

It could have been readily done. But, sir, Congress has only sought to divide the political power between the loyal and the disloyal. It has disfranchised some fifty thousand disloyal leaders, leaving all the rest of the people to vote. They have been enfranchised on both sides, that neither should be placed in the power of the other. The rebels have the right to vote so that they shall not be under the control and power of the Union men only, and the Union men have been allowed to vote so that they shall not be under the control and power of the rebels. This is the policy, to divide the political power among those men for the protection of each. Sir, the charge that we intend to create a negro supremacy or colored State governments is without the slightest foundation, for it would have been in the power of Congress to have easily conferred such supremacy by simply excluding the disloyal from the right of suffrage—a power which it had the clear right to exercise.

Now, Mr. President, allow me to consider for a moment the amendment offered by the Senate from Wisconsin and upon which his speech was made, and see what its effect will be. I will not say its purpose; but it is inevitable effect—should it become a law. I ask the Secretary to read the amendment which the Senator from Wisconsin has proposed to the Senate.

The Secretary read as follows:

Provided, nevertheless, That upon an election for the ratification of any constitution, or of officers under the same, previous to its adoption in any State no person not having the qualifications of an elector under the constitution and laws of such State previous to the rebellion shall be allowed to vote, unless he shall possess one of the following qualifications:

1. He shall have served as a soldier in the Federal army for one year or more.

2. He shall have sufficient education to read the Constitution of the United States and to subscribe his name to an oath to support the same; or

3. He shall be the wife of a freedhold of the value of \$250.

Mr. MORRIS, Sir, these qualifications are, by the terms of the amendment, to apply to those who were not authorized to vote by the laws of the State before the rebellion—in other words the colored men. He proposed to allow a negro to vote if he has been in the Federal Army one year, and he proposes to allow a rebel white man to vote, although he has served in the rebel army four years! He proposes that a colored man shall not vote unless he has sufficient education to read the Constitution of the United States, and to subscribe his name to an oath to support the same, whereas he permits a rebel white man to vote who never heard of A and does not know how to make his mark even to a note given for whiskey. [Laughter.]

Again, sir, he proposes that the colored man shall not vote unless he shall be possessed in his own right or in the right of his wife of a freedhold of \$250, a provision which, of course, went out of nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand colored men in the South. The colored man cannot vote unless he has a freedhold of \$250, but the white rebel, who never paid poll-tax in his life, never paid an honest debt, is to be allowed to vote. Sir, what would be the inevitable effect of the adoption of this amendment? To cut off such a large part of the colored vote as to leave the rebel white vote largely in the ascendancy and to put these new State governments there to be formed again into the hands of the rebels. Sir, I will not spend longer time upon that.

My friend yesterday alluded to my indorsement of the president's policy in a speech in 1865. I never indorsed what is now called the President's policy. In the summer of 1865, when I saw a division coming between the President and the Republican party, and when I could not help anticipating the direful consequences that must result from it, I made a speech in which I repelled certain statements that had been made against the President, and denied the charge that by issuing his proclamation of May 29, 1864, he had thereby left the Republican party. I said that he had not left the Republican party by that act. I did show the policy of that proclamation was even more radical than that of Mr. Lincoln. I did show that it was more radical than the Winter Davis bill of the summer of 1864. But sir, it was all upon the distinct understanding that whatever the President did that his whole policy or action was to be submitted to Congress for its consideration and decision; and as I before remarked, if that had been done all would have been well. I did not then advocate universal colored suffrage in the South, and I have before given my reasons for it, and in doing that I was acting in harmony with the great body of the Republican party of the North. It was nearly a year after that time, when Congress passed the constitutional amendment which still left the question of suffrage with the Southern States, left it with the white people; and it was not until a year and a half after that time that Congress came to the guarantee of the Constitution without raising up a new class of loyal voters.

And, sir, nobody concurred in that result more heartily than myself. I confess (and I do it without shame) that I have been educated by the great events of this war. The American people have been educated rapidly; and the man who says he has learned nothing, that he stands where he did six years ago, is like an ancient mill-post by the side of a deserted highway. We, Mr. President, have advanced step by step. When this war began we did not contemplate the destruction of slavery when Crittenden resolution was passed, declaring that the war was not prosecuted for conquest or to overturn the institutions of any State. I know that that was intended as an assurance

that slavery should not be destroyed and it received the vote, I believe, of every Republican member in both Houses of Congress, but in a few months after that time it was found by the event of the war that we could not preserve slavery—not prosecute the war to destroy slavery—but destroy slavery to prosecute the war. Which was the better? To stand by the resolution and let the Union go, or to stand by the Union and let the resolution go? Congress could not stand by that pledge, and it was "more honored in the breach than the observance." Mr. Lincoln issued his proclamation of emancipation, setting free the slaves of rebels. It was dictated by the stern and bloody experience of the times. Mr. Lincoln had no choice left him. When we began this contest no one thought we would use colored soldiers in the war. The distinguished Senator sitting by me here (Mr. Cameron) when in the winter of 1861 he first brought forward the proposition as Secretary of War, to use colored soldiers, was greatly in advance of the public opinion, and was thought to be visionary, but as the war progressed it became manifest to the intelligent men that we must not only destroy slavery but we must avail ourselves of every instrumentality in our power for the purpose of putting down the rebellion, and the whole country accorded in the use of colored soldiers, and gallant and glorious service they rendered.

In 1864 a proposition was brought forward in this body to amend the Constitution of the United States by abolishing slavery. We do not think that is very radical now, but it was very radical then; it was the greatest measure of the age, and almost of modern times, and it was finally passed; an amendment setting free every human being within the limits of the United States. But, sir, we were very far from where we are now. All will remember the celebrated Winter Davis bill, passed in June, 1864, which took the power of reconstruction out of the hands of the President, where it did not in fact belong.

I refer to Mr. Lincoln; but if that bill had passed it would perhaps have resulted in the destruction of this Government. We can all see it now, although it was then thought to be the most radical measure of the times. What did it propose? It proposed to prescribe a plan to take effect when the rebel States should be restored. I refer to that bill simply to show how we have all traveled. It required but one condition or guarantee on the part of the South, and that was that they should put in their constitutions a provision prohibiting slavery. It required no equalization of representation; no security against rebel debts, or against payment of emancipated slaves; and it confined the right of suffrage to white men. But it was thought to be a great step in advance at the time, and so it was; but events were passing rapidly, and in 1865 the President came forward with his proposition, and I am stating what is true from an examination of the documents when I say that but for the want of power with the President his scheme in itself considered was far more radical than that of the Winter Davis bill; but events were rapidly teaching the statesmen of the time that we could not reconstruct upon that basis.

Still, Congress was not prepared to take a forward step until the summer of 1868, in the passage of the constitutional amendment, which we now regard as a half way measure, necessary and vital as far as it went, but not going far enough. That was rejected, and we were then compelled to go further, and we have now fallen upon the plan of reconstruction which I have been considering. It has been dictated by the logic of events. It overrides all arguments, overrides all prejudices, overrides all theory, in the presence of the necessity for preserving the life of this nation; and if future events shall determine that we must go further, I for one am prepared to say that I will go as far as shall be necessary to the execution of this guarantee, the reconstruction of this Republic upon a right basis, and the successful restoration of every part of this Union.

Mr. President, the column of reconstruction, as I before remarked, has risen slowly. It has not been born from a single stone. It is composed of many blocks, painfully laid up and put together, and cemented by the tears and blood of the nation. Sir, we have done nothing for punishment, ay, too little for punishment. Justice has not had her demand. Not a man has yet been executed for this great treason. The arch fiend himself is now at liberty upon bail. No man is to be punished; and now while punishment has gone by, as we all know, we are insisting only upon security for the future. We are simply asking that the evil spirits who brought this war upon us shall not again come into power during this generation, again to bring upon us rebellion and calamity. We are simply asking for those securities that we deem necessary for our peace and the peace of our posterity.

Sir, there is one great difference between this Union party and the so-called Democratic party. Our principles are those of humanity; they are those of justice; they are those of equal rights; they are principles that appeal to the hearts and consciences of men; while on the other side we hear appeals to the prejudice of race against race. The white man is overwhelmingly in the majority in this country, and that majority gaining in proportion from year to year until the colored men will finally be a handful in this country; and yet we hear the prejudices of the whole race appealed to to crush this other race, and to prevent it from rising to supremacy and power. Sir,

there is nothing lovely, in that policy or that appeal. How does that principle compare with ours? We are standing upon the broad platform of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We say that these rights are not given by laws—are not given by the Constitution; but they are the gift of God to every man born into the world. Oh, sir, how glorious is this great principle compared with the inhuman—I might say the heathenish—appeal to the prejudice of race against race; the endeavor further to excite the strong against the weak; endeavor further to deprive the weak of their rights of protection against the strong.

The Waynesburg Republican.

WAYNESBURG, PENNA.
Wednesday, Feb. 5, '68.

HOW DUMB?

On the 20th inst., Mr. Cary, a representative, Independent, from Ohio, propounded the following questions to Mr. Bingham relating to the Reconstruction bill now before Congress:

First—If Gen. Grant shall neglect or refuse to execute the provisions of this law, or if in its execution he shall act in an oppressive and cruel manner, to what tribunal shall he be amenable for his malfeasance?

Second—As by the terms of the bill the President cannot interfere, can General Grant be tried by court martial, and if so by whose orders, and who shall constitute the court?

Third—Not being a civil officer, can he be impeached? If so, by whom, and before what tribunal?

Fourth—If he cannot be arraigned by any earthly tribunal, is he not made an absolute despot?

Mr. Bingham in reply said: I answer this sort of argument in the word of the great men who formed our Constitution, and who in forming it proved themselves second to no men that ever lived upon the earth, or to whom were ever entrusted the destinies of a great people. The language of Hamilton was, and it ought to be written in the discussion on the very limits of your doors, that "it is in vain that you impose constitutional shackles on the right of a nation to defend its own existence." Madison, who is called father of the Constitution, took up the words and reiterated them in another form, saying, "It is in vain that you attempt to impose Constitutional restrictions on the impulse of self preservation." A law higher than that given by Madison or Hamilton, anterior to the birth of nations upon the earth, gave out the law for the government of individuals and collective men: "Preserve thy life." It is the duty of the Nation, entrusted as it is with the grandest and noblest trust that was ever committed to a political society, to preserve its own life. This life was assailed for four long years by armed revolt and treason. Three years have elapsed since the surrender of the armies to the rebellion. When the cloud of battle lifted from the stricken fields of the Potomac to the banks of the Rio Grande, the fact was disclosed that the State institutions, Constitutional State Governments, had perished in that conflict. The people of the United States asked no indemnity for the past. They asked only security for the future.

Let the people of the country decide between us, whether the people of the South shall oppose taxation to reimburse the cost of the rebellion, whether they shall impose taxation to reimburse the price of emancipated slaves, and whether they shall come into the Halls of Congress in the persons of their Senators and representatives, to repudiate and violate the plighted faith of this nation. That is the issue which is made up here. That is the issue on which we go to the people. That is the ground on which we enact this law. We say to the General of the Army, carry out the provisions of this act in good faith.

My colleague (Mr. Cary) rises in his seat and asks whether the General of the Army is responsible in case he violates this law and tramples upon the rights of the people? I regret that my colleague deemed it his duty to make such inquiry. I say to the General of the Army, I say to every other judicial and executive officer of the Government, that he is neither above the people, nor above the people's laws. The General of our Army is but the creature of Congressional enactment. The breath which made him General may unmake him to-morrow. I answer my colleague further, that by the fifth section of the bill, if the General of the Army be guilty of any violation of this law he is liable by its very terms to be arraigned before the civil tribunals of the United States on an indictment, and held to answer for his high misdemeanor, and on conviction is liable to take his place in the penitentiary and pay a forfeit not exceeding five thousand dollars. I trust that my colleague is satisfied with the severity of the penalty.

This strikes us as being rather well said, for a man that was "struck dumb" by the profound reasoning of his adversary. Will the Messenger publish the "dumb" man's speech?

SENATOR MORTON'S SPEECH.

We give place this week to the eloquent and logical speech of Senator Morton. It will repay every reader for perusal and we truly hope every one will read it. The facts are unanswerable. Republicans let it be your Bible for the coming campaign! Cut it out and carry it with you. Read it to your Democratic neighbors. If there is reason in them they will accept its truths

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF GREENE COUNTY, FOR 1867.

STATE, COUNTY AND MILITIA TAX FOR 1867 AND PREVIOUS YEARS, SHOWING THE AMOUNT COLLECTED AND THE AMOUNT OUTSTANDING:

CONSTATABLES.	TOWNSHIPS.	County tax, since pd. Yet due.	State tax, since pd. Yet due.	Militia tax, since pd. Yet due.
W. O. Honn	Gilmore	273 85	273 85	100 25
W. O. Honn	Carmichaels Borough	1 80	1 80	100 25
W. O. Honn	Franklin	127 37	127 37	100 25
W. O. Honn	Greene	20 00	20 00	100 25
W. O. Honn	Monongahela	31 48	31 48	100 25
W. O. Honn	Marion	280 85	280 85	100 25
W. O. Honn	Washington	620 28	620 28	100 25
W. O. Honn	Whitely	136 04	136 04	100 25
W. O. Honn	Springhill	220 70	220 70	100 25
W. O. Honn	Center	36 21	36 21	100 25
W. O. Honn	Carmichaels Borough	31 00	31 00	100 25
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