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**SPEECH**  
OF  
**SENATOR W. A. WALLACE,**  
OF CLEARFIELD COUNTY,

*On Landon's resolutions approving the  
action of those members of Congress  
from Pennsylvania who voted in fa-  
vor of the District of Columbia Negro  
Suffrage Bill, and instructing the  
Pennsylvania U. S. Senators to sup-  
port the same in that body.*

Mr. WALLACE said: Mr. Speaker,  
I approach this subject seriously, feel-  
ing deeply the responsibilities that  
rest upon me as a Senator upon this  
floor, and that seriousness of feeling  
is impressed upon me by the earnest-  
ness with which this measure is urged  
by Senators. I desire to meet the  
responsibility which we are asked to  
meet, calmly, dispassionately and fear-  
lessly, as did the Senator, (Mr. Low-  
ry,) who preceded me.

**SEEK THE RIGHT AND FOLLOW IT.**

The Senator from Bradford, (Mr.  
Landon,) takes the position that we  
should seek the right, and fearlessly  
follow it. I desire to do so. I desire  
to use the feeble intellect that God  
Almighty has given me, in discerning  
the right; and, when I discern it,  
obeying the instincts of my nature  
and of my blood—obeying not these  
alone but the experience that all his-  
tory points out to me—obeying the  
teachings of the past, I desire to fol-  
low that path fearlessly and faithfully.  
I do not desire, sir, to set up my fee-  
ble judgment, my finite ideas, as the  
will of Him who sits above and rules  
the heavens and the earth. Far be it  
from me, an erring human creature,  
thus to elevate myself. But, sir, by  
the teachings of the past, by the ex-  
perience of the present, by those  
things that are implanted deep in the  
hearts and minds of my race, I desire  
to test this question and to determine  
my line of duty. Sir, I seek no new  
path; but as a practical, earnest, hon-  
est citizen of this republic, I desire to  
be guided by all the lights that history  
throws around me. I desire to be  
guided by all the characteristics and  
circumstances that unite to make up  
our present glorious record.

**THE PEOPLE THE ARBITERS.**

This question of suffrage is one of  
the most important that has ever been  
approached or ever can be approached  
by the people of this country. It is  
peculiarly a question to be decided by  
the people themselves, and not by  
their representatives, and I desire to  
impress it upon Senators, that when-  
ever and wherever in all the States of  
this country it has been attempted to  
decide the question of the right of suf-  
frage, it has invariably been referred  
by the Representative authorities to  
the source of all power, the people.  
You seek a new path and are about to  
initiate the right of exercising this  
great privilege without the action of  
the people, and against their known  
will.

**IS IT A RIGHT?**

Now, sir, is the right of suffrage a  
right in its more extensive and natu-  
ral sense? I affirm that it is not.  
It has ever been treated, on the con-  
trary, as a conventional right. Why,  
sir, the Englishman or the French-  
man, possessed of all the education,  
the refinement and the culture that  
he may have acquired in the highest  
schools of his native country, when  
he comes to this continent, does not  
here at once obtain at our hands the  
right to this priceless boon, this tes-  
timonial of sovereignty; but he is  
compelled to endure a period of pro-  
bation before he is clothed with that  
right. Sir, Massachusetts, from which  
you get your ideas, to whose statute  
books you look for examples—she who  
is now governing this country through  
the men whom you follow—she, too,  
requires fitness. Her constitution  
places upon its pages the requirement  
of a capacity to read and write, before  
this privilege is granted. New York,  
too, requires a qualification in the  
shape of property. Now, these in-  
stances, it would appear to me, are  
sufficient to satisfy any reasonable  
mind that this is not a natural right,  
as understood in this country, but  
that it is a conventional right. The  
men whose teachings and leadings  
my friend from Erie, (Mr. Lowry,) and  
the Senator from Bradford, (Mr.  
Landon,) are following—the English  
Abolitionists—who freed the negroes  
of Jamaica, then and there placed a  
qualification upon the right of suffrage  
—they required that before the freed-  
man should have the right to vote he  
should be possessed in his own right,  
of five acres of land. So that the

teachings not only of Massachusetts  
and New York, but of the men who  
originated this idea that has culmi-  
nated and brought upon us untold mis-  
ery, have admitted the fact that this  
is a conventional and not a natural  
right.

This conventional right is then to  
be given or withheld according to its  
propriety or the will of a majority or  
ruling power of the State. I shall not  
discuss the latter consideration, as  
that is one fitted for another forum,  
and will be approached in the not far  
distant future, but I shall confine my  
remarks to the propriety of granting  
or withholding this right of suffrage  
to or from the people to whom Con-  
gress proposes to give it.

The Senator from Bradford, (Mr.  
Landon,) has furnished me with a  
very appropriate text, a text that I  
shall not fail to use, and in dilating  
upon it, or in my discussion of the sub-  
ject before us, whilst I shall speak em-  
phatically, whilst my utterances shall  
be my convictions, I trust I shall be  
offensive to none.

**ELEVATION AND PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.**

The Senator from Bradford affirms  
that God's law is the elevation of hu-  
manity. Granted. He asserts that  
the law of progress is the law of the  
world. Admitted. Do I understand  
his first proposition to be that he who  
is elevated is to remain stationary  
whilst he who is below is to be ele-  
vated to the higher standard. I will  
not do him so great injustice. His  
first proposition is and of right ought  
to be consistent with the second, and  
if it be, we agree in practice as well  
as in sentiment. The elevation of  
humanity as well as the law of pro-  
gress requires that each should move  
onward and upward from the stand-  
point he before occupied, so that he  
who before was civilized may now be-  
come enlightened, whilst he who be-  
fore was barbarous may now become  
civilized. Let us now take the bear-  
ings of these propositions upon the  
practical question before us.

**OUR PROGRESS.**

Has not the elevation of humanity  
upon this continent, in the past sev-  
enty years, been such as was never  
before witnessed upon the earth? Has  
not your progress been unexampled  
in the history of the world? None  
will gainsay these propositions. The  
story of your nation is the romance  
of progress: the history of your Re-  
public, the holiday of man's elevation.  
Look, if you please, at its triumphs.  
See, if you will, its material progress.  
See the forest felled; the soil tilled.  
See your broad acres, stretching from  
the Atlantic to the Pacific. See the  
lightning of heaven made to do your  
bidding. See every river and lake,  
and mountain, and shore, and coast  
the obtained elements that have been  
brought from the earth, from the air,  
from the water, to obey the will of  
man, that have been harnessed by  
man and are upturning the soil, plough-  
ing the water, traveling over the moun-  
tain, saving labor, easing the curse of  
God that man shall eat his bread in  
the sweat of his face—all these you  
have before you in your material pro-  
gress. You have increased from three  
millions to thirty-five millions of peo-  
ple. Sir, the arts and sciences flourish  
here as they do in no other land  
in all the world. Here you see popu-  
lation and expanse of land, and not  
least of all, power—magnificent power,  
as displayed in the last four years  
—the grasp of mind, the vigor of in-  
tellect that could bring into being ar-  
mies such as we have put into the  
field, that could provide for sustaining  
and feeding armies such as have, thun-  
dered across our country and at whose  
numbers and prowess the world stood  
aghast.

Sirs, go with me to the Capitol at  
Washington. There, from foundation  
to turret-stone, from the ground to  
the statue that crowns the dome, you  
see in every stone and every corner,  
upon every doorway the recorded evi-  
dences of somebody's triumph, of  
somebody's capacity for progress, of  
somebody's magnificent future.

The Senator from Berks quotes  
Judge Hopkinson and Hail Columbia.  
He might have added that the Star  
Spangled Banner and Hail Columbia  
sing of the victories of the white man;  
they tell us in eloquent song of the  
triumphs of our race, and will ever be  
their grand memento; but Dixie, with  
its purling cadences and melting  
strains, floats to the ear the impress  
of its paternity, and will descend in  
all time as the Ethiopian strain that  
marshalled the hosts of an unsuccess-  
ful rebellion. Sirs, remember—re-  
member that these things, "trifles  
light as air," evince what we are and  
what we are to be.

Conceded that the law of the world  
is the law of progress; conceded that  
God's law is the elevation of humani-  
ty, our progress is already unexam-

pled, our grade of humanity largely  
elevated.

Sirs, these are the triumphs not of  
the men with the elongated head, flat  
nose and kinky hair, but these are  
the triumphs of the men with aquiline  
nose, straight hair and white cuticle.  
These are the triumphs of the race to  
which you and I belong; and you are  
less than a man if you do not glory in  
them and stop at the brink of the pre-  
cipice over which they are about to be  
sacrificed in an unknown future.

Are these evidences of triumph, are  
these evidences of capacity for pro-  
gress, are these recorded indications  
of what is yet to come, evidences of  
our triumphs or evidences of the tri-  
umphs of another race? Sirs, these  
are evidences of our triumphs. Shall  
we surrender these, the insignia of our  
race? Shall we surrender these, the  
trophies that we have won in a war  
with matter? Shall we basely bow  
our neck and submissively yield these  
trophies to a weaker race? Shall  
these be the badges of our weakness,  
the trophies of a mixed and mongrel  
race? Sirs, shall we surrender the  
ballot, the emblem of sovereignty,  
that which makes us men? Shall  
this be yielded to the hand of another  
race? These are the questions that  
confront us.

**SHALL WE BE FETTERED?**

I have briefly portrayed to you the  
evidences of your capacity for progress.  
Nations differ as do men; nations are  
as diverse in intellect and in capacity  
for progress as are individuals in the  
different qualities which they possess.  
Sir, in one race you have capacity for  
progress; in another race you have no  
such capacity. We have demon-  
strated our capacity for progress. Have  
the black race demonstrated theirs?  
Sirs, what is their history? Have  
they capacity for progress? They are  
inert, stolid and lifeless, and the propo-  
sition that you set up by these resolu-  
tions, when carried to its legitimate  
conclusion, is simply the chaining of a  
man who is full of vitality and  
who has demonstrated his capacity  
for progress to the corpse-like body  
of that man who has no capacity  
for progress. I shall undertake to  
prove this as I progress.

**THE NEGRO HAS NO CAPACITY FOR PROGRESS.**

There are races that have no history,  
and known and recognized for thou-  
sands of years, the negro is still with-  
out a progressive history. Mingling  
for centuries with the Egyptian, the  
Carthaginian and the Roman, they  
still remain the same, and on no page of  
written history, either sacred or pro-  
fane, is it shown that they possessed  
ability in intellect or gained any of  
the material advantages that belong  
to a progressive race. Singular as is  
this omission of their favorable men-  
tion in history, it may yet have been  
accidental, but if in all time past they  
have demonstrated capacity for pro-  
gress, some evidence should exist of  
the fact, tradition, ruined edifices,  
marks of power, lost energy displayed  
and battles won should somewhere  
appear. None such exist. No such  
evidence can be found.

In all other portions of the known  
world save Central and Southern Africa  
evidences of progress and develop-  
ment appear. In some, the ever efflu-  
ent hand of time and the myriad of  
causes that prove to us that nations,  
like men, are mortal, have swept  
away the elements of refinement and  
of civilization, and left but ruins to  
tell the story of their existence. Asia,  
with her teeming millions, at every turn  
demonstrates her capacity for pro-  
gress. China, India, Persia, the lands  
of the Russ, the Tartar and the Turk,  
bear upon their soil the evidences of  
present civilization and of past mag-  
nificence; and Babylon, Tadmor, Nine-  
veh and Edom rise up in sombre grand-  
eur to testify to the capacity of the  
hand that fashioned them.

Europe is now the centre of refine-  
ment and of the arts, and her ruined  
temples, decayed arches and crumbling  
ruins speak eloquently of the ca-  
pacity and power of the nations that  
once peopled her valleys and dictated  
laws to the habitable globe.

America, North and South, before  
the advent of the Anglo-Saxon, was  
peopled by tribes of men in whom  
the capacity for progress was clearly  
a fact. The impress of their hands,  
the monuments of their existence  
are found in the Mississippi Valley, in  
the sculptured ruins of Uxmal and  
Palenque, in the elaborate masonry  
and splendid structures of Mexico, and  
in the debris of the palaces of the  
Incas.

Even Africa, north of the equator,  
brings her tribute of evidence to the  
fact I assert. The storied pillars and  
impenetrable pyramids of Egypt, and  
the almost buried remnants of ancient  
Carthage stand out amid the sands of  
the desert and unite in the declara-  
tion that their builders possessed all

the elements of human wisdom and  
progress, and in corroborating the  
truths of sacred and profane history.  
The tawny Moor, with proud port  
and flashing eye, remembers the glo-  
rious record of his race, and even now  
in his burning home the memories of  
Granada and of the Alhambra are told  
in story and in song.

All, all speak of scope for develop-  
ment; of capacity for progress.

Let us turn to the home of the negro.  
Their land is most fertile, and food  
for man is produced with but trifling  
labor. Its vegetable productions are  
almost spontaneous, the domestic ani-  
mals so essential to the comfort and  
existence of man, have always been  
possessed by them in greater numbers  
than in most other sections of the  
world. For four hundred years they  
have been in communication with  
Christian nations of western Europe  
and from time immemorial with the  
nations of western Asia, upon the  
coast and upon the Nile. With  
greater opportunities for advancement  
and progress than those possessed by  
the most favored, they are yet sunk  
in the lowest depths of barbarism:  
Licentiousness, brutality and all the  
heathen rites of paganism, are the dis-  
tinguishing marks of the people. No  
evidences exist that they have ever  
been better. Implements of agricul-  
ture and for manufacturing purposes  
are rare. In all their broad land no  
hewn stone or sculptured tablet, no  
manufactured brick or monumental  
structure appears. No arches, bridges,  
tombs or pyramids speak of power in  
the present or capacity in the past;  
but back through the vista of centu-  
ries their land and people present a  
monotonous and unbroken aspect of  
stupidity and barbarism. The evidences  
of capacity for progress, apparent in  
all the world beside, are here wanting.

Captain Burton, a recent English  
traveler in Central Africa, in his work  
thus graphically portrays the charac-  
ter of the people:

"The study of psychology in Eastern Africa  
is the study of man's rudimentary mind, when  
subject to the agency of material nature, he  
neither progresses nor retrogrades. He would  
appear rather a degenerate from the civilized  
man than a savage rising to the first step, were  
it not for his apparent incapacity for improve-  
ment. He has not the ring of the true metal; there  
is no rich nature as in the New Zealander for  
education to cultivate. He seems to belong to  
one of those childish races which, never rising  
to man's estate, fall like worn out links from the  
great chain of animated nature. He unites  
the incapacity of infancy with the complacency of  
age; the fatuity of childhood, and the cretinity  
of youth with the skepticism of the adult and  
the stolidity and slowness of the old. He has  
been in direct intercourse with the more advanced  
people of the eastern coast, and though few have  
seen a European, there are not many who have  
not cast eyes upon an Arab. Still he has  
stopped short at the threshold of progress; he  
shows no signs of development; no higher and  
more varied orders of intellect are called into  
being."

This is the evidence of a traveler of  
undoubted authority, he too an Eng-  
lishman with anti-slavery proclivities  
and desirous of elevating the race.  
And, sir, I affirm that whenever and  
wherever, in all time past, it has been  
attempted to arouse these people as a  
people to development and progress,  
the result has, but served to demon-  
strate the truth of my position.

**OUR OWN EXPERIENCE.**

I cite to you your own experience  
in the North. I do not desire you to  
take exceptional cases, either of low  
grade or of high grade, but to look at  
them as a rule. Deal with this ques-  
tion as statesmen, as men who desire  
the benefit of their race and of their  
country, looking at the whole subject,  
not at exceptional cases. As a rule,  
let me ask you, are they not dependent  
upon the white man? Are they not  
servile? Can you ever get them to  
work unless at the dictation  
and under the control of the white  
man? Did you ever learn that a ne-  
gro had invented anything? Did you  
ever learn that he had improved any-  
thing? I never have, nor do I believe  
that any man ever has. They are idle,  
improvident and licentious. Of course,  
there are exceptions to this, but the  
exceptions are rare.

**THE MULATTO.**

My friends, the Senator from Erie  
and the Senator from Bradford, both  
talked about the mulatto in the South,  
and said many of them were sons of  
Congressmen. The Senator from  
Bradford (Mr. Landon) dealt in gen-  
eralities. I desire to refute some of  
the general arguments that he advanced,  
by special reference to facts and  
statistics. The Senator from Erie  
(Mr. Lowry) said that these colored  
people should have the right to vote  
and that, if allowed to have that right,  
some of them would elect from their  
own class the sons of Congressmen.  
The Senator from Bradford (I cannot  
give his exact words) said very nearly  
the same thing. Now, let me show  
you from the pages of the Compendium  
of your recorded census of 1850—  
the last one I can get—what is the  
proportion of mulattoes, the men who  
have partly white paternity, in the

different states of the Union. Let us  
see where the men of the colored race  
who have white blood in them, live,  
whether it is in the South or in the  
North. You cannot deny the evidence  
of your own census. I refer you to  
page 83 of the Compendium, show-  
ing the black and mulatto population  
of the United States.

In 1850, the proportion of mulattoes  
to the whole number of blacks in the  
State of South Carolina was that of  
four and a half to one hundred.

In Alabama, the proportion is seven  
and about one-fourth of mulattoes to  
every one hundred blacks.

In Connecticut, the proportion is  
thirty and one-half mulattoes to every  
one hundred blacks.

In Georgia, the proportion is six  
and nearly three-quarters mulattoes  
to every one hundred blacks.

In Massachusetts, the proportion is  
thirty-four and a little more than  
three-quarters mulattoes to every one  
hundred blacks.

In Michigan, the proportion of mu-  
lattoes, to the whole number of blacks,  
is seventy-six and a little better than  
one-fourth to every one hundred  
blacks.

In Ohio, it is one hundred and  
twenty-nine mulattoes to every one  
hundred blacks.

These are the facts on the face of  
your recorded census. I do not want  
to hear Senators talking about mu-  
lattoes in the South when they have an  
infinitely greater number—aye, twenty  
times the proportion of them—in the  
North that is to be found in the South.  
Even South Carolina, "that hot-bed  
of secession," has but a little over  
four mulattoes to every one hundred  
blacks, while the State of Massachu-  
setts has about eight times that num-  
ber.

**PROPORTION OF CRIME.**

I have a few more statistics here.  
I refer to the same book, page 165. I  
want to show you something about the  
crimes of these people who have  
such capacity for progress (?) I want  
to demonstrate to you the fact that  
wherever they have had an opportu-  
nity to make the progress that you  
desire they should make, that where-  
ever the opportunity has been given  
them to fit themselves for the right to  
vote, that there the proportion of  
crime committed by them is larger  
than in any other section of this  
continent. That is a fact that this book  
demonstrates. Now, remember that  
Massachusetts gave the negro the right  
to vote when he was able to read and  
write, and that in New York he has  
the right to vote when he is possessed  
of a certain amount of property. The  
statistics of 1850 show that in the  
State of Massachusetts there was one  
negro convict to every two hundred  
and sixty-two. The proportion in  
New York is about the same. Penn-  
sylvania has one black convict to ev-  
ery five hundred black men within her  
borders. This demonstrates that un-  
der our policy, which makes them not  
our equals, which does not vest them  
with the power of sovereignty, much  
less crime is committed than in those  
sections in which they have greater  
privileges and are permitted to vote.

I have more statistics. On page  
166 of the census of 1850, under the  
head of Prisons and Penitentiaries for  
1850, we find that out of every ten  
thousand colored people of the State  
of Maryland there were seven and  
about a quarter in prison. In every  
ten thousand colored people of the  
State of Massachusetts there were  
forty-six and more than a quarter of  
colored people in prison—six times as  
many colored convicts in the peniten-  
tiary in Massachusetts in 1850 as there  
were in Maryland. In New York,  
where they have the property qualifi-  
cation, there were fifty-one blacks in  
prison to every ten thousand colored  
people; and in Pennsylvania, there  
were nineteen blacks in the peniten-  
tiary to every ten thousand colored.  
These are facts that cannot be gain-  
said. They are found upon your re-  
cords, and you must make the best of  
them. I affirm that they are facts  
that speak louder than declamation,  
louder than the ideas of gentlemen  
here founded upon what they conceive  
to be "the will of God"—aye, these  
are facts of the past. They are the  
recorded evidences of the progress of  
this race; and wise, liberal and sensi-  
ble men will look at them before they  
act upon this great issue.

Again, the proportion of colored  
convicts in the prisons, jails and alms-  
houses in the several cities given here,  
as compared with the total population  
of those cities, is this: In Boston there  
is one to every sixteen of the colored  
population and one to every thirty-  
four of the white population. In New  
York there is one to every twenty-  
four of the colored population and one  
to every forty-five of the white popu-  
lation. In Philadelphia there is one  
to every twenty-nine of the colored

and one to every seventy-eight of the  
white. In Richmond there is one to  
every forty-five of the colored and one  
to every one hundred and twelve of  
the white.

Sufficient from the census. I think  
I have maintained my position so far  
as our country is concerned. This  
race, in their own land, could have  
demonstrated no capacity for progress  
that would not have been transplanted  
here, where all the facilities neces-  
sary for self-development are given  
them.

**THE EXPERIENCE OF JAMAICA.**

Now, let us visit Jamaica, the land  
that was to be the elysium of the ne-  
gro. That island, in 1838, when the  
members of our convention were in-  
serting in the Constitution of the  
State the word "white," was emanci-  
pated, and universal freedom proclaimed.  
Suffrage and political rights were  
there given to all colors by the gov-  
ernment of Great Britain, but property  
qualification was uniform; every  
voter must have five acres of land.  
The island of Jamaica possessed great  
natural advantages; its production  
was almost spontaneous; it was the  
very garden of that section of the  
world. Its total population was about  
four hundred and fifty thousand, of  
which three hundred and fifty thou-  
sand were blacks, eighty thousand  
mulattoes and fifteen thousand whites.  
From 1838 to 1853 these inhabitants  
were free, with the right to make pro-  
gress, encouraged and upheld by the  
mother country, which sent them  
money in immense amounts. Yet, in  
1853, Earl Russell, one of the Secre-  
taries of Great Britain, reports to the  
home government that there were but  
three thousand men there entitled to  
vote—three thousand (!) out of four  
hundred and fifty thousand, four hun-  
dred and thirty odd thousand of whom  
were colored. Why is this? Why  
did they not make progress when  
placed upon an equality with the most  
favored? Why is it that that land  
does not become what gentlemen pro-  
claim the South will become under the  
beneficent rule of the negroes? It is  
because inherent capacity for progress  
does not exist in these people; that in  
their natures, debased and sensual as  
they are, that qualification which is  
essential for progress in all races does  
not exist, and never has existed.

The productive power of that island  
has been decreasing ever since emani-  
cipation; vagrants and squatters peo-  
ple the whole land. They are not in-  
telligent and respectable, but they oc-  
cupy the land, squat here and there  
and move when it suits their conveni-  
ence. They live from hand to mouth,  
on bread fruits and yams. In 1859,  
Mr. Trollope, an English anti-slavery  
traveler, said that one-half of the sug-  
ar plantations, and more than one-  
half of the coffee plantations there  
had gone back to the bush. Look at  
the figures. From 1829 to 1853 the  
yearly average of its productions was:

Of sugar, 76,282 tons. Now, it is  
about 30,000 tons. Of rum, 35,505  
punchons; now, it is 20,000 punch-  
ons. Of coffee, 17,645,000 lbs.;  
now it is about 7,000,000 lbs. "The  
great decay in the material prosperity  
of Jamaica is made more striking by  
the facts, that during the period be-  
tween 1832 and 1847, 605 sugar and  
coffee plantations, containing 356,432  
acres of land, and affording employ-  
ment to 49,383 laborers were entirely  
abandoned; and from 1848 to 1853,  
573 other plantations, of 391,187 acres,  
were totally or partially turned to  
waste, and this in an island of less  
than 7,000 square miles. These as-  
tounding facts are verified by Carey,  
and a statement made by the West  
India Association of Glasgow, and  
appended documents. Bigelow, in  
his Notes on Jamaica, says:

"Shipping has deserted her ports; her mag-  
nificent plantations of sugar and coffee are  
running to weeds; her private dwellings are falling  
to decay; the comforts and luxuries which be-  
long to industrial prosperity have been cut off,  
one by one, from her inhabitants; and the day  
is at hand when there will be no one left to rep-  
resent the wealth, intelligence, and hospitality  
for which the Jamaican planter was once so dis-  
tinguished."

I do not know why this is; perhaps  
gentlemen can explain it. The land  
is becoming a waste, the population is  
returning to barbarism; and liberty  
with them is what it always has been  
and what you must admit it is now  
among these people in the South,  
Liberty is license—license to be idle;  
license not to work; license to be  
sensual; license to be sluggish; license  
to relapse into the habits of their an-  
cestors.

**DEVELOP THE SOUTH.**

The Senator from Bradford says:  
"The South is fertile," and he wants  
to develop it. Aye, it is a fertile land,  
the very garden of the country; but  
let him be warned by the examples of  
men who desired to accomplish this  
object as earnestly and honestly as he  
does. Let him remember the example  
[CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.]