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SPEECH OF

HON. C. R. BUCKALEW. At the Court House, in Bloomsburg, on

Monday Evening, Nept. 7, 1868.

REPORTED BY D. F. MURPHY.

Fellow-Gitizens of Columbia County:-It is sometimes said in a pleasant or humorous manner that "this is a great country." It is certainly so in geographical extent. derful in extent, infinitely varied in scenery dence of the people, and enabled us to go and character is that country which we in habit and which we are proud to call our such a career of success and of honor as own. This country has been settled and is inhabited by various sorts of populations. Various races and stocks of mankind have us, to be sure, and yet constituting an intertutions confer upon the man of labor and of

toil.

If we pass from considering our territory, tain and the orange tree, while here in the into which our people were divided. North thousands of farms, basking beneath RADICAL ACCESSION TO POWE which are rich beneath, where have been stored up, through countless ages, that fuel which will warm and cheer the workshops of art and the homes of the poor. And our people have found other minerals in newer regions west-gold and silver, and copper, and lead; and they are bringing them out from the depths of the earth and casting them into the channels of commerce. They enter into the general mass of laborproductions for the advantage of our own country and of all other countries. Here along the Atlantic coast is a shipping interest engaged in commerce, formerly yery important in the aggregate of our national industries, now dwindled and shrunk into inf nitely small limits, partly on account of the recent war, which changed the direction and movements of commerce, and partly by improvident and unwise government.

NATURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT. to consider our country in all these respects, what is a natural conclusion to which you may come? Why, that government in the United States must be extremely complicated and difficult. It has been found in other countries and in former times, that when government extended its action very far from the point where it was located and administered it became either feeble or despotie; it was either insufficient to preserve order and promote the interests of the country over which it was placed, or it resorted to force, to all the arts of despotic government to maintain itself and to accomplish those purposes of order for which in great part governments are instituted among men. Complication and difficulty were, therefore, by many supposed to be a necessity of our political existence and of our political action. It was so said in the outset when our experiment was begun; it has been repeated often since; and it is now the creed and belief of a great party in this country which holds the major mass of po-litical power amongst us and is new struggling and exerting itself to the utmost for the purpose of retaining and extending

Gentlemen, I think it fortunate, not for us merely but for mankind, that the men who established our political institutions and gave them to us, did not hold to this opin-They believed that in America there could be established and maintained a free government which would unite the two principles of simplicity and force. They did not believe that it was necessary to make an intricate, involved, and complicated frame of government for the management of our national affairs; and they believed that, although they should confer upon the common or l'ederal head of our political system, to wit, the government of the United States, only limited and restricted powers confined to

would spend the last drop of his blood if necessary in order to give it a fair trial. It was in the spirit of that declaration that he accepted the office of President after the Constitution was formed, and entered upon the performance of its duties. And he kept firm to his purpose afterwards.— He endeavored during his administration to maintain the Constitution and its principles. could, equally balanced between parties. He endeavored to give to the people the example of an honest, faithful, constitutional administration of regulilican institutions; and he succeeded. It was to a great extent Our territory abuts upon the two main oceans of the globe. Its northern border passes now into a region of extreme cold, the succeeded. It was to a great extent the distinguished virtue of his character and the succeess of his civil administration that while its southern parts are washed by the gave to our government a fair start, that warm waters of the Mexican Gulf. Won-attached to it the affections and the confi-This country has been settled and is never before had blessed the fortunes of any

people upon the earth.
What then, gentlemen, is the material contributed to that mass of humanity which and vital doctrine which we are to have in now constitutes the American people. Here view always in considering our system of is the native Indian, imperfectly united with government and its administration? It is esting part of what in a general sense may be described as the people of the United States. Here is the negro, brought by the hand of violence and force from his native deserts and his native wilds in Africa, and powers which that Constitution does not constitution and according to the provisions of the Constitutions which were to be submitted to a popular vote; that all the officers of election should be appointed by them, and after Constitutions were adopted they were to transmit placed as a laborer in the Southern States of our Union. Here amongst us are emigrants the affairs of the people of the United from every nation of Europe, and most States in any respects except in those few from every nation of Europe, and nose of us are the descendants of former where a clear charter, a complete warrant emigrants from those nations; and already has been conferred upon it. In this spirit our government was generally administered our government was generally administered that the of March, 1789, when it was the Asiatic countries, from China and from from the 4th of March, 1789, when it was Japan, who come there seeking employment, seeking profit, seeking to enjoy, to some extent, those advantages which all over the world it is understood that American instiserved, the courts and their judgments were respected, the States within their jurisdictions were not molested, were not infringed upon by the Federal government. The con-If we pass from considering our territory, its extent, our population, its various sorts and the diversities which characterize it, to consider the productions of our country and its material interests, our minds are again excited and expanded in the contemplation of what we see. Here is the cotton plant in the South, the cultivation of which affords clothing to millions in all earts of the south, the great mass of the solution of things in our land. It within its clear powers, was both rightful fords clothing to millions in all earts of the solution of the United States who thought that and expedient and that the great mass of fords clothing to millions in all parts of the and expedient and that the great mass of earth. There, too, can be grown the sugar governmental action in this country might cane, side by side with the beautiful planpovernmental action in this country might be left to the local communities, or States,

to be thought a necessity of human exis-tence. Again, we see in Pennsylvania great titeal parties upon the ground that the govparatively sterile upon the surface, but to do with that institution; that action upon any power in regard to it. Public opinion divided upon that question; one party was for action upon slavery in various ways by the Federal government and the other resisted all interference therewith. contest which followed the Democracy of the North were certainly not in favor of slavery any more than they are now; they had no interest to subserve in continuing it; the opinions of most of them were opposed no representation whatever. That is Radito it and they would have rejected it whenever proposed as a domestic institution in their own States. But they stood upon the constitutional doctrine, without which this Perhaps we should do something more than should exercise all political powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the government of the United States. there when the currents of popular passion Now, then, gentlemen, when you come ran against them; when human sympathy of the Union as in another; Congress can make one nowhere. Now observe, they propulpit, and the rostrum, and the press there was a deluge, as it were, of feeling and passion created against the institution of slavery; first against its expansion into the Territories, afterward against its being permitted to exist in the District of Columbia or places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, and eventually against the United States. If there is anything of its existence anywhere. The Democracy of the northern States went into a minority on when made, it is the rule of suffrage. That the northern States went into a minority that question. In order to stand by their is at the foundation of everything in making principles they accepted defeat. Looking back now to those events, who among them that understands the nature of this govern-ment of ours and desires to hand it down to those who come after us, a good system as it came to us, can regret his position at that time? We stand now as we have ever stood, upon the ground that the general govern ment can exercise no power which has not been clearly conferred upon it, and that the negroes should be permitted to vote at those States or the people of the States shall two elections connected with organization possess all which have not been so conbut it was further provided that the consti

CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT TROUBLES. the evils which afflict us at this time in this constitution contained such a provision i ountry arise from departures from this prinpiple, and all the dangers which confront us in the future do so confront us because a party in this country does not adhere to this principle and will not apply it in the admin-stration of the government. Take up any of their measures of policy, -the Freedmen's Bureau, the reconstruction laws for the South-go through the whole body of made by Congress because the acts of Con them and you will find that each one of gress decreed who should vote or be con them is a departure, or the consequence of cerned in making them and also provided a departure from the grants of power in the Constitution of the United States. gave to Congress the right to take the moneys of the people paid into the public treasury and distribute them as charity through a few classes of political questions, never-theless this country as it then stood and as Where is the power granted? Nobody ever

governed, order could be preserved, liberty could be secured, the interests of the people thoroughly and entirely maintained. They believed that the experiments in other times, in former ages of free government had failed, not because mankind were incapable considered, Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts failed not because mankind were incapable of self government, nor because they over wilfully overthrow good political institutions, but because they had not had fair play and a fair opportunity to exhibit their virtue, intelligence, and sagacity in those former experiments. Our fathers were determined that a great experiment of free government should be undertaken in this country and that it should have a fair opportunity of success.

considered, Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts proposed as an amendment to the bill creating it that it should continue a year or two after peace. A debate took place and it was then insisted by me that the Bureau could not exist beyond the war upon any pretence even of power. The Senate rejected the amendment. At a subsequent session the bill was passed in a form which authorized the continuance of the Bureau for a year from the close of the war. success.

Gen. Washington himself who presided over the Convention that formed the Control the Bureau was extended by subsequent leto be success.

Gen. Washington himself who presided the Convention that formed the Control stitution of the United States expressed at the department of the United States expressed great doubts—and he honestly held them great doubts—and he honestly held them more than three years after peace came, and unquestionably,—whether the new government which it was proposed to establish in ence and in full action.

THE RECONSTRUCTION LAWS. Now, take the Reconstruction laws as they March 23 and of July 19 of that year, and of March 11, 1868. What are those laws? They provide in the first place that in the States of the South there shall be military government, pure and simple. Five majorgenerals were placed in command in ten States and those States were divided into military districts. They had conferred on them the power to administer civil and criminal justice at their pleasure throughout those States without limitation except that they could not take life without the consent of the President of the United States, and it required two struggles in Congress to get that exception—it only came at the end of prolonged debate at a night session. The whole population of those States were, about two years after peace had been secured, placed under the command of major generals who had power to try by military com-missions or courts martial anybody for anything, to sentence at their pleasure, and to execute those sentences with the single exception I have mentioned.

What next? Provision was made that people upon the earth.

What then, gentlemen, is the material and vital doctrine which we are to have in view always in considering our system of government and its administration? It is that the government of the United States must be administered and conducted within State Conventions to form. Considering that the government of the United States must be administered and conducted within be appointed by them, and after Constitu-tions were adopted they were to transmit them to Congress. In voting to select members of State Conventions and in voting upon the adoption of State Constitupermitted to vote, not one of whom had ever been allowed to vote by any Constitution before. By act of Congress it was proor congress it was provided that they might all vote at these two elections. Where did Congress get the power to do that? Who made the Constitution of Pennsylvania? In 1776, during the Revolution, a Convention chosen by the people of Pennsylvania met which was presided over by Benjamin Franklin and made a Constitution for our State. Again, in cople formed a constitution and after they formed it announced it by proclamation in of the people. the streets of Philadelphia. That constitutions of the people. tion is in force yet and we are living under In 1838 a convention met that proposed certain amendments to it which being submitted to the people and accepted by them became a part of the constitution of the State. Since that time, on several occasions,

stantially, they were made by Congress, and in that Congress not one representative (in those States. So that, in the first place. they were not made by the people who were to be bound by them; and in the next place they were made by representative bodies in which the people to be bound by them had cal reconstruction in this Union in 1867 and Well, we should think that rather 1868! stern practice to be applied in Pennsylvania. government cannot last, that the States grumble if it were atempted here. But the ocation of such an act by Congress does not change its character. It is just as wrong for Congress to pass outside of its just anthority and make a constitution in one State vided that the whole mass of adult negro men should vote in choosing delegates to conventions and should vote on the question of adopting the constitutions made by such conventions, and the whole proceeding was to be superintended and, to a great extent, controlled by major-generals of the army of If there is anything of free political institutions. Who shall vote is the first and important thing to be deter Who shall vote The political commined and regulated. The political com-munity determines that for itself; and from time to time that rule of suffrage may be changed by the people, as has been done often in our State and in other States.

But there was something further in this legislation. Not only did it provide that the tutions to be formed should confer such right of suffrage upon them; or, what amounted Now, gentlemen, I venture to say that all to the same thing, it was provided that if a would be accepted, or deemed acceptable by Congress and the State adopting it be re stored to its political rights of representation in Congress and participation in Presiden-tial elections. All these constitutions were made under laws containing such provisions I repeat, then, that substantially and in point of fact those Southern constitutions were in effect what should be leading provisions in those constitutions when made.

Now, we say that this scheme of recon struction dictated and enforced by Congress is not valid; that it ought not to bind the people of the United States, and that the theless this country as it then stood and as the power granted? Nobody ever party which established it, which upholds it would stand in future time, could be well pretended that there was any such authority it, which proposes to maintain it in future,

should stand condemned; that the unauthorized power of the government of the United States should be withdrawn from those political communities and they be permitted to form or amend their own institutions precisely as we in Pennsylvania are authorized to form or any of the pennsylvania are authorized to form or any of the carpet bag Senators and they were chosen to their offices at all, or they were chosen to the pockets of the carpet-bag Senators and the pockets of the carpe Pennsylvania are authorized to form or and the consequence was that the govern-amend ours. We say further that this system in appropriations became enormous, and tem of unrestricted negro suffrage is evil the debt was swollen in magnitude. I shall and must lead to bad and deplorable conserved discuss the propriety of that policy, quences in the future. Why, is it not manifest to any man of intelligence who has considered this subject that unlimited colored suffrage in the South means corrupt elections hereafter. That this large mass of voters will be influenced by a parent to their voters will be influenced by appeals to their passions, uninstructed and uncultivated as they are, nobody can question. But they will be more largely and fatally subject to the influence of money, to the distribution of the good things of this life by which their votes will be affected, and this will extend through the whole mass of the communities to the currency, causing an increase of prices. When peace came, with the currency greatly expanded, we ought to have applied the larger part of the revenue upon the debt and sponged it off rapidly, because, as we come back toward specie payments, as we reduce the prices of articles in the currency, causing an increase of prices. When peace came, with the currency greatly expanded, we ought to have applied the come back toward specie payments, as we come back toward specie payments, as we the prices of articles in the currency, causing an increase of prices. through the whole mass of the communities which compose those States. We know that the great evil we have to guard against here, North, and in fact the evil to be most guarded against in all free countries, is the corruption of the electoral body. So long as the great mass of the electoral population remains sound and pure you can maintain free government. When influences come into existence that taint and corrupt it essentially, the government must change its form. When the people become too base for free institutions, they will depart from them; some new form of government better suited to their natures and to their condition will take the place of the old. This is the history of the world from the beginning. We look upon the establishment of this system of unlimited negro suffrage in the South as a judgment of degradation upon our politi-cal institutions and when we behold this consequence following upon usurpation we ee clearly how necessary it is to maintain the old doctrine upon which our govern-ment was founded, and down until recent times administered, that Congress shall exert no power which has not been clearly conferred upon it by the fundamental law.

THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY.

Now, gentlemen, what do those who speak for the Opposition party (because we may now describe ourselves as such) teach and proclaim in this contest? They teach and and vital matters for consideration by the people: first, that this system of reconstruction must be abandoned at least so far as the federal government is concerned, and next, that the expenses of the federal government and its imposition of burdens upon the people must be thoroughly reformed. What makes expense? Departures from the Constitution. What makes burdens upon the people? An expanded system of federal government. So that to whichever of these questions—reconstruction or public expensions—reconstruction or public expensions—reconstruction. liture-you turn your attention, you find that it establishes or vindicates the proposition with which I began, that this govern ment of ours must be administered as a re stricted and limited government, leaving the

GOVERNMENT EXPENSES AND REVENUE,

Now take this matter of expense. I have already spoken of reconstruction.

Over fifteen hundred millions of dollars were collected from the people of the United States in thirty-six months, beginning Juty 1. 1865, and ending June 30, 1868, reducing North thousands of farms, basking beneath the summer's sun, are rich and golden with the ripening grain, which contributes, whenever the necessity exists, to the support of the man of hunger and the man of labor in foreign lands, and to supply in abundance in all parts of our own country that

BADICAL ACCESSION TO FOWER.

In 1861, however, a party came into power, the avowed purpose of which was to use the constitution, it has been submitted to the people of the State and voted upon by them. And so it has been everywhere in institutions of some of the States, for the institutions of some of the States, for the country. If there is a principle certain and established in America, and certain and established in America, and certain and challenges are consistent time, on several occasions, the Legislature at two successives sessions the gold duties on imports to the greenback standard. Between fifteen and sixteen the constitution, it has been submitted to the people of the State and voted upon by them. And so it has been everywhere in institutions of some of the States, for the institutions of some of the States, for the purpose of the State and voted upon by them. And so it has been everywhere in and established in America, and certain and constitution and established in America, and certain and constitution in the public of the people of the United States by their government in those three years. How much of that has been paid on the public of the people of the United States by their government in those three years. How much of that has been paid on the public of the people of the United States by their government in those three years. abundance in all parts of our own country that cheap and natritious bread which has come the southern States of the Union. That established as a republican principle in the Most of it has been expended by government. organization of free government, it is, that ment upon current objects. I have an idea the people who are to be bound by a cont that six hundred millions of that mass of tical parties upon the ground that the government of the United States had nothing to do with that institution; that action upon it pertained to the States exclusively; that the general government ought not to assume the general government ought not to assume the people who are to be bound by a course, money should have been paid upon the principal of the public debt. In my judgment that would have left us plenty of money to pay the interest on the debt, which must be met, and pay liberally for pensions and bounties and all other legitimate and proper objects of government outlay. 10,000 or 15,000 would be adequate. Your navy has cost thirty or forty millions a year, which should have been eight or ten lions at the utmost. The Freedmen's Bureau has cost an amount that nobody can compute, because the facts cannot be fully In 1866 Congress appropriated over six millions to that Bureau specifically, and in the next year nearly four millions; but a part of the outlays by that Bureau do not appear in appropriations devoted to it expressly; they are covered up in army appropriations, because army supplies have been turned over largely to it. A large number of the officers of the Bureau have been army officers, and it was a measure of conomy to employ them; but if there had been no such Bureau in existence, all those officers and the men connected with them might have been discharged and returned to the pursuits of private life. Congress, which formerly authorized an expenditure of \$20,000 a year for publishing the laws, ast year spent three times that amount for that purpose. This is a sample item, re-ported to us by the Department of State. congress increased its own compensation over \$600,000 in the item of salaries. Bu ducing the compensation to \$4,000 a year, which would be sufficient, there would be a saving now of \$317.000 per annum—more than a quarter of a million! The contingencies and incidentals of the two Houses of ongress are enormous and scandalous: half a million could easily be struck off without impairing the energy of the government in either one of these Houses.

But I cannot go over the various items apon which there has been undue outlay and upon which there might be retrench The general result we have before us and undisputed—fifteen hundred million of dollars collected in thirty-six months, ten and a half millions a week, a million and half a day; and nearly the whole of it ex pended upon other objects beside the public debt. Nobody has ever pretended that more than two hundred and fifty million out of this fifteen or sixteen hundred mil ions has been paid upon the debt, and a recent estimate puts it at one hundred and thirty-four millions, excluding money on hand upon the first day of July last, which Congress had appropriated away. But we need not stop to fix the exact amount; we know it to be a small amount when com pared with the amount of the public debt or with the amount of revenue collected. Now, what ought to have been done after the war ended? You understand that our

whether it was wise or not; we are at present only concerned with the fact. The amount of the debt was, in fact, doubled because of the policy we adopted in regard to the currency, causing an increase of prices. When peace came, with the currency greatly upon us. When we return to specie payments, to hard money, to the currency of the Constitution, and then come to pay our debt, in point of fact we shall pay it twice over: I do not exaggerate in that state-ment. With restricted means, at a con-tracted standard, we shall pay a debt which we cannot always keep the currency inflated and prices up; in the long run they are ruinous and wasting to the community. We must get back, and within a reasonable period of time, to a sound currency, to comparatively moderate prices. It now looks very much as if we should get to that point (provided we do accomplish it), with our debt undiminished, with the whole mass of it upon our hands. We shall have, in other words, a debt of \$2.690,000,000 upon us. contracted in a time of expansion, and to be paid in time of contraction. We desire to avoid that result; but we cannot avoid it if we pour out money upon a useless army, if we pay heavily to cultivate the political afsee pay nearly to curvate the pointeal ar-fections of the negro population of the South, if we pay shameful sums for Con-gressional and other official expenses. We cannot avoid it if we support a party in power which uses the government for its selfish purposes; a party which is indifferent to the expenditures of the public money, and which "outside of the Constitution"

FINANCIAL REFORMS. Now, what can the party who have nominated Seymour and Blair do if they come into power, with reference to the finances and the monetary affairs of the government? They can reduce our army of 56,000 men down to ten or fifteen thousand and the expense of it from \$100,000,000 to 20 or 25 millions. They can reduce the expenses of the navy from 30 millions of dollars to 8 or 10 millions. They can abolish the Freedmen's Bureau, with its profligate and scandalous expenditures. They can reduce Congressional compensation by \$300,000 and then leave members of Congress adequately companyated at \$4.000 persons. great mass of political powers to be exercised in the States, in the localities where their exercise is required, and that upon this doctrine alone can our government be maintained and be made to subserve the interests of the people. a moment. They can cut off the contingent expenditures of Congress itself and at least one half of all the officers employed by the two Houses. Nay, I think in those times of peace and justice which will be inaugur-ated, we shall hardly need even a Capitol police. (Laughter and applause.) Of course I can mention only particular reforms most easily stated and understood, without attempting to present the whole question between parties as to economy and fidelity in financial administration.

PAY OF CARPET-BAGGERS. I alluded a moment since to the pay of the Southern members of Congress; and and I have not touched more than the verge as that illustrates reconstruction by its fruits, of the subject - is it possible that this mon Congress and the people everywhere under-I will say a few words upon it. Two or strous iniquity of reconstruction now going three nights before the adjournment, at the on for a year and a half, as it appears in the struction, the actual meaning of his lanlast session, a resolution was offered in the enactments of Congress, upon the face of guage. What then have you? You have Senate that the members of the Senate the Southern constitutions, in the legislation from the reconstructed States who had of the new-made legislatures of those States, the Radical leaders in the two Houses of been admitted should receive compensation and in the political proceedings at their from the commencement of the 40th Congress, the 4th of March, 1867. An amendit has cost you one hundred millions of dollars a year to keep up your army in time of peace. Fifty-six thousand men are arrayed under the flag of the United States, when the state of the peace is the state of the peace of the peace of the state of the peace of the state of the peace of the the amendment, some of the members from those States themselves voting against it. At that point of time a question of order was raised by me under parliamentary law, that members who were directly interested in a question could not vote upon it; that these men who were to receive this compensation under a special vote were in the category of men who had claims upon the government; and, consequently, being interested, they could not vote. A delate of two or three hours took place upon the question of order, by which time the original propo-sition, as I shall presently explain it, became somewhat alarming to some gentlemen who were about to come home to northern constituencies to give an account of their conduct and to meet the discussion of Congressional proceedings in home debate; and thereupon it was managed that absent members were brought in and by a close vote the amendment was carried and the original proposition lost for the time; it stands deferred until next winter when, if the people give the party in power a renewed lease of power, approve their conduct, declare them all honorable and fit men to govern this country, I have no doubt this money will be voted, the emergency of the election having been passed. What does it amount to? The salary of a member of Congress amounts to \$400 per month, tax off. sixteen months, from March 4, 1867, to July 4, 1868, it would be \$6,400 to each member. The reconstructed States are to be entitled to 50 members of the House and 20 Senators, making 70; so that you perceive nearly \$450,000 of compensation was involved, assuming that this mode of payment would be applied to all the mem-These men were all elected in the summer of the present year, about the months of June and July. On the 22nd and 25th days of June laws were passed admitting Arkan-sas, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana to representation in Congress. In other words, on June 22nd and 25th, 1868, for the first time this Radical Congress declared those State entitled to be represented at all and the Senators were all chosen either a short time before or immediately after that date. that they proposed, and some of them by

their own votes, to be paid for sixteen

months before they were elected to their

offices, for sixteen months before the ma-

jority in Congress even had recognized their

States as entitled to representation. In other words, nearly half a million of dollars

FRUITS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

I might go on and take up these Reconstruction laws, explaining one feature after another, and then point out the fruits which they have produced. This corrupt action of men voting money out of the public they have produced. This corrupt action of men voting money out of the public treasury into their own pockets for work in the election of 1868! They do not touch they never did, for imaginary services for our candidate or cause, and can only dis months before they were chosen, or there was any pretense that their States could send them, is only a sample of what Reconstruc-tion brings forth. It does not stand alone. tion orings forth. It does not stand alone. Look at the Legislature of Florida, which has just passed a law that it will itself choose Presidential electors, because it will not trust the people of the State to choose them. They have passed such a law and adjourned to meet in November to choose electors. Nobels supposed when a name of the opposite party have named for the Presidency the general chief in command of the armics of the United States. He was presented, not because he had been identified with them in their past history or their past struggles; not because he was known to hold opinions with them upon any one question whatever. electors. Nobody supposed when a member of either branch of that Legislature was selected that he would have anything to do with the Presidential election. The Legislature were chosen with no reference to the selected and enormities. with the Presidential election. The Logis-lature were chosen with no reference to that subject; and yet they pass a law to take the choice of Presidential electors from the peo-ple and to wield that power themselves! own inisuces and enormities, as they sub-posed. By running him they expected to escape from a debate upon reconstruction and upon the use they had made of the people's money, and to get us back again choice of Presidential electors from the peo-ple and to wield that power themselves! Look at Alabama. In that State also a bill of a similar character was passed—that the Legislature itself should choose Presidential electors. It was sent to the Gov-

ernor. There was some prudent fear of the effects of it North, and the Governor, upon some judicious suggestion, sent back a veto.
What was done in the two Houses? Did the Legislature act upon his veto and sus-tain it or disapprove it? No; they laid it over and postponed it till the day before the Presidential election. What then? If the State is likely to go against them on the popular vote, they can then pass that law; they have the votes to pass it over the veto, (which may or may not be a bona fide veto) and if that is done, they will choose electors and not allow the people any voice in their selection. This is one of the fruits of Reconstruction in Alabama!

What else? In most of these Southern constantly engaged in prosecuting its measures for the procurement and retention of no man shall be permitted to vote who does public power. lie officer that he accepts the political equality of the negroes with himself, and will maintain it in future. Think of that! There is a majority in this State opposed to colored voting; we have it in our constitu-tion; we do not allow that class of persons to vote. There has been difference of opin-ion among our people on this subject, but a majority has been opposed to negro suffrage their former condition of non-voting. This is a fruit of reconstruction under Congressional legislation. This is the eath made by carpet-bagger and negro in State conventions, and adopted by negro votes, and fast-ened down upon the people by Congression-al law. For what purpose? In order to re-tain political control of those States, to push away honest and decent men from the elections, even men from the North. It has tions, even men from the North. It has nothing to do with loyalty; it is an eath test of opinion, most infamous and wicked. It chosen to the Presidential office, he will concected for purposes of rascality and applied generally in the South to prevent honest and fair elections.

Oh! is it possible that all this iniquityelections, can pass in review before the

tion, of 1868. our people everywhere. They are underearty to come along with the old war cries. and ride them forward in the direction they may choose. It cannot be. Men may have misbehaved themselves in the war, for which they received a just measure of approbrium, but what has that to do now with this question of reconstruction or this other question of taxation, of revenue and its disbursement? The people will judge the actual issues of this campaign, and put aside all matters which are irrelevant or untimely.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR. Gentlemen, at the New York Convention an eminent man was named by our party for the office of President, who had been lovernor of the greatest of our States. He has undergone examination as a candidate since he was named, and no man could undergo such examination better. He has a political and a personal record which defies criticism and debate. Remember, he was Chief Magistrate of the greatest of our States during a part of the war; and for years no man in this country contributed more than he to the success of our armies in raising troops, in organizing them, in sending them forward to the war, and in following them afterward with considerate and earnest care and assistance. When our own State was invaded by the enemy in 1863, being destitute of troops of our own, Gov erner Seymour sent over troops to our aid. They were sent promptly and without grudging. They did their work. Our State was to a great extent protected by them.

A riot broke out in New York city. He eft the quiet of his residence at Albany and went down to New York, called over some State forces newly organized from Staten Island, and used them to put down the riot. He went among the rioters themselves, and ddressing them in kind language, (for which he has since been foully abused, and very unjustly), reasoning with them, allayed their passions, and thus assisted to restore peace and order in that city. No Federal troops were used at all; the government was saved from expense or trouble about the riot by Governor Seymour's discreet and energetic action. I saw him myself, at that time, at the Astor House, in consultation,

in the Union who assisted this government in the late war, he did. His position gave him the opportunity of aiding the govern-ment, and he did his duty thoroughly, and to us in this State he gave needed and timely grace those who utter or applaud them. GEN. GRANT.

The opposite party have named for the into war debates, and by shouting "rebel," "rebel," and other cries, having no present significance or application to the cam-paign of 1868, obtain a false judgment from the American people and be enabled to control our government for the four years to come, as the have for the four years past.

GRANT'S COURSE AS TO EXCHANGES. I have little to say about Gen. Grant's

military record. It is not the most illustrious and brilliant in the world or in all history. I cannot approve of his course with reference to the exchange of prisoners of war. I think it was improper, ill-advised; I might almost say, inhuman. At one time it was supposed that Mr. Stanton was responsible for exchanges not being made. But his friends came forward with overwhelming proof that he was not responsi ble; the responsibility was to a great extent pushed away from him; it was shown that control over that subject had been turned over from the Secretary of War and dele-gated exclusively to the Lieutenant General. General Butler was the agent of exchange at the time; and in speeches and publica-tions he has produced official evidence, be tions he has produced official evidence, be-sides his own statements, by which it ap-pears clearly that he was not responsible for interrupting the exchanges. That respon-sibility rests upon the man who controlled at that time the exchanges and the general management of the war; and he took the ground that by not exchanging, by holding Southern men in our prisons while the Canmajority has been opposed to negro suffrage and is opposed to it now. Not one of you holding your opinions could go into these reconstructed States and settle there and would have to swear away your manhood, your judgment upon this subject, not for the time being only but for the future. You must swear substantially that you will not yote to alter the constitution of the State or in any any other way remit back these Congress-made voters or any of them to their former condition of non-voting. This ment of history. I say, then, that upon the military record presented, here is a great imperfection, a great blot; and I do not think that the candidate who has that record has any large or extraordinary claims upon the soldier population of the United

GRANT'S "NO POLICY." But the great objection to him is that he

powers without any policy whatever of his own. What then? He will accept the policy of Congress. That is the way every-body understands it, the way members of Congress. They are to run the government American people and not be rebuked? If to control its policy throughout. The elecaccording to their pleasure in the future and them if they were to be judged by the election the government are to be exercised by the on, of 1868.

But this will not be the result. This sub-hibited that policy before you. Therefore ject and the financial question have gone to it is that we are always, during this cauvass, called upon to discuss Congressional mali going debate; they are being comprehended and we are not called upon particularly to and understood; and it is idle now for the discuss candidates. Perhaps never before speakers and writers of the Republican in the history of this country, where a Presidential election has been contested, has attempt to get astride the passions of men there been so little said about the candidates on either side, except by some little people who do Radical talking, and who, not understanding public questions, will go back and recite the history of the war, and endeavor to make out General Grant to be what nature never intended, and what Providence never vouchsafed, a great General.

[Laughter.]
It is a good thing, a very proper thing, that the people should discuss measures of government, rather than individuals, in an election canvass. It is a good thing, and a proper thing, that in this campaign we should discuss the policy of Congress, which has ruled the country for years, and vote with reference to it, and that we should not have much debate about candidates. I have no doubt that both the Presidential candidates are honorable men. That is the general judgment of the country. Our candidate is well qualified for the office, and the other is not, and we regard that as an important consideration. But if we are to consider a Presidential election with reference to the merits or claims of candidates, there is another consideration to be taken

into account. GRANT'S RANK AND PAY.

In the middle of the war Congress voted the rank of Lieutenant General to General Grant and called him East. He had chieved success at Chattanooga, mainly by the coming to his aid of General Sherman who struck the enemy at Missionary Ridge. and in fact extricated General Grant from a position of great danger. He was made Lieutenant General and given control over the operations of our armies. Why? Not because there was any wonderful opinion in Congress with reference to his capacity for conducting the war, but because it had be come an absolute necessity that the management of the war should be taken out of e hands of Mr. Stanton and Gen. Hal leck. They had been mismanaging it for years, protracting it, wasting our resources

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