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"CONWAY AND THE TRIBUNE."

Letter of Hon. T. W. Conway.

EDITOR REPUBLICAN:

I repeat my expression of regret at the necessity of replying to the proprietor of the New Orleans *Tribune* in such way as to add a whit to misfortunes and sorrows already too numerous to be comfortable; but the attack made on me by him in his paper of the 26th instant, added to that of to-day, renders it necessary that I should do so. If his paper suffers from my exposition of his infidelity and duplicity, he must blame himself for having provoked it.

He admits, in his paper of yesterday, that he ought to have published my letter on the day of his first article on the subject of dispute between us.

Reduced to plain English, this means that he thinks it perfectly right to violate obligations of confidence which gentlemen everywhere recognize as binding. My letter, which I have at last forced him to publish, and which he falsely said contained an offer to betray my friends into his hands, shows that it was confidential. His treatment of it shows that he cared nothing for that.

Is not this a warning to those who now trust him with any confidential verbal or written communications? It would seem so. He does not deny any of my statements regarding the business obligations which bound us mutually, and which he violated as palpably as he did his obligations of confidence.

Here is the key to another door. Within ninety days he has stated that he regretted having opposed my proposition; within ninety days he said that if the party to which he claims to belong did not nominate his candidate for office he would break that party to pieces with his money, if he could not do it with his political influence; within ninety days he has said that if Warmoth was nominated by the party for the office of governor, he would run for that office himself, and that he would beat Warmoth if he had to join hands with the conservatives. Within ninety days he has said that "he would rather join hands with the old white citizens of New Orleans than with the Republicans headed by Judge Warmoth." Within ninety days he has said that "he did not like this country; that he preferred France, and that when he succeeded (succeeded in making a fortune) he would leave this horrible country, and go to France, where he would educate his children as he was educated." Within ninety days he said "he preferred a monarchical to a republican government." Within ninety days he said "he had no confidence in white men coming from the North." By this, it is fair to presume, he intended to convey the impression that he had confidence in white men of the South. Is this man to be trusted as a Republican? Is he to be considered true to the interests of the Radical party in Louisiana? Is he not working merely to make a fortune and then leave the republic in disgust to secure a residence under the greatest enemy of liberty on the face of the earth? Has he ever done a single generous act, unmixed with greed for gain, which aimed at the success of any good cause? Has he ever printed a line for any Republican club or any other party organization for which he has not exacted pay in advance?

And this man talks of others loving money! "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

The creole population, and the entire Republican family of Louisiana have at last found him out, and have resolved to avoid the yoke with which he would bind them.

He says that: "Certain men would never have been in the ranks of the Radical party were it not for the money." That's so. And I say, "Certain men mean to go to France when they get money enough." That's so too. He intimates that "certain men" mean to get money "by riding over the colored man's back." He judges others by himself.

Thus far, since the colored men have participated in political organizations and movements, he has taken care to secure all the money they could raise for political purposes. Has he ever given a picayune to aid them in their stupendous struggle against oppression and oppressors? Never. He acts on the old adage, "Get what you can, and keep what you get."

Lest some of the Republicans of Louisiana should not know the name of the gentleman to whom I allude, who is the editor and proprietor of the *Tribune*, I will mention his name; it is Dr. L. C. Roudanez.

THOMAS W. CONWAY.

The Houston *Telegraph* is enlarged.

The Mississippi constitutional convention now holds morning, noon, and night sessions.

A terrific hail storm twenty-five miles above Bryan, Texas, on the 18th instant.

Postmaster General Randall tried to persuade the Washington city postmaster to send the war office mail to General Thomas and not to Secretary Stanton. Postmaster Bowen would not be persuaded.

Boutwell's eulogy of Grant, Sherman, and Thomas in his impeachment speech Monday creates profound sensation.

Mr. Cobb, the famous pardon broker, after the impeachment resolution passed the house Monday, said with a long drawn sigh: "So the poor old man is gone at last!"

General Sheridan's sister, Mrs. Wilson, who was a great favorite with him, died in Perry county, Ohio, last week.

Many Democrats at Washington admit that Mr. Johnson has fallen into a very blundering position.

The Galveston *Bulletin* says General Lorenzo Thomas can come back there to board at Mrs. Thompson's hotel, and promises that Mrs. Thompson will give him the same room he had before, and that Mr. Stanton shall not hurt him while there.

A midnight elopement in New York was frustrated by a cot who frightened the young lady into a faint by saying as she was going down stairs to meet the expected lover at the door.

The Tiffin (Ohio) *Record* says: "Such an effort to get a large crop of wheat in the ground was never before made by the farmers as during the fall of 1867. Every foot of ploughed ground, every new clearing, in fact every available acre, is under cultivation."

SPEECH

OF

W. JASPER BLACKBURN

OF CLAIBORNE PARISH.

DELIVERED BEFORE A REPUBLICAN MASS MEETING AT THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, NEW ORLEANS, FEBRUARY 22, 1868.

REPUBLICAN FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

The right peacefully to assemble and freely interchange views in regard to a common destiny has ever been the boast of American citizenship, and it is for this purpose that we as freemen have met together to-night. But can we resist the recollection that the lapse of time has been brief since the day dawned upon the free exercise of this right in the "land we love"—the glorious, smiling, sunny South? Let us no, however, dwell too sadly upon the past, but proceed to enjoy the present, and build for the future.

My friends, is there a man now before me among all this great "sea of upturned faces," of every hue, who can lay his hand upon his "naked left breast" and feel the throbbing pulsations of his quickening heart and then turn his face to heaven and fail to thank the God of mercy and of all goodness that he is an inhabitant, a citizen, of the land of Columbia, the land of Washington, the land of freedom? And does not his warm and gushing blood course with increased and accelerated quickness as he calls to mind the living, gladdening truth, that we are now just treading upon the sacred altars of a new liberty and a new civilization which shall soon far eclipse, not only the past of our own history, but all the history of the civilized world? For whereas, my friends, the blot, the withering curse of slavery has heretofore, until recently, bedimmed the otherwise comely brilliancy of American statesmanship, and marred the otherwise glorious pages of our country's record, it is now no longer so, but henceforth the soil of America is to be, as it should ever have been, in fact and in truth, the "Land of the free, and the home of the brave." Does not this thought make your heart throb with joy and gladness, and with increased awe and veneration toward the God of love? No longer can any slave tread the soil of America, dedicated once as it is to freedom, and baptized afresh in the blood of the martyrs of liberty. Let this fact be recorded here to-night; let it be "printed in a book," and "graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever," as the spirit of the immortal Washington on whose birthday we are assembled, looks down from the jeweled walks of Heaven and blesses the record.

This much, fellow citizens, by way of generality. Now you must bear with me, if I seem somewhat slow and tedious; for I design that what I say here to-night shall be printed, and I desire that it shall appear just as I deliver it, and I ask, respectfully, that no reporter will misrepresent me or change what I say, unless it be for the better, in style or expression.

We have met, my friends, to ratify the Radical Republican nominations for state officers at the ensuing election. Let us see how the land lies. Of course we will pass resolutions ratifying and heartily indorsing every regular nominee on the state ticket. That is easily done, and will not take long. But the thing for us to do is to meet our enemies and defeat them; and as a skillful general will first try to ascertain the strength of his enemy, and next his plans of operation, let us, in like manner, look to this in a political sense, and inquire into the purposes of our adversaries, and scan their means of accomplishment.

I lay it down, then, as a starting point, and as a proposition which can not be successfully met and refuted, that the main purpose of our enemy is to defeat the present plan of reconstruction, and thus destroy the political power of the true friends of the national government as against the exploded theory of state sovereignty; and that the main weapon to be used in the accomplishment of this purpose is the hypocritical cant and cry of love for the Union, and concern for the welfare of the so-called negro. And as there are many other speakers present to address you, I will devote my time specially to my own immediate section—the fifth congressional district. For data I will look to the public press there as an indication of what may be termed a rotten, though a predominating, "public sentiment," among that class known as enfranchised rebels.

First in this line I will quote from the organ of the so-called Conservative Democracy in my own town and parish—a paper which eulogizes those who pander to treason, and vilifies the friends of liberty. A scion of played out chivalry just retiring from the editorial tripod of this journal indulges in the following strain:

"We give this, among other reasons, for selling out his interest in the paper, viz:

"Finding, too, that the so-called convention would not prevent our continuing to practice law, we concluded to sell out to those who had more time and money than we," etc.

So you see how he appreciates our leniency in allowing him to practice law, for he is a sort of a lawyer; but you may see more plainly his sense of gratitude from some other sentiments in his valedictory. He proceeds as follows:

"As for ourself, we think the strong arm of an emperor will soon be required to govern the nation." * * *

"We verily believe the leaders of the Radicals would, and will, force another war, rather than fail to cram down our throats the hellish reconstruction bill of congress," etc. * * * * * *

"One more civil war, and farewell to democracy and republicanism. The paralyzed, oppressed, robbed, insulted, heart-broken South, God bless her!" etc. * * *

"We are passing through the different stages of national existence more rapidly and on a grander scale than other nations, it may be, but their history will be our history. *Republicanism must give place to monarchy in a few years, at most. May God speed the day! if it will be any relief from the oppression and wrongs of radicalism and a negro equality party.* We, for one, are ready to fight again at any moment, if the battle cry is sounded against the party now in power in congress."

Thus you can plainly see that this editor is mad, and that too without any system; is mad because the rebellion failed and because the former slaves are now free.

Then comes this retiring gentleman's successor, one Allen C. Hill, a real live brother of the immaculate and never to be forgotten Ben Hill, of Georgia; but as Ben is said to carry all the brains of the family, the honor of carrying all the midriff is by mutual consent conceded to Allen. But Allen is my neighbor, and a very clever fellow in his way; but is, like his smarter brother, a raving maniac in politics. Listen as him:

"Our motto is, 'This is a white man's country, with a white man's government, and no white man must, will, and shall rule!'"

He italicizes this to make it more emphatic, just as if the school children all over the land did not know it is the verbal platitude and quibble ever uttered, something much of nothing, according to the sense in which it is used. For reason, however, what I have before said that these men seek to win the day by daylight and falsehood.

But he proceeds and proves his love and the love of his party for the poor downtrodden freedman in the following handsome manner and style:

"All means by designing men to give place and power to the African race, over, or equal to our own blood and kindred, will be opposed with all the vim with which we are possessed.

"We submit to the powers that be, the emancipation of the negro, but will not withhold our honest conviction, that the negro was created for a slave, constructed socially, physically, and morally by God himself for slavery, and nothing else. That he, in due time, will return to his natural state by the hand of Providence, either by the virtue of a true constitutional government, or by the mean, cowardly measure of a military radical despotism.

"We shall fight against negro equality (except with themselves and their associates), as unnatural—impossible—debasing to the white man, and unkind to the negro."

Another platitude, you see, and a contemptible quibble to deceive, or an ignorant ebullition of nonsense.

But he proceeds further: Listen, my colored friends, and prepare to admire the high toned and well cultivated generosity of this very refined conservative Democratic party—a party upon whose support those who oppose our ticket mainly if indeed not solely rely. Listen:

"We oppose negro suffrage, because this is a trust, not a right, and not to be placed in the hands of a baboon or a fool, and the white man who advocates this doctrine is untrue to himself, false to his country, a deceiver of the negro, and barter's away his own liberty for a low short days of promotion through the vote of these poor unfortunate victims.

"We can not consent to negro rule. Born a slave, by nature a fool, educated alone in blind imitation, he can not make laws to control the white race. This is too much for the American mind."

That is all very fine, and I know you will not fail to appreciate it properly. But there is more yet of the same sort in the same paper. I find in its classic columns a numerously signed call for a public meeting, the main object and purpose of which is thus candidly expressed:

"The citizens of the parish of Claiborne are respectfully and earnestly solicited to attend a mass meeting in the town of Homer, on Saturday, the 15th of February next. The object of this meeting is to take into consideration and devise the best and most expeditious method of defeating the ratification of the negro radical constitution, which will soon be submitted to the people of Louisiana for their action thereon."

Thus you see this "God and morality party" is predetermined to vote against the forthcoming constitution whatever it may be.

This "call" then proceeds to give the reasons for organization:

"It is essential that we should organize, and be prepared to meet this demon of radicalism that threatens to destroy every vestige of civil liberty, to annihilate the dearest rights and privileges of citizenship; to make you aliens and outlaws in the land of your fathers; to reduce you and your children to the debased condition of vassals; to elevate your newly-enfranchised slaves to the dignity of office; to make you bow submissively to this unprincipled and ignorant horde of Africans, who in their savage exultation will inflict upon you the most inexorable tyranny, and forge for you and your children new and more galling chains of slavery."

Now, my friends, you all can see how unjust and even infamous is such language as this. When I look back and call to mind what I know, from my own personal observation, in regard to the long patience and submissive suffering of the poor, downtrodden, bleeding slave, and the heartless, soulless exactions of some, at least, of his former drivers and task-masters, my heart bleeds within me, while at the same time my soul looms up to the God of freedom in grateful thankfulness, and I am tempted to shout aloud in renewed accents of fresh gladness the song of Moses, as he stood upon the dry and safe shores of the Red sea and beheld the destruction of the heartless pursuers! Look back even during the years of the late war in the South; mark the conduct of the faithful and submissive slave to his proud and traitorous master through those dark years of trial and suffering; and then talk to me if you can about the "savage exultation" which the African will ever inflict upon the white race of this country! I have seen and know too much of these things to have less than a burning, withering contempt for the man or the party who would use such language or resort to such means for political success.

I might pass from the opposition journals of my own town and parish—for we have two such sheets in Claiborne—to the howling tory sheets of the adjacent parishes. For mind you, fellow citizens, there is not a single loyal newspaper in the fifth congressional district of any long standing and outspoken independence except the Homer *Iliad*. And I say this neither the more nor less boldly and emphatically because I am the proprietor and editor of that paper. I am proud to be so. It stands alone in its glory now as in the past, battling fearlessly for the right against brute and brutish force; like a lion at bay beset and mauled at by enraged but impotent jackals. The *Iliad* will support your ticket, and it is the only paper in North Louisiana that will, and its editor will support your ticket on the stump as well as through the columns of his paper. I shall do so defiantly, asking of my adversaries no boot.

But I must quote another morsel or two from the Conservative Democratic press of North Louisiana—from the loyal columns of a channel which gives expression to the loyal and truly converted devotion of a truly repentant and loyal constituency!

I have met lately with a copy of a sheet called the *Jackson Flag*, well known to me before, published in the parish of Jackson, adjoining to Claiborne. This is edited by one "William Stran Custis," who claims to be a lineal descendant of the George Washington family—"on the mother's side." Perhaps he is. If so, he is a degenerate son of a noble ancestry. "But let that pass." I find in his columns some resolutions adopted by the "white men," so called, of his parish, second-headed from the columns of another tory Indigenian of the same "school of music"—the Ouachita *Telegraph*—a certain class of so-called white men of which latter parish, it seems, first having had the distinguished honor of adopting them.

I will give an extract or two:

"*Resolved*, That we view with feelings of alarm the leading course of the radical party in its efforts to subvert the constitution of our fathers, and to erect upon its ruins a system of government repugnant to the teachings of history, destructive to the material and political interests of the country, contrary to the will of the people, as expressed at the recent elections, and ruinous in every aspect to the hopes, interests, and permanent welfare of the American people."

Very modest and sincere, as you will see! Of course these patriotic souls feel great apprehension that the only loyal party now in the country will "subvert" a constitution which they allied to destroy in a four years war. This is very commendable as well as modest in these patriotic souls as they are!

"*Resolved*, That, in our solemn judgment the country is verging upon a state of public affairs under the rule of this party, not unlike that spring rule, anarchy, and a hopeless dissolution of the ties which bind the states North as well as South, together; and in view of our helpless condition, we therefore earnestly appeal to the conservative sentiment of the North to rescue the reins of government from hands so willfully inclined, and to give us back "the constitution as it is and the Union as it was."

Modest again, and quite as honest! They can now see "ruin, anarchy, and a hopeless dissolution," etc., in a loyal reconstruction of the government, but no such fruits were visible to them in the "infamous rebellion" from the shambles of which they have so recently emerged like vanity shorn of its jewels. And now they want the "Union as it was," including slavery! Of course they do; but thank God, they will never get it. Never!

"*Resolved*, That we desire a permanent peace and an early restoration to those rights under the constitution, from which we have been so long and so causelessly excluded, we deplore all agitation which shall tend to keep alive the bitter feelings which were engendered in the heat of armed contest, and which should have perished with the surrender of the defeated confederate forces; and we desire once more to see civil law—administered by the best, ablest, and most vigilant champions of American liberty and progress—become the supreme arbiter between all classes of our people and the harbinger of prosperous and better days."

Oh! poor prodigal creatures! Let the fatted calf be slain! "So long and so causelessly excluded!" Why did they not "think of these things" when they were inaugurating a war against liberty in behalf of slavery? Their present condition would be truly pitiable were not their pretensions so supremely ridiculous and contemptible.

"*Resolved*, That as we greatly covet the tranquility and prosperity of those states whose affairs are administered under the benign influence of intelligent white suffrage and the harmonious concert of action of elective civil functionaries, we will, following their example, guard with scrupulous care the admission to the privileges of the elective franchise of any person or persons not fitted therefor, believing, as we here solemnly declare, that when such franchise is indiscriminately exercised, it will result in the upheaval of society, in the ruin of every class of our people alike."

That will do! There is much more of the same sort, in the same strain, in the same paper; a great whining and supplication to the black man not to allow the carpet-baggers and other white radicals to bring on a war of races, and the like. But the "upheaval of society," as a result of colored suffrage in the South, is deemed a good stopping point. It comes with an excellent grace from a set of "educated white men," who voted secession in the calm of a profound and prosperous peace, and thus inaugurated war, and veiled their country in sackcloth and ashes! Think you there was no "upheaval" there? Rather a "downheaval," I should say!

The few extracts, fellow-citizens, which I have quoted from the rebel press of North Louisiana will serve to show you the temper of the "loyal white masses" with whom I have to deal there. And I think this record, brief as it is, will not seem very savory to the loyal sensibilities of our commanding general when displayed in plain print in nonday at the sanctuary of his headquarters. He can at once see the temper of the people—a majority of the white people at least—under the reconstruction acts, which he is sworn to enforce. To suppose that he would willfully and knowingly uphold and encourage such a set of unreasonable and reckless destructionists would be to suppose that he would willfully and willingly stultify himself as a man and a gentleman, and blacken forever his bright record as a gallant chieftain in defense of human liberty and constitutional government.

The way is before us, friends, and we have a great work to do; and whatever we find to do in the same and in behalf of loyalty and liberty, let us do it with a will and in earnest. Let us not lag nor be afraid to assert our rights and defend our cause at all times and under all circumstances. We are in the right, and let us justify ourselves as the defenders of the right in the sight of God and just men. Our state ticket may not be all it should be or might have been, but it is a loyal ticket, and let us elect it. And our constitution may not be, when adopted, all that it should be or might have been, but then it will be a loyal constitution, and must and shall be ratified. Let us "be just and fear not." Be just even to our enemies. No, not just to them, but merciful. Justice would hang a large majority of them; but let us do unto them as they would not under like circumstances do unto us—let them live. And if after all our acts of forbearance and mercy they still slander and revile us, let us say to them as "My Uncle Toby" said to the fly: "Go, *fly*, there is room enough in the world for you and I."

Yes, fellow-citizens, it is not only more becoming in us as loyal men and as gentlemen to be too lenient rather than too exacting toward our erring rebel neighbors, but it is more in accordance with that true, self-sacrificing spirit typified through the example of our Redeemer, and which all men should exercise as far as is possible with human flesh. "To err is human; to forgive divine." We should remember this; and if we should lose in this world by the exercise of this virtue, the gain will await us hereafter. And aside from all considerations such as these, we should bear in mind that we have in our midst many noble and generous spirits who favored secession at the beginning, or who in some way criminated themselves during the war, and are now disfranchised, but really at heart truly repentant, ready to aid in reconstructing the government in a proper way, and are indeed gentlemen, worthy to be trusted in all the relations of life. Such men should be looked upon as sufficient to save the Sodom and Gomorrah of the dead rebellion from a too harsh proscription. I, for one, am willing to take such men by the hand, and work diligently for their speedy and permanent political salvation; and if in thus relieving the truly worthy and deserving, some who are destitute of honor and are unworthy of such treatment are also relieved, then I would plead justification upon the safe and time-honored maxim that it is better that ninety-nine guilty ones should go unpunished than that one innocent party should be wrongfully dealt with.

And there is another important fact which every consistent, steadfast Union man in the South should bear in mind whenever the subject of disfranchisement and proscription comes up. It is a fact palpable to us all—to myself at least—that some of the most turbulent and dangerous characters with whom we have to deal in this important matter of reconstruction are so-called original Union men; men who shouted for the Union until they found their slaves freed, but then turned and cursed not only the day on which they were born, but cursed God and damned the government and their native land. They planted upon slavery and lost, and now seem determined to let their souls sink with their earthly hopes. Such characters are to be watched and shunned politically. They are joined to their idol—let them alone. But the honest confederate, who fought bravely upon principle, and now fairly acknowledges his defeat, will do to trust; and he should not be cast off under the ban of disfranchisement and proscription.

In reconstructing this government we should look to the future as well as to the past. We should have higher motives than personal aggrandisement, or any mere momentary political triumph. We should, it is true, at all hazard see that the government is restored upon a basis which will secure and guarantee for all time perfect equality of right at the ballot box and before the courts; but while we are doing this one great essential thing, we should also bear in mind the equally paramount living truth, as taught us by all history, viz: That no free republican government can long stand if any considerable portion of the intelligence of the country are proscribed at the ballot box, and excluded from participation in the law making department.

Nor would I see immortal and blessed woman longer cast off and proscribed in the matter of franchise; nor in any other matter over which government, either civil or ecclesiastical, has any control or direction for the amelioration of the condition of mankind in common. Perhaps she might not want to vote; many of them might refuse or fail to exercise the privilege if granted them; but men do the same thing, and the argument is as good on the one hand as on the other. For myself I would fain see universal suffrage, regardless alike of color and of sex, become the hand-maid of universal freedom. At least I would make no general test or qualification but love of country, as shown through obedience to government. Such are my individual private sentiments publicly expressed, but I do not ask my party to indorse them. As member of the constitutional convention I moved to strike out the word "male" in connection with the right or privilege of franchise. The proposition was referred to the appropriate committee, but no report was ever made. I understand the reason of this failure. I am thought too fast in this respect for the locality if not for the age in which I live. And it may be true that every locality of this government is not yet prepared for such a display of liberality, for such a practical application of justice. It is a lamentable fact that men are too prone to linger in the cause of the right, and the living patent fact that they are much more so than women, is a plain, palpable, self-evident proof that they are at least no more entitled to vote. Woman, as a general thing, has a much keener and more accurate sense and perception of right, and much more nerve to meet the issue than man. She is in every conceivable sense less selfish and more incorruptible than man. Her influence in the private and social walks of life is felt to a degree which alone holds the world back from a great retrograde into wreck and ruin; and there is no good reason why her influence at the ballotbox and in the public walks of life should be less redeeming. I for one am quite willing to give her a fair and a patient trial.

Fellow-citizens, I might prolong my remarks to greater length; but you are standing and already weary, and there are many others to speak after me. I will only add, that I stand before you now, as I have ever stood under all circumstances and in every trial, the friend of liberty and the friend of humanity. And in regard to the great and much-vexed question of political and civil equality, I have only this to say: The American flag, the simple and beautiful emblem of liberty, greatness, and glory, is the flag of my country. I respect, revere, and even worship it. I only desire that its destiny shall be my destiny, and its immortality my immortality; and when I die, the greatest and grandest funeral honors and rites I could ask would be to have it as a winding sheet—"unwept, unhonored, and unsung," it may be—but thus to sleep, under the sod of my native land as one who never disgraced his name nor forfeited his birthright of liberty by seeking to destroy the country which gave him birth and disrupt the government which ever fostered and protected him. And, my friends, the man who fights under that flag, and swears by it, and keeps his oath, is my brother and my friend; and the woman, be she white or black, who pays her political devotions at this sacred shrine, will ever find in me a friend and protector who never knew fear.

[At the close, and during the delivery of this address, the speaker received earnest and prolonged applause.]

LOUISIANA CONVENTION.

Seventy-Second Day's Proceedings.

WEDNESDAY, February 19.

The convention was called to order at ten o'clock. President Taliaferro in the chair. Fifty members present.

Minutes approved.

Mr. W. Jasper Blackburn, of Claiborne, called up his resolution as follows:

WHEREAS, The loyal people of Louisiana, in accordance with the enactments of a loyal federal congress, have elected delegates to a constitutional convention for the purpose, as directed by the said congressional enactments, to frame a constitution and form a civil government loyal to the Union; and

Whereas, The said constitutional convention is now about through with its work, and will soon submit its constitution for ratification or rejection, with its plan of a civil state government loyal to the Union; therefore be it

Resolved, by the constitutional convention of Louisiana as aforesaid, That a respectful but solemn protest is hereby entered, in the name of a down-trodden and oppressed people, against the re-enactment by military order or otherwise, of any appropriation acts of a legislature known to have been hostile to a loyal reconstruction of the government—a legislature which boldly and defiantly proposed to appropriate thousands upon thousands of dollars to test the constitutionality of the acts of congress under the authority of which this convention was convoked and convened; and more especially is a protest hereby most respectfully, but not the less earnestly entered against the forced collection of any taxes "in greenbacks," founded upon said treasonable so-called state legislation, for the purpose of paying the salaries of civil officers in our midst known to be hostile to the objects and purposes for which this convention was called into power by the loyal law-making power of a loyal nation—*or for any other purpose.*

Resolved, That a copy of this, signed officially by the president of the convention, and duly attested by the secretary thereof, be forwarded to the president of the senate of the United States, to the speaker of the house of representatives, and to General Grant.

MR. BLACKBURN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Blackburn spoke as follows:

Mr. President—I have called this matter up for the purpose of giving the convention an opportunity of adopting or rejecting it without further delay; and as I was the first mover, I claim the right and deem it my duty to furnish, in a somewhat tangible shape, my reasons for presenting it—the more especially so since a certain opposition journal in this city has alluded, somewhat clandestinely, to the matter, with the charge that it was intended by the convention as a "malignant fling at General Hancock." Talking to the New Orleans *Times*, a journal which, in its indecent haste and swift eagerness for the championship as the self-sworn defender of our commanding general, proves clearly that its editorial conductors fought without dismay, claim the honor of having first roused in the same nest with "Beauchard's Buzzard."

Mr. President, that the preamble and resolutions, as presented, and as now called up, were intended to disapprove and protest against General Hancock's "special order No. 40," I do not deny; but that the movement was intended as a "malignant fling" at that gallant gentleman I deny, and pronounce and denounce as false.

I will now proceed as briefly as possible to give expression to my feelings and real and only object or purpose in the matter. In doing so I shall be compelled to be somewhat minute and tedious, and resort to quotations from the record. But as it is a very important subject, and one in which all classes of our people are deeply and vitally interested, I trust the convention will give me both time and attention.

I first quote in full the features of General Hancock's order, as published in the newspapers, bearing upon this subject, and against which I think it the especial province and bounden duty of this convention to protest, most respectfully but nevertheless earnestly, in the name of a downtrodden and oppressed people—a people who, whatever may be their political sentiments are personally honest, sober, and in the main industrious, and who are already taxed into the very depths of poverty and starvation, not only without representation in both state and national councils, but also without any civil government which is at all competent to protect them efficiently in either "life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness," leaving the forlorn hope of property entirely out of the question.

[The order of General Hancock was here conned and minutely criticised by the speaker.]

I do not think, however, as the *Commercial Bulletin* seems to think, that this order revives suspended taxes. That journal says:

"The district commander orders the suspended taxes to be collected in federal currency."

To do this, Mr. President, would be an outrage too monstrous to contemplate. The people of my portion of the state—of that portion of the state which was within the confederate lines during the late rebellion—paid their taxes promptly to the *de facto* government under which they were at that time compelled to live. The heart sympathies and loyal devotion of many of my people, if indeed not a large majority of them, were during the war, at least, with the government and against the rebellion; and if they did not pay their taxes to the proper state authorities, it was no fault of theirs. It may be that there are some who deserve to have to pay their taxes again; but there are many more who do not deserve any such hardship, and I oppose punishing the innocent to reach the guilty in this case, for the same reason that I opposed the disfranchisement of loyal men in order to reach a few unrepentant rebels. And I oppose this back collection of taxes upon the further and additional sale and sensible ground that it is not only not just to punish a man twice for the same offense, either in the way of collecting double taxes or in the way of fine or imprisonment, but that it is equally as wrong and erroneous in both a legal and moral sense for a state as for an individual to seek to take advantage of its own *wrong*. And besides being an outrage, in both law and morality, to attempt to collect back taxes from the people of my section of the state, it would prove a physical impossibility. The enforcement of such an outrage would compel the people to surrender what little property they have left and leave the state.

I repeat, I do not think the order intends any such thing. It only requires that future taxes and revenues shall be collected in "legal tender treasury notes."

To this the *Bulletin* objects in one sense, and uses an argument or reason to which I wish to call the attention of members of this convention. It is this:

"The fiscal remedy proposed by the legislature was best conceded at the moment to be adopted. The state was not able to pay taxes. It would have consumed a large part of the real estate of the country to enforce their collection. When men can not pay wages or rent, or buy food, how can they pay taxes? Therefore the remedy adopted by the last legislature was the most proper. They proposed to use the state credit, and leave the payment of the debt to a more prosperous future."

I most heartily agree with all this. But, Mr. President, does it fail to strike your recollection—can it fail to strike the recollection of a single member of this convention—that the argument or reason here given in defense of the action of the state legislation on the subject of finance is the same precisely which I had the honor to present to the better understanding of this honorable body in vindication of the bond ordinance I introduced as the first plan of raising means to defray our expenses while framing a new state constitution? Does some can disremember this fact? nor will it fail to be recollected that the same *Bulletin* newspaper, with every other opposition journal in the city and state, denied the legitimacy and force of the position, and advocated and obtained instead the levying of a heavy and forced collection of a special tax in greenbacks.

I allude to this merely incidentally, to remind certain outsiders who claim to be such dear friends of the people, that their hypocritical pretensions shall be remembered against them, and to keep the people refreshed as to who are their friends, and who their oppressors, and not, Mr. President, to call up any blame against any member of this convention for any position he may have occupied, or which he may now occupy, upon this or any other question that has come before us. I accord to every gentleman on this floor equal honesty of purpose with myself upon all matters which come up here for our action; but I do not accord honesty of purpose to every intriguing traitor and brawling demagogue, and stump politician who vilifies and howls and snarls at all our acts, right or wrong.

Now let us see what portion and what specific items this order of General Hancock has revived in the general appropriation act of the last session of our state legislature. I enumerate as follows, specifically, viz:

[Here the speaker enumerated the various appropriations which are offended, by General Hancock's order, and which, by his showing, amounts to an immense sum.]

Thus it can not fail to be seen, whatever good may have been intended by the order, that its practical workings will lead to something even worse than ordinary injustice. The matter runs into absolute farce, laughable indeed if it were not so humiliating and deplorable. Many items of expenditure are thus renewed for which there is neither call nor demand, while the main items upon which the promptly paid taxes within the reach of human possibility, are not only left unprovided for, but are positively prohibited. Every item of interest due those who have heretofore backed up the credit of the state is ignored! And not only is this so, but provision is made to oppress the people of the state by their own legislature is set aside and rendered worthless—absolutely repudiated, for the time being, at least.

If this is not backing up the civil authorities and sustaining state legislation with a vengeance, it is because there is great force in palpable contradictions.

Will this convention fail to enter a protest against such an order as this? If we are to have forced taxes in greenbacks—in legal tender treasury notes—in the name of common sense let it be for some practical purpose, and for some utility, and not merely to depreciate not only our state and city currency, but all denominations of greenbacks, except legal tender notes, and for the queer and unaccountable purpose of relenacting with fattening salaries a power in the government which, under the circumstances, is not only inefficient for any practical good, but which in the main is alike averse and antagonistic to the loyal sentiment of the state, which loyal sentiment at present comprises a large majority of the legal voters of Louisiana, large, and especially of any section of the state. It is not the purpose nor the will of this loyal sentiment, so far as I know or believe, to torture the people longer than possible, with any degree of taxation without representation; and certainly neither its will nor desire to increase or renew taxes in any shape at the present, much less require their collection in legal tender treasury notes alone. We want to get properly into the Union as soon as possible, and until that is done we want to hear but very little if anything about either state or civil government—an irritating mockery when subservient to military rule. With this feeling alone I introduced the matter now before the convention, and I respectfully ask the members to give it due thought and consideration.

What, my friends, would be thought and said of this convention were it to promulgate such an edict as this order No. 40? Would we not receive the curses and execrations of every well-meaning man and woman throughout the state? Most assuredly, and justly, too. And even those time serving, time worn, time twisted, partisan editors, who vainly attempt to justify this order, would denounce such a thing coming from this convention—would be foremost in doing so. You know they would; for the very next moment it would prove it. That General Hancock has acted honestly, and with a sincere desire for good, I do not presume to doubt or question; but that he has taken a wrong or injudicious move seems self-evident to my mind. But, perhaps, it could not well be otherwise, under the choice which he seems to have been acting under since his sojourn in this city. It is notorious that a few true Union men and loyal citizens have conferred with him; but he has been long and besieged from the start by a set of long demagogues and worn-out partisan hacks, who have but little practical sense or less political principle—men whom General Hancock can not know as we know, against the selfish intrigues of whom we should warn and admonish him—while, at the same time, we protest against his carrying out any programme for their sole benefit, or for torturing the people from their ill-tempered advice.

But the plan may be enforced that the general commanding has acted under the direct recommendation of the governor. It seems. But my reply is that this does not in the least better the matter. The governor recommending such a policy has proven himself the dupe of designing men, or totally upon his own merits unfit for the place he fills. And let me ask, in the name of all the goods at once, what use has the so-called state of Louisiana for a civil governor and a lieutenant governor under one, and an despotic military rule? It is paying only that one may draw a salary of one thousand, and the other five thousand dollars, with about as much more as contingent expenses attached—which one shall, under the recommendation of the disinterested chief civil executive, be forced in legal tender treasury notes, by a military commander, from a distressed and impoverished people—a people who are not, or without the means to live, but without sufficient governmental protection.

It were useless to prolong remarks on this subject. The wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. All we can do is to protest, and I trust and believe no member of this convention will withhold that protest.

Let us so act, gentlemen of the convention, as to prove to the world, General Hancock included, that those contemptuously termed "Radicals" have some common sense and some feeling of patriotism.

IN BANKRUPTCY.

ESTATE OF R. E. CASTENDYK.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S OFFICE, District of Louisiana, New Orleans, February 21, 1868.

THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE THAT ON the twenty-fourth day of February, A. D. 1868, a WARRANT IN BANKRUPTCY was issued against the estate of R. E. CASTENDYK, of New Orleans, in the parish of Orleans and State of Louisiana, who has petitioned a bankrupt on his own petition; that the payment of any debts and delivery of any property belonging to such bankrupt, to him or for his use, and the transfer of any property by him are forbidden by law; that a meeting of the creditors of the said bankrupt, to prove their debts and to choose one or more assignees of his estate, will be held at a Court of Bankruptcy, to be holden at Customhouse building, in the city of New Orleans, before J. R. G. Pitkin, Register, on the twenty-third day of March, A. D. 1868, at 10 o'clock A. M.

J. HERRON, U. S. Marshal, District of Louisiana.

No. 637—feb28 mh2

ESTATE OF F. WITTING.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S OFFICE, District of Louisiana, New Orleans, February 24, 1868.

THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE THAT ON the twenty-fourth day of February, A. D. 1868, a WARRANT IN BANKRUPTCY was issued against the estate of F. WITTING, of Baton Rouge, in the parish of East Baton Rouge and State of Louisiana, who was adjudged a bankrupt on his own petition; that the payment of any debts and delivery of any property belonging to such bankrupt, to him or for his use, and the transfer of any property by him, are forbidden by law; that a meeting of the creditors of the said bankrupt to prove their debts and to choose one or more assignees of his estate, will be held at a Court of Bankruptcy, to be holden at Customhouse building, in the city of New Orleans, before J. R. G. Pitkin, Register, on the twenty-third day of March, A. D. 1868, at 10 o'clock A. M.

J. HERRON, U. S. Marshal, District of Louisiana.

No. 638—feb28 mh2

ESTATE OF W. T. MOCK.

OFFICE OF UNITED STATES MARSHAL, District of Louisiana, Monroe, La., February 4, 1868.

THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE THAT ON the twelfth day of February, A. D. 1868, a WARRANT IN BANKRUPTCY was issued against the estate of W. T. MOCK, of Winnsboro, in the parish of Franklin and State of Louisiana, who has adjudged a bankrupt on his own petition; that the payment of any debts and delivery of any property belonging to such bankrupt, to him or for his use, and the transfer of any property by him are forbidden by law; that a meeting of the creditors of the said bankrupt, to prove their debts and to choose one or more assignees of his estate, will be held at a Court of Bankruptcy, to be holden at the office of W. J. Baker, in the town of Monroe, parish of Ouachita, before W. J. Baker, Register, on the twenty-third day of March, A. D. 1868, at 10 o'clock A. M.

F. J. HERRON, U. S. Marshal.

For M. M. GRADY, Deputy, as Messenger.

No. 440—feb 22 mh1

ESTATE OF WILLIAM KRAMER.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S OFFICE, District of Louisiana, New Orleans, February 1, 1868.

THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE THAT ON the twenty-sixth day of January, A. D. 1868, a WARRANT IN BANKRUPTCY was issued against the estate of WILLIAM KRAMER,