

AMERICAN CITIZEN.

"Let us have Faith that Right makes Might; and in that Faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it!"—A. LINCOLN.

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COPPERJOHNSON CONVENTION.

Resolutions Adopted by the Johnson Convention at Philadelphia.

1. We hail with gratitude to Almighty God the end of the war and the return of peace to an afflicted and beloved land. [Applause.]

2. The war just closed has maintained the authority of the Constitution, with all the powers which it confers and all the restrictions which it imposes upon the General Government, unbridled and unaltered, [cheers] and it has preserved the Union with the equal rights, dignity, and the authority of the States perfect and unimpaired. [Tremendous applause, during which the convention rose in a body and cheered enthusiastically.]

The Chairman rapped to order and requested delegates to take their seats.

A delegate stated that when such doctrine as that was announced he could not help cheering.

The Secretary then proceeded:

3. Representation in the Congress of the United States and the Electoral College is a right recognized by the Constitution as abiding in every State and as a duty imposed upon its people, fundamental in its nature and essential to the existence of our republican institutions and neither Congress nor the General Government has any authority or power to deny this right to any State or to withhold its enjoyment under the Constitution from the people thereof. [Great applause.]

4. We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress as members thereof not men who admit the fundamental right of representation, and who will receive to seats therein loyal representatives from every State in allegiance to the United States, subject to the constitutional right of each house to judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members.

5. The Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land, and who will receive to seats therein loyal representatives from every State in allegiance to the United States, subject to the constitutional right of each house to judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members.

6. Such amendments to the Constitution of the United States may be made by the people thereof as they may deem expedient, but only by the mode pointed out by its provisions; and in proposing such amendments, whether by Congress or by a convention, and in ratifying the same, all the States of the Union have an equal and an indefeasible right to a voice and a vote thereon. [Tremendous applause.]

7. Slavery is abolished and forever prohibited, and there is neither desire nor purpose on the part of the Southern States that it should ever be re-established upon territorial or within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the enfranchised slaves in all the States of the Union should receive, in common with all their inhabitants, equal protection in every right of person and property.

8. While we regard as utterly invalid and never to be assumed or made of binding force any obligation incurred or undertaken in making war against the United States, we hold the debt of the nation to be sacred and inviolable—and we proclaim our purpose in discharging this, as in performing all other national obligations, to maintain unimpaired and unimpeached the honor and the faith of the Republic.

9. It is the duty of the national Government to recognize the services of the Federal soldiers and sailors in the contest just closed by meeting promptly and fully all their just and rightful claims for the services they have rendered to the nation, and by extending to those of them who have survived, and to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen, the most generous and considerate care.

10th and last. In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, who in his great office has proved steadfast in his devotion to the Constitution, the laws, and the interests of his country, unswayed by persecution and undeserved reproach, having faith unassailable in the people and in the principles of a free Government, we recognize a Chief Magistrate worthy of the nation and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast; and we tender to him in the discharge of his high and responsible duties our profound respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support.

The Chairman, Gentlemen of the convention, you have heard the resolutions. Those in favor will say aye. A tremendous shout. Those opposed will say no. No one answered. They are unanimously carried.

Thomas C. Maxwell, of Pennsylvania, then proposed three cheers for Senator

Cowan, by whom the resolutions had been reported. The cheers were accordingly given, and were followed by loud cries for a speech.

In response to these calls Mr. Cowan rose and said:

"Gentlemen of the convention, I claim to be the host of the convention. One of my distinguished guests will now address you by virtue of authority unanimously derived from the Committee on Resolutions and Address—The Hon. Mr. Raymond." Applause, including cheers for Raymond.

The Chairman then announced that the Hon. Henry J. Raymond, of New York, would read the address, which had received the unanimous approval of the Committee on Resolutions and Address.

Mr. Raymond stepped forward and read the address, of which the following is a synopsis:

Invokes the people of the United States to remember that the war has ended, and that the nation is again at peace, and to accept with all their legitimate consequences the political results of the war.

First, it has established beyond all further controversy, and by the highest of all human sanctions, the absolute supremacy of the national Government as defined and limited by the Constitution, and the permanent integrity and indissolubility of the Federal Union as a necessary consequence. And, second, it has put an end finally and forever to the existence of slavery upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States—The Government of the United States maintained by force of arms the supreme authority over all territory and over all States and people within its jurisdiction which the Constitution confers upon it; but it acquired thereby no new power, no enlarged jurisdiction, no rights either of territorial possession or of civil authority which it did not possess before the rebellion broke out. The Constitution is today precisely as it was before the war—the supreme law of the land—nothing in the constitution or laws of the States notwithstanding; and to-day, precisely as before the war, all powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the General Government, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people thereof. During the war every Executive message and proclamation explicitly declared that the sole purpose of the war was to maintain the authority of the Constitution and preserve the integrity of the Union, and Congress has since proclaimed that the Government has the right of conquerors to subject the territory conquered and its inhabitants to such penalties as the legislative department may see fit to impose. Under this claim the clause of the Constitution declaring that no State without its consent shall be denied equal suffrage in the Senate has been annulled, and 10 States are deprived of representation, although the Federal courts are reopened and taxes imposed. This claim so enforced involves as fatal an overthrow of the Constitution as that sought to be effected by the States in rebellion. The right asserted is that Congress, in formal possession of authority, may exclude any States from representation until they comply with such conditions as they dictate. After controverting radical doctrines the address says: "We do not hesitate to affirm that there is no section of the country where the Constitution and laws of the United States find more prompt and entire obedience than in those States and among those people who were lately in arms against them, or where less purpose or danger of any future attempt to overthrow their authority."

In closing, the address alludes to the approaching congressional elections and says: "We call upon you in every congressional district of every State to secure the election of members who, whatever their differences, may characterize their political action, will unite in recognizing the right of every State of the Union to representation in Congress, and who will admit to seats in either branch every loyal representative from every State in allegiance to the Government who may be found by each house, in the exercise of the power conferred upon it by the Constitution, to have been duly elected, returned, and qualified for a seat therein. When this shall have been done the Government will have been re-established in its full supremacy, and the American Union will have again become what it was designed to be by those who formed it—a sovereign nation, composed of separate States, each, like itself, moving in a distinct and independent sphere, exercising powers defined and reserved by a common Constitution, and resting upon the assent, the confidence, and co-operation of all the States and all the people subject to its authority. Thus reorganized and restored to their constitutional relations, the States and the General Government can enter in a fraternal spirit, with a common purpose and a common interest, upon whatever reforms security of personal rights, enlargement of popular liberty, and the perfection of our republican institutions may demand."

—It is stated on good authority that one of the President's organs in Washington is about to collapse for want of support. Being unable to pay for its news, the agent of the Associated Press has refused to furnish it any more telegrams, and it made its appearance on Tuesday with such dispatches only as were published in the evening papers of the previous day. From this it is evident that supporting "My Policy" is not a paying business, at least at the National Capital.

—This will do, then!

THE ISSUE.

Great Speech of General Logan.

At Chicago, Tuesday Evening, Aug. 14.

Major General John A. Logan had an enthusiastic reception at the Opera House in Chicago, on the evening of the 14th inst. After the usual preliminaries, he spoke as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I tender you my sincere thanks for the manner in which I have been received in the city of Chicago by its citizens. It is not altogether a compliment to myself. I am not vain enough so to consider it; but a compliment to the principles enunciated in the platform of that party which has placed me upon its ticket for Congressman at large.

I look upon this as a great ground swell among the people in this part of the country, showing a true, pure and patriotic devotion to loyal sentiment and to the true interests of the nation, and that treason has no interest in the hearts of the people of the great city of Chicago. [Applause.]

On occasions of this kind we can better judge the feelings of the people in preference to the questions that are presented before the country, by the manner of their assembling together, by the interest they seem to take. And in discussing the questions that are presented by the parties of the country to the people for their decision, I hope that I may be able to make myself understood; and that I may be able to present to this audience these questions in a fair, just, and proper manner, so that they themselves, as well as I, may judge as to the right, and when we once form judgment as to the right, it then becomes, as is well known, our duty to perform it, and act in accordance with that judgment.

There never has been a time when the questions presented to the people by the political parties of the country were more easily understood than those that are now to be submitted, if they properly investigate and attempt to understand them.

The question that we have to decide on the November election is nothing less than the great question we have been battling for for the last five years, [cheers]—a question that the loyal people of the United States in their dreams, in their hopes, and in their beliefs thought—"is the great question of liberty, of freedom, of the rights of the loyal people of this country, and of the forfeiture of the rights of traitors in this land [cheers] this great question they thought had been settled by force of arms. We had thought this question had been submitted to the people of this country and decided by water of battle. We had flattered ourselves that those great questions that we were battling for in this country were forever settled, and would forever sleep in silence. But for some reason unknown to me, and I presume unknown to you, the same questions are now presented in a different form. Heretofore they were presented to you by men in arms battling against the flag of the country, trampling the Constitution under foot, defying the authority of the people of the United States of America. They were presented by armies in battle, by men associating themselves together, forming what they called a government, and for the purpose of its destruction, for the purpose of establishing a form of government to their own tastes and their own notions, and intended for the destruction of this mighty fabric.

The manner in which it is presented to us is different. Then it was presented in the shape of battle, in the shape of war. But it is presented now as a political question for us to decide at the polls for you and I to discuss, and for you and I to decide.

It sometimes is well enough for us to enquire, how did this question again get before the people? We had fought for four years for this great principle of liberty and the integrity of the whole Union; we had fought against the right of secession, against treason and rebellion in this land—for the purpose of showing that the men of this country must be obedient to law, must observe the Constitution, and must bow down to the mandates of the majority and to the will of the people of this great and mighty Republic. [Cheers.] And, too, as I remarked, according to the laws as we interpret them and the Constitution of the country, those who raised the arm of rebellion against the Union ought to be deprived of every right, both civil and political, that they enjoyed under the Constitution and the laws of the land. And why, my friends? By their act of treason, and by the crimes that are embodied within that act of treason itself, they have not only forfeited their civil and political rights—all the rights that pertain to the people—but, having done that, they could set up no claim to participate in the affairs of the government, nor could they exercise any right, civil or political, except such rights as the people of the United States in their estimation should decide to confer upon them, through their representatives at the proper time. If they decide to re-educate, to rehabilitate them, to reconvert upon them these rights, why it is within the magnanimity of the people of the United States, and not under the justice or discretion of those men who fought against the Government, and thereby forfeited their rights. [Cheers.]

Having been taught this, and learned it, having fought for it, and won the battle; having fought for the country and saved it; having fought for the preservation of the Union, and not only saved it;

but planted it proudly and defiantly in every town, hamlet and village, on every hill top and on every plain, from the lakes in the North to the Gulf in the South, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean; the men who had done this, who had performed this great duty required at their hands towards the Government of the United States—they, when this duty was performed to the Government, had placed in their hands the right, and the only right to decide in reference to this question and to dispose of it. [Cheers.]

But, unfortunately for the people of this country, in the selection of a candidate for President and Vice President, at the last election, we selected a man and placed him upon the ticket, who was elected Vice President. He became President, and is now the accidental President, made so not by the will or the wish or desire of the loyal people of the United States of America, but made so by the hand of treason, which lifted its bloody dagger for the purpose of destroying the life of this great nation. By that act and that unfortunate occurrence, this apostate was placed in the Presidential chair. [Cheers.] He is an apostate Judas to the Constitution of the United States, who had kissed the cheek of liberty that he might betray her into the hands of treason. [Prolonged Cheers.] He has presented to this country an issue for you, and me, and the people of this country to decide. He has again presented the issue that we had thought forever decided and settled; and inasmuch as we have had the power to settle it by our own strong arms, by our own will, by our own power, and by our own strength, and we will again settle it by that same will, that same power, and that same strength, and we will make it manifest so that the issue will remain settled forever. [Cheers.]

We remember that during the bloody tragedy that was being enacted before the eyes of the civilized world, this man declared that traitors must be punished; that their lands must be distributed among the loyal. He declared, too, that loyalty itself did not reside in the heart of the white man; but in the State of Tennessee, at his home in Nashville, he declared that it lived in the bosom of each and every man that loved his country, no matter what his complexion, or station, or situation in life was. [Cheers.] He declared, further, that he would be the Moses of the unfortunate men (laughter) who had their limbs hung by the chains of slavery for centuries gone by; that as their Moses he would lead them through the Red Sea of their trials and tribulations until they should be placed in a land of safety—in a land of universal liberty—where they themselves might enjoy the privileges and rights of citizens, the same rights before the law as anybody else; that he himself would take upon himself to perform that great, gigantic job—if you might call it so—or, which is a preferable word; that he would take this duty, it being incumbent upon some man in the United States, and he would assume to do it on his own part.

But it seems to me methinks, sometimes, instead of finding this man at the head of the unfortunate children, and leading them out from under the bondage of their tyrants and oppressors, that he has missed his road, and to-day he is found at the head of the rebel hordes that have been lashed until they laid down their arms and were willing to beg for mercy, and he has attempted to lead them to the promised land. [Cheers.]

When he was sworn in as President of the United States in place of the man whose memory will ever live in the minds and hearts of the people of the United States (cheers), and in the hearts of the people of all civilized and christianized countries—a man of gigantic intellect, a man of great heart; the man who compassed all that was necessary for man to do by his great mind; who understood the wants of the people, the institutions of the people; the man who understood what loyalty meant, what treason was; the man who could interpret the laws and Constitution correctly, and had the nerve to execute and see that they were faithfully carried out; the man who, when the whole country stood in awe and trembled before the mighty hosts of this rebellion, when the whole country seemed as though they were willing to give up the struggle and strike for peace, I mistake not the whole country, but a great portion of the people, enough to have alarmed almost every man—this man had faith in the flag of the country; he had faith in the Constitution; he had faith in God, and believed that in His providence all things would be brought about in the right way, treason would be finally crushed and loyalty would finally triumph. [Applause.] But when he passed from the stage of action, and this man took the oath of office, he said, in a little speech that he made then, that treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished. Well, I do not understand what he meant by that. I would mean if I had the power to say that treason must be punished. I know what you would mean, but what he meant I cannot divine.

If we were to have the power to-night to say "treason must be made odious," what would we mean? We would mean that it must be punished; that it must be marked so that it would become hated and despised, not only by the people of this great Republic, but by the whole civilized world. That would be what we would mean by making it "odious." When we would say that traitors should be punished, what would we mean by that? We would mean that they must receive the punishment the law itself prescribes they shall receive. What is that according to the Constitution of the

United States and the laws of the land? If a man commits treason against the Government of the United States he forfeits his life. This is the punishment we mean in regard to [cheers] the men we intend to punish as an example for the rest; that they must pay that forfeit in order to satisfy the law, in order to satisfy the people. [Applause.]

What has he done to make treason odious? Has he put a mark upon treason in this land? Has he stretched out his hand to the poor loyal man of the South and said, "Come up a little higher," and at the same time turned upon traitors, and said, "sir, you must go back a little further." Has he done that?—No, instead of that he has given the traitor his hand, and he has raised him up a little higher, and he has attempted to sink loyal men lower in the scale of the estimation of the country. That is the manner in which he has punished treason.—He has punished it by turning out this man C. C. Clay, for whom he offered \$25,000 or 30,000 reward, in order that he might be punished for complicity in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and he walks through the land a paroled man, at liberty to go where he pleases. So he has with the others that have been arrested and put in prison. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederate States, where he ought to be, [cheers.] is to-day, or was a few days before the adjournment of Congress, in Washington City with a pardon in one pocket and a certificate of election in another, claiming a seat in the United States Senate. We find he has punished treason in the State of Mississippi, and he has been done? By allowing people to elect a rebel General Governor of the State, and as soon as he was elected he pardoned him so that he might take the office. So it has been in each and every one of the States that were in rebellion; as fast as they elected a rebel to office as Governor he sent them their pardons, so that they might accept the office and perform the duties of the same. That is the manner in which treason has been made odious by this man. Can you point your finger to a loyal man that has been placed in the gubernatorial chair in one of the nine States, taking Arkansas and Tennessee as exceptions; but in the other States can you point your finger to a solitary man who is loyal that has been placed in any of those positions? Not one. And why? Because Mr. Johnson's conduct has been of such a character that loyalty was at a discount, and treason at a premium. [Applause.]

He then presented us this issue. The rebels during this war, claimed, for at the time this rebellion ceased, claimed that in law they had forfeited no rights; that they were citizens of the United States as much as they ever were. At the time this rebellion was crushed, at the time of the surrender of Robert E. Lee to Gen. Grant; at the time of the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston with his whole army to Gen. Sherman, we looked along this broad land and believed that this rebellion was over, and that treason was crushed for ever in this land, and that loyalty had control and charge of the affairs of this nation. What did we find then?—We found a condition of things as I have remarked before. If we only recollect and have our attention called to the time of the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston and his rebel army to Gen. Sherman, we remember that Gen. Johnston and Gen. Sherman made what was called a convention, they made an agreement. By that agreement Gen. Sherman was to recognize or to permit the Governors of these rebel States to take the oath of allegiance or the oath under the Constitution of the United States, and continue in office by changing the form of the State Government from that of rebel to that of the United States Government.

It was sent to the President of the United States and his Cabinet for their assent. You all very well remember the manner in which that agreement between General Sherman and Mr. Johnston of the rebel army was treated. How was it treated? Mr. Johnston, as President, and his whole Cabinet, decided that it was a recognition of traitors; that it was making traitors in office, that it was making treason respectable, and Mr. Johnston said "that treason" must be made odious, and traitors must be punished; and that traitors must not occupy front seats as they were about to do in this agreement between General Sherman and Mr. Johnston. They repudiated this agreement. They published General Sherman—a gallant officer and a soldier he is, too—in every paper almost from one end of this land to the other, that they could do tell whether General Sherman had surrendered to Johnston or Johnston had surrendered to Sherman.

That was the statement made public everywhere, and believed by everybody. Well, I must confess that there were very few loyal men in this country that were willing to indorse that agreement. This is all true, but at the same time their unwillingness to indorse it was not because it was made by General Sherman, but they would not have been willing to indorse it had it been made by President Johnson, or President Lincoln, or President anybody. [Applause.]

Why is it that they refused to indorse that agreement? Yet in a few weeks afterward Mr. Johnston turns right round and befriended the very same class of men that General Sherman was going to recognize as Governors of these different States. He turns right round and commences pardoning these men and allowing them to be put into office. He takes the State Governments and pretends to organize them, and then turns them over to the traitors and rebels in the land, so

that they might pursue their bloody deeds and may gloat as much as they are minded to with their fiendishness upon Union white men and Union black men throughout the land.

He goes further than that, for he organizes these State Governments, or pretends to organize them, though I contend that he had no authority for it. He did it, and inasmuch as a part of it was recognized by the Congress of the United States, afterward, we have no right to complain of it, and are willing to admit that probably it was well enough inasmuch as it has gone so far. At least the Congress of the United States were willing to accept such portions as they thought to be correct and right. I think in their judgment they did the best they could, and in my judgment it was the best that could be done at that time under the circumstances.

We find, however, the President of the United States going on in the same line and in the same manner that he had followed out with General Sherman, until finally and at last he says to the contrary that the people of the Southern States are entitled to be represented in the Congress of the United States. He says to the Congress of the United States,—"These people have elected their Representatives to Congress, and you must admit them." He says to the people of the United States, "These people are as much entitled to their rights under the Constitution as you are;" and he says to you and me, "These people are loyal people, these people are doing no wrong." He says they are guilty of no crime. They have been guilty of a crime; but now they are loyal and entitled to the same rights, civil and political, as you and I are entitled to, and they must be represented in the Congress of the United States.

But he says that they must send loyal men; and you must admit these loyal men. Then they send such men as Orr, of South Carolina, one of the rebel Representatives to the Confederate Congress. They put in as Governor of Mississippi such a man as those I mentioned a while ago, one who had been a leader of the rebel armies. They sent no man to Congress from those nine States that had not been in the rebel Congress, or in full sympathy with the rebel army and the rebellion during this war; and yet Mr. Johnson says that these Representatives must be admitted into the Congress of the United States.

Now, my fellow citizens, that is the issue that he presents to the country.—We take the opposite ground. We take issue with Mr. Johnson and his Copperhead allies, and we say to him, "Sir, you are President, we will acknowledge you; we have been made so not by our choice, but by your choice; but although you are President, you are not the Judge and Jury too of this question. [Applause.] The people of this country have somewhat to say in the settlement of these questions. But you, sir, as President, have a duty to perform, and when you get outside of that we will let you know that we make Presidents and unmake them too."

We take issue with him, as I remarked. We say this, that traitors have forfeited their rights, and we intend to say when we get ready as to whether they shall have these rights returned to them or not. [Applause.] We intend to decide these questions for ourselves, in our own way, and we do not propose that the President and his rebel associates shall decide them for us. [Applause.] We maintain this to be the correct principle. We say to Mr. Johnson: "Sir, your theory is not correct. Your doctrine of taxation without representation is correct in one sense, but not when it applies to these people. They withdrew their representation from the Congress of the United States without our consent, but by their own, and when they come back it shall be by our consent and their own too."

We say to this President and his allies, "We fought this war upon the theory I have stated; that this Union could not be dissolved; that the loyal people of the United States intended to maintain the Constitution and the Union; they intended to put down this rebellion, and having put it down, they intended that these men who have committed treason against the Government shall be placed in that position, political and civil, in this country, that the Constitution and the laws of the land place them in—that is, that they have forfeited their rights, and these rights shall remain forfeited until we, the people, of the United States, shall determine what rights shall be cast upon them again."

In forfeiting these rights they forfeited the right of representation, the same as any other right that they had. Having forfeited that right, and the majority of the people of those States having committed treason, thereby forfeiting their rights, civil and political—forfeited their lives, too, if we were minded to take them from them—they are not entitled to be represented at all in the Congress of the United States unless we determine the fact first and say whether they shall.

The theory of the President is well enough, when he says loyal men must be represented in Congress. That is right. But when he asks himself the question who are to elect these loyal men, how are they to be elected, by whom, and in what manner, he had better ask himself first, whether these people have a right to be represented either by loyal or disloyal men. The question is not who shall represent them, but whether they are entitled to any representation whatever. We say they are not, until we decide that question, and that they are not to decide.

Well, but some of these Copperheads of this country say, it is very hard. Why,

what did Gov. Orr of South Carolina say over here at this strange gathering that is being brought together in Philadelphia, where that quiet old Quaker city is being disturbed by the discordant elements that are brought together there, Johnsonites, rebelles, Copperheads, and forfeited Republicans—is not that a good word to use for them?—and I do not know what else come together?—it is a curious mixture, it is true. It reminds me a good deal of what they call a happy family at a circus (laughter) where we find the monkeys, and the chickens, and the coon, and the possum, and the bear, and everything else, all in one cage. Well, you wonder why the bear don't eat up the chickens, and the coon don't bite the possum, and the monkey don't fight the cats, and the cats don't fight the rats, and all that sort of thing; and if you ask the question why the ring master will tell you that he arranges that matter. Laughter. This man, Governor Orr, of South Carolina, as soon as he leaves the rebel Congress becomes a candidate for Governor, and the people down there elect him, and he gets to be Governor of the great State of South Carolina; and this State, that has a white population of 260,000 and has 400,000 negroes, sends Gov. Orr to the Philadelphia circus, or convention, I think they call it. He makes a speech there, and he talks to the people of Pennsylvania. He says that he hopes that the loyal people of Pennsylvania will decide at the election that these loyal people in the South shall be admitted into Congress, he being one of them. Loyal men! Why, sir, these loyal men that have been elected to the Congress of the United States from the South, go there, not for the purpose of creating a disturbance or doing any wrong, but for the purpose of aiding the people of the North in making laws such as will be beneficial to all classes of this country. Why he has got to be very patriotic. They stayed out of Congress for four years, I suppose on account of their loyalty. Laughter. They withdrew on their own accord, set up another Congress, and undertook to make laws for a few people down South. We went to work and licked them for that (cheers) and after we have done that, they propose now, at one stride, to just step out of the rebel Congress into our Congress, or out of the rebel army into our Congress. They just lay down the gun and march into Congress to help us loyal people make laws for the benefit of the whole people. Laughter.

Very well, I can tell Mr. Orr that we made very good laws for four years without his assistance. We carried on this war without his help. We taxed ourselves for the purpose of increasing our revenues. To prosecute the war we taxed ourselves. We levied, collected, and disbursed the taxes ourselves. We purchased our own arms, our own munitions of war, furnished our own soldiers, did our own legislating, without any of their help; and when we want their help we will give them due notice; that they may govern themselves accordingly.

No sir, we proposed, as I remarked, to reorganize these States upon a proper basis, not according to the dictation of any President, nor according to the dictation of Robert E. Lee, or Mr. Orr, or Mr. A. H. Stephens or any other man belonging to these rebel hordes. We do not propose to ask them how it shall be done, or the manner in which we shall perform our duty toward this whole country.

Sir, when such men as Lee and Beauregard, and that class of gentlemen, come forward now and dictate to the loyal men of this country the manner in which these State Governments shall be restored to their proper relations to the Government, we say to them: "Mr. Lee, and Mr. Beauregard, and Mr. Maury, and all the rest of you men who belonged to the army and navy of the United States at the time this rebellion commenced you were educated at the charity school of this Government, you took the oath to bear true allegiance to the country, threw down your swords and took up arms in defense of and in prosecution of treason against the Government that had taken you, when children, and raised you at its own charity school. Not only that, Mr. Lee, but in your elaborate mansion that you had across the Potomac there was not a spear of grass that received nurture, or a flower that blossomed in your garden but what was watered day by day by the tribute of the Treasury of the United States of America."

If it was left to me I would say, "Take what the Government has given you.—We cannot take it back. Keep your own consciences. I am sure they god you well. Reflect upon the blackness of your deeds. Let your own minds be constantly upon the manner in which you have performed the duty which you owed to the Government, and that you owed yourselves. Enjoy what you have done; that is sufficient for your reflections so long as you shall live. But you shall be branded, so that the least prattling child in this land, as you pass by, would point his finger at you and say, there is Robert E. Lee who bears the mark of treason upon his brow as conspicuously as Cain did the one given him because he slew his brother."

As to the men who were not army officers, but who were members of Congress and leaders of the rebellion, we say the same thing. We say: Gentlemen, according to your own deeds have you been judged, and the decision has been against you. It is the verdict of the people. It is your own act.

TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT