POLITICAL.

ANOTHER BIG MEETING AT CONCERT HALL.

Speech of Senator Morton.

Concert Hall was crowded last evening, and notwithstanding the rain, many ladies were among the audience. Every seat was occupied and it was scarcely possible to obtain standing room. The meeting was the second of the series of mass-meetings to be held under the auspices of the Union Leagues.

At eight o'clock the meeting was called to order by Francis Wells, Esq., who nominated Col. John W. Forney for President. The nomination was unanimously ratified.

SPEECH OF COL. FORNEY.

Colonel Forney then said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: This is an occasion to which the loyal people of Philadelphia have looked forward with bright anticipations. They have impatiently awaited the coming of this meeting and hearing that great Tribune who, in the Senate of the United States, when the public mind was distressed by mischievous and varying accusations against the great work of reconstruction, laid before the country and the world the reasons why that work had been heard in the American Senate since the days of Webster and Clay. [Applause.] Among the galaxy of patriotic Governors, who, during the perilous period, have contributed by their eloquent words and by their resources to the elevation of the loyal mind and to the advancement of the loyal armies, Governor Morton stood prominent. [Cheering.] He is one of that class of men who have been rescued from their errors by the great teachings of the war, and who, in the hour of danger, when their courage, have given so much strength to this great and athletic Republican organization. It was to his indomitable courage, his unshaken faith, and his great ability, that the country was indebted for the position of Indiana in the movement for the overthrow of that which redounds signally to his individual credit and to the honor of his State. To the same degree he shared the confidence of that illustrious martyr, Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] Lincoln and his cabinet were wisely detaining you longer from the feast that awaits you, I have the honor to introduce Governor Forty Morton, of Indiana.

SPEECH OF SENATOR MORTON.

Senator Morton was received with tumultuous applause. When quiet was restored he spoke as follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS:—I am suffering from a severe cold and am physically weak, and fear that I shall not be able to make myself heard to-night by this large audience. The very kind and flattering words which have been spoken by my friend, Colonel Forney, serve to increase my embarrassment, from the fear that my voice will fail to reach more than one-fourth of you. However, I shall endeavor to do my part to the extent of my ability to discharge my duty to you and to my self.

When the walls have been erected, the roof put on, and the house nearly finished, the incendiary may cast his brand into the shavings and splinters that are still left, and cause the structure to be consumed to ashes. So the work of reconstruction, now nearly finished, and which we desire to complete, is exposed to a like danger, the incendiary is lurking around the premises ready to kindle the fire, and we have met in convention in the city of New York, following the example of the people of South Carolina, resolved that the reconstruction laws of Congress are unconstitutional, null and void. By this resolution they instructed the people of the States that the reconstruction laws, being unconstitutional, were no laws at all, and were not binding on the people. The new State government which had been brought into existence by these laws were equally illegal and unauthorized, and were not entitled to the obedience or submission of the people of the United States. This resolution was an invitation to the people of the South to nullify the laws of Congress and to overturn the governments that had been erected. It was a full and complete assertion of the nullification doctrine of 1832, which, if admitted or carried out, would be as fatal to the Government as the doctrine of secession. General Blair, the Democratic candidate for Vice President, in a letter written some three or four days before the convention, which was placed in the hands of every member, and which letter brought the unanimous nomination, asserted the doctrine of nullification even more explicitly than did the platform of the convention. He declared that reconstruction was the only issue; that all questions of finance, tariff, and the currency were a go, he left out of view. He stated that the Democratic party had the right to elect a President, and a majority of the House of Representatives, but that, owing to the peculiar organization of the Senate, they could not change the character of that body during four years, therefore, it was impossible to repeal the reconstruction laws or to inflict any injury upon the bean done; and, consequently, it was the duty of the new President to nullify the laws, and (in his own language), "to trample them into the dust; to disband the army of the United States to overturn and destroy the new State governments in the South." He made nullification broad, direct, forcible *nullification*—the only issue to be decided in the election, and declared that upon this issue alone would he suffer his name to be presented to the country. This is the issue his name was presented to the convention, and he was unanimously nominated. His nomination was moved by a rebel general from Kentucky, was seconded by a rebel general from South Carolina, and carried by the overwhelming rebel sentiment in the convention. The Democratic party goes to the country upon the broad proposition that it will trample into dust the laws of Congress; that it will destroy legislation by force and violence; that the executive shall crush out the legislative power. This, my friends, is what Peaceable nullification is as impossible as was peaceable secession. When the President of the United States shall, by military power, overthrow the laws of the land, the Government is destroyed, and we have nothing left but a despotism. The Democratic party has put itself in a remarkable position; it proposes to elect a President for the purpose of overthrowing the laws, and therefore no policy which does not involve revolution and war.

Already we see the effect of this avowed policy in the South. Already the new constitution of Georgia and the reconstruction laws of Congress have been nullified by the action of the Democratic members of the Georgia Legislature in violation of their oaths, they expelled from their Legislature twenty-four colored members, on account of their color. The Democratic members were in the minority in the Legislature, but they very ingeniously embraced the occasion of all honest citizens of the State to carry out their purpose, and then declared that upon this resolution the colored man should not voice, and the white man should not of a few months' detaining you longer from the feast that awaits you, I have the honor to introduce Colonel Forney Morton, of Indiana.

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[At this point a gentleman in the audience proposed three cheers for the success of the union of the Georgia Legislature. The proposition was enthusiastically received.]

It was an act of nullification and revolution which will disband and it could not be carried out in the face of the combined forces of the country. We do not admit that the power of Congress over the reconstruction of the States is unlimited. [Applause.] Reconstruction is not complete until there are State governments in the States, but has no power to protect them being removed the next day by the resistance of rebels. The Constitution guarantees to the United States "shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government." The word "guarantee" is a law term, and is used here in its legal sense. The contract of "guarantee" is understood to do something in case somebody else fails to do it. In other parts the United States is liable to do it. To guarantee the payment of a note is to undertake to pay it in case the original debtor does not. It is the duty of the several States under the Constitution to maintain a republican form of government, and in case of their failing the Constitution is that if the States, or any of them, should fail to perform their duty in that respect, the United States shall take such steps or use such means whereby the republican form of government shall be erected and maintained. I am satisfied that if the Union League had done which has been set up shall be overthrown, the duty of the National Government will be enforced at once or more. So that the duty of maintaining a republican form of government is a joint part of the exception of the guarantee. As Congress had the constitutional power to order the erection of three governments, through the operation of the reconstruction laws, it has the power to protect them until they are established, and can maintain themselves against their enemies.

And now, my friends, riot and bloodshed prevail throughout the United States. Organized secret societies are attempting by murder, assassination, and outrage to defeat the work of Union white men and all who do not encourage them in their purpose to vote away his rights. It is now the deliberate and settled policy of the Southern Democracy to violence and bloodshed, and by an unrelenting and cruel proscription to drive out every Union white man who does not give his allegiance to their policy, to compel him to abandon his property and fly from home for the sake of his life. He is proscribed in all the relations of life. In a recent speech at Atlanta Mr. Toombs pointed out the course to be followed. The Union white man was to be treated as a political and social enemy. The physician should not allow himself to be called into a Union family; the lawyer should not take a fee from a Union man; the mechanic should not shoe his horse; the merchant should not sell him a pound of coffee or a yard of cloth; he should not be his neighbor, recognize him upon the public highway, speak to his family, or in any way treat him as a human being. Wade Hampton, soon after his return from Cuba, in a speech at Columbia, proclaimed the policy which was to be pursued toward the negro—which in short was *exercise by extermination*. He said that the negro would vote the Democratic ticket he pleased, or he would be driven from the polls; he should not receive from them any employment, he should be deprived every means of putting bread into the mouths of his wife and children. The purpose was to drive the negro out of surrendering his political rights and freedom, to the dominion of starvation, and of starvation for himself and his family. What was the poor negro to do? Unless he was a proprietor, he could not go on the next; he could not live on the public road; he had no means of getting North; they knew their terrible advantages, and have precisely the purpose to use them. Human nature, weak and frail as it is, never appeared to more advantage than in this proposition of Wade Hampton's. The King of Dahomey never adopted a poorer more fiendish or inhuman. In the progress of such a system, the boasted civilization of the South sinks into the level of a scandal and a reproach. [Applause.]

General Seymour be elected we may expect nullification and revolution in every rebel state; we may expect that all that has been done will be undone. The negroes will be delivered up to the tender mercies of their former masters, stripped of their political rights, and most probably reduced to slavery. Every Union white man will be driven from his home and his property into exile, as a punishment for his fidelity to the Union. War will become the chronic condition of the country, and, in all probability, will not be confined to the Southern States, but will be extended to the North.

The success of the Democratic party necessarily involves the repudiation of the national debt. It will be morally impossible for the party to pay the debt if placed in power. A Democratic party, like an individual, has an existence and a temperament from which it cannot escape any more than a man can escape from the temperament and character with which he was born and bred. The character and life of a party is determined by the character of the men who compose it. However in its professions, its action would be determined by the elements that composed it. The Northern wing of the Democratic party is composed chiefly of those who opposed the war, who sympathized with the rebellion, (many of them giving it active aid and comfort,) who opposed the conscription of the debt in beginning, who declared that the legal tender notes were illegal and worthless, but not only refused to lend their money to the Government, but endeavored to prevent others from doing so, who carried every prejudice and feeling is now hostile to the payment of the debt, one to the men who own it. The Southern wing of the party is composed of the actual rebels; the men who waged war against the Government for four years; the men who invested their property in Confederate stocks and bonds and lost everything; they were subdued, and are now impoverished, embittered and desperate. Is there any man insane enough to believe that if these men were placed in power they would trust themselves in common with the people of the United States to pay our debt or the interest upon it? In a moral sense, it would be impossible for them to do it. Repudiation would follow inevitably their ascendancy to power. There is only one condition upon which they would pay the national debt, and that would be the assumption by the Government of the rebel debt, placing it upon the same foundation with our own. But this would swell the aggregate to such an extent that the debt could not be paid at all, and repudiation would be the final result. I say man insane enough to believe that these men would bind themselves to pay pensions to Union soldiers, and to their widows and orphans whose lives own were provided for at the same time? That would be against human nature. They would never provide for the Union soldier except upon the condition of the rebel soldier being placed upon an equal footing, and receiving the same bounty and pension. But while repudiation would be the inevitable result of Democratic success, they do not say so in this capacity, for that would be unpopular. They say "the national debt must be paid, but it must be paid in *greenbacks*." They were opposed to greenbacks during the war, when the country was in the most absolute character; but they are favorable to them in a time of peace, when the same necessity does not exist. Just in what greenbacks do they propose to make payment? In the old one that was issued during and contemporaneously with the sale of bonds, or in a new one to be now issued for that purpose? Their proposition is that after the war is over and long after the bonds have been sold the Government shall issue new greenbacks in quantities sufficient to pay the debt. We have now in circulation three hundred and sixty-five millions of these notes. They are overdue and draw no interest, and the Government has refused for some time to receive them; they are consequently under par, and are now worth only sixty-eight or sixty-nine cents on the dollar. That is all we get or give for them. But what makes these notes worth so much as they are, and why they have depreciated so? The Government will yet redeem them—will redeem them in coin, according to its promise. Should the Government make a new issue of five hundred millions of greenbacks, depreciation would be the inevitable result, and they will fall to the ground, like the leaves in autumn, utterly worthless, as was the fate of a similar currency in France during the French revolution. The people then would know that the Government never expects to redeem the greenbacks, and they would be worth just as much as the paper on which they are printed. If at this time the Government is unable to pay its debt enough to redeem three hundred and sixty-five millions of these notes, how much more would it be to get good enough for the redemption of a thousand, fifteen hundred, or two thousand millions of them. The proposition is a mere swindle that will be felt first by the mechanics, and afterward mainly by the people, in whose hands this immense currency will finally rest. The inflation of the currency is to depreciated; for, while it would be a great benefit to a branch of business, its evils and hardships would fall chiefly upon the laboring people. The Democratic party, with the immense abundance of money, stimulate speculation and increase the prices of everything that is bought and sold, and especially do they increase the power of speculation and of all the processes of life. By this means every species of merchandise acquires a speculative value, the different articles being bought and held in large quantities for a rise of prices. Flour, pork, sugar, coffee, and cotton are hoarded up in warehouses, awaiting the realization of large profits. While this is a great advantage to speculators, it is more than counterbalanced by the fact that it is a great evil to the laboring people, who, at great sacrifices, are compelled to do it. In other parts they are liable to do it. To guarantee the payment of a note is to undertake to pay it in case the original debtor does not. It is the duty of the several States under the Constitution to maintain a republican form of government, and in case of their failing the Constitution is that if the States, or any of them, should fail to perform their duty in that respect, the United States shall take such steps or use such means whereby the republican form of government shall be erected and maintained. 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