he
about 8,000 paroled prisoners, the same prothe main one. The object of the West, besides years attests, and we now call on the powers was arrested by a civil process for alleged vio- cess was carried on, and the men were shifted the general one to maintain the Union of our that be, or if they are unwilling, upon the peo- lations of the municipal law. He appeared. from one point to another. After we had closathers, was to open and keep open the naviga- ple who placed them in authority, to see that A crowd of citizens and soldiers gathered a- ed the polls; a sergeant brought in a squad of that we give the right of suffrage to our ignotion of the Mississippi river, that they might, this contract is kept. Remember it was no round, and when Judge Hall announced that about 60 men, whose votes were admitted for through it, send their produce to market. The holiday excursion we undertook, nor was it to the general had broken the laws, a murmur of fear they had not been taken clsewhere! We masses of the Middle States were actuated by meet an ordinary foe. We were to fight our indignation passed through the crowd. The then commenced counting off, but the judge demasses of the arrange states would show only in the formal senses would show only in the formal senses continued to the sentence. Clared it was late, he was tired, and he would 1,090,000 of voters—a disfranchisement of ey, &c., while she sells the poor crippled solapon their borders would the contest be decidas we are; men whose fathers had fought with "Fear not," said the general, "the same arm adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put 6,000,000. We want no teaching or teachers dier who happens to become a township charge apon their portions would the contest would the contest would the contest would the contest would the same arm adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put the ballots into his coat pocket, and I did not to the lowest bidder. Why do these men adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put to the ballots into his coat pocket, and I did not to the lowest bidder. Why do these men adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put to the ballots into his coat pocket, and I did not to the lowest bidder. Why do these men adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put to the ballots into his coat pocket, and I did not to the lowest bidder. Why do these men adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put to the ballots into his coat pocket, and I did not to the lowest bidder. Why do these men adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put to the ballots into his coat pocket, and I did not our enemy they make proffers of friendship. of Canada to the scorching plains of Mexico. It was the desire of vengeance upon the stated. It was the desire of vengeance upon the scorching plains of Mexico and would not permit the citizens to reimburse the last, bowever, and I have it at home now. We will the contest was doubtful, they supplied the contest was doubtful, so stated. It was the desire of vengeance upon the South, and upon South Carolina in particern people are brave and were skillfully led, ped gentry would show the same respect to the his pocket than I had names on the tally-list; aristocrats who prate of equality refuse to assome bogus process they had increased. We would also demand the restoration of Here was a quandary; but it was soon settled. ause they had been advocates of that doctrine the foundation of our government. Many showed devotion worthy a better cause, and it the writ of habeas corpus, so that men can be They remarked the thing was very simple; the white man, while themselves despising the latmy hearers may be old enough to remember was only by superior numbers and in lomitable no longer sent to bastiles without due process Democratic ballots, save nine, had been cast ter. Look at the Abolition States, where the They have adopted it wherever they have had of law. In that indictment against English by mistake, and they would take out enough negro has the right of suffrage, of holding of power. Their conventions endorse it. Leadtyranny, known as the Declaration of Indepen- of them to make the ballots and tally-list cor- fice, and the like. In order to force an unnat- ing men in their party and their principal pa-"He has erected a multitude of new offices, gains the whole proceedings, and refused to heavy penalties on railroads, theatres, hotels crush that party they will fasten it not only up-"He has kept agong us in times of peace Secretary of war, ordering me to report at miscreants in endeavoring to fasten their doctines of these freedmen, while Covode, Sumner and the standing armies without the consent of our once at Crook's Island, III. Of course I had trines upon the people of other States. They sent;" and "For depriving us in many cases of Rock Island City, it being a pleasant locality tion North in 1860 was 226,000, of which to the grand principle of liberty, must never ing for me to do in the shape of military duty Pennsylvania regiment. in spite of their proes through the State in behalf of the Reoublican party. Following the example thus rocession, and also made a speech. Twentystating that I was "honorably mustered out by reason of expiration of term of service,' hough that had occurred seven months before at the time of the discharge of the Pennsyl-

rotest against the doctrines of negro equality. On this question the soldier feels the most sensitive, and is the most earnest in repudiating it. Although Wendell Phillips and his Republican coadjutors maintain that in all the desperate deeds of the war, "the negro bears the palm," we resent the insult, and boldly declare that a more cowardly crew were never drawn up in line of battle. It is our boast that not a regiment of them ever belonged to the old Army of the Potomac. At the opening of the campaign of 1864, Burnside brought one division of them into the army under Gen. Ferrero, a French dancing master, who, during the Petersburg mine explosion, was safely hid in a bomb-proof During that terrible contest in the Wilderness, when Hancock's gallant corps had advanced be yond its support, and was being outflanked on the left, this division, instead of advancing to the rescue, was withdrawn towards the Rapidan. Gen, Grant, when informed of it by an aid, said, "tell Gen. Burnside if he cannot fight his corps, to turn it over to Gen. Hancock, who can," Again, during that terrible fight at Spottsylvania, when our gallant men were falling by thousands, 16,000 having fallen on the 12th of May, these government pets were kept well in the rear, ready to run at the first signore to cause the war and less to aid it than nal. And so it was at the North Anna, Toloany other body of men. But we regard it as potamy and Cold Harbor. Baldy Smith's corps unsoldierly, unmanly, to strike a fallen foe. We, -the Eighteenth-by taking transports reach through our general, told them that if they ed Petersburg the day before us. It was garwould lay down their arms and return to their risoned by about 500 citizens and invalids, who soldier must be kept; and however much stay- and the Corps, consisting of two white and one at-home patriots may urge the hanging of Gen. | colored division, about eighteen thousand men, opposed to it. In short, we want the Southern with scarcely any loss, and this assault against people back in the Union. We want no more almost empty works was heralded to the world people back in the Union. We want no more internal dissensions, but let us present a united front to the world, and in a few years our people will be as good friends, nay better than we ever were before.

We also insist that electors shall vote as their judgments dictate. The object of the Mexico, was chairman, reported among keeper of the Andersonville prison, I would their judgments dictate. The object of the termined to show the world how much braver war was not to do away with vested rights; the blacks were than the whites. You all know but to assure them to ourselves and our descenthe result—how they broke under the first fire Mexico

these brave Irishmen in terms of respect? If fighting is to be the standard, surely those brave minors who entered the service should be given the elective franchise, and are as likely to know the principles of this government as these bru-

But who are the advocates of this new crusade against the established principles of our government? Besides New England Abolitionists and disunionists, we have British emissaries, delegates from Exeter Hall, brought here to teach Americans the true principles of liber-

ty-men who "With golden bribe and treacherous smile Sow the vile seeds of rank pollution: And with their reptile slime defile The temple of our Constitution.' They demand, as the price of their favor, rant negroes, while, according to John Bright's and homes, farms, schools and the like furnish-statement, out of 7,000,000 full-grown Engsociate with their own white operatives, and authority, says: "It is votes, numbers, not in-would make the negro the equal of the poor telligence, we want." There can be no doubt respond. I then entered a formal protest a- ural equality they have passed laws imposing pers openly proclaim it, and unless we at once make up the necessary returns. That after and the like, which make any discrimination as on the South, but upon us. Chief Justice noou I received a telegraphic despatch from the to color. But observe the unfairness of these Chase quotes Tacitus, and preaches equality to to go at once, and without making up the e- well know that the mass of the negro race lection returns. I went to Chicago; thinking would avoid their bleak shores. In Vermont, that Crook's Island might be in the lake, but in 1860, there were only eighty colored voters, could find out nothing as to the place. After and in New Hampshire, 160. But how is it objects for which this war was begun, what is some fruitless searching I concluded to stop at in Pennsylvania? The entire colored popula- our duty? In the first place we must be true on the Mississippi, and report my whereabouts | Pennsylvania had 57,000, over one-fourth of forget what we are, what we have been, and to the Adjutant General. As there was noth- the entire number. Of course, since the war what is before us. By our example in 1776 this number has greatly increased, because, ac- we revived liberty throughout the earth. It asspent a few weeks in hunting, fishing, and cording to Kennedy, Superintendent of the cended the Andes, awakened France, and taught killing time generally at Uncle Sam's expense. Census Bureau, the increase is greater in Penn- Italy and Greece the lessons of their better days. At this time, in view of the Presidential elec- sylvania than any other free State. Now, let It inspired Kosciusko, La Fayette, Emmet, tion, the Republicans made a grand parade, us compare our white and black populations in Kossuth and Bolivar. May their example not matching some colored soldiers in front of a localities where they enjoy equal advantages. be lost upon us. But what, you ask, The census shows that where out of 10,000 liberties be threatened? I point to history. test. At the same time, General Hooker, whites there would be one convict, out of the When King John attempted to destroy British commanding the department, Gen. Logan and same number of blacks there would be nine- liberty, the grim barons on June 15, 1215, asother military gentlemen, were making speech- teen. In Pennsylvania the blacks are but one- sembled at Runnymede and extorted Magna fiftieth of our population, yet one-third of our Charta, and compelled their King to give them convicts are blacks. In this State we have an the Tower and City of London as security; and set me, I acted as Marshal in a Democratic average of one white convict in every 4,243 as often as their liberties were invaded would whites, and I black convict in 260 blacks. In they re-enact their great charter-had it read our hours after I received another dispatch Massachusetts, that land of piety and godli- twice a year to the people, and fulminated exness, they have only I black in 128 persons, communications against all such as disobeyed yet have 1 black convict in 9. Notwithstand- it. Sec. 46 said, "Nulli vendemus, nulli neing this terrible record, we have a party in our gabinus aut differenus, rectum vel justitiam."

"We will sell to no man, we will not deny or midst who would Africanize the whole South, who would place the ballot in the hands of men delay to any man, right or justice." far more ignorant and debased than the North- when the Stuarts so pressed prerogative as to But, fellow-citizens, I must enter a special ern negro. They would place their own race claim the right of trying citizens by Courts of under the domination of an inferior one and a- High Commission and the Star Chamber, our gainst their consent. Let us glance again at sturdy ancestors in their vengeance brought the the statistics. In 1860, the negroes had a mahe South, which number is now increased by the loss of the Southerners in battle and by exclusion in municipal affairs for having engaged fathers, for causes set out in that indictmentin the rebellion. They have a small majority the Declaration of Independence-cast off their in Louisiana; of 33,000 in Mississippi, and of allegiance, and appealed to the God of battles. 121,000 in South Carolina. This would give them 6 United States Senators, about 15 Con-

> be found only 7 married couples. To illustrate the subject further, let me read thing to the contrary. you a letter written by Senator Buckalew, in We fought for the Union because we believed he viewed this question:

gressmen, and place the white race in many oth-

er localities completely under their control.

and support tyrannical rulers in their offices.

unted the relations between different races in the same nunity. The Indiansof the great Andean chain from co southward, and whose centres of power were the of Mexico, Quito and Cuzco, were very different the saruges of the North Their religion was better and though idolatrous; they had great cities exten-

and that countries populated by such inhabitants would become first in rank in the new world upon the introduction of new elements from Europe. And this conclusion would be strengthened by considering that uo exhaustive wars were necessary to the submission of the natives, and that the Christianity of the conquerors was readily and generously accepted by them. Besides, the Andean Indian had and has a good physical development, a docide temper, is not destitute of ingenuity, and can be trained to habits of industry. But the rosult has belied such reasonable expectation. Power has seated itself on the stormy coast of the Northern Atlantic, in the valley of the Mississippi, and along the streams which now flow from the Steny mountains to the Pacific, while Mexico approaches social dissolution, and south of it all governments are unsteady, labor sluggish, population stationary, property insecure, peculation rampant, and powerty general. There is no established literature: and there are no roads! Even the Inca highway, extending from Quito some hundreds of leagues southward in upper Peru, in fact as well as name the Comman Keul—the royal road—has become dilapidated, and is supplanted by mud paths. And to what cause or causes shall this result be attributed? It cannot be the Catholic, and yet seeing the first of nations. Nor can it be the misgovernment of Spain. The errors of Spanish colonial policy were much mitigated before independence and thirty or forty years have elapsed since. Nor can it be the misgovernment of Spain. The errors of Spanish colonial policy were much mitigated before independence and thirty or forty years have elapsed since. Nor can it be the misgovernment of Spain. The errors of Spanish colonial policy were much mitigated before independence and thirty or forty years have elapsed since. Nor can it be the misgovernment of Spain. The errors of Spanish colonial policy were much mitigated before independence and thirty or forty years have elapsed since. Nor can it be the misgovernment of Spain. The

of Napoleon even when her own sovereign was created out to her cause and her honor.

No one of these alleged causes then produced the result before us, and we must look further for an adequate explanation. Some of them may have contributed to the result, but they did not cause it. In my opinion, the main cause has been, the mixing of distinct races. The Spaniard has not had self respect enough to keep himself uncontaminated from the native and the negro, and he has therefore, inflicted upon his conquests or colonies in the New World, all the curses of hybridism. But he has been still more in fault. In all the new republics of the South his theory has been as false as his practice has been vicious. He has proclaimed political and social equality among all stocks and mixtures of human beings, in contempt of new results. He has proclaimed political and social equality among all stocks and mixtures of human beings, in contempt of notorious facts and of past experience. This theory, and practices conformed to it, have produced monstrous evils, which centuries cannot undo. In point of fact, in Spanish America, there is neither purity of blood nor organization of labor, without which no people can be energetic, virtuous and prosperous.

It is for us to take the instruction of this example and profit by it; to regret the appeals of false philanthropy, and to maintain those principles of political and social conduct which we have followed, heretofore, with signal advantage and success. I am, &c. &c., C. R. BUCKALEW

HON. JOHN CRESSWELL, JR. Now, fellow-citizens, let us try no rash ex-

periments with the people of the South .-Let us not exasperate but conciliate. Let us not adopt such a course as will justify rebellion in their eyes, or that of their descendants .-Furthermore, let us insist that no preference hereafter be shown to the negro. If he is as good as the white man let him take the same chances. How is it now? A Freedman's Buishmen a thorough canvass would show only in her love for them sends school teachers, mon-In view, then, fellow-citizens, of the perni-

cious tendencies of the doctrines of the oppo-

sition, so subversive of government and of the head of Charles 1st to the block; and when ority in 253 counties-nearly one third-of they secured the Habeas Corpus under his successor, they made it a crime unpardenable by the king, to disobey it. Later still, our own So long as we have the ballot, we ask for no

Besides their political elevation, they would Fellow-citizens, in conclusion, let me appeal wreak vengeance upon their former masters, in- to you to support the Democratic partycited to it by fanatics of the North; and the only national one now in existence. It had terrible scenes of San Domingo would be re-en- its origin with the government, and will only acted in our midst. Look at the example in die when that government is no more. Our Mexico, in South America, where the doctrine country is still on the verge of ruin through of negro equality is in full blast-where they fanatical doctrines, and let it be our mission to have negro soldiers to dominate over the whites preserve and transmit to our posterity the labors of our ancestors. We are but in our Why, one of the leading Generals of Equador youth. The Roman Empire lived 500 years s a negro, yet married an accomplished white before its decline. Athens empyed its liberties lady of Panama. What do figures show us twelve times as long as we have, and England there? In the State of Panama seven-tenths has existed over six centuries since Magna Charof the children are illegitimate, and in one de- ta. Soldiers, let us renew the oaths taken partment, out of 1,100 people, there were to three years ago, and swear to support only the Constitution and the laws, and oppose any-

other mode to redress our grievances, but if that

be taken from us we will profit by the lesson of

history.

1858, from Quito, South America, which I that "What God had joined together no man took the liberty of copying, while acting as his should put asunder," and we have now enterprivate secretary. At the time he was Minis- ed upon another contest, not with open foes ter resident in that country, he had ample oppor- with arms in their hands, but the no less dantunities for observation, and wrote at a time gerous but unseen ones who are insiduously enwhen his mind could have had no bias, as he deavoring to sap the foundations of our liberoccupied an independent position from which ties. The war has opened. We have planted our artillery. Our colors are spread to the breeze, and we will neither ask nor give quar

ter. Our password is Our cause is truth ; Pure as the virgin stripes which wave O'er freedom's everlasting youth, And spotless as the soldier's grave. Then let our mette be. Our country, cause, and liberty-Our nation and our nation's laws, The rights of white men, freedom's cause."

There are now in existence 1,457 oil companies, with a total capital of \$869,594,000.