

A SOLDIER'S SENTIMENTS.

GREAT SPEECH

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, but the position is a painful one.

For four long years we have engaged in a bloody civil war; the garbs of mourning before me, the maimed soldiers who have met here prove the desperation of the struggle, were other evidence wanting.

The object of the South, I take it, was to establish a separate government among States alike interested in the preservation of the institution of slavery, which they claimed had been illegally interfered with.

Among the first acts of the administration violating our contract, was the publication of the emancipation proclamation. At the time I was confined in Libby prison as one of "Pope's felons," but the sufferings of imprisonment were nothing compared to the mental torture of finding the high and noble cause for which I enlisted, deluged by being made a struggle for giving freedom to a few degraded negroes.

Another effect was to consolidate the South. At the beginning of the war, according to President Lincoln's own statement, we had a majority of friends there, but this measure extinguished the last spark of unionism South, and united their people in the attempt to preserve their property.

I hold also the war has been unnecessarily prolonged, that competent generals have been removed and their places supplied by experimental ones; that our forces were divided where they should have been consolidated, and that overtures of peace from the enemy were rejected.

Having shown the object of the people, let us consider the object of the administration as possibly declared to us. President Lincoln, in his inaugural address, said, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it now exists."

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with slaves or slavery in such States, in disregard of the rights of their owners, or the peace of society." Added to this we had the almost unanimous resolution of Congress, "That this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

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least should be. Those of us who have been in the service know something about their constitution and powers. While in the army I was several times a member of a court martial and once a judge advocate, and I know that, as Senator Hale declared, "they are organized to convict." We be to the civilians who come before them. They are allowed no counsel, save the discretion of the court, in general, and the charges against them, and have no means of procuring witnesses. The accused also selects the judges of the crime; and then has the approval of the sentence. There must be a return to civil law, not only because the Constitution prohibits any other means of trial than by a jury, but even military writers agree that civilians are not subject to military law. We have assumed the garb of citizens; and let us maintain their rights. Let us emulate the example of Washington, the first commander-in-chief of our armies who though possessed of boundless power, was the first to curb military power and make it subordinate to the civil.

We would also demand the restoration of the writ of habeas corpus, so that men can be no longer sent to bastiles without due process of law. In that indictment against English tyranny, known as the Declaration of Independence, appear the following counts: "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance."

We would also support President Johnson in his endeavors to bring back the Southern States to their loyalty. We want Virginia, South Carolina, and the rest, all free, sovereign, and independent States, as they were when Washington gave them to us. We would call 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 if 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."

The quality of mercy is not strained: It droppeth as the gentle rain from Heaven, Upon the place beneath; 'tis twice blessed: It blesseth him that gives and him that takes; 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes The throne monarch better than his crown; His scepter shows the force of temporal power, Wherewith to sways and majesty, Wherewith to drive and lead of kings; But mercy is above his scepter sway; It is enthroned in the hearts of kings; It is an attribute to God himself; And earthly power doth show like God's, When mercy seasons justice."

Thank God, none but the political clergy prone of vengeance, a class of men who did more to cause the war and less to aid it than any other body of men. But we regard it as an orderly, unmanly, to strike a fallen foe. We, through our general, told them that if they would lay down their arms and return to their homes they should not be molested by the United States authorities. The pledged word of a soldier must be kept; and however much stay-at-home patriots may urge the hanging of Gen. Lee and the men under him, the true soldier is opposed to it. In short, we want the Southern 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 war was not to do away with vested rights, but to assure them to ourselves and our descendants. We want our legislatures to be representatives of the people, and not the selections of department generals, operating through squads of soldiers. Had I the time I would tell you

how my "interference" in an election gave me a pleasure trip to the Mississippi. ("Let's hear it—tell it.") Last fall, about the time of the Columbia county invasion, and soon after the Petersburg mine explosion I was sent to Annapolis hospital, sick with a fever. The October election coming on, in order to see how such things were managed, I secured an appointment as clerk of an election board. A captain from Philadelphia was made judge, and a portion of the board consisted of officers of negro troops, who were not and never had been citizens of Pennsylvania. They concluded it was unnecessary to swear the board, according to law, because were they not officers and was not their word sufficient? I protested in vain, because I was alone. They at once in conjunction with some chaplains, commenced electioneering and circulating Abolition ballots. Not a Democratic one was to be had. As squad after squad of men came in I proposed asking if they were citizens of the United States or of Pennsylvania; whether they were of age, or had paid tax within two years. But I was asked if I was not ashamed to press such matters; these men were soldiers, and was I opposed to letting soldiers vote? I had to submit. At Camp Parole, where we had about 8,000 paroled prisoners, the same process was carried on, and the men were shifted from one point to another. After we had closed the polls, a sergeant brought in a squad of about 60 men, whose votes were admitted for fear they had not been taken elsewhere; we then commenced counting off, but the judge declared it was late, he was tired, and he would adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put the ballots into his coat pocket, and I did not see him any more that day. I kept the tally list, however, and I have it at home now. We met the next day, but he had more ballots in his pocket than I had names on the tally list; by some bogus process they had increased. Here was a quandary; but it was soon settled. They remarked the thing was very simple; the Democratic ballots, save nine, had been cast by mistake, and they would take out enough of them to make the ballots and tally list correspond. I then entered a formal protest against the whole proceedings, and refused to make up the necessary returns. That after noon I received a telegraphic despatch from the Secretary of War, ordering me to report at once at Crook's Island, Ill. Of course I had to go at once, and without making up the election returns. I went to Chicago; thinking that Crook's Island might be in the lake, but could find out nothing as to the place. After some fruitless searching I concluded to stop at Rock Island City, it being a pleasant locality on the Mississippi, and report my whereabouts to the Adjutant General. As there was nothing for me to do in the shape of military duty I spent a few weeks in hunting, fishing, and killing time generally at Uncle Sam's expense. At this time, in view of the Presidential election, the Republicans made a grand parade, marching some colored soldiers in front of a Pennsylvania regiment, in spite of their protest. At the same time, General Hooker, commanding the department, Gen. Logan and other military gentlemen, were making speeches through the State in behalf of the Republican party. Following the example thus set me, I acted as Marshal in a Democratic procession, and also made a speech. Twenty-four hours after I received another dispatch stating that I was "honorably mustered out by reason of expiration of term of service," though that had occurred seven months before at the time of the discharge of the Pennsylvania reserves.

But, fellow-citizens, I must enter a special protest against the doctrine 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 confederates 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 beyond 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 Spotsylvania, 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 sign of retreat. And so it was at the North Anna, Toltopotany and Cold Harbor. Baldy Smith's corps—the Eighteenth—by taking transports reached Petersburg the day before us. It was garrisoned by about 500 citizens and invalids, which had a line of works about six miles long. On arriving, the batteries were placed in position, and the Corps, consisting of two white and one colored division, about eighteen thousand men, charged. Of course the main line was taken with scarcely any loss, and this assault against almost empty works was heralded to the world as a victory gained by the negroes. They were careful not to advance into the city, though had they done so it would have saved the long and weary siege that followed. You remember the Petersburg mine explosion, where Burnside determined to show the world how much braver the blacks were than the whites. You all know the result—how they broke under the first fire and threw the white troops behind into confusion. And, soldiers, do you not remember how you were sacrificed this spring while the negroes were kept in reserve until the enemy were de-

feated, and then to them was given the honor of first entering and capturing Richmond. Was negro equality part of the contract? Give your answer at the polls. But if they are to be equal, if they are to be allowed the right of suffrage because they enlisted in war, the same privilege should be at least granted white men. For instance, take the Irish brigade, or the Corcoran Legion, both attached to the Army of the Potomac, and among the bravest of our troops; should not they also have the right of suffrage? Yet where is the Abolitionist who advocates their claim or speaks of 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 brutalized negroes.

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 liberty—men who

"With golden bribe and treacherous smile, Now with the seeds of rank pollution; And with their reptile aims diffuse The temple of our Constitution."

They demand, as the price of their favor, that we give the right of suffrage to our ignorant negroes, while, according to John Bright's statement, out of 7,000,000 full-grown Englishmen a thorough canvass would show only 1,000,000 of voters—a disfranchisement of 6,000,000. We want no teachers or teachers from abroad. Now that we have conquered our enemy they make profers of friendship, yet while the contest was doubtful, they supplied him with arms, money and ships. These aristocrats who prate of equality refuse to associate with their own white operatives, and would make the negro the equal of the poor white man, while themselves despising the latter. Look at the Abolition States, where the negro has the right of suffrage, of holding office, and the like. In order to force an unnatural equality they have passed laws imposing heavy penalties on railroads, theatres, hotels and the like, which make any discrimination as to color. But observe the unfairness of these miscreants in endeavoring to fasten their doctrines upon the people of other States. They well know that the mass of the negro race would avoid their bleak shores. In Vermont, in 1860, there were only eighty colored voters, and in New Hampshire, 160. But how is it in Pennsylvania? The entire colored population North in 1860 was 226,000, of which Pennsylvania had 57,000, over one-fourth of the entire number. Of course, since the war this number has greatly increased, because, according to Kennedy, Superintendent of the Census Bureau, the increase is greater in Pennsylvania than any other free State. Now, let us compare our white and black populations in localities where they enjoy equal advantages. The census shows that where out of 10,000 whites there would be one convict, out of the same number of blacks there would be nine. In Pennsylvania the blacks are but one-fifth of our population, yet one-third of our convicts are blacks. In this State we have an average of one white convict in every 4,243 whites, and 1 black convict in 260 blacks. In Massachusetts, that land of piety and godliness, they have only 1 black in 128 persons, yet have 1 black convict in 9. Notwithstanding this terrible record, we have a party in our midst who would Africanize the whole South, who would place the ballot in the hands of men far more ignorant and debased than the Northern negro. They would place their own race under the domination of an inferior one and against their consent. Let us glance again at the statistics. In 1860, the negroes had a majority in 253 counties—nearly one-third—of the South, which number is now increased by the loss of the Southerners in battle and by exclusion in municipal affairs for having engaged in the rebellion. They have a small majority in Louisiana; of 33,000 in Mississippi, and of 121,000 in South Carolina. This would give them 6 United States Senators, about 15 Congressmen, and place the white race in many other localities completely under their control. Besides their political elevation, they would weaken vengeance upon their former masters, invited to it by fanatics of the North; and the terrible scenes of San Domingo would be re-enacted in our midst. Look at the example in Mexico, in South America, where the doctrine of negro equality is in full blast—where they have negro soldiers to dominate over the whites and support tyrannical rulers in their equator. Why, one of the leading Generals of Ecuador is a negro, yet married an accomplished white lady of Panama. What do figures show us there? In the State of Panama seven-tenths of the children are illegitimate, and in one department, out of 1,100 people, there were to be found only 7 married couples.

To illustrate the subject further, let me read you a letter written by Senator Backalew, in 1858, from Quito, South America, which I took the liberty of copying, while acting as his private secretary. At the time he was Minister resident in that country, he had ample opportunities for observation, and wrote at a time when his mind could have had no bias, as he occupied an independent position from which he viewed this question:

Dear Sir— There is a very proper restriction upon the diplomatic representatives of the United States that they shall not publish letters relating to the political affairs of the countries in which they reside. But I may say to you that a sojourn in this quarter of the earth is instructive to one who comes to study the organization and action of government. And here, also, may be studied the relations between different races in the same community. The Indians of the great Andean chain from Mexico southward, and those centres of power were the cities of Mexico, Quito and Guano, were very different from the savages of the North. Their religion was better defined than idolatry; they had great cities, extensive roads, cultivated fields, and drew their support from the earth rather than from fishing and the chase. One would suppose that there was a basis for high civilization,

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 no extensive wars were necessary to the subjugation 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 docile temper, is not destitute of ingenuity, and can be trained to habits of industry. But the result has belied such reasonable expectations. 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 Steady mountains to the Pacific, while Mexico approaches social dissolution, and south of it all governments are unsteady, labor sluggish, population stationary, property insecure, population rampant, and poverty 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 Camino Real—the royal road—has become disjunct, and is supplanted by mud paths. And to what cause or causes shall this result be attributed? It cannot be the Catholic form of religion which prevails, for France is Catholic, and yet among 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 of forty years have elapsed since. Nor can it be the republican institutions, for we have them also. Nor can it be an inferiority of the Spanish race to others—Spain has produced heroes and poets, and was once dominant in Europe, and more recently she broke the power of Napoleon even when her own sovereign was treacherous 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 therefore, indited upon his conquests or colonies in the New World, all the curses of hybridism. But he has been still more faulty. In all the new republics of South America there 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 notorious facts and of past experience. He has, in fact, practiced conforming to it, have produced monstrous evils, which centuries cannot undo. In point of fact, in Spanish America, there is neither party 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. R. BACKALEW

Now, fellow-citizens, let us try no rash experiments 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 Freedmen's Bureau is erected especially for the care of negroes, and homes, farms, schools and the like furnished them at our expense. Nay, New England in her love for them sends school teachers, money, &c., while she sells the poor crippled soldier who happens to become a township charge to the lowest bidder. Why do these men adopt these negroes as their brethren? They want their votes. Horace Greely says emancipation will add 800,000 votes to the Republican party, and H. Winter Davis, another high authority, says: "It is votes, numbers, not intelligence, we want." There can be no doubt that this party is pledged to negro equality. They have adopted it wherever they have had power. Their conventions endorse it. Leading men in their party and their principal papers openly proclaim it, and unless we at once crush that party they will fasten it not only upon the South, but upon us. Chief Justice Chase quotes Tacitus, and preaches equality to these freedmen, while Covode, Sumner and the lesser lights make it an eternal text.

In view, then, fellow-citizens, of the pernicious tendencies of the doctrine of the opposition, so subversive of government and of the objects for which this war was begun, what is our duty? In the first place we must be true to the grand principle of liberty, must never forget what we are, what we have been, and what is before us. By our example in 1776 we revived liberty throughout the earth. It ascended the Andes, awakened France, and taught Italy and Greece the lessons of their better days. It inspired Kosciuszko, La Fayette, Emmet, Kossuth and Bolivar. May their example not be lost upon us? But what, you ask, if our liberties be threatened? I point to history. When King John attempted to destroy British liberty, the grim barons on June 15, 1215, assembled at Runnymede and extorted Magna Charta, and compelled their King to give them the Tower and City of London as security; and as often as their liberties were invaded would they re-enact their great charter—had it read twice a year to the people, and culminated excommunications against all such as disobeyed it. See 46 said, "Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus ut differemus, rectum vel justitiam." "We will sell to no man, we will not deny or delay to any man, right or justice." Again, when the Stuarts pressed prerogative as to claim the right of trying citizens by Courts of High Commission and the Star Chamber, our sturdy ancestors in their vengeance brought the head of Charles 1st to the block; and when they secured the Habeas Corpus under his successor, they made it a crime unpardonable by the king, to disobey it. Later still, our own fathers, for causes set out in that indictment—the Declaration of Independence—cast of their allegiance, and appealed to the God of battles. So long as we have the ballot, we ask for no other mode to redress our grievances, but if that be taken from us we will profit by the lesson of history.

Fellow-citizens, in conclusion, let me appeal to you to support the Democratic party—the only nation now in existence. It had its origin with the government, and will only die when that government is no more. Our country is still on the verge of ruin through fanatical doctrines, and let it be our mission to preserve and transmit to our posterity the labors of our ancestors. We are but in our youth. The Roman Empire lived 500 years before its decline. Athens enjoyed its liberties twelve times as long as we have, and England has existed over six centuries since Magna Charta. Soldiers, let us renew the oath taken three years ago, and swear to support only the Constitution and the laws, and oppose anything to the contrary.

We fought for the Union because we believed that "What God had joined together no man should put asunder," and we have now entered upon another contest, not with open foes with arms in their hands, but the no less dangerous but unseen ones who are insidiously endeavoring to sap the foundations of our liberties. The war has opened. We have planted our artillery. Our colors are spread to the breeze, and we will neither ask nor give quarter. Our password is "Our cause is truth." Pure as the virgin stripes which wave Over freedom's exulting youth, And spotted as the soldier's grave. Then let our motto 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.