



Bloomsburg Democrat.

PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY IN BLOOMSBURG, PA., BY WILLIAMSON H. JACOBY.

TERMS: \$2.00 in advance. If not paid within six months, \$3.00. Single copies, 10 cents. Non-prosecuted until all arrearages are paid except at the option of the editor.

Table with 4 columns: Rates of Advertising, Single copies, and other rates.

Speech of Hon. C. R. Buckalew, at the Court House, in Bloomsburg, on Monday Evening, Sept. 7, 1868.

SPEECH OF HON. C. R. BUCKALEW.

At the Court House, in Bloomsburg, on Monday Evening, Sept. 7, 1868.

[REPORTED BY D. P. MURPHY.]

Fellow Citizens of Columbia County:— It is sometimes said in a pleasant or humorous manner that "this is a great country."

Our territory abuts upon the two main oceans of the globe. Its northern border passes now into a region of extreme cold, while its southern parts are washed by the warm waters of the Mexican Gulf.

It is certainly so in geographical extent.—Our territory abuts upon the two main oceans of the globe. Its northern border passes now into a region of extreme cold, while its southern parts are washed by the warm waters of the Mexican Gulf.

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 and according to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Now, then, gentlemen, when you come 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.

Gentlemen, I think it fortunate, not for us merely, but for mankind, that the men who established our political institutions and gave them their form, had in America there could be established and maintained a free government which would unite the two principles of simplicity and force.

Gentlemen, I think it fortunate, not for us merely, but for mankind, that the men who established our political institutions and gave them their form, had in America there could be established and maintained a free government which would unite the two principles of simplicity and force.

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 of self government, nor because they ever willfully overthrew 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.

Gen. Washington himself who presided over the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States expressed great doubts—and he honestly held them unquestionably,—whether the new government which it was proposed to establish in this country could stand, whether it would work and accomplish the purposes for which it was designed.

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 and according to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Now, then, gentlemen, when you come 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.

Gentlemen, I think it fortunate, not for us merely, but for mankind, that the men who established our political institutions and gave them their form, had in America there could be established and maintained a free government which would unite the two principles of simplicity and force.

Gentlemen, I think it fortunate, not for us merely, but for mankind, that the men who established our political institutions and gave them their form, had in America there could be established and maintained a free government which would unite the two principles of simplicity and force.

Gentlemen, I think it fortunate, not for us merely, but for mankind, that the men who established our political institutions and gave them their form, had in America there could be established and maintained a free government which would unite the two principles of simplicity and force.

except as an emanation of the war power. The war ended in April 1865, and yet this instrumentality of Radical government is now spending our money at the rate of millions a year. Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts was first considered. The Bureau 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.

Now, take the Reconstruction laws as they are called—the act of March 2, 1867, of 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 major generals 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 to 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—only once at the end of prolonged debate at a night session.

What next? Provision was made that the people in those States might possibly have civil governments with full powers at some time. So it was enacted that the general should appoint men to register the voters, and appoint a time for holding elections when men should be chosen to State Conventions to form 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 them to Congress. In voting to select members of State Conventions and in voting upon the adoption of State Constitutions, all the adult male negroes were to be permitted to vote, not one of whom had ever been allowed to vote by any Constitution before.

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 July 1, 1865, and ending June 30, 1868, reducing the gold duties on imports to the greenback standard. Between fifteen and sixteen hundred millions of dollars were collected of the people of the United States by their government in those three years.

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 July 1, 1865, and ending June 30, 1868, reducing the gold duties on imports to the greenback standard.

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 July 1, 1865, and ending June 30, 1868, reducing the gold duties on imports to the greenback standard.

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 July 1, 1865, and ending June 30, 1868, reducing the gold duties on imports to the greenback standard.

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 July 1, 1865, and ending June 30, 1868, reducing the gold duties on imports to the greenback standard.

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 amend ours. We say further that this system of unrestricted negro suffrage is evil and must lead to bad and deplorable consequences in the future.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

debt was made twice as much as it otherwise would have been by the issue of paper money largely during the war. The government itself issued paper money; it incorporated banks to issue paper money; the currency was largely increased. Prices rose; and the consequences were enormous, and the debt was swollen in magnitude.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

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 they proclaim two things as the material 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.

was to be voted at once or eventually into the pockets of the carpet-bag Senators and Representatives for a period of time before they were chosen to their offices at all, or their reconstructed States entitled to representation in the two Houses!

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 treasury into their own pockets for work they never did, for imaginary services for months before they were chosen, or there was any pretense that their States could send them, is only a sample of what Reconstruction brings 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. 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 that subject; and yet they pass a law to take the choice of Presidential electors from the people 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 Governor. 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 sustain 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, and if it 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!

TEST OATHS. What else? In most of these Southern constitutions they have put a provision that no man shall be permitted to vote who does not swear solemnly beforehand before a public 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 constitution; we do not allow that class of persons to vote. There has been difference of opinion among our people on this subject, but a majority 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 vote honestly under their constitutions. You 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 vote to alter the constitution of the State or in any other way remit back these Congress-made voters or any of them to their former condition of non-voting. This is a fruit of reconstruction under Congress's despotic legislation. This is the oath made by carpet-bagger and negro in State conventions, and adopted by negro votes, and fastened down upon the people by Congressional law. For what purpose? In order to retain political control of those States, to push away honest and decent men from the elections, even men from the North. It has nothing to do with loyalty; it is an oath of opinion, most infamous and wicked, conceived for purposes of rascality and applied generally in the South to prevent honest and fair elections.

Oh! it is possible that all this iniquity—and I have not touched more than the verge of the subject—is it possible that this monstrous iniquity of reconstruction now going on for year and a half, as it appears in the enactments of Congress, upon the face of the Southern constitutions, in the legislation of the new-made legislatures of those States, and in the political proceedings at their elections, can pass in review before the American people and not be rebuked? If so, I will not say that I shall despair altogether of republican institutions, but I will say that I should utterly despair of them if they were to be judged by the election, of 1868.

But this will not be the result. This subject and the financial question have gone to our people everywhere. They are understanding; they are being comprehended and understood; and it is idle now for the speakers and writers of the Republican party to come along with the old war cries, attempt to get across the question of reconstruction, and to go 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 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.

GENTLEMEN, at the New York Convention an eminent man was named by our party for the office of President, who had been Governor 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 army, 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, Governor 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 left 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 addressing them in kind language, (for which he has since been foolishly abused, and very unjustly), reasoning with them, allayed their passions, and thus assisted our Federal peace and order in that city. No Federal troops were sent 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 middle of the war Congress voted the rank of Lieutenant General to General Grant and called him East. He had achieved success at Chattanooga, mainly by the coming to his aid of General Sherman, who struck the enemy at Missionary Ridge, and in fact extracted General Grant from a position of great danger. It was an achievement of great importance. He was not Lieutenant General 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 become an absolute necessity that the management of the war should be taken out of the hands of Mr. Stanton and Gen. Halleck. They had been mismanaging it for years, protracting it, wasting our resources and our energies, losing one point after another of advantage, which we should

[CONCLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE.]

in fact in session with the Republican Mayor of that city, and with Governor Morgan, United States Senator from that State, also a Republican. They were acting very properly in concert and harmoniously to preserve the peace of the city. If there was a man in the Union who assisted this government in the late war, he did. His position gave him the opportunity of aiding the government, and he did his duty thoroughly, and to us in this State he gave needed and timely assistance. How mistaken and misplaced, then, are these revived cries of "loyalty" in the election of 1868! They do not touch our candidate or cause, and can only disgrace those who utter or applaud them.

The opposite party have named for the Presidency the general chief in command of the armies 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. But because in running him and in supporting him, they would to some extent keep out of sight their own misdeeds and enormities, as they supposed. 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 as back again into war debates, and by shouting "rebel," "rebel," and other cries, having no present significance or application to the campaign 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.

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 responsible; 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 delegated exclusively to the Lieutenant General, General Butler was the agent of exchange at the time; and in speeches and publications he has produced official evidence, besides his own statements, which clearly appears that he was not responsible for interrupting the exchanges. That responsibility 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 Confederates held ours in theirs, the advantage would be on our side, as we had more of their men than they had of ours; and that with regard to the suffering and death, while these things were hard upon individuals, yet as a matter of general policy, it was to our advantage; and therefore he persisted in it. This reasoning has not approved itself to the people of this country, and it will not approve itself to the judgment 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 States.

But the great objection to him is that he has "no policy" of his own. He says so; he says it openly in his letter of acceptance. It chosen to the Presidential office, he will go into it and exercise its duties and its powers without any policy whatever of his own. What then? He will accept the policy of Congress. That is the way everybody understands it, the way members of Congress and the people everywhere understand it; and it is no doubt the just construction, the actual meaning of his language. What then have you? You have simply a proposition to continue in power the Radical leaders in the two Houses of Congress, and to let them run the government according to their pleasure, and to control its policy throughout. The election of General Grant does not mean anything more than an incumbency of the office by him, while the actual powers of the government are to be exercised by the men who have a policy, and who have exhibited that policy before you. Therefore it is that we are always, during this canvass, called upon to discuss Congressional policy, and we are not called upon particularly to discuss candidates. Perhaps never before in the history of this country, where a Presidential election has been contested, has 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 point the finger at the other, and endeavor to make out General Grant to be that 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.

GENTLEMEN, at the New York Convention an eminent man was named by our party for the office of President, who had been Governor 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 army, 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, Governor 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 left 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 addressing them in kind language, (for which he has since been foolishly abused, and very unjustly), reasoning with them, allayed their passions, and thus assisted our Federal peace and order in that city. No Federal troops were sent 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,

[CONCLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE.]