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eations on subjects of local or general interest are respectfully sufficient. To ensur-nteration favors of this kind usual invariably be pecumpatical by two notices of the authors, but to publication, but as guaranty aground imposition All letters pertaining to brokness of the office mark be addressed to the Editor respectfully sufficient. To em-cors of this kind noist invariable I by the netword the author, no

JAS. E. SAYERS,

VOL. XI.

Political.

THE INSTE.

Shall the Loyal People Rule 2-Great Speech of Senator Morton, of Indiana -In the U.S. Senate, January 21, 1868.

Mr. President, if I had not been referred to by my honorable friend from Wisconsin [Mr. Doolittle] in the de- United States ; but at the same time Justic

monumation." that those engaged in it forfeited no rights, civil or political, and have a right to take charge of theirState gov-

exact latitude and longitude of a given spot, and from that can safely begin his survey ; and so I will endeavor to ascertain a proposition in this debata upon which parties are agreed, and the Government, and the clause would start from that proposition. That mean previsely the same thing if it read "the Government of the United war, in the spring of 1865, the rebel States were without State governments this Union a republican form of govof any kind. The loyal State gov! ernment," ernments existing at the beginning of the war had been overturned by the rebels; the rebel State governments erected during the war had been over-turned by our acmies, and at the end of the war there were no governments of any kind, existing in those Sintes, This fact was recognized distinctly by This fact was recognized distinctly by the President of the United States in his proclamation under which the work of reconstruction was commensed in North Carolina in 1865, to which 1

purpose of showing that the President execute the guarantee provided for vested in the Government under the and Legislatures to elect Senators to by the first section we deshared that in this clause of the Constitution is placed in Congress and nowhere else, power to guaranty or maintain a loyal er words, the President launched those of the United States at this this budy. In other of the United States at this this body. tinct recognition of the applicability of and therefore the necessary reading of republican government in each State, State governments into full life and had long been recognized by every at once entrusting a large body of men of this clause of the Constitution, and the Constitution is confirmed by the it has the right to use whatever means that he based his system of reconstruct highest judicial authority which we may be necessary for that purpose. State government on the part of Con-

tion upon it. It is true he recites in this proelamation that he is the Com-mander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States ; but at the same time United States ; but at the same time

bate yesterday, I should not desire to speak on this question, especially at the puts his plan of reconstruction, not upon the exercise of the military ion of Chief Justice Taney. He de-the puts his plan of reconstruction, not upon the exercise of the military ion of Chief Justice Taney. He de-the puts his plan of reconstruction, not upon the exercise of the military ion of Chief Justice Taney. He de-the puts his plan of reconstruction, not upon the exercise of the military ion of Chief Justice Taney. He de-the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the puts his plan of reconstruction and the power. And as the control has related the put has the contr this time. I fear that I shall not have the strength to say what I wish to. The issue here took day is the same term of the guarantee provid-that it is one of the high power is not judical; which prevails throughout the cause of the Constitution which prevails throughout the cause of the Constitution which prevails throughout the cause of the Constitution which a provent is not judical; the term of all propond this provent is not judical; is pollical in the say elsewhere, it is between two parts is provent is not judical to be resident of suppress the relation was conferred upon General Pope field the field register provent is not judical to the supernace. One is, that the wer to suppress the relation was conferred upon General Pope field the field register provent is suppressed by the president, for the supernace of a district; for it is and can only be restored to the support the the cause of the States, in the first and particular of the district suppressed by the president, for the supernace of one of the district suppressed by the president, for the supernace of a district; for it is and can only be restored to the content of the supernace of the suppression of and the cause of the content provent is suppression of the supernace of the content provent is the the supernace. One is, that the were the supernace of one of the district supernace field the ris class of the supernace of the content provent is and can only be restored to the superimeter is a district for the supernace of the supernace of the supernace of the supernace suppression on any provent is that the leaders of the supernace of the power which is called to its aid, but on eides that this power is not judicial; having it tested in that way; in an- the execution of this guarantee, when moment could deny; that if four mil- principle that actuated me, for in that

We are then agreed upon the second

"That when the inhabitants of any State "That when the inhabitants of any State have been declared in a state of insurrection so dust the United States by proclamation of the President, by force and virtue of the act withind "an act further to provide for the col-bection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," approval July 3, 1861, they shall be and are hereby declared to be incapable of casting any vote for electors of President or Vice President of the United States, or of electing Senators or Representatives in Con-States shall guaranty to every State in Then, as the Government of the

promumation of the President issued by vir-tue of an act of Congress hereafter to be pass-ed, authorizing the same,"

mere copies of this proclamation. In the proclamation that proclamation he says: "And whereas the reaction without assuming that he was the waged by a period of the properties of the period of the provide unit of the provide "And whereas the reaction which has b or waged by a participation of the purple of the United States organise the property or natural autor of the United States within the meaning of that its in the property of the United States organised and armed forces have now been almost reaction and revealed on the versition of the United States or or the property or additional provision. Congress could not of itself to the Government theorem, have no been almost reaction and revealed or the State or allowed to speak for his party, and I shall are cept this as a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon on both sides ; that at the end of the congress, submitted to the President is a proposition agreed upon of the property and the property of the on both sides : that at the end of the ior his approval, and perhaps, in a proper case, subject to be reviewed by Congress to be hereafter passed. I am glad to find by looking at the vote, Mr. President, that this is necessarcle of the Constitution declares that "the United States shall gruranty to of the Constitution seems to me cannot be for a moment denied. The the doctrine for which I am now conform of government." This provision president, in assuming to execute this lending; that the power to execute the guarantee himself, is assuming to be guarantee is vested in Congress alone, the inovernment of the United States, and that it is for Congress alone to determine the status and condition of which he clearly is not, but only one of States in their orbits, to proserve them which he clearly is not, but only one of those States, and that the President fore, as this guarantee must be a legis- has no power to proclaim peace or to The measure of the power thus con-United States can only be determined on the part of the President to exe-States until he shall first have been cute the guarantee was without authori- | thereunto authorized by an act of Congress. I therefore, Mr. President, take the executed in the form of law, first to be proposition as conclusively established possed by Congress and then to be both by reason and authority, that abmitted to the President for his apof the United States thus to maintain proval, and if he does not approve it this clause of the Constitution can be executed only by Congress; and taking that as established, I now proceed to Mr. President, this is not an open ask him to read a part of the decision

The Wannesburg Republican.

WAYNESBURG, PA., WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1868.

FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT AS GOD GIVES US TO SEE THE RIGHT .- Lincoln.

er authorizing us to use what ever means may be necessary to execute the first; and we fiel that the Supreme Court of the United States has said that question shall be conclusive, that this question shall be conclusive, that it cannot be reviewed by the courts, rights, they will then rise up and de- important and perhaps hereafter to be powers of the Constitution as any legthat it is a purely political matter; clare that those constitutions are not regarded as vital amendment they islation that can be had not only by and therefore the determination of Con- binding upon them, that they never were committing themselves in prin- reason but by authority, And who gress, that raising up colored men to the made them; and they will throw them ciple, as they had been before by de- are the men that are talking so muchight of suffrage is a means necessary to off, and with them will go the pro- claration, to the doctrine that this about the violation of the Constitution the execution of that power, is a deter- visions which were incorporated there- Government was bound to pay for the and who pretend to be the especial minution which cannot be reviewed by in, declaring that slavery should never slaves, and that it was just and right friends of that instrument? The great the coards, and is conclusive upon the be restored and that their war debt was that we should assume and pay the mass of them only three years ago .

assuming that he had the power to exe- have never been sanctioned by the said, was rejected, and when Congress genery in its place, or were their enterthis guaranty, and basing his proc-lamation upon it, went forward in the cast them out as not being their act were confronted by the fact that every sympathizing in that undertaking. work of reconstruction. It was so an- and deed, as soon as they shall have proposition of compromise had been I had opension the other day to in North Carolina in 1865, to which i beg leave to refer. The others were mere copies of this proclamation. In

Terms of Advertising

JON WORK

such conditions as the nation may pre-seribe for its finite such and rail offer and properti-ty. The other idea is, that the rebel-lion was not sinfil, but was right; is head. Now, I will call the attention of repeated trials that loyal republican the Constitutions formed by the conmy friend from Wisconsin to some State govdraments, governments that ventions now in session would be if any office under the Government of North; and it was not until a year of a state or of a State. It and a half after that time that Come we are then agreed upon the second pleased to refer to a former speech of successfully founded upon the basis States to reconstruct and guaranty reright to take charge of theirState gov erments and be restored to their rom-had been no rebellion and nothing had been nor rebellion and nothing had been nor rebellion and nothing had been nor rebellion and nothing had been nearly half a million five of helvs. The sub-state to resort to given meet and the plan of remosstruction presented by Congress. When a survey or first enters a nut wery State in this Union a republican form a of government. But can all the plan of remosstruction presented by Congress. When a survey or first enters a nut exact latitude and longitude of a given spot, and from that can safely begin poort and from that can safely begin poort for the United States. The Constitution as republican form a of government. But the for a moment, were admit-tion is so clear that it is not necessary to read, government and the plan of remosstruction presented by Congress. The Constitute, which Luwit and to insert a substitute, which Luwit spot, and from that can safely begin in the States shall guaranty to spot, and from that can safely begin in the Constitute, which Luwit spot, and from that can safely begin in the States shall allow in the States which the with the States in the States shall allow in the States which the with the States in the state been safely begin in the States in the state been safely begin in the States in the state beal states to represident of the work for the state in the co

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

NO. 32.

The President of the United States, put into those constitutions, but they This amendment, as I have before stution and establish that of Montwere in arms to overturn the Consti-

repudiated. Those provisions were rebel debt.

Mr. Seward-that the governments even if he concede that the President and they had nothing left to do but to inside of the Federal lines during the

tion.

kind existing in those States. The fourth section of the fourtharti-

every State in this Union a republican contains a vast, undefined power that has never yet been ascertained -- a great supervisory power given to the United from anarchy, revolution and rebellion. by that which is requisite to guaranty or maintain in each State a legal and by, and that the guarantee can only be republican form of government. Whatever power, therefore, may be in each State a republican form of gov-ernment is conveyed by this provi-sion sion.

Now, Mr. President, when the war ended and these States 'were found without Governments of any kind, the mon word, to reconstruct, to maintain as reported in 7 Howard. and guaranty republican State governments in those States, at once attached proposition there is also a concurrence of the two parties. The President has distinctly recognized the fact that its jurisdiction attached when those States were found without republican State governments, and he himself claimed

"Whereas, the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States declares that the United States shall guaran-tee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against havasion and domestic violence ; and whereas, the President of the United States is by the Constitution made Compan-States, and to take care that the laws be faith-fully excouted r and whareas, the rebellion which has been waged by a portion of the people of the United States against the proper-ty constituted authorities of the Government people of the United, States against the proper-ly constituted authorities of the Government thereof in the most violent and revolting form, but whose organized and arrowed forces have now been almost entirely overcome, has in its revolutionary progress, deprived the peo-ple of the State of Nerth Carolines of all chyin sary and proper to carry out and enforce the obligations of the United States to the people

The Secretary read as follows :

under this provision. Upon this proposition there is also a concurrence

to act under this clause of the Consti-tution, and shall protect each of them again t tion, because loyalty is an inhering tution. I will read the preamble of the President's proclamation : "Whereas the fourth section of the fourth "Whereas the fourth section of the fourth

rests with Congress to decide what government is the established one in a State. For, as the United States guarantees to each State a the Government of the United States, Republican government. Congress must necessarily decide what government is estab-lished in the State before it can determine that are not prescribed in the Consti-States is, by the Constitution, made Comman der-in-Chief of the Army and Navy as well as chief civil executive officer of the United States, and is bound by solemn onth faithfully to executive the officer of President of the United States and Representatives of a State are admitted into the councils of the United the State before it can determine the States and Representatives of a State are admitted into the councils of the United the State before it is regulation or not. And when the States and Representatives of a State are admitted into the councils of the United the State before it is regulated in the State before it is regulated in the State are admitted into the councils of the United the State are admitted into the councils of the United the State are admitted into the councils of the United the State are admitted into the councils of the United the first article of the Constithe authority of the government under which they are appointed, as well as its republican charactor, is recognized by the proper con-stitutional authority, and its decision is binding tution of the United States, which declares that:

"The Congress shall have power to make

reconstruction and the work to be tense that those governments are legal upon the execution of the guarantee ure for the purpose of suppressing it done under it would be submitted to and authorized and that we are bound provided for in the Constitution by was a violation of the Constitution of

Executive undertook finally to execute tention of the Senate to that clause in the guarantee hinself without the co- his proclamation of reconstruction. Way of colored suffrage, whether it be in the once a celebrated French woman was operation of Congress. He appointed He says:

provisional Governors, giving to "And with authority to exercise, within the proclamation who should exercise the right of suffrage in the election of Again, speaking of the army : delegatos. And allow me for one moment to refer to that. He says in his proclamation :

State government as herein authorized." "No person shall be qualified as an elector or be eligible as a member of such convention unless he has previously taken and subscribed the oath of aninesty, as set forth in the Presi-dents proclamation of May 29th, A. D. 1865"which was issued on the same day and

what means may be employed for that deut disfranchised in voting for deleter of the means that must be employ- the proclamation of annesty he says : of civil governments; and not only all men of intelligence that reconstruc-The Secretary read as follows : "Moreover, the Constitution of the United States as far as it has provided for an emer-emer of this kind, and autho ized the General

depend upon the other question as to He then announced fourteen classes of what may be required for the purpose persons-

"I. All who are or shall have been preten-"1. All who are or shall have been pretrai-ded evil or diplomatic efficers, or otherwise domestic of foreign agents of the pretended Confederate Government." "13. All persons who have voluntarily participated in said rebellion, and the estimated value of whose taxable property is over twenty thousand dollars."

> fifty thousand or three hundred thous- hesitated. At last, in 1866, the con- last thing to be done, Congress deter- has not sought to establish negro suand men, while the disfranchisement statutional amendment, the fourteenth mined to dig through all the rubbish, premary, nor has it sought to establish that has been created by Congress does article, was brought forward as a basis dig through the soil and the shifting the supremacy of any class or party of

> not extend perhaps to more that fory- of settlement and reconstruction; and sands, and go down to the eternal rock, men. If it had sought to establish five or fifty thousand persons at the there was a tacit understanding, though and there, upon the basis of the ever- negro supremacy it would have been furthest. These provisional governors, it was not embraced in any law or lasting principle of equal and exact an easy matter by excluding from the under authority of the President, were resolution, that if the Southern people justice to all men, we have planted the right of suffrage all men who had been to call conventions; they were to hold should ratify and agree to that amend- column of reconstruction; and, sir, it concerned in the rebellion; in accorthe elections, and they were to count ment, then their State governments will arise slowly but surely, and "the dance with the proposition of the dis-the votes ? they were to exercise all would be accepted. But that amend- gates of hell shall not prevail against tinguished Senator from Massuchusetts,

the powers that are being exercised by ment was rejected, contemptuously re-the military commanders under the re-iceted. The Southern people, counsel-from the introduction of the right of cester in 1865. He proposed to exconstruction acts of Congress. After ed and inspired by the Democracy of suffrage of seven hundred thousand clude all men who had been concerned ple of the State of North Carolina of all civil government, and whereas it becomes necess sary and proper to carry out and enforce the obligations of the United States of the problem in the en-joyment of a republican form of government." I read this, Mr. President, for the these constitutions were formed the the North rejected that amendment, men, just emerged from slavery, were in the rebellion and confer suffrage

Congress for its approval or disapprov-al at the next session. If the Presi-dent had adhered to that determina-in his proclamation, declared that tion I believe that all would have those governments were to be formed July, and I believe another is found have sought to destroy it by force of been well, and that the present state of only by the loyal people of those necessary at this time; but the power arms, and those throughout the counthing would not exist. But, sir, the States; and I beg leave to call the at- is with Congress. Whatever it shall try who have given them aid and

in the way of military power-what- being dragged to the scaffold, and as over Congress shall deem necessary in she passed the statue of liberty she the new State governments should be elected. He prescribed in his is constitutional relations with the Federal State, and upon the people of this nacrimes against liberty, humanity and

Sir, when Congress entered upon progress are being committed in thy Again, speaking of the army : "And they are enjoined to abstain from in any way hindering. Impeding or discouraging the byal people from the organization of a maintained upon the basis of the poses, claim to be its especial friends.

Now, sir, so far from those State white population. We had tried My friend from Wisconsin yester-governments having been organized them. Congress had attempted the day compared what he called the Radiby the loyal people, they were organ- work of reconstruction through the cal party of the North to the radicals ized by the disloyal; every office pass- constitutional amendment by leaving of the South, and when he was asked which was issued on the same day and was a part of same transaction— "And is a voter qualified as preseribed by the constitutation and haves of the State of North Carolina in force immediately before the 20th day of May, A. D. issit." The persons having a right to vote must have the right to vote by the laws of the State, and — must, while or black. The loyal men, either is who is a voter qualified as preseribed by the constitutation and haves of the State of North Carolina in force immediately before ing the purpose for which governments are immediately before white or black. The loyal men, either is who is a voter qualified to vote in the state, and — must, in the properties of the state of the state of the state is an either white important of the state of the state is an either white important of the state of the state is an either white important of the state of the state of the state is an either white important of the state of the st majority of two-thirds of each House. That is estimated, I now proceed to must have the right to vote by the consider what are the powers of Con-That law, then, becomes the execution of the guaran-of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and is the act of the construction of the guarantee and the co tee, and how it shall be executed, and the oath of amnesty. The Presi-what means may be employed for that the oath of amnesty. The Presi-dent disfranchised in voting for dele-rebel States where a rebel has been white and black, in their midst; when were Democrate during the war, men without Governments of any kind, the jurisdiction of the United States, under in their midst; when jurisdiction of the United States, under in their midst; when were Democrats during the war, men define the means. It does not say it was found that Northern men who define the means. It does not say hundred and fifty thousand to three the civil authority for the murder of a had gone down there were driven out who aided in bringing it on." These this provision of the Constitution at once attached ; the power to recognize States in the case of Luthervs, Borden, States in the case of Luthervs, Borden, All that is left to the detarmination of chisement was far greater than that can be found. Those Governments noyances, by the insecurity of life and friend from Wisconsin, after all, is act-Congress. As to the peculiar charae- which has been done by Congress. In utterly failed in answering the purpose property, then it became apparent to ing with that radical party.

that, but they returned the colored tion could not take place upon the was that the reconstruction measures people to a condition of quasi slavery; basis of the white population, and of Congress are intended to establish they made them the slaves of society, something else must be done. negro supremacy. Sir, this proposi-instead of being, as they were before, Now, sir, what was there left to do? tion is without any foundation whatthe slaves of individuals. Under va-rious forms of vagrant laws, they de-tinually by military power, or we must prived them of the rights of freemen, use such machinery upon such a new Trumbull that in every State but basis as would enable loyal republican two the white voters registered outcontrol of their rebel masters, who state governments to be, raised up; numbered, the colored voters; and the and in the last resort—and I will say fact that in two States the colored voters

But, Mr. President, time passed on. Congress waited long, the nation wait- out-numbered the white voters is ow-

Congress assembled in December, '65. ed long, experience had to come to the ing to the simple accident that there domestic violence. "Under this article of the Constitution it reserve to decide what government that is not local to recognize a state Government that is not local to number at least two hundred and once annul those governments. It done—in the last resort, and as the than there are white men. Congress