Pittsburgh Gazette.

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THIRD EDITION.

FIVE O'CLOCK A. M.

GRANT AND COLFAX.

Republican Mass Meeting at City Hall.

THE CAMP FIRES LIGHTED.

Address of Hon. John A. Bingham, of Ohio.

REMARKS BY DR. WORTHINGTON AND GEN. NEGLEY.

Professor Pope's Song.

A mass meeting of the friends of Grant and Colfax was held at City Hall last evening, and notwithstanding the limited notice and heavy rain, which set in about the hour for assembling, the spacious hall was densely crowded with the most enthusiastic audience we have ever seen in the city. The campaign of 1868 is fairly opened; the Republican camp fires are lighted, and from the general enthusiasm which prevailed at the meeting last night we presume will be kept burning until the second Monday of November. The commodious Hall, Republican headquarters for the campaign, under the careful supervision of Col. J. H. Stewart, Secretary of the Republican County Executive Committee, was beautifully decorated with innumerable flags and life-size portraits of General Grant tastefully arranged in different portions of the Hall. An excellent brass band was in attendance and discoursed brilliant music before the meeting opened and during the intervals between the addresses.

At eight o'clock the hall was densely crowded, yet the masses continued to pour in until there was not standing room left.

The meeting was called to order by Col. Russel Errett, Chairman of the County Executive Committee, who proposed the following list of

OFFICERS:

PRESIDENT—Gen. James K. Moorhead.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Col. William Phillips,	Dr. George McCook,
James Park, Jr.,	Gen. James S. Negley,
James S. Lyon,	Col. James M. Cooper,
Col. Joseph Kaye,	James McCandless,
Louis Kim,	Joseph Irwin,
B. Oppenheimer,	Dr. Wm. J. Gilmore,
A. Arent,	Col. George Gerst,
W. S. Huey,	Wm. H. Barker,
David McCullough,	Robert Mecker,
Thomas Reese,	Edward Coats,
John Murdock, Jr.,	Hon. Thomas Howard,
Dr. A. H. Gross,	George H. Anderson,
David Holmes,	George F. Rahauser,
Col. Andrew Scott,	Charles Lockhart,
Wm. Hosack,	Dr. J. J. Covert,
Hon. Alfred Slack,	John T. Shane,
Martin Meyers,	James Smith,
John H. Stapf,	Jacob Vitchestein,
Louis Aurin,	Edward Sprang,
J. R. Oxley,	Robert Dalzell,
Robert H. Davis,	Christian Gelb,
David Sims,	Joseph Ross,
Dr. M. O. Jones,	William G. Friday,
John S. Ditworth,	John A. Sergeant,
Hon. John Morrison,	John Harrison,
August Amuon,	Hon. Simon Drum,
Thomas L. Gamble,	William B. Lea,
John H. Jones,	William B. Dunmett,
George Gernet,	Philip James,
J. J. Feibenick, Esq.,	Hon. Thomas J. Bigham.
Hon. Jas. L. Graham,	

SECRETARIES—Reporters of the Republican press.

Gen. Moorhead was loudly called for by the audience and on taking the chair, thanked the Executive Committee and the audience for the honor conferred in selecting him to preside over the meeting. It was truly an honor, he said, to preside over a Republican meeting in Pittsburgh. He liked the Pittsburgh boys, because they would turn out at the sound of the battle cry, and were always ready to meet the enemy, on any field. It afforded him great pleasure, he said, to meet so many of his friends after a protracted absence, and it might be proper for him to give some account of his stewardship, but he would not do so now. He would have many other opportunities he hoped before the campaign closed, of addressing his constituents, who he was proud to say were not in the habit of calling him to account; they were too confiding to do so. There were several able speakers present from a distance, and he knew full well, that although attentive listeners to their own speakers, Pittsburghers were fond of something new. He then introduced Prof. Pope, the great campaign singer, who entertained the audience with one of his original songs entitled "The Race to the White House," at the conclusion of which he was enthusiastically cheered.

HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM.

Gen. Moorhead then introduced Hon. John A. Bingham of Ohio, as the Buckeye Statesman.

Mr. Bingham said:

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:—I cannot proceed to address you without thanking your honored and honorable Representative for the very complimentary terms in which he has been pleased to speak of me. The tribute which he is kind enough to pay me is the more appreciated from the consideration that for many years I have served with him in the Congress of the United States, where he came to know right well the opinions which I expressed and the principles which were the constant solicitude of us as representatives. It is not needful that I should say to you that amongst these representatives there were faithless men; but yet your two Representatives from Allegheny were always faithful, and if the people of the United States in every section had but sent to the capital men who, like these Representatives, had been mindful of the requirements of their oaths, and of the interests of their common country, we would not have been scourged by this unnatural and unmatched rebellion, which for four years drenched the land in blood and the last battle of which is now being fought by the people of the United States. I stand here to-night as the representative of the great party of the Union, made up by the true men of every frame of political association, who united to preserve for us our nation. In the words of [illegible] lant hero of the Valley of the Shen- [illegible] "two things were needful to be done [illegible] re the rebellion was conquered: [illegible] these was to crush it by the bay- [illegible] t was to crush it by the ballot." [illegible] the words of the gallant Phil [illegible] s accomplished on the field of [illegible] when the broken battalions [illegible] der Lee surrendered to the [illegible] ions of the Republic under [illegible] in of the century—Ulysses S. Grant. [Prolonged applause.] The last great battle of the Republic and the Constitution against this rebellion is to be fought in the year 1868, and the victory to be won, if won at all, is to be won under the command of the same gallant leader who won the other victories by our armies.

It requires no prophetic spirit to foresee that the year 1868 will be as memorable in the history of the Republic as any year of its existence. If 1789 established the Constitution by the powers of the ballot, 1868 will preserve and perpetuate Constitutional Government by the power of the ballot. It is the whole issue and the only issue worth talking about amongst the American people. In this year, 1868, we are to decide the question whether the Republic, established and maintained by our fathers, shall be preserved. We are to decide by the ballot the supremacy of the Constitution in every State and Territory of the Republic from ocean to ocean. There are men who challenge the Constitution. They prate about their love of the Constitution. There are men who challenge the supremacy of that instrument. They call themselves now, as in 1861, the Democratic party. Who does not know that in the person of this rebellion against the institutions of the American people, was a party that aimed at the dismemberment of the Republic—a raid against the patriots of the land. It was not needful to constitute a traitor in the sense in which Douglass uttered the words, "that a man should take up arms against the Republic." It was not needful to constitute a traitor that a man should marshal battalions in the field to resist the execution of the law. He was as much a traitor who, in the State of Pennsylvania or Ohio, in that hour of trial, declared, as the Democratic party did declare, in Congress and out of Congress, upon the hustings everywhere, that it was unconstitutional to defend the Constitution, and unconstitutional to maintain the unity of the Republic against the ordinances of State secession. The party that uttered these words in the North was as guilty of the evil which for four years filled good men in this land, and in all lands with apprehensions for the stability of American institutions, as that other wing of the Democratic party in the South, led by that Chief of secession, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi.

It is fit that in the presenting of this issue it should be presented in plain, clear, truthful, honest words. That is my purpose in addressing you to-night, and my sole purpose. While I shall speak plainly to you, as a man honest, plain and blunt, as myself, ought to speak, especially in the interests of the institutions of our country, be sure that it is furthest from my purpose intentionally to give offense to a single human being who honors me with his attention. It does not become a mortal into whose blood every wind of Heaven strikes the coldness of death to give offense. But it does become a man to speak plainly his opinions to his countrymen when the institutions essential to the peace, prosperity and happiness of his country are everywhere upon trial. American institutions are upon trial to-day before the American people, and you are to decide this contest in the elections of October and November, to the legislative halls, in the name of the people and by the authority of the people; and in the selection of the Chief Magistrate, in the name of the people to execute the force of the laws. By those elections you will decide your future.

Who is there here that does not know what this country has suffered by reason of a faithless and apostate President, who now occupies the Presidential chair? Who is there here who does not know that the guilt of that man is much attributable to the party which sustained him in his apostacy, and refused to recognize the laws—that the offense of that party is as great as that of Andrew Johnson himself? Who is there here who does not know that the attempt is being made to-day, in this political contest, to restore by the ballot what was lost by the bayonet, on the part of these conspirators, north and south, east and west.

At last, my countrymen—and bear this in mind while you consider your own action touching the settlement of this controversy—at last bear in mind that the vital power of the Republic is in the ballot, rather than in the bayonet; that through it, as the instrument of the Constitution, are ordained and maintained all our legislative enactments. Through its instrumentality are selected our tribunals of justice. Through its instrumentality Executors are appointed, and all these are abolished. Armies cannot exist in a Republican Government except through the power, and might, and majority of the people, speaking first through the ballot, and finally through the laws ordained by the representatives of their own choice and of their own appointment. These are plain, simple propositions that lie upon the surface, and none can be so blind as not to recognize their importance and magnitude as bearing on the questions long pressing before the American people for their final decision. When the rebellion by arms was overthrown the fact was apparent to every right-minded man in our land and all over the civilized world that the main object was, *not* to overthrow by the Federal army, not by act of the great loyal body of freemen who had maintained their free institutions through four years by force of the bayonet, the object was not to demolish these institutions. There was not anywhere within the limits of that vast territory which had been for four years the scene of the conflict between the armies of the Union on the one hand and of the rebellion on the other, a Republican government, resting upon the consent of the governed, and conforming to the requirements of the Federal Constitution. Not one. There was no Legislature assembled from the day that Lee surrendered to Grant, having any authority to legislate anywhere on American soil, for the reason that every single member, of the several members who sat in their respective seats at the respective Capitols of their States, or of that other Assembly assembled in the city of Richmond, holding their carnival of blood for four long years, had no right to legislate on any subject whatever. Is it not written in the text of that great instrument and charter of the liberties of us all that our Executive, Legislative and Judicial officers shall be bound by an oath—that chain which binds the consciences of men to the throne of eternal truth and justice—to support the Constitution of the United States? What member of the rebel Congress at Richmond, when they ran away before the coming of your victorious legions on the grey of that morning, on the 7th of April, 1865, when our troops leaped the entrenchments at Richmond and carried their banners against the blackened and blasted walls of the doomed city—what one of those fleeing men had not endeavored, in defiance of his oath, to overturn the Constitution of the United States? What member of the Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, or Texas, Legislatures had not also taken an oath in the name of the Confederacy to overthrow the Constitution of the United States? This being so, I ask you the question, and demand an answer, by what right had the aiders and abettors of this rebellion to fling out their banners and cry out that the moment the rebellion was broken they should have representation in Congress? Now comes along another Johnson instead of their former leader, and they affix to their banner the name of their new commander, Seymour, of New York, and come before the people with the cry that the Southern States have the right of representation in Congress. Did not this organization work forfeiture of the right of representation in Congress, by having declared that States had the right to secede and that the loyal people had no right to coerce them. Oh! I regret, my countrymen that this party of demagogues, who misled honest and tried men, cannot be exposed to the thousands and hundreds of thousands of those who believe with and vote with the Democratic party, either from habit or prejudice, and who have no conception of the damning, blackening record of these very leaders who come before you in this contest of 1868. But I regret this is one of the issues that organization had not the manly candor to avow, when it was seeking aspirants for the doubtful honor of such a position as the President of a Confederacy, not a *nation*, but of a Confederacy, broken up at pleasure; by the action of each of its members; that though secession was not accomplished by the bullet, that they still hope to succeed by the ballot. The only difference between Pendleton and Seymour is that Pendleton is clear and plain in his utterances. They both agree with and compliment each other. Seymour supports Pendleton's declaration of to-day, and Pendleton supports Seymour's declaration of yesterday. That is the adherence to their own platform, adopted under the dictation first of Preston, of Kentucky, secondly of Hampton, of South Carolina; and last but not least of Forrest, of Fort Pillow infamy. That is, the platform was framed by three rebel Generals. They prepared the platform to be acted upon and carried out by the Democratic masses of the North.

Now, my fellow-citizens, in these condensed remarks I have but indicated what is really embodied, when rightly understood, in the several platforms of the two great contending parties. That is to say, the party that advocates secession, and supports secession by armed rebellion, and failing to make its successful, comes to the rescue and attempt to make it successful through the omnipotence of the ballot; and that other party which met at Chicago, representing the true men of the country, the men of every political organization, but who are capable in the hour of their country's peril and trial of forgetting the fierceness of party bickering and turn away from their party associations; who are capable of throwing away the banners of party, and throwing off the faded uniform of party, and putting on the true uniform of the country, and march onward under the banner of the Republic, ready to give up all things and sacrifice all things, and trust in God and in hope of a life to come, maintaining American institutions, and maintaining undivided this grand, glorious, beautiful heritage which God in his providence gave to our fathers, and which they have transmitted to us and which is to be transmitted unimpaired to those coming after us.

When you come to read these various platforms the first thing to be considered is that the party of the Republic at Chicago declared in favor of the measures of restoration adopted by the Congress of the United States, while the party at New York, as might be expected, under the lead and control of such men as Preston, Hampton and Forrest, pronounced these acts tyranny and usurpation.

Now, my countrymen, I desire to say this, if any poor words of mine are worthy of your attention at all, but this I pray you, ponder upon what I say, whether it be true or false. If the utterances made by the parties to which I have alluded, and which I have reiterated in your hearing, about the acts of reconstruction passed by the men chosen through the organization of the States of this Union, are unwarranted by the Constitution, and by that higher law which lies behind your Constitution, then the formation of your matchless Constitution was a work of oppression and tyranny. It is more manifest that this is so when you consider the fact that the great and noble men who framed our matchless form of civil policy and carried it into effect, recognized it as the written law of the Federal States, known as the United States. It was recognized in the articles of the Constitution that none of them should ever be altered without the consent of three-fourths of the States of the Union. They must be right, or the American people must lose the fruits of that seven years' struggle for independence and nationality. Washington and his peerless associates recognized that higher law given by the God of Nations to individual men, "preserve your life." Proceeding and acting upon this law they gave us your Constitution. It had its origin in this great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and therefore, in the presence of the people of Pennsylvania, and upon the soil of Pennsylvania, within the limits of where that instrument had its origin, it is that I should speak in support of what is being done by the loyal people of America to preserve their nationality for the great hereafter. They offered that Constitution, framed in Philadelphia in '87, to the people of the several States of the Union for ratification or rejection. North Carolina and Rhode Island refused to consent to the change of the articles of the Federal Constitution; they refused to ratify the Constitution; refused to cast a vote; refused to send representatives to the first Congress in New York in 1789. The State of New York refused to give one solitary vote for that matchless man, the first of Americans and foremost of men, who, while the "Father of his country," was yet careless of all consequences personal to himself. Inspired with the sense of his obligation, under God, to save his country and nation, Washington, with uncovered head and uplifted hand, in the presence of God and his country, swore to maintain, and protect and defend the Constitution of the Union of the United States, *no matter who refused to ratify it.* The question was asked him that day by demagogues and conspirators, by the "tories" and "plough boys" of the revolution, "by what authority do you ordain this Constitution without the consent of the different States of the Union and contrary to the express letter of the written law of the Union?" and the answer was given by him in a moment: "We do it, sir, by virtue of the transcendent law of nature and nature's God, which charges every people with the duty of self-preservation."

Now, my countrymen, tell me, upon this plain statement of facts, whether the logic of these demagogues will not apply with much more force against the constitutionality of the Constitution itself than it does apply against the constitutionality of the reconstruction acts passed by the Congress of the United States in accordance with the express authority of the Constitution. The Constitution contains the express grant, however, first, that our legislative power in this Constitution should be vested in a Congress of the United States; secondly, that a Congress of the United States should be composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives chosen by the several States of the Union. What States of the Union? Adhering States of the Union; States that have Republican Governments; States in the words of the Constitution, whose official, legislative, executive and judicial officers are bound by an oath to support the Constitution. On that day when this legislation was adopted by the Congress of the United States, every organized State of this Union, having an organized State government, having a republican form of government, with officers sworn to support the Constitution and the laws, was represented in Congress and participated in the legislation. Who denies that the organized, constitutional, adhering States of the Union, and having executive officers exercising their functions, did not participate in this legislation? We need not argue this question to plain, honest people.

When South Carolina had foresworn herself, and therefore ceased to exercise legislative power, and to hold protection over law-abiding citizens, was it not competent for the Congress of the United States to provide by law, under the mouths of your cannon, under the bayonets of your victorious army, when they had entered within the limits of that city of Richmond to, throw the shelter of law over every law-abiding man? If it were not, what sort of a Government have you? When men cling to the tottering pillars of the Republic, when the Republic itself was not able to protect them, ought they not to find protection in your law in the day of your victorious power, when your armies took possession of the land?

When Southern leaders spoke against these amendments to the Constitution, refused to elect Representatives to Congress, and no man could compel them to do it, does it result that the Government of the United States is not permitted to legislate over these until they learn to reason and submit to the authority of law. Is that protection which you have under the rule which Wade Hampton and his legions see fit to give? Would not that be to make rebellion itself easy? Would not that be surrendering to rebellion after you had conquered it? We would then be driveling asses. This is the kind of logic to which these gentlemen treat the American people, by asking them to consider if but twenty-five, six or seven States are represented, and that because four, five or six of them have refused to legislate, should we still refuse to them the sanction of law—over those asking for our legislation. If it is not constitutional and binding over those rebellious States, why do these gentlemen stand and not tell us at once that all the legislation of the last eight years over these disorganized States is an overstepping of the requirements of law, is alike void and unconstitutional, because they were not represented in Congress? This necessarily results. It must be so. I am not familiar with the utterances of these gentlemen in the locality of Pennsylvania, in their State organization, but I am familiar with their utterances in other national organizations. How are they confirmed in the belief that these acts of reconstruction are null and void? In my State they gave us notice in their platform, adopted at the capital, they gave us timely warning that these acts of reconstruction would not be submitted to. But the other day the leaders gave notice that the concurrent resolution of Congress, passed last week, declaring the ratification of the articles of amendment was itself null and void. I do not claim for the Amendment the force of law; but I do claim for it the force of a notice to all parties concerned in this country that the Amendment has been adopted. That Amendment constitutes the central idea of your acts of reconstruction. Does not the Constitution provide for us the means of amendment? Does it not declare that Congress may propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall to all intents and purposes become part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States of this Union? Have three-fourths thus ratified it? Oh, say these Democrats, three-fourths of the States out of thirty-seven have through certain organizations ratified the amendment; but then, they say, we deny that the resolution which but yesterday in the State of Georgia elected two Senators to the Senate of the United States was not valid. Pray, Mr. Democrat, what is the legislature that did this? Was it not the legislature which passed the ordinance of secession? Why did you not find some man in your Convention at New York to propose your mode of reconstruction? Mr. Demagogue, you cannot blow hot and cold in this wise. You say States must be represented in Congress. You know they cannot be represented in the Senate except through the action of a State Legislature. Now meet the question like men. The amendment has been ratified by twenty-eight States of the Union, omitting the States of Ohio and New Jersey, which recently repealed their action. But twenty-eight States are three-fourths of thirty-seven. It is ratified, and you say it shall not go into effect. If it don't go into effect as the fundamental law of this country, it is in vain that hundreds of thousands of the noblest and bravest and best of our countrymen have offered themselves in sacrifice, laying down their lives in battle for the defense of your constitution and government. The effect of that amendment is to make rebellion by State secession absolutely impossible in this land; to put an end to the quibbling of these conspirators and demagogues, and to decide for themselves the constitutionality of all the legislation of Congress; and as a last result to make it impossible to secede from the government and authority of the Union. If the Southern mind had not been filled with all the hypocritical pretences of demagogues, and made to believe that it was an inherent right and honor to overthrow their respective States, this rebellion would have been impossible. You could not have railled the young men of the South to have followed the flaunting banner of treason had it not been instilled in their minds from childhood that they could secede from the Union and fight down the supremacy of the National Constitution.

What are we saying in this fourteenth article of amendment? We say this, amongst other things, and let it be printed upon your tickets when you cast your ballots in the great elections of 1868: neither the United States nor any State shall ever assume or pay any debt or liability contracted in aid of rebellion or make compensation for emancipated slaves. [Applause.] Not in aid of the past rebellion, but in aid of rebellion against the United States past or future. Not a single blade of grass, says that amendment, growing upon this broad land—broad enough to furnish comfortable homes for thirty-three millions, and to furnish bread to the civilized world—not a single blade of grass, not a single kernel of corn, shall ever go into the treasury of treason.

Here stands this Northern Democrat, with his pretended love for the Constitution, declaring that this amendment, which has already been ratified by men representing not less than twenty-six millions of people, shall not go into the Constitution or become a part of the fundamental law of the land. Why? Why? Because it makes it impossible forever to restore the "Lost Cause."

I have not done with the discussion of this subject, for this is only of the essence of this great issue, and when this story is told, the story of the conflict past and present is told, and the people may decide the issue in the sections of this fourteenth article of amendment. There is another noticeable provision of the amendment: that the national debt, including the bounties and pensions to soldiers and sailors, shall never be questioned. This is strong language. It was necessary to put it there, if these States were to be restored, and being restored speedily, certainly, these demagogues, who are running about with the cry that these Black Republicans did not want to restore the Union, are much astonished, when, lo! and behold, they wake up on this bright morning in the month of July, in the year 1868, and find that these Black Republicans had, in the Providence of God, and by the aid of the legions of the Republic, lifted up eight out of the eleven of the revolted States and formed them again as the pillars of the Republic, and raised them to their place and power in the Union of the States. If Mississippi is not yet restored, if Texas is not yet restored, if Virginia is not yet restored, it is not the fault of the representatives of the people, who have made the same provisions for their speedy restoration as for the other eight States represented in Congress. If you cannot know why this is, ask Seymour of New York, Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, or Jeff Davis, of God knows where. [Laughter.] He flies from his country for his country's good. They can answer. It was not wise, or prudent or proper, to recognize the supremacy of that great national charter which haunted them in the field, and by the help of the same never ceasing Providence, by the omnipotence of the ballot next November they will be conquered completely and forever. They are out because they will not come in. They are out, not out of the Union, but out of the Halls of Representation. They do not share the present political power of the nation; they do not vote in the electoral college. Simply, they would not "sit down clothed in their right mind" at the feast of a triumphant, but a just, humane and beneficent people. Until they choose to submit to the same just and humane and beneficent law, the sway of which is this day acknowledged and bowed before, from distant Maine to distant Oregon, I say let them sit there in sackcloth and ashes. The people that will not submit to the first idea of Democratic government have no right to participate in a Democratic Government,—the principle that "the majority shall rule," in obedience to the fundamental law of the land, and in obedience to that higher law, justice itself, which is the attribute of God, and which belonged to his nature before worlds were, and shall be part of his nature when worlds have perished, and by which nations are to be judged,—justice, even among men, demands satisfaction.

These are the two principles of the amendment—first, tribute shall not be paid to support rebellion against the government of a just and free people; second, that no man in the National Councils, or in any State or Legislature of the Union, shall ever question the validity of the national debt, including the pensions of soldiers and sailors. That is the language of the amendment, and let no demagogue attempt to get rid of its force, for the words are as true as Holy Writ. Just as they are true, let no man attempt to get rid of the force of these simple words,—so just, and embodying in beautiful form the nation's gratitude to its dead and living defenders.

The national debt, including the bounties to soldiers and sailors, shall never be called in question—never while the nation lives, because it is part of the price paid for your national existence, and because it is the pledge of this great people. When the mother gave the stay of her old age, sacrificed him for the advance of her country, and when he went down in the tempest of the great conflict, the nation would be untrue to itself did it hesitate to fulfill the pledge to support her. Remember the pledge! Let us make it good!

Not a word do these demagogues utter about that part of the debt protected in this amendment in regard to the soldiers and sailors; but their howl is about the bondholders. The man who gave the earnings of his life, honorably acquired—it may be in the mine or in the mill—to support the drooping standard of the republic in the hour of her trial, when the heavens were covered with blackness, and the habitations of the people were filled with death, is to be told by these mouthing politicians, "you are a bloated boudholder and we won't pay you."

I want these demagogues to remember that "honesty is the best policy" with nations as with men. In the words of Chancellor Kent, "religion and morality, which ought to govern individuals in private life, ought to govern nationalities, for the reason that nationalities are collections of men." I believe it is written in that letter which God gave to the infant nations that "Righteousness exalteth a nation." It is a disgrace for a nation, when it has the means, to refuse to pay its honest debts, especially when the debt was contracted for its preservation—to enable it to keep place in the family of nations. For a nation when its has the means to refuse to pay its debts is simply national dishonor, which is national death—and what a death! For dead nationalities there is no resurrection. For them there is no new heaven or new earth. The nation that repudiates its honest contracts when it has the means to pay them disables itself forever afterwards to make a contract, and simply leaves itself naked to its enemies.

You repudiating demagogue! I understand your demagoguery. You propose simply this: to make secession hereafter easy and sure of success. I am not surprised that Jeff. Davis is at this time of the opinion that it is improper that you should pay the bondholders—the man who fled from the city of treason and was driven to the wall, until he was taken, flying in his unmentionable garments. It is surprising that any honest man, believing in a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, should be found listening for a moment to repudiating any honest debt, public or private, individual or national. I have said enough on this point.

It was always the purpose of the National Constitution that before the majesty of the law rich or poor, wise or simple, strong or weak, should be protected in their rights. This was meant when they put into that Constitution the simple but strong words, "no person shall be deprived of life, or liberty, or property without due process of law." They meant plainly what they said. They did not say what these modern demagogues prate about, that no white person shall be deprived of life, or liberty, or property, without due process of law. The question would have been raised, how white must a man be before he is entitled to the protection of the Constitution?

Justice from the most ancient times to this hour was understood among all intelligent people to be that which gives to every man his right or his due; but in the progress of this great conflict, in the course of this war for the Union, every fetter upon the limb of every slave turned to ashes, and when the cloud lifted from your stricken field of battle, the sun in its course through the Heavens across this Continent of ours looked not down upon a slave. It was fit therefore that we should put these words into the Constitution, "That neither the United States, nor any State, shall ever make compensation for emancipated slaves." If this limitation be not put there, every man conversant with this question knows that in the absence of this limitation, it is competent for the Legislature of any State of this Union to tax to exhaustion their people, to make compensation for the four million of emancipated slaves. Now, Mr. Jefferson Davis, if there is to be any compensation made, on account of your emancipated slaves, I insist upon it that the compensation shall not be made to you, but to your slaves. Why, say these gentlemen, should we interfere with it? We should interfere with it, because we do not intend hereafter that the institution shall be recognized by law upon American soil. We intend that the spirit of the Constitution shall proclaim to every man, to all hereafter, no matter whether an African, a European, or Asiatic sun first burned upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberties were first trodden down, the moment that he first sets foot on American soil, by the spirit of the American Constitution and by the letter of it, he is equal to the first man in the Republic. It is that which made your Constitution from the beginning the new evangel to the nations; which shook every throne of despotism in the old world; which made every tyrant across the waters hold the reins of power with a more tremulous and unsteady hand; which summoned hither the lifetime of men now listening to me, whole nationalities from the powers of Europe—nationalities made up of the workers and of the builders, the men whose toil feeds and clothes and shelters nations, and who have contributed so much to give us our proud position today as foremost among all the nations of the world. We therefore put into the amendment not only the words I have quoted, these other words that "no State in this Union shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws," and "that Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce this prohibition." They say "you are legislating now for the nigger." For God's sake, let us be gentlemen, at least, and let us use the language of gentlemen in this controversy. That is a vulgar word; it is not found in the lexicon of gentlemen at all, and I suppose that it is an abbreviation of that word that is found there, "negro." It does not represent nationality; thank God, it does represent nationality everywhere within the pale of Christendom, and it has not quite as much relation to the complexion of a man's face as it has to the complexion of a man's heart; it signifies a mean fellow—a chap that robs hen roosts; that breaks into sheep folds; that breaks the law of the Stone Table, and bears false witness against his neighbor. I do not care if he be as white as the driven snow, he is a nigger in the vocabulary of this fellow. Oh! you say you are legislating by that amendment for the protection of the negro; but why should he not be protected? But it is for the protection of us all, you are a person as well as he, and the language is that "no State shall deny to any *person* within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Equality in the rights of persons, has nothing to do with voting. That is a conventional arrangement after the States are organized; but these rights of persons are as universal as the material structure of man, and with respect to these rights the provision is, "that no State shall hereafter deny to any person the equal protection of the laws." Oh! there is a divineness in it. Jeff. Davis himself is a person; Robert Toombs is a person; the five hundred thousand men who but yesterday lifted their hands in defiance against the holy temple of your laws are persons; and yet, by this provision, they are equally under the protection of the law, and every State in the Union, North as well as South, East as well as West, is to be bound hereafter to secure to them that equal protection. It is the law of forgiveness. It is in humble imitation of that utterance of Him who made the Heavens and the earth, when the first crime was committed upon this planet, according to his own record, which covered one brow with ashy paleness and the terrible beauty of death, and the other with the damning blot of fratracide, he set his seal upon the brow of the murderer, "Lest whosoever might find him, slay him." He set his seal upon his brow to hush the cry for blood. In imitation of this grand example the American people are about to put into their fundamental conditions that no State shall deny to any person, no matter how guilty, the "equal protection of the law." In the light of this great example, we may use the words of that inspired poet of our times, when he speaks of man "seeming most like a God when mercy reasons justice." We reason our justice with mercy. We put them all under the protection of the law. But, do you say you "would not object to it if you only exclude the negro." But why exclude him? He constitutes the majority, by a hundred thousand, to-day in the State of South Carolina. He was born on the soil; he is a freeman to-day by force of your laws; by force of that great battle of liberty which was fought by your returning and unreturning braves. They, in the providence of God, made him free by the sword, and the great people who sent them out sealed them by the irrepealable covenant which your own representative aided to put in the Constitution: "That hereafter slavery or involuntary servitude, except in punishment for crime, is forever prohibited on American soil." The majority in his own State, why should he not vote or have a voice in it? And especially why should he not when he accepted your beautiful banner as the symbol of liberty, as it had been in the past the symbol of oppression? Follow that brave fellow in the thickest of the fight, when before the guns of Fort Wagner, when a braver man went not down in this conflict, with the blood of youth upon his brow, full of learning, full of promise, gone to lead a colored regiment in South Carolina in the thickest of the fray, follow his color-bearer, wounded in the fight; follow him in the day by his dead Colonel; follow him as he drags his limbs along and with his expiring breath utters these words: "Boys, I did not let the dear old flag touch the ground;" and then tell me whether such men are not as much entitled to the equal protection of your laws as the rebels who ridged your land with graves and made vacant chairs around every hearth-stone in the land. That is my Democracy. Put every man under equal protection of the laws, and give every man the security of the law that he may enjoy the fruits of his own honest toil. That is one way to make institutions perpetual. Bless every man with equal protection, and every man will have an equal interest in their perpetuation. It pains me, my countrymen, to be compelled to coin my heart's drops into words to persuade the American people to make their laws just, and thereby make them perpetual.

I would summon to my aid to-night in this humble offering I am making the words of the Father of American Democracy, who is known familiarly as the author of the Declaration of Independence, who when he came to die lifted up his withered hands to Heaven, and with his expiring breath said: "I commit my spirit to God and my daughter to my country." Full as he was with honors, of world-wide fame; crowned with Presidential honors by his grateful countrymen, he could not lay himself down in peace without the assurance that his country with its just government surviving would shelter with

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