

with them, that will bring into your halls of legislation, upon your judicial benches and into every place and appointment in the Commonwealth, men whom you will not receive at your tables or in your houses as friends or acquaintances. Will not this be a strange state of things? What must it lead to? Can it possibly exist without very serious consequences to both parties? Let us pause on the threshold."

And so I say to my friend, the Senator from Bradford, and to the Senator from Indiana, and to every Senator here: "Let us pause on the threshold." This proposition before us is avowed to be "a mere entering wedge;" but as surely as history will ever repeat itself under like circumstances, so surely will this train of evils, set forth in letters of living light by the man who wrote the song of our land, come upon us. These evils will follow as surely as night follows day and light follows darkness.

TO BE VOTED FOR A POLITICAL NOT A NATURAL RIGHT.

I have said, Mr. Speaker; that this is a political, not a natural right. I have endeavored to show it by the action of our State on this question. I might illustrate the fact by the action of every State in this Union. I could show it by reference to the provision in the Constitution of the United States which describes the qualifications of voters for members of Congress. But, sir, it is unnecessary. These are political truths with which every man is acquainted; and I should be but wasting the time of this body did I fill my remarks with quotations from these, our text books of political knowledge. I will merely add, in order to strengthen the argument, that I have endeavored to make, if the argument should require strength, that if it be a natural right to vote it is a natural right to be voted for; and yet the latter is limited by the Constitution of the United States, because certain qualifications are required before a man can become President of the United States. He must be native born; he must be thirty five years of age; he must have resided within the United States fourteen years. So, the Vice President of the United States must be of a certain age; Senators must be of a certain age; members of Congress must be of a certain age. So with your own State; your Governor must be of a certain age, and for a certain time a resident of your State; the members of your Senate must be of a certain age; the members of your House of Representatives must be of a certain age. Therefore I say the right to vote and the right to be voted for has ever been treated as a political and not a natural right.

THE OBJECT OF THE RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Speaker, I now propose to briefly allude to what I believe to be the object; what, indeed, the Senator from Bradford, (Mr. Landon) with a candor peculiar to him, has admitted to be the object of this resolution. He admits that it is to be "an entering wedge" to the establishment of negro suffrage in the eleven states, which he says, are still in rebellion, and which certainly are treated as if they were, and which we know are debarred from representation in Congress. He says it is to be an entering wedge for the doctrine that Congress may, by mere legislative enactment, force upon them this requirement of negro suffrage, and may, against the wishes, the rights and the interests of the people inhabiting those States, put the power of control over them, in the hands of the black population. I think him for the admission. He does not think it; he does not deny it; he looks it squarely in the face. Now, sir, I propose to ask him by whom, by what power, that thing is to be done? He says that it is to be done by the Congress of the United States, as I understand him. I may be in error, but I understand him to say that the Congress of the United States has the right to say what shall be the qualifications of electors in the different States. To me, sir, this doctrine would be startling, had it not been enunciated elsewhere as plainly and boldly. But I tell the Senator that I think my God that this is still a Government of law; that the Constitution is yet the embodied will of the American people; and that it is higher, stronger and more powerful than the will of the leaders of the Republican party, here and elsewhere. [Renewed applause] Aye, sir, we have a Government of law; and as long as the Constitution of the United States stands as the embodied will of the American people—and, sir, until the hour comes when it shall be torn in pieces, dragged in the dust and destroyed, by the men who are now hacking at it—until that hour, no matter what the Senator from Bradford, the Senator from Indiana, or any other Senator, may say here, neither he, nor they, nor the party at their back, can give the Congress of the United States the power to say what shall be the qualifications of the electors in the several States. That question is defined by the Constitution of the United States; but I know it is not popular to quote from the instrument here. Mr. Stevens said, "we do not know anything about the Constitution in Congress," and I fear, there is very little known about it here.

THE POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT.

But I say that that power, by the Constitution of the United States, has been committed to the several States. Read it yourselves for yourselves, and say whether it be not so. And, sir, in this hour of darkness and of gloom, when there are men in high places who deride the provisions of that instrument, who will not be bound by its obligations—in such an hour, I thank God that He has raised up to take the helm of State a man who does believe that this is a Government of law and who does not conceive that he is vested with any higher or greater authority than that given him by that

instrument which he is sworn to support. That man has said that the question of suffrage is one which cannot and shall not be taken from the States by any act of Congress or any mere decree of the Executive, that the organic law has left the question to the States and it may not be—aye, and with his consent, shall not be tampered with. But the Senator may reply to me; "what we cannot do by an act of Congress we may do by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States." And, I believe, that this was what the Senator from Indiana, (Mr. White), was driving at in his speech almost two hours long, for I confess to you, sir, I could gather no clear idea of what were his opinions or conclusions. I thought that this question of negro suffrage in the District of Columbia was to be the subject of his speech, but it was only the tail end of it. But this Congress, in which but twenty five States are represented, this, (for I may call it by no more appropriate name) Rump Congress—this Congress, in defiance of justice, in defiance of right, in defiance of Constitutional obligations, aye, sir, standing in an attitude most revolutionary, denies admittance to eleven Southern States! This Rump Congress, with but 182 members in it, is going to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States! Under peculiar circumstances, by fraud and misrepresentation, upon issues that do not exist to day, and which convulsed the country when those men were elected to that Congress the Republicans happened to get a two thirds majority of that body; therefore they are going to change the organic law and to shingle over the Constitution with Yankee ideas. Is that possible? Will it be endured?

WHAT SHOULD BE THE RELATIVE STRENGTH IN CONGRESS.

Let me inquire what should be the relative strength of the two great parties in Congress, and then show you what it is. In the twenty six States that voted for President in 1864, Mr. Lincoln received, 2,203,831 votes; George B. McClellan received 1,797,019 votes; giving Mr. Lincoln, under all the extraordinary circumstances of the case, with his war power, with all the powers and patronage of the Government to aid him, with thousands of honest men voting for him because they believed that not to do so might imperil the country; (mistaken they were, it is true, but they did so on that account,) yet, sir, in that contest he had but four hundred and six thousand majority. How many Congressmen should the Republican party be entitled to? How many would you have had if you had not jerry-mandered all the States as you did this? Out of the one hundred and eighty two members, according to the votes for President, there ought to be eighty one Democrats and one hundred and one Republicans. That would be your fair proportion in this Congress, if the people were fairly represented, if the intention of the Constitution was carried out. You ought to have but one hundred one members, and the Democratic vote for McClellan ought to be represented by eighty one members. But you have 142, and there are but 40 Democratic votes in that House. Having then, by these means, more than two thirds in your Rump Congress, and denying admittance to eleven States, which, the President of the United States says, have a right to be represented there to day, you wish, do you, under those circumstances, with power thus acquired, and power which you are determined to hold, although you are in a state of rebellion, to submit an amendment to the Constitution of the United States? Was there ever such effrontery? Was the common sense and the sense of common justice in the minds of the people ever so outraged since the Government was founded? Aye, sir, I trust to God you will maintain that attitude of rebellion. I trust that from now till the dog days you will stand there, and when the frost comes that it will be over your political graves. [Applause.]

REMINISCENCE.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to inquire a little further, as to the object of this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We are told to day, in language glowingly eloquent, of the natural rights of men and of elevating them to a condition which is to be happiness and prosperity to all of them. Is there nothing selfish, nothing of a personal or partisan character in all this? Sir, if this right to vote is a natural right, if every man should have it, and if that doctrine was ever truly and honestly held by those who are asking us to day to vote for it, is it not a most astounding reflection that but twelve short years ago a great political party was organized in this State, and elsewhere throughout the Union, who denied this "great natural right;" not to negroes, not to men of a lower caste, but to men who happened to serve God in a manner different from themselves; to men who happened to be born under another sun and in other climes? Did you not rear a party—Know Nothing by name—that went into power in this Commonwealth on that issue, which would, could it have retained its power, have excluded every race except the native born, and would have excluded those from the elective franchise from whose loins you yourselves had sprung? What was your object then? Answer me, you Senators. Was it not that you feared if they voted they would put you out of power? Now, with like hypocrisy, do you not wish to get the negro's vote to keep you in after you have got there? Is not that the reason? Is it any high or generous motive to do good for the country's good by which you are actuated? Is it any other than to save your Republican party from going to destruction, where it should have gone long ago?

Mr. Lowry. We would have gone

there long ago if the rebels had got us.

Mr. Clymer. There are some boys, not far from here now (referring to soldiers in the galleries) who saved you and all of us from going there; and they are not black either. (Applause.)

WHERE WILL THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS STAND WHEN THE WAR OF RACES BEGINS.

Mr. Speaker, I have already occupied more of the time and attention of the Senate than I designed. I will close my remarks by merely adverting to what will be the condition of the race for which you profess so much admiration. And again I thank the Senator from Bradford for what he has admitted. He has said that these men are becoming educated—that they are going to demand their rights; aye, sir, he mentioned it as the greatest evidence of their enlightenment and their progress that they read the New York Tribune—sir, the first paper north of Mason & Dixon's line that talked secession—and said that that was the test, the standard, by which their elevation was to be considered. And he tells you that unless you give them political rights there will be slaughter; that there will be a war of races. And, sir, I ask the Senator now, when that hour comes, which side will he be on? Will he be with his own brethren? or will he be with those whom he and those who are with him have taught to do that very thing? Will you be found fighting against blood of your own blood—against your own little ones? or will you rightfully stand where you and others who teach your doctrines ought to stand—behind those whom you and your damnable doctrines have driven on to their own destruction? There is where you ought to stand and where you belong. But I tell you that against you will be the great heart, white though it may be, of this nation. And when that war of races comes, will be to those who brought it about. I shall regret it; but before God and before the country, you and all others who preach those doctrines will be responsible for it. History will point you out, and history will be but repeating itself, when those deeds are done.

A PARALLEL.

Now, sir, in my readings I have come across the remarks of a historian, which I intend to reproduce here to show Republican Senators and those who sympathize with them, what is likely to occur. Speaking of the liberation of the slaves in the islands by the act of the French Convention, in 1792, he says:

"Decrees had been passed for granting liberty to slaves, and they had not only been brought from the iniquitous bondage, but their uninformed minds had imbibed, within about two years, as many crude notions about liberty and equality as would have required a whole century to digest. The poor creatures were not simply informed that their masters were tyrants and oppressors, but they were left without any guide as to the moral obligations imposed on them by their new condition, and it never occurred to them that in the recovery of their rights they were still bound to the performance of duties, they conceived freedom from service to mean freedom labor; and by a literal construction of the doctrines they were taught, they expected to share land as well as liberty with their masters. Idleness and want soon spread themselves through all the black tribes in the West Indies; and then they proceeded to pillage the whites, while being resisted many dreadful ravages and slaughters took place; the repetition of which the constituted authorities were incapable of preventing. Various applications were made to the mother country by the planters, but the commissioners appointed by Government were equally as fanatic in their notions of liberty as the legislators themselves, so that the planters saw no probability of an equitable system being established, and at last the Convention learned that the colonies had invited the English to take possession of them."

I say, sir, that if any one was to write the facts concerning affairs to day in our Southern country, he could not in more graphic terms, with less circumlocution, describe exactly the condition of affairs which there exists; and he would attribute to the teachings of men in Congress and men here who advocate your doctrines, the existence of the results which occurred in the West Indies, seventy years ago.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know what is to be the fate of this resolution in this Senate. I feel that I have endeavored to discharge my duty—not, I confess, as fully, not as connectedly, not as ably as I would have wished. I say that I do not know what is to be the fate of the resolution, but I assert that, even if it should pass here and pass in the other House, it will not be an expression of the sentiments and views of a majority of the people of Pennsylvania, but that it will be in flat defiance of those views and sentiments, and will be passed by the votes of men who got their seats here by denying that they were in favor of any such doctrines.

WILL THE RESOLUTIONS BE APPROVED BY THE EXECUTIVE OF THIS STATE OR OBEYED BY OUR SENATORS?

You may pass it; yet, Senators, I do not know what our Executive will do. I trust that he will rise to the height of the occasion, and that he will be true to the history and the memories of this grand old Commonwealth over which he rules. I trust that he may refuse to sanction the madness of your folly. I trust that he may do so, I do not know that he will, I could pray that he would; and if he does, it will be a fitting act and the crowning glory of his administration. It would place him high upon the records of fame as a statesman who knew his duty, and knowing it dared to fulfill it in defiance of a usurped expression of opinion. He may not do it. You may send it to your Senators at Washington. I do not know

what they will do; but I will tell you now that did I occupy a seat in that body you might send it a thousand times and I would say, Gentlemen it bears a fraud upon its face; the people of Pennsylvania are ever just, and they do not ask me to do to this people what they would not allow to be done to themselves.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN.

But, sir, I may pass the Senate of the United States. It has, under the leadership of the member from Lancaster [Mr. Stevens,] been driven through the House of Representatives. I do not know whether his co-driver, Mr. Sumner, will not last it through the United States Senate. He may do it, but, sir, I believe as I live, that that will be the end of it. I believe that the President of the United States, in his conversation with Mr. Dixon, a Senator from Connecticut, has intimated what he will do with it. He conceives himself, I doubt not, to be the representative of the whole people, of the whole Union; and I say that, despite the fact that a revolutionary Congress refuses to restore this Union, after the soldiers have crushed out all Southern opposition to it, he considers himself the President of the whole Union; and I believe that his hand will be palsied before he signs it. [Applause.] I trust in God, sir, I may be right. It will be like a bugle blast, that will waken up the Northern heart and make all men feel that this war was not in vain, and that there are such things as the rights of white men left, or that, at least, they are not forgotten by the Executive.

That, I think, will be the result. I trust it will. And if it is done, when 'tis done, the hour of redemption for this State, for this Northern land and for this whole country, from ocean to ocean, from gulf to river, will have come, and the people, who have been so long oppressed by the insolence of party, will fly to their arms and rally to the support of that Executive, who will not do the bidding of mere party, but act for the whole country—who labors to preserve the Constitution of our fathers and to restore the Union once cemented by their blood. [Applause.]

Montrose Democrat.

A. J. GERRITSON, Editor.

TUESDAY, MARCH 20, 1866.

FOR GOVERNOR:
HIESTER CLYMER,
OF BERKS COUNTY.

The Democratic Platform.

The Democracy of Pennsylvania in Convention met, recognizing a crisis in the affairs of the Republic, and esteeming the immediate restoration of the Union paramount to all other issues, do resolve:

1. That the States, whereof the people were lately in rebellion, are integral parts of the Union, and are entitled to representation in Congress by men duly elected in order to vindicate the maxims that taxation without representation is tyranny, such representatives should be forthwith admitted.
2. That the faith of the Republic is pledged to the payment of the National debt, and Congress should pass all laws necessary for that purpose.
3. That we owe obedience to the Constitution of the United States (including the amendment prohibiting slavery) and its provisions will be strictly observed, and no State shall be entitled to secede from the Union.
4. That each State has the exclusive right to regulate the qualifications of its own electors.
5. That the white race alone is entitled to the control of the Government of the Republic, and we are unwilling to grant to negroes the right to vote.
6. That the void proclamation of the principles of the Constitution and the policy of restoration contained in the recent annual message and freedmen's bureau veto message of President Johnson entitle him to the confidence and support of all who respect the Constitution and love their country.
7. That the nation owes to the brave men of our armies and navy a debt of gratitude for their heroic services in defence of the Constitution and the Union; and that while we cherish with tender affection the memories of the fallen, we pledge to their widows and orphans the nation's care and protection.
8. That we urge upon Congress the duty of equalizing the bounties of our soldiers and sailors.

Senator Clymer's Speech.

We publish the speech of Hiestor Clymer in this paper, to the exclusion of some other matters, and trust that it will be read and circulated with interest by every friend of the white race. The resolutions quoted in the speech, favoring negro suffrage, were twice endorsed in the Senate by a party vote—Republicans for negro voting, Democrats against it. Two or three Republicans refused to swallow the negro, and declined to vote; and this aptly illustrates the position of parties: Most of the Republicans for negro equality; some Republicans and all the Democrats are against it. The white men will win at the polls.

Radicals vs. Johnson.

The Republican State Convention, under control of the radicals, not only did not endorse the President, but it denounced Senator Cowan because he sustains the President! No man who endorses the President can act with the Republican party, for it is hostile to him; and every vote for Geary for Governor, is a vote to rebuke the President, as Geary was nominated by the influence of Forney & Co., the bitter enemies and vilifiers of Andrew Johnson.

In both New Hampshire and Connecticut the Republican platforms endorse President Johnson in strong terms. The Pennsylvania platform utterly repudiates him and his friends, and endorses his enemies. The veto, &c., has produced this change of front.

The radical postmaster at Forestville, Conn., has just been removed. There is reason to believe that more of the same sort will, ere long, be invited to retire.

Increasing the Taxes.

An effort is being made by shoddy politicians to make the people believe that their taxes are about to be lessened, because the two mill tax on real estate is repealed. They neglect to state the fact that an indirect tax, equal to four mills is already provided for, and must be borne by the farmers, laboring and producing classes. Besides this, a bill is now pending to levy a new two-mill tax for school purposes. So that the great "Republican Relief Measure" boasted so much about, consists in taking off two mills and putting on six mills! And to make sure that there shall be some way to use up the increased taxes, bills are being passed to again increase the pay of office-holders.

Forney's Press, in attempting to show that Hiestor Clymer ought not to be elected Governor, says that "he places himself broadly upon the platform of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States—in fact, it is the Andrew Johnson candidate he proposes to run for the suffrages of the people."

The Other Side.

We present the argument of Senator Clymer, to-day, against negro suffrage; and as the negro equality organs here are afraid to publish the speeches of their Senators, it is proper that we give all we have room for from the Republican side, in the same debate. Landon argued that if the freed negro is not allowed to vote he "will begin to feel that he who would be free must himself strike the blow; and he may strike it, and then will come the war of races in the Southern States; then will it be the black against the white and white against the black. Each clutching at the throat of the other, there will come a renewal of the fierce scenes of St. Domingo, fires upon the hills and blood in the vales. This will be called a negro insurrection, and the Government will be summoned to the pleasant task of suppressing it. You will be called upon to 'butcher off' the black republicans!"

Lowry, the Republican leader in the Senate, said, for his party:

"We must have the loyal votes of all men on this continent, white or black, or with him we perish. Our country—her currency, religion, law, order, justice, humanity—will go down in blood if we refuse to enfranchise the negro. Deny the negro suffrage, keep him uneducated, and every drop of blood shed in this war has been shed in vain."

What Does it Mean?

Senator Wilson, of Mass., closed his speech in opposition to the President, a few days since, as follows:

"Two years ago, in a trying hour of the country, we placed a great soldier at the head of all our armies, and he led the armies to victory, and the country to peace. Perhaps a patriotic and liberty-loving people, if disappointed in their aspirations and their hopes, may again turn to that great captain and summon him to marshal them to victory."

It means that this abolition leader threatens that his party will try to do what Jeff Davis failed in—the overthrow of the Government. Davis wanted to divide the Union; Wilson & Co. want to destroy it and build up a negro despotism.

The Loan Bill.

In Congress, March 16th, the House resumed the consideration of the loan bill. The entire evening was spent in debate on the part of a number of members. A vote was finally taken, which resulted in a failure of the bill by a tie vote. Garfield changed to the negative, so as to move a reconsideration, which brings the bill up again. The bill seems to look to a return to specie payments, and was defeated by shoddy.

Senator Clymer on Negro Suffrage.

Hon. Hiestor Clymer, the very able and eloquent Senator from Berks county, made a most powerful speech in the State Senate, on the 1st inst., against the resolutions instructing our United States Senators to vote for negro suffrage in the District of Columbia. A correspondent says the speech came down on the Abolitionists like the rolling thunder of Old Berks' election returns. He mauled them right and left, and raked them fore and aft. He did not speak to the crowded lobbies, but his burning words went thro' them and they responded. In vain did the Speaker rap and yell for "order." A white man was speaking for his own race, and the white men who had gone there to hear both sides of the discussion cheered him on in his glorious fight by thunders upon thunders of applause! If the Democratic Convention nominates Clymer for Governor and he goes out before the people and makes such speeches as he has today made in the Senate, he will carry everything before him.—*Easton Sentinel*, Feb. 8.

It is reported that the President will issue an order shortly to muster out about forty thousand negro troops, now stationed in various parts of the South. It is known that the presence of negro soldiers in that section has a very damaging effect on the cause of the government, and serves to keep alive that animosity which otherwise would soon die out.

The President vs. The Traitors.

Both before and during the war, Andrew Johnson denounced the abolitionists and secessionists alike as traitors. We have published two of his recent speeches in which he brands the late Southern rebellion and the present Northern radicalism as equally treason; and we now quote from a speech made last week to a Kentucky delegation, in which he re-asserts that the armed rebels were no worse than the present revolutionary majority in Congress:

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

The President responded in substance: It is not needful that a formal or extended reply to what you have said should be made. I tender you, and through you, the people whom you represent, and of the State, my unfeigned thanks for these kind expressions and manifestation of confidence in me personally, and the endorsement of the policy which shall control my administration. It is peculiarly gratifying to receive these assurances at this particular time. I trust the results will show the confidence thus reposed is not misplaced, and will never become a matter of regret on the part of those who give expression thereto. The present is regarded as a most critical juncture in the affairs of the nation—scarcely less than when an armed and organized force sought to overthrow the Government.—To attack and attempt the disruption of the Government by armed combination and military force is no more dangerous to the life of the nation than an attempt to revolutionize and undermine it by a disregard and destruction of the safeguards thrown around the liberties of the people in the Constitution. Our stand has been taken; our course is marked. We shall stand by and defend the Constitution against all who may attack it, from whatever quarter the attack may come. We shall take no step backward in this matter. No other or higher evidence of our purpose in this regard can be given than has already been furnished. In the future, as in the past, we shall endeavor in good faith, to make the administration of the affairs of the Government conform to the Constitution in its letter and spirit; therein is the guaranty to the liberties of the people.—It is hoped by an adherence to this rule to remedy ere long all the irregularities and annoyances to which the people have been subjected.

Again do we assure you that these demonstrations of confidence and assurances of support on the part of the people are exceedingly cheering to us; that we are grateful for and properly appreciate them, and that our wish is to so discharge the trusts confided to us as to merit them. I need not say more at present.

The election in New Hampshire has resulted, as was expected, in the success of the Republicans, by a reduced majority. For many weeks previous to the election, swarms of officeholders from Washington overran that State, and a large fund was raised by assessment of government officers to educate its voters. And now, after using "government" patronage to accomplish their ends, the Rump claim a victory over "the government." Can impudence go farther?—The federal office holders in Pennsylvania will not be allowed to contribute money to carry the election against the President.

Democratic Victories.

Harrisburg, March 16.

The election here to day resulted in a glorious victory for the Democracy. Last year the Republicans carried the city. Now Oliver Edwards (Democrat,) for Mayor, has 147 majority, and the entire Democratic ticket is elected by the same vote.

York, Pa., March 16.

The victorious Democracy are filling the town with shouts of exultation at the election of David Small, Chief Burgess, by three hundred and seventy five majority; and a large Democratic gain.

The government warehouses at Fort Riley, Arkansas, were burned on Wednesday. Loss \$1,000,000.

A Northern preacher, agent for the Freedmen's Bureau on St. Simon's Island, Georgia, has been swindling the freedmen outrageously. He was from New York, but very "loyal."

The Canadian excitement has nearly disappeared in the interior towns, but rages on the frontier in all its force.

Secretary Seward is preparing a proclamation in regard to the Fenian movements.

The President has appointed General F. P. Blair, Jr., Collector of Customs for the port of St. Louis. There will no doubt be some opposition to his confirmation by the Senate.

The Democratic State Convention of Indiana met on the 15th, and nominated candidates for Secretary, Auditor and Treasurer of State, and endorsed the President's veto and restoration policy.

Eleven stores and several other buildings, all wooden, were burned at Ottawa, Illinois, on Friday.

We learn that the old veteran Gen. Scott, who is at present in New Orleans, unhesitatingly endorses all that President Johnson uttered in his speech on the 22d ult.

Assistant Secretary Chandler reports that the federal office-holders in the South have stolen \$100,000,000 within the past few months.

The Janiata Sentinel (Republican) lately refused to publish the proceedings of a meeting of radical Republicans of Millintown, who resolved to sustain the Republican majority in Congress.