

SUPPLEMENT TO THE BUENOS AYRES "STANDARD," FOR TRANSMISSION TO EUROPE—OCTOBER 12, 1868.

THE PARAGUAYAN WAR.

DIPLOMATIC NOTES.

FOREIGNERS IN PARAGUAY.

INSTALLATION OF THE NEW PRESIDENT.

SR. SARMIENTO'S SPEECH.

BUENOS AYRES, MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1868.

Senators, Deputies, and fellow-citizens—

After the solemn oath which I have just taken, it is needless for me again to promise that I will fulfil the laws and the Constitution, by worthily exercising the authority conferred on me by my fellow-citizens. This is my duty, my fixed resolve, my highest aspiration. If rectitude of intention and a wish to do good, are claims upon the aid of Divine Providence, I dare to hope that the blessings of Heaven will at last visit this part of the earth, so long abandoned to the errors and misfortunes that retard the progress of nations and their governments.

The attention of the country is at present naturally fixed, after so long and bloody a war, on the exorbitant sacrifices imposed on each and all of us for the common safety. I therefore hasten to assure you that the guiding spirit of my administration, and especially in the election of public employees, will be to insure, by every means, economy and integrity in the disposal of the national moneys. I shall also try to maintain our rising credit, the source of all wealth, by religiously fulfilling our obligations, and thus strengthening the confidence that the Nation is acquiring both at home and abroad.

The Constitution makes the President sole head of the administration, and I can therefore solemnly engage, since it depends on my own acts, that the administrative morality will be complete during my term of office.

I must also speak of the war wherein we are engaged, and the alliance in connection with the same. Nations have duties to perform in respect for their past history and their future prospects. A war abandoned in disgust of weariness, in 1827, did not give the much-desired peace for six months; and after breaking the links of union, there ensued a terrible tyranny and series of wars that have not yet ended with the fall of Humayta. The present war seems drawing to a close, but we must not be too sanguine, for all judgment is at fault when events depend on the caprice and unbridled passions of a semi-barbarous tyrant. We must never for a moment lose confidence, but strenuously prosecute the war till obtaining security for the future.

To offer peace to an enemy that does not sue for it after so many disasters, would be to change our position from conqueror to conquered. Such errors are always dearly expiated.

I trust that under my government the Argentine Republic will shew itself worthy of its glorious antecedents, and maintain its high position among the nations of the world. I think that the alliance with Brazil

and Uruguay nowise compromises the principles of our government, and I consider it not only lawful and necessary but highly honorable. This alliance will be maintained and faithfully observed while the security and honor of the Republic so require.

The social and political bonds that hold a nation together should never be closer than when its honor and safety are threatened from abroad: and you know well how far the Republic has been from offering such an example of duty, patriotism, and good sense, on the part of its sons.

Whilst some were filled with love of country, participating in its glory or disgrace, its greatness or humiliation, and rushed forward to the frontier for its defence; there were others who availed themselves of the occasion to take to the highways or join the Indians, thus increasing the confusion of the time and calling off the national forces which should have been entirely occupied in the noble and heroic enterprise of saving the honor of our flag.

I am still ignorant of the names of the leaders who appeared in this obscure epoch, since they had attained no notoriety either in the social or the political sphere. I am not, however, ignorant of the duties of every Government; and foremost is that of giving security to life and property, keeping the high-roads clear, and encouraging commerce and industry.

The Constitution, in all free countries, admits not of discussion by force of arms. To take up arms against the Republic, no matter what the pretext, is an act of treason, and our Constitution, after the model of the United States, provides the government with efficacious means, to prevent such a calamity as that the people should curse the day on which their Constitution was framed.

Meantime, I think I may promise you that the tranquillity which has been disturbed in some places will speedily be re-established, and that the ill-advised persons who took up arms will quietly lay them aside, confiding in the national justice for a remedy for their complaints, whenever such shall appear well-founded.

The evils that afflict the Argentine Republic are not of to-day's growth, neither are they peculiar to our country. The spectacle of provinces convulsed by insurrection, has been a constant repetition for the last 50 years, with the same characteristics and features, and differing only in names and pretexts. These social phenomena are, moreover, reproduced throughout the rest of Spanish America, with only slight variations incidental to climate and other circumstances. Few States have become

organized after sixty years of strife and contention, or can quietly set themselves down to work with security, for the future.

Thus, the evil is deeper than seems at first sight, and we see chronic causes producing everywhere the same results. To study the fatal causes of such prolonged inquietude would be the noblest task of our thinking men, and to cure them in their origin should be the great aim of our law-makers in Congress, and the special study of Government.

The insurrectionary movements that call in question, every moment, the solidity of our self-chosen institutions, and impede our progress, have their focus in the barbarism of the country districts, and the ignorance and destitution of the poorer classes. The defence of the frontier presents the same features. All the efforts of successive Governments, after half-a-century, have failed to protect the settlers from the Indians; and, more than once we have seen the savage tribes invade our tribes as auxiliaries of this or that faction.

Public patience can no longer tolerate such evils, and the time has now arrived to see if our Government is really what it ought to be under our republican institutions, namely:—the means of distributing the greatest possible amount of felicity to the greatest possible number of individuals. A nation loves not its institutions, unless when these conditions are fulfilled.

The work before us is even of a more pressing nature. We have inherited ignorant and destitute popular masses; and the uniformity and cohesion which are the essential conditions of all societies, have been violated. The public powers are, nevertheless, called upon to foster liberal institutions on a soil thus badly prepared, and to combat the difficulties that obstruct the way.

Our situation is, however, neither desperate nor irremediable. If population is wanting to fill our extensive territory, other nations only ask from us security and protective laws and will give us millions of men who constitute their superabundant population: if distances are enormous, steam shortens them. But, all these resources must be distributed and utilised by wise and even-handed laws, avoiding that, whilst the elements of civilisation accumulate on the coast, the remainder of the country shall not be abandoned to barbarism, and that an apparent benefit shall not give rise to further calamities and disorders.

The public lands, under an equitable system of distribution, will fix the population that is to-day houseless, give a home to the thousands of immigrants

that come in search of it, and put a stop to the depredations of the hordes of the desert, by effacing that very desert which is their theatre and their element. Some organic laws on education will suffice to render the prosperity which we are bound to secure for future generations a reality. Nations, like individuals, have almost always to blame the recklessness of their fathers for the evils that afflict them.

To spread civilisation over that part of the Republic that is as yet deprived of its benefits, to provide efficiently for the defence of the frontier, to give security to property and life, are conditions as essential as the very compliance with Constitutional precepts, because they all tend to the same end. A majority enjoying the liberty of being ignorant and poor, does not constitute an enviable privilege for the educated minority of a nation which is proud of calling itself republican and democratic.

I repeat it again: the time has come to ponder seriously upon these grave social questions, since, fortunately, political ones are in a great measure settled.

The national sentiment that leads us without any local preference to interest ourselves in all that affects our common mother country, has assumed in these later years a deeper intensity. The nation acquires every day more consistency; and, thanks to the progressive development of that noble feeling that makes of an assemblage of individuals a social being animated by the generous passions of heroism and justice, we may soon hope that the name of Argentine will be associated in men's minds with those moral, intellectual, and progressive qualities that characterise a free and enlightened people.

The general progress of mankind comes also to our help. Men's blood is not spilt in vain for the supremacy of a principle; and its triumph, once obtained, does not become the exclusive patrimony of the nation that has been its redeemer. The abolition of torture, the disappearance of slavery, the liberty of conscience, the declaration of rights which we have inscribed in our Constitution, are no conquest of ours, but a legacy which we are bound to preserve intact. In this category we can add to-day—"The indissolubility of Federal nations." A million of men, whose corpses have strewn the battle-fields, have put the seal for us and for all Federal Republics on this mighty principle. Henceforward there can be neither nullifiers nor separatists, but only traitors and criminals.

Thus far we may at any rate rest tranquil. Our political agitations will ever be preserved within the limits of

the nationality, which has cost our forefathers so much blood, and of the Constitution which we ourselves have cemented by so many sacrifices.

I have thus sketched the policy of my government. I am not cowed by the difficulty of the undertaking, although I am not ignorant how much those who are called upon to assume the arduous task of governing are destined to suffer for their reputation and repose. I am bound to submit to this doom, since our mother country is not yet sufficiently well organised to afford enjoyment to those who are fortune's favorites. But I am overwhelmed by the confidence and the hopes reposed in me. Our history reveals to us that we possess the conscience of good much more than the patience and capacity to attain it. Many of those who tried it died in the attempt or in exile: it is only future generations that can re-vindicate the memory of those faithful servants who failed to be popular because they preferred being deemed worthy of esteem.

A majority has raised me to power, without my having sought it: and I have, therefore, the right, on taking possession of the hard seat to which I am called, to ask that that majority may continue united, and not throw upon me alone the responsibility of its own government. I am bound likewise to ask that it may attract to its ranks all those who deserve to figure therein for their patriotic aims and their liberal ideas.

With regard to those who have opposed my election, I can only say to them in the words that Jefferson addressed to his opponents—"That they have their own rights and position as citizens of this country, and that I have not received from the Constitution any power to change them;" and will conclude by reminding them, with Lincoln, "That the electoral urn is the legitimate successor of bullets, and when the suffrage has declared itself, freely and constitutionally, the only appeal from its verdict is by consulting again the polling-booths of a subsequent election."

Protected by Providence, in whose help I confide, aided by the active co-operation of my fellow-citizens, guided by your prudent laws, Honorable Senators and Deputies, enlightened by the wisdom of my councillors, looking to the Constitution as a guide and to the force it places in my hands as an auxiliary, I shall attain the realization of some of the hopes that I have sketched, and shall deliver up to my successor the Republic undivided, the revenue prosperous, a greater number of happy and educated men, the laws respected, and, perchance, although I scarcely hope it, the Government the object of everybody's blessing.

