

THE STAR OF THE NORTH.

[\$2.00 in Advance, per Annum.]

W. H. JACOBY, Publisher.

Truth and Right—God and our Country.

VOLUME 16.

BLOOMSBURG, COLUMBIA COUNTY, PA., WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1865.

NUMBER 49.

THE STAR OF THE NORTH

IS PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY BY

W. H. JACOBY,

Office on Main St., 3rd Square below Market.

TERMS—Two Dollars and Fifty Cents in Advance. If not paid till the end of the year, Three Dollars will be charged.

No subscriptions taken for a period less than six months; no discontinuance permitted until all arrearages are paid unless at the option of the editor.

RATES OF ADVERTISING—

TEN LINES CONSTITUTE A SQUARE.

One Square, one or three insertions, \$1 50

Every subsequent insertion, less than 13, 50

One column—one year, 50 00

Administrators' and Executors' notices, 3 00

Transient advertising payable in advance all other due after the first insertion.

When three old Boots were New.

There are several doggerels published in the *Star* and *Democrat*, said to be written by Col. Freeze. One is set to the tune of "When this old hat was new." Suppose he would try his hand at one "To My Old Boots"—the pair he promised to cut if McClellan wasn't elected. The theme would be suggestive.—*Columbia Co. Republican.*

When these old boots were new.

For John was peddling pines,
And Greenwood Quakers awaited them,
For all his numerous ills;
'Tis said he drove an old brown mare,
The sulky thimble her too.

When these old boots were new.

It was well understood
That he would soon disappoint
That ancient neighborhood,
Unless some other kind of work
He could be brought to do.

When these old boots were new.

When these old boots were new,
The party was his own;
And through the borrowed smut machine
He played the same slow;

When these old boots were new.

They heaped small honors on his head,
Made him Post-Master too,
And then he pined for Thomas Drew,
When these old boots were new.

When these old boots were new.

Since these old boots were new,
Great changes have occurred;
The honest men who helped him once,
His Highness discarded.

When these old boots were new.

And the old ancient Quaker friends,
Whom he once so much loved,
With him are now more, where he was
When these old boots were new.

SPEECH

CAPT. CHARLES B. BROCKWAY,

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

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SOLDIERS: It may be according to tactics to put war recruits in front while these old veterans are kept in reserve, but the position is a painful one. Inasmuch, however, as I have been assigned a position in this assault on the enemy, I will try 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 celebrate the establishment of our party, and to renew among our people their political faith.

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 questions are pertinent, what have we fought for? Why is this fair land filled with cripples, with mourning—and why are we as a nation overwhelmed with debt? These are the questions which have been assigned me, and I will endeavor to state what we fought for, what we did not fight for, and what we should now insist upon. When we consider the conflicting opinions of leading men, of different communities, the importance of a proper solution of the question will be apparent. The subject is an old one; you have heard it day after day for the past four years; and I shall not pretend to give you any original thoughts on the subject, but to revive old ones to your minds.

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. Doubtless other causes impelled them to this course, but this was the main one. The object of the West, besides the general one to maintain the Union of our fathers, was to open and keep open the navigation of the Mississippi river, that they might, through it, send their produce to market. The masses of the Middle States were actuated by truly patriotic impulses, though they knew that upon their borders would the contest be decided. The object of the East, however, I hold, was not the general one to preserve the Union, though some men with its borders may have so stated. It was the desire of vengeance upon the South, and upon South Carolina in particular. They were not opposed to secession, because they had been advocates of that doctrine from the foundation of our government. Many of my hearers may be old enough to remember the Essex Junto and the Hartford Convention. They may remember the numerous petitions coming from that portion of the United States to Congress, praying for a dissolution of the Union. For over thirty years they have declared that "they would have no Union with slaveholders." You have not forgotten that General Banks, who has held high civil and military posi-

tions under our government, a man whose name is synonymous with disunion and defeat, declared that "he was willing in certain contingencies to let the Union slide." You have not forgotten that a certain representative in Congress from that godly city of Boston, and who now holds a high diplomatic position under the government, declared that "the time had arrived when we must have an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God." Garrison's *Liberator*, a prominent New England paper, and one extensively circulated in the army by the Sanitary Commission, long had at its head as a motto "The Constitution is a covenant with death—an agreement with hell." These men are types of New England sentiment, and hated alike the Union and the Constitution. Nor were they actuated by a desire to support the laws, because they have been the first to break them; they have refused to carry out the provisions of the fugitive slave law, though founded upon a direct command of the Constitution; and have set up their own corrupt consciences as "the higher law," in following which they claim the right to break through all laws—all constitutions. These are the men whom I arraign before you as having been disloyal in the past, and who, when the present war commenced—the first they ever attempted to support—endeavored to pervert its objects. But the misapprehension of their action was the love of gain, and they have grown rich by taking advantage of the nation's necessities, and the knowledge that they were secure from invasion.

But, fellow citizens, outside of New England, the grand moving cause was patriotism, the desire to perpetuate the government of our fathers, and to transmit it to our posterity, to resent the insult to the flag before me, which the sun is gilding with his setting rays. We could not bear that one star should be taken from its sky. The blood of our fathers was embalmed in its red, the purity of their cause in its white, and the freedom they attained in its blue. These considerations induced me and thousands of my comrades to forsake the peaceful avocations of life, and to bare our breasts to the storm of battle. There were no party distinctions, and Democrats were among the first to offer their services.

Having shown the object of the people, let us consider the object of the administration as publicly 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. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so." The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

This was the declaration of the then President, but further, in his proclamation calling for 75,000 troops, he said it was "to repossess the forts, places and property of the United States, and we should avoid devastation or disturbance of peaceful citizens." The famous Committee of Thirty-three on the State of the Union, of which Thomas Corwin, now Minister to Mexico, was chairman, reported among other equally strong resolutions, the following: "Resolved, That we recognize slavery as now existing in fifteen of the United States; by the usages and laws of those States; and we recognize a State where it so exists, to interfere 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." Here we have the objects of the war stated by the highest authorities in the land. It was not to be for conquest or subjugation; not to overthrow the institution of slavery or any other institution without the consent of the States interested. It was a contract between the soldiers and the government. The consideration on our part was our lives, our blood; and after we were sworn into the service we were coolly informed that the objects for which we enlisted should not be carried out, and thus the solemn pledges of 1861 were broken, and the war made one for the negro and not for the Union. We want these pledges kept. We have done our duty in this contest, as the blood shed during the past four years attests, and we now call on the powers that be, or if they are unwilling, upon the people who placed them in authority, to see that this contract is kept. Remember it was no holiday excursion we undertook, nor was it to meet an ordinary foe. We were to fight our own flesh and blood; men as brave by nature as we are; men whose fathers had fought with ours to achieve the Revolution, and who illustrated the valor of their race from the snows of Canada to the scorching plains of Mexico. It is due to ourselves to admit that the Southern people are brave and warlike; but let us not claim that little honor for subduing them with our superior numbers. They showed devotion worth

a better cause and it was only by superior numbers and indomitable perseverance we compelled their surrender.

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 on finding the high and noble cause for which I enlisted debased by being made a struggle for giving freedom to a few degraded negroes. Leading Republicans, it is true, urged the measure as a military necessity, as if twenty millions of white men could not subdue eight millions South without the aid of a few cowardly negroes. They also promised reinforcements of white troops. Gov. Yates spoke of the "flaming giants" of the West who would come to our rescue; Gov. Andrews said the streets and highways of the East would swarm with patriotic troops; while even Greeley promised his 900,000 more. Yet they never came save in the shape of some draftees stolen from the South, and a few newly foreigners imported from abroad.

The natural result of this ill-timed proclamation was to stop recruiting in the North, and from that time large bounties and heavy drafts had to be resorted to to fill our armies, while so long as the war was for the Union more volunteers were offered than the administration would accept.

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 that 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. The doctrine was openly proclaimed that the "last man and the last dollar" should be used in order to liberate the negroes. Fellow soldiers, can you affiliate with such men? You and I have lost beloved comrades, nay suffered ourselves; yet we must be insulted with assurances that these friends died, or we suffered, not for the Union, not in defense of the Constitution, but to make the negro our equal. That this war was unduly prolonged I can prove by the highest Republican testimony—Horace Greeley—who, in speaking of the Niagara Peace Conference said, "Had this wise and brave course been taken when Alex. H. Stephens first publicly solicited permission to visit Washington, I believe it would have saved a quarter of a million of lives, an awful amount of devastation and misery, and left our national debt a full billion less than it is today." The President, in refusing overtures of peace, also forgot that portion of his annual message of 1862, which says: "Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight all ways; and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you."

Another result of giving freedom to the negroes and placing them in our army was the death of thousands of our brethren in Southern prisons. Our government refused to carry out the cartel of exchange unless some negroes then held by the enemy were liberated. What was the consequence? In one year seventeen hundred Pennsylvania soldiers died at Andersonville prison. I know that General Butler now charges that Secretary Stanton ordered him to complicate the exchange in order that the rebel forces should not be strengthened. But what of that? Besides trying Captain Wirz, the keeper of the Andersonville prison, I would indict Ben. Butler and Ed. Stanton.

The war being over, the question occurs how shall we secure the objects for which we fought? In the first place, we should return to trial by jury. The time for court-martial and military commissions, I apprehend, is over, or at 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." Woe be to the civilian who comes before them. They are allowed no counsel, save at the discretion of the court in general are ignorant of 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 jury, but even military writers agree that civilians are not subject to military rule. 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. I would also have you emulate that illustrious Democrat, Andrew Jackson. Look at him at New Orleans, when he had achieved that memorable victory over a veteran English army. Millions were rejoicing, and he was the hero of the day. In this hour of triumph, he was arrested by a civil process for alleged violations of the municipal law. He appeared. A crowd of citizens and soldiers gathered around, and when Judge Hall announced that the General had broken the laws, a murmur of indignation passed through the crowd. The Judge hesitated to pronounce the sentence. "Fear not," said the General, "the same arm which repelled the enemy will protect the deliberations of this court." He paid his fine, and would not permit the citizens to reimburse him. Would that some of our shoulder-strapped gentry would show the same respect to the laws of the land.

We would also demand the restoration of the writ of *habeas corpus*, so that men can be no longer sent to bastilles 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 hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance."

"He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies without the consent of our Legislators."

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power."

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent; and for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury."

In addition to the above we could bring other equally strong charges against the party in power, and the principal one would be the suspension of the great writ of right, against law, in sovereign States in profound peace, and refusing to restore it when there is no war or appearance of one in the land.

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 in the Union, not as territories, but as 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 times come, 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 ad astra 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." In this reorganization 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 punishments; but 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 now insult our late foes, who would wreak vengeance on unarmed men, upon women and children. Shakespeare 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 blesses him that gives and him that takes;
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown;
His sceptre 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 scepter'd 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 clergy prate 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 are to be as un-officially, 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 General Lee and the men under him, the true soldier is opposed to it. In short, we want the Southern States and 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.

United States or of Pennsylvania; whether they were of age, or had paid tax within 2 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 out, and the men were shifted from one point to another. After we had closed the polls, a sergeant brought in a squad of about 50 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 we would adjourn until the next day; whereupon he put the ballots into his coat tail 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. The Democratic Ballots, save mine, 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 afternoon 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 approaching 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. A short time after I received another despatch 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 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 over to 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, "Hell 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 to the rear, ready to run at the first signal. And so it was at the North Anna, Totopotomoy 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, who held 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 bloody siege which 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 defeated, 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 our equals, if they are to be allowed the right of suffrage because they existed in the war, the same privilege should at least be 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; as a squad after squad of men were sacrificed, yet where were the Abolitionists who

advocated 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,
Sow the vile seed of rank pollution;
And with their reptile slime defile
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 teaching or teachers from abroad. Now that we have conquered our enemy they make proffers 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 discriminations as to color. But observe the outrages 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 nineteen. 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 1 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 one 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 83,000 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 wreak vengeance upon their former masters, incited to it by lanatics of the North; and the terrible scenes of San Domingo would be re-enacted in our own midst. Look at the negro 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 offices. 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 Buckalew, 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, 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:

CITY OF QUITO, Dec. 26, 1858.

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 sojourner in this quarter of the earth is instructed to do otherwise. I have had the opportunity to study the organization and the studied relations between different races in the same community. The Indians of the great Andean chain from Mexico southward, and whose centres of power were the cities of Mexico, Quito and Cuzco, were very different from the savages of the North. Their religion was better defined than that of the latter. They had great fields, extensive roads, cultivated fields, and drew their support from the earth rather than from fishing and the chase. One would suppose that here was a basis of 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 exhaustive war was necessary to the subjugation of the natives, and that the Christianity of the conquerors was readily and generally 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 results have belied all reasonable expectation. Power has rested itself on the stormy coast of the North Atlantic, in the valley of the Mississippi, and along the streams which flow from the Stony mountains to the Pacific, while Mexico approaches social dissolution, and so of it all governments are, unsteady, sluggish, population stationary, property insecure, speculation rampant and poverty general. There is no established literature, and there are no roads! Even the Inca highway, extending from Quito hundreds of leagues southward into upper Peru, in fact as well as name the *Cuzco Road*, the royal road—has become dilapidated and is supplanted by mud paths. And what cause or causes shall this result be attributed? It cannot be the Catholicism of religion which prevails, for France, 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, a thirty or forty years have elapsed since, and yet the republican institutions, we have them also. Nor can it be an inferiority of the Spanish race to the people of Spain has produced heroes and poets. Spain was once dominant in Europe, and more recently she broke the power of Napoleon when her own sovereign was treated even to her cause and her honor.

No one of these alleged causes I produced the result before us, and must look further for an adequate explanation. Some of them may have contributed to the result, but they do not cause it. In my opinion, the 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, he has, therefore, inflicted upon his conquests or colonies in the New World, the curses of hybridism. But he has not still more in fault. In all the new republics of the South his theory has been false as his practice has been vicious. He has proclaimed political and social equality among all stocks and mixtures of man beings in contempt of notorious facts and of past experience. This theory, a practice conformed to it, has 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 people can be energetic, virtuous and prosperous.

It is for us to take the instruction this example and profit by it; to reject the appeals of false philanthropy, and 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.,
New fellow citizens, let us try no 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 the descendants. Furthermore, let us insist that no preference hereafter be shown the negro. If he is as good as the white man let him take the same chances. He is it now? A Freedman's Bureau, erected especially for the care of negroes and homes, farms, schools and the like furnished them at our expense. No New England in her love for them send school teachers, money &c., while she sends the poor crippled soldier who happens to become a township charge to the lower bidder. Why do these men adopt the negroes as their brethren? They want their votes. Horace Greeley says emancipation will add 800,000 votes to the Republican party, and H. Winter Davis of Maryland, 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 at their principal papers openly proclaim it, unless we at once crush that party they will fasten it not only upon the South but upon us. Chief Justice Chase quotes Taftus, and prescribes equality to these freed men, while Covode, Sumner and the free lights make it an eternal text.

In view, then, fellow citizens, of the pernicious tendencies of the doctrines 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 we were before us. By our example in 1776 we revived liberty throughout the earth. ascended the Andes, awakened France and taught Italy and Greece the lessons of their better days. It inspired Kosciuszko, Lafayette, Emmet, Kossuth, an Bolivar. May their example not be 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 Jan 15, 1215, assembled at Runnymede an extorted *Magna Charta*, and compelled their King to give them the Tower & City of London as security, and as often as the liberties were invaded would they re-enact their great charter—had it read twice a year to the people, and culminated as communications against all such as disobeyed it. See 46 said, "Nulli vendemus

and drew their support from the earth rather than from fishing and the chase. One would suppose that here was a basis of 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 exhaustive war was necessary to the subjugation of the natives, and that the Christianity of the conquerors was readily and generally 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 results have belied all reasonable expectation. Power has rested itself on the stormy coast of the North Atlantic, in the valley of the Mississippi, and along the streams which flow from the Stony mountains to the Pacific, while Mexico approaches social dissolution, and so of it all governments are, unsteady, sluggish, population stationary, property insecure, speculation rampant and poverty general. There is no established literature, and there are no roads! Even the Inca highway, extending from Quito hundreds of leagues southward into upper Peru, in fact as well as name the *Cuzco Road*, the royal road—has become dilapidated and is supplanted by mud paths. And what cause or causes shall this result be attributed? It cannot be the Catholicism of religion which prevails, for France, 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, a thirty or forty years have elapsed since, and yet the republican institutions, we have them also. Nor can it be an inferiority of the Spanish race to the people of Spain has produced heroes and poets. Spain was once dominant in Europe, and more recently she broke the power of Napoleon when her own sovereign was treated even to her cause and her honor.

No one of these alleged causes I produced the result before us, and must look further for an adequate explanation. Some of them may have contributed to the result, but they do not cause it. In my opinion, the 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, he has, therefore, inflicted upon his conquests or colonies in the New World, the curses of hybridism. But he has not still more in fault. In all the new republics of the South his theory has been false as his practice has been vicious. He has proclaimed political and social equality among all stocks and mixtures of man beings in contempt of notorious facts and of past experience. This theory, a practice conformed to it, has 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 people can be energetic, virtuous and prosperous.

It is for us to take the instruction this example and profit by it; to reject the appeals of false philanthropy, and 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.

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