## Grening Telegraph

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1868.

The Facts of History versus Modern Conservative Theories.

ONE good result of the discussion which, for some little time, has been raging within the ranks of the Democratic party upon the question of extending the suffrage, is, that it has forced the conservative element to exhibit the real weakness of the arguments by which it seeks to maintain its position. Such articles as appeared in the Chicago Times and the Boston Post in favor of impartial suffrage, necessitated some sort of a reply; and we have accordingly had from such journals as the Age the best arguments they could devise in favor of the justice or reasonableness of determining a man's right to the elective franchise by the color of his skin. We have now the best which conservatism can say for itself. It has brought forward its strongest arguments. The following, from the Age, contains the whole case on that side :-

"The Democratic party will not agree that negroes shall be made a component part of the governing and ruling class in this country. They were excluded from all participation in the formation of our structure of government. White men framed the Constitution and enacte i the laws, and then declared that the compact, with all the political rights and privileges springing from it, was made for themselves and their posterity. The colored man was not recognized in a political sense then, nor has he at any time since been vested with the rights of a citizen of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that under the Constitution he was no citizen. In some of he Constitution he was no citizen. In some of the States negroes have been granted the ballot, but always with such restrictions as mark the difference between the white and colored races.

It is cheering to find that a great measure of justice and intelligent progress is opposed by no stronger arguments than these. Granting the assumed facts of history to be as claimed in the foregoing extract, what does the argument amount to except the old, wornout, but ever-renewed one of a purblind conservatism, that, having done wrong in the past, we ought to continue to do so in the future? Our fathers oppressed the colored citizens, therefore we should do so. We ourselves have hitherto done injustice to this class of the people, therefore we should continue to do so. This is an argument that may satisfy conscienceless prejudice, but it can never satisfy the demands of justice and right. To answer a man's claim to present justice by referring him to his experience of past injustice, is a style of reasoning, or, rather, a style of disregarding reason, which none but a conservative, in the worst sense of that much misused word, would be guilty of. The true argument is, that it we have done wrong in the past, so much the more reason why we should do right in the tutare. That injustice exists at all is the very reason why it should cease to exist.

The argument of the Chicago Times is that the past course of the Democratic party on this question has resulted in disaster, and if adhered to will result in death. To which the Age replies, "We have always done so." The argument of the Boston Post is, that deprivation of rights on account of color is

unjust. To which, again, the Age replies,

"We have always practised it."

But in the extract above given, our contemporary falsifles the facts of history as grossly as he violates the canons of sound reasoning and right feeling. The assertions that colored men "were excluded from all participation in the formation of our structure of government;" and that "white men framed the Constitution and enacted the laws, and then declared that the compact, with all the rights and privileges springing from it, was made for themselves and their posterity"-meaning for them only; that "the colored man was not recognized in a political sense then;" that "in some of the States negroes have been granted the ballot, but always with such restrictions as mark the difference between the white and colored races," are each and all of them not merely untrue, but positively talse.

The Declaration of Independence, the first great organic act of the people of this nation. declared "all men" to be "created equal." Two years later the Articles of Confederation were formed, and remained the law of the land down to the adoption of tae present Constitution. Those articles recognized free negroes as citizens, and granted to them the same privileges of citizenship which belonged to white inhabitants. And this was done, too, in defiance of the efforts of the delegates from South Carolina, who tried to amend the articles so as to confine the citizenship to whites; but the proposed amendment was lost, only two States voting for it. They were thus citizens of the United States from the very foundation of the Government. In five, at least, of the origipal thirteen States, free colored men possessed the elective franchise, and were thus a portion of the very people that elected the delegates who framed, and the Conventions and Legislatures that adopted, the Constitution. They had been declared "equal" by the Declaration or Independence; they had been recognized as citizens by the Articles of Confederation; and they no v, as a recognized portion of the political State. participated, through their representatives, in the framing and adoption of the Constitution. So much for the facts of history.

adoption of the Constitution, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, in his great "corner-stone" speech, delivered at Savannah in 1861, and acting as "Vice President" of the so-called Southern Confederacy, took up this subject, and treated it with his usual candor and exhaustiveness. After stating that the "new" or Confederate Constitution had forever put at rest all agitating questions regarding slavery as the proper status of the negro, which he asserted to be the immediate cause of the Rebellion, he said, speaking of Jefferson and his compeers:-" The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the suslavement of the African race was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. \* \* \* \* Those ideas, horeever, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of racee. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation; and the idea of a Government built upon it, when the 'storm came and the wind blew,' it fell .-

"Our new Government is founded on exactly the opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."

It will be seen from the above extract that the very ideas which the Age falsely ascribes to the founders of our Government, Mr. Stephens asserts to have been the fundamental ideas of the late Rebel Government; while he asserts that the opposite ideas, viz., those resting upon the equality of human rights, were the foundation of the old Government erected by Jefferson and the statesmen of the Revolution.

The theory of the Age is simply the detestable theory invented by the late Chief Justice Taney to defend his infamous decision in the Dred Scott case. How villanously it belied the facts of history, may be seen by the following extracts from the conclusive dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Curtis:-

"To determine whether any free persons descended from Africans held in slavery were citizens under the Confederation, and consequently at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it is only necessary to know whether any such persons were citizens of either of the States under the Confederation at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

"Of this there can be no doubt. At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Caroina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them ashad the other necessary qualifications, possessed the franchise of electors on equal terms with other citizens. \* \* \*

"It has been often asserted that the Constitution was made exclusively by and for the white race. It has already been shown that in five of the orlginal thirteen States colored persons then possessed the elective franchise, and were among those by whom the Constitution was ordained and established. If so, it is not true, in point of fact, that the Constitution was made exclusively by the white race; and that it was made exclusively for the white race is, in my opinion, not only an assumption not war-ranted by anything in the Constitution, but con-tradicted by ds opening declaration that it was ordanied and established by the people of the United Stoles, for themselves and their posterity. And as free colored persons were then citizens of at least five States, and so in every sense part of the people of the United States, they were among those for whom and whose posterity the Constitution was ordained and established."

The truth is, this entire Taney theory of the status of the colored citizen in this country is without any foundation in truth, and was concocted to meet a certain case.

The Age, too, is equally unfortunate in regard to the facts of contemporaneous history, when it asserts that in those States where the right of suffrage has been granted to colored persons, it has "always been with such restrictions as mark the difference between the white and colored races." In several of the States colored citizens exercise the elective tranchise, and in only one of them, we believe, are there such "restrictions" as the Age asserts to be universal. In New York a property qualification of \$250 is required of colored citizens, but not of whites. We have followed this subject out somewhat at length, since, by constant and reiterated assertions, the theory borrowed by the Age from the Dred Scott decision has obtained a sort of credence not only totally unwarranted by the facts of history, but absolutely at war with them. The sentiments of the founders of the Government towards the colored man were well up to that of the most enlightened radicals of to-day. In the broad circuit of nearly a hundred years, we are but returning to where the fathers of the republic stood when Jefferson declared all men to be created equal, when Colonel Greene led a lack regiment in the battles of the Revolution, and when the Articles of Confederation made every free colored inhabitant of the thirteen States citizens of the United States,

The Report of General Grant.

THE Report of the General-in Chief consists of the reports to him of the subordinate commanders, and is quite voluminous. The only two documents of any general interest among the large batch transmitted, are those of Generals Sheridan and Sickles. Treating, as they do, of the spirit manifested in the various Southern States, all of whom are included within their districts, they form a valuable testimony as to the real feelings of the reconstructed. General Sheridan has travelled extensively throughout Texas and the various States under his control, and gives as his deliberate conviction that-"My own opinion is tha the trial of a white man for the murder of a freedman in Texas would be a farce," and adds, "I make this statement because truth compels me, and for no other reason."

Such is the evidence afforded by a Gene-We might here rest the case, but we desire | ral amply qualified to judge of the spirit of to introduce a little conservative testimony | the Southern people. He also states that | 1241m

soldiers and freedmen. The General adds, "But this is not so," and adduces the cases of the marder of two unarmed soldiers, and the refusal of the Grand Jury to find bills against the murderers. A little further on, the report says: - "It is strange that when a white man is killed by Indians on our extreme frontiers, the greatest excitement will take place, but on the killing of many freedmen in the settlements, nothing is done." And, again, in order that his reporting such a deplorable condition of affairs may not be construed into unkindness, he adds:-"I cannot belp but see this, and I cannot help but tell it to my superiors, no matter how unpleasant it may be to the authorities of Texas." So much for the declarations of General P. H.

General D. E. Sickles bears testimony to the desperate condition of affairs in his district. He adduces instance after instance of marders of harmless negroes, and persecutions of white loyalists and teachers, and declares his inability to prevent it under the existing institutions. He states that secret Rebel societies have to be broken up by force, and that General Wade Hampton has violated his parole if he made the remarks generally attributed to him. He also declares that, wherever failure has attended the attempts of the freedmen to work, that it was the fault of the planters, and says, in the words of the Marquis Sligo:-"Whenever the planters wish the thing to succeed, it is successful." The reports of these two high officials clearly prove that the South is not in a condition to be left without restraint.

And yet General Grant, in his few remarks. states that the progress of restoration in the outhern States is all that could be expected. With these evidences before him, we are at a loss to see on what he based his assertion. We prefer to take the word of officers on the spot, and, on the contrary, believe that the South is rebellious still; and the treason still existing must be crushed out, by the sword and by starvation if necessary.

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the city so leiting advertisements, subscriptions, etc. All communications addressed to him at Box 1480 Post Office, will be prompily attended to J. S. SHEPPARD & CO.

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PHILADELPHIA, I ecember 3, 1866.

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OF PHILADELPHIA

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thronological Fras.
Chronological Fras.
Chronological Fras.
Chronological Fras.
Signs of the Times and Seasons.
Signs of the Times and Seasons.
Signs of the Times and France.
Old and New Style.
Commencement of the Year.
To ascertain the Length of the Day and Night Morning and Eventog Stars.
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Calendars of the Months
Even s (American) 4865 1896.
Events (Forelan), 1805, 1886
Events (Forelan), 1805, 1886
Bulloud Accidents in the United States 1886.
Disasters to Ocean Steemars, 1865 1896.
Steamers Lost and Destroyen in the United States.

Stramors Lost and Destroyen in the United States.

1805, 1805.
Debt of the United States.

Executions in the United States, 1865.
Fecto ogy (An cricain), 1855–1866.
Losses by Shipwreck (American) 1836.
Interfor Dimensions of Thea tes and Opera Houses in America and Europe.

Square Feet covered by Theatres and Opera Houses in America and Europe.

Square Feet covered by Theatres and Opera Houses in America and Europe.

Square Feet covered by Theatres and Opera Houses.

Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, 1867. Archibishops and Bishops

Incomed List. Archibishops and Bishops

Incomed American Bishops, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United sites. 1877.
Deceased American Bishops, Protestant Episcopal Church.

Technical Measures.

String of the War of the Robellon.

Men in nished to the United States Army during the War of the Rebellon.

Number of Troops furnished by the States.

Number of Troops furnished under Different Calls.
Colored Troops in histed during the War Mortality of the War in he Union Army.

Nortality in Different Arms of the Service.

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Froportion per Thousand of Deaths from Diseases in the reveral States

Proportion of Deaths from all Causes in the Troops of each state

I roportion in each Branch of the Service.
Con mustlen Money paid in different States.

Bounty paid during the War.
Aggregate Federal Force, March 1 1885.

Distribution of the available Federal Force, March 1, 1885.

Rebel Forces surrendered to the United States at the close of the War The Gevernments of the World, 1867. Rate Governments, November, 1866. Territorial Governments, November 1866. Battles of the Revolution, Dates and Losses.

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