

The Greene County Republican.

FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT AS GOD GIVES US TO SEE THE RIGHT.—Lincoln.

A Family Paper—Devoted to Politics, Literature, Foreign, Home and Miscellaneous News, &c., &c.

VOL. X

WAYNESBURG, PA., WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1866.

NO. 12.

The Republican.

EVERY WEDNESDAY MORNING,
BY
JAS. E. SAYERS.

OFFICE IN WILSON'S BUILDING, MAIN STREET.

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Gov. Morton's SPEECH:

At New Albany, Ind., July 18th 1866.

HE REVIEWS THE DECLARATION THAT THE WAR WAS JUST AND NECESSARY.

DWELLS ON THE EQUALIZATION OF REPRESENTATION.

Advocates the Constitutional Amendment.

AND DENOUNCES THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY.

NEW ALBANY, IND., July 18.

The Union Congressional Convention for this District was held at the Fair grounds to-day; five counties were represented; six thousand persons were present.

At 2 P. M., Governor Morton appeared, accompanied by Genl. Gresham and others. The Governor seemed weak, and was assisted to the stand, where, taking a seat, he delivered an eloquent address of nearly three hours, during which he was frequently greeted with volleys of applause.

Governor Morton's speech.

Some three or four weeks ago a Democratic convention was held in this city at which a candidate for Congress was nominated, speeches were made by Messrs. Voorhees and McDonald, and a series of resolutions adopted.

The resolutions were evidently intended to inaugurate a new policy in the Democratic party, and to enable the party, if possible, to relieve itself of the odium with which it is now loaded down and by which it must ere long be carried to the bottom.

The second of these resolutions declares that the war was just and necessary to prevent the disruption of the Union and the overthrow of the Constitution; and thanks the soldiers for their valor in preserving the nation.

Sixteen months after the war was over, the men composing the convention discovered for the first time that the war was "just and necessary" on our part—that which had been arrived at by the great body of the people of the United States more than five years before.

How it happened that this discovery was first made at New Albany, or by what means the truth broke in upon minds so politically prejudiced and so far behind the age, does not appear.

Nevertheless, New Albany was selected as the place of revelation, and the politicians there assembled the humble instruments for the dissemination of the new truth.

This resolution is a complete and unreserved confession of the disloyal and treasonable course pursued by the so-called Democratic party throughout the war, and a full admission that their principles and practices were hostile to the Union. The whole country will regard it as a dying repentance, forced from a convicted criminal who is standing in full view of the scaffold, but will regard it as a confession, springing not from penitence of the heart, but from hopes of pardon and renewed life. The men making this confession ask the country to receive it as an evidence that they have come from the first been in favor of the war, and demanded that they shall be received as good Union men, who have protested and preserved the country, and not as friends, allies and abettors of rebellion.

Allow me to say to them, their request will not be granted. They will be held to the record, and cannot be relieved from their great responsibilities by the cheap discovery that the war was "just and necessary," sixteen months after it was ended.

It is true, our Savior, in his parable, described those who came in at the eleventh hour, as having received as much pay as those who had worked all day; but still it must be remembered that they came in one hour before the work was done, and helped to finish it, but these Democratic politicians did not come in until sixteen months after the work was all over.

If the war was "just and necessary," as these men now say, why did the Democratic party throughout the war denounce it as unnecessary, unjust and unconstitutional? and assert that it was forced upon our Southern brethren by a wicked invasion of their rights? If the war was "just and necessary," why did Democratic members of Congress vote against all supplies of men and money—against all appropriations and measures necessary to carry on the war, and do all in their power, by their speeches, to discourage the loyal people of the North, and encourage the disloyal people of the South? If the war was "just and necessary," why did Democratic politicians throughout the war encourage enlistments, labor to keep Democrats from going into the army, and exhort the people to resist the draft? If the war was "just and necessary," why did Democratic politicians argue that the Government could not coerce a State? and that each State had a right to judge of the infraction of the Constitution, as well as the remedy? and peacefully to withdraw from the Union, according to the determination of its own will?

If the war was "just and necessary," why did the Democracy of Washington, in a meeting held at Salem, in February, 1861, resolve that if a separation took place between the North and South, the line of separation must run North of Washington county; and that if they were compelled to fight on either side, they would be found fighting in the armies of the South?

If the war was "just and necessary," why did the Democracy of Washington, on our part, then, of course, the rebellion was wicked, and rebels ought to be punished and excluded from Congress.

If the war was "just and necessary," why did the Sons of Liberty conspire to overturn the State Government, release rebel prisoners, seize arsenals, murder the Executive, and precipitate Indiana into rebellion?

If the war was "just and necessary," why did these men encourage enlistments, enter the army themselves, contribute to the Sanitary Commission, help to support soldiers' families, and unite in doing all those things which should be cheerfully performed by every loyal and patriotic citizen?

If the war was "just and necessary," why did the Democratic politicians go to Chicago, in the midst of the last great campaign of 1861, in the very crisis of the fight, and there resolve that the war was wicked and unconstitutional on our part; that it was a failure, and we ought to lay down our arms and see to peace?

And in short, if the war was "just and necessary," why did Democratic politicians refuse to explain the fact until sixteen months after it was over? and after they had done all the harm they could, and when their adhesion to the Government could do no good.

After the rebellion had been suppressed after every enemy in the field had been conquered, and every obstacle at home had been overcome, and the nation had been preserved, without the aid of the Democratic party, and in spite of it, that portion of it which inhabits this Congressional District came together in Convention in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and resolved that "the war was just and necessary to prevent the disruption of the Union and the overthrow of the Constitution."

They never discovered the fact until after success had crowned our arms, and defeat had overwhelmed their allies, and their every effort to secure the success of the rebellion had failed; and the question I now submit to you, and which is already present in your minds, is, whether these men have had an actual revelation of new truth, and have realized a change of heart, or whether only the circumstances have changed by which they are surrounded, and to which they are now, for selfish and political purposes, seeking to adapt themselves.

When Democratic leaders now resolve that the war was "just and necessary" on our part, they stultify all they have said and done for the last six years, and contradict and nullify every other plank in their platform, but they can not blot out the story of their misdeeds, nor erase from the page of history the record of their crimes against the country.

EQUALIZING REPRESENTATION.

There are two kinds of representation in Congress—the representation of the States and of the people. Each State has two Representatives, or Senators, in

the Senate, while it is intended that the people shall be equitably and equally represented in the House.

In the original formation of the Constitution, Representatives were apportioned among the several States by adding to the whole number of free persons, excluding Indians, not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.

These three-fifths of all other persons were slaves, and, in effect, every five slaves were counted as three free persons, in making up the ratio of representation. This was a very hard provision for the people of the free States, but it was demanded by the slaveholders, and canceled by our fathers in compromise, they believing that slavery was fast passing away, and could not endure a quarter of a century, and it became finally an almost intolerable burden and injustice, as it gave to the South a representation of twenty-two votes in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College for President and Vice President, on account of their property.

According to the census of 1850, the eleven rebel States not including in their number Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware and Missouri, had a white population of 5,922,551, and had a negro population of 3,751,031. By the last apportionment, which allowed one Representative for every 125,000 people, the white population of these rebel States would entitle them to forty-two Representatives, and the colored population, now that slavery is abolished, and each negro counts as one person, would entitle them to thirty Representatives more, making seventy-two in all.

By the same census the seven Northern States had a negro population of 65,000, 12,000 of whom lived in Indiana, and altogether making but half enough for one Representative. And now in these eleven rebel States the negroes enjoy no political rights or consideration whatever. They have no more voice in making the laws by which they are governed, or in choosing their rulers, than the beasts of the field, and yet as the Constitution now stands, their late masters will have thirty votes in Congress and in the Electoral College on their account—just equal to the united vote of Indiana and Ohio. In other words, the white men of these rebel States, nineteen-twentieths of whom are rebels, and were engaged in the late rebellion, can vote down Ohio and Indiana, by representing the negroes, who are stripped of all political rights whatever.

The negro, for himself, amounts to nothing, counts for nothing, and his existence is utterly ignored, but he amounts to a man and counts for a man, for the benefit of white rebels, by whom he is surrounded. The white people of the rebel States have fifty-two votes for themselves, and then will have thirty votes more for the negroes.

Democratic politicians have to the vulgar prejudices of the people, by claiming that this is a white man's Government, is it which has thirty votes in Congress and thirty votes in the Electoral College, based on negro representation? This advantage which the rebel States now have is monstrous, and is not to be quietly endured. No Northern man, who has the least respect for himself, can for a moment consent that they shall retain it. Even if they were loyal—if they had tried to sustain the Government instead of destroying it—they could have no possible claim to it.

They have thirty votes in Congress that have no constituency; thirty votes from thirty rotten boroughs under the English system. And these thirty votes just balance and set off the thirty votes sent up by three millions six hundred and forty-two thousand white people from Ohio and Indiana.

These eleven rebel States have other advantages in the government, which it seems to me ought to satisfy the most avaricious Democratic politician. They have twenty-two votes in the Senate, while Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, with a joint population exceeding theirs by a quarter of a million, have but six votes.

This is a gross inequality, and would seem to have but little foundation in reason, yet it was part of the original theory of the Government, that the States, without regard to the population, should have equal representation in the Senate, and we are not seeking to change it.

In order to correct the shameful abuse and injustice I have been describing,

Congress has passed a joint resolution amending the Constitution of the United States, the second clause of which provides that whenever the right to vote is denied in any State to any of the male inhabitants of such State, twenty-one years of age, and a citizen of the United States, or is in any way abridged, except for participation in the rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced, in the proportion such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

The effect of this amendment will be to exclude the negro population from being counted in making up the basis of representation in any State in which negroes over twenty-one years of age bear the same proportion to the whole negro population that white males over twenty-one years of age bear to the whole white population, and deducts the negro population by that proportion from the whole number for which representation is to be given. This will have the effect to deduct the whole negro population of the rebel States from the aggregate number for which representation is to be given, and will deprive them of thirty votes in Congress, and in the Electoral College. It also deducts the twelve thousand in Indiana, from the aggregate population for which she is entitled to representation, and so in every other State. This amendment, in effect, leaves the question of negro suffrage to each State, to be determined by and within itself. If South Carolina wants representation for her negroes, she has but to confer the right of suffrage upon her male negroes over twenty-one years of age, and she will have it. And the matter is referred entirely to her own determination, and so with every other State.

The principle enunciated by the amendment is this, that wherever there is a race of people who are deemed unworthy or unfit to receive and enjoy political rights, they shall not be made the basis for conferring political rights and powers upon others.

Against this amendment the Democratic party has placed itself in direct opposition. Democratic members of Congress voted against it, and Democratic politicians are misrepresenting it all over the land. They demand that no constitutional amendment shall be passed until the eleven rebel States are fully represented in Congress, when they know full well no amendment can be passed abridging the power of the South, imposing conditions upon rebels, or exacting security for the future. They demand that Southern rebels shall retain the enormous advantage they now have, whereby each one of them receives a percentage of power in the Government that has a value of Indiana, or any other Northern State, and they demand it because these rebels belong to their party, will vote their ticket, and assist them in getting into power.

negro suffrage.

The first section of the amendment is in these words:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws."

The first clause of the section declares who shall be citizens of the United States, but does not add to their privileges or immunities as citizens. It gives no right, power or privilege to citizens of the United States which they have not always possessed.

The first part of the second clause prohibits any State from making or enforcing a law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, as such, though they may not be the citizens of any State, have certain great privileges or immunities, which are not to be abridged or interfered with by the laws of any State. This has been done heretofore in many cases, whereby great wrongs were inflicted; and hence the necessity of this provision.

The second part of the clause declares that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person

within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

By this it is intended to throw the equal protection of the law around every person who may be within the jurisdiction of any State, whether citizen or alien, and without regard to condition or residence, not only as to life and liberty, but also as to property. It has happened in times past that several of the Southern States discriminated against the citizens of other States, by withholding the protection of the laws for life and liberty, and denying to them the ordinary remedies in the Courts for the vindication of their civil rights; and hence the adoption of this provision.

But it is now being desperately argued, to reclaim a desperate cause, that the first section of the amendment confers the right of suffrage upon negroes in Indiana and every other State. I confess my astonishment that any respectable lawyer who has the slightest regard for his legal reputation should be willing to commit himself to such a proposition, and argue against the clear meaning of the English language, and the manifest spirit and purpose of the amendment. They might as well try to extort negro suffrage from the Ninth Commandment, which says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," and in fact, I commend these gentlemen to the particular study of that commandment.

It is one of the most flagrant and impudent attempts to pervert a fraud upon the public mind of which I have any knowledge, and should be held up to general execration and contempt. And so shameless is it that Judge Perkins, in a communication published only last week, in referring to this subject uses the following language:

"McDonald seeks to run the campaign on the proposition that the proposed amendment to the Constitution confers negro suffrage, but that is plainly a false proposition, and one on which defeat must of course result. The proposed amendment does not confer negro suffrage."

Whether he correctly represents Mr. McDonald I am unable to say, as I am not familiar with his speeches; but it is very certain that he justly denounces the shallow pretence that this section confers negro suffrage.

It is as well settled in any other proposition connected with constitutional law, that a person may be a citizen of the United States, and yet not a citizen of any State. The man of foreign birth may be naturalized by the Courts, and thus made a citizen of the United States, although he is not a citizen of any State, and a native born person may lose his residence and citizenship in one State, and for a long time fail to acquire them in any other; but during that time he is unquestionably a citizen of the United States.

As to what constitutes citizenship in a State, depends upon its constitution and laws. The conditions are different in different States.

It is from the first part of the second clause of the section, which says "that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," that it is pretended to extract negro suffrage. Now if the right of suffrage is a privilege or immunity belonging to citizens of the United States, as such, then these gentlemen are right; but if, on the other hand, the right of suffrage is conferred, regulated, bestowed or withheld, by the several States, then it is not a privilege or immunity of citizens of the United States, as such, and there is no logic or truth in their position. Nor is the right of suffrage an immunity or privilege belonging to the citizens of a State, as such, but is conferred upon such citizens as the Constitution and laws thereof prescribe. Women and children are citizens of the State, but have not the right of suffrage. If the right of suffrage is a privilege or immunity of citizens of the United States, as such, then it has always been so, for the amendment only defines who shall be citizens of the United States, but does not confer new privileges or immunities, and in that case would always have been under the control of Congress, and not of the States.

That the right of suffrage is conferred and regulated by the States exclusively, is a proposition so well understood to be argued here, and springs directly from provisions in the Constitution of the United States. Citizens of the United States, as such, have privileges and immunities which are very clearly described

ed by Judge Perkins in the communication referred to, as follows:

"The rights and immunities of a citizen of the United States are to enjoy civil rights, and to go into any and all the States, and there acquire that citizenship, and enjoy such political rights, in addition to civil, as the State may confer on its citizens, and the proposed Constitutional Amendment meets these two obligations."

If the first section of the amendment confers the right of suffrage upon negroes, it wholly defeats the operation of the second section, which is intended to equalize the representation, and proceeds directly upon the hypothesis that suffrage is regulated by the several States, and makes the basis of representation depend upon the action had by the States on that subject.

The third section reads as follows:

"That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of the State Legislature, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability."

The justice of this section appeals to the heart of every loyal man as a self-evident proposition.

It renders ineligible to any office under the States, or any State, those prominent and leading rebels, who, having held important offices, in which they took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, afterward committed perjury by engaging in the rebellion.

It provides that the offices shall not hereafter be held by perjured rebels, and proceeds, doubtless, upon the opinion that it is bad enough to permit rebels to hold office, but that when they have added to their treason the violation of their oaths it would be more than the country could endure. Having taken the oath and broken it, having involved the country in the horrors of civil war, truth, justice and common sense alike demand that they should not again be trusted.

The fourth section of the amendment is in these words:

"The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave, but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void."

The first clause declares, "that the validity or liability obligation of the public debt, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing the rebellion shall not be questioned."

The second clause prohibits the assumption or payment, by the United States, or any State, of any part of the rebel war debt, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of slaves. Is there any man credulous enough to believe that the party which is to be formed in Philadelphia on the 11th of August, by confederate officers and soldiers, rebel politicians, Northern Democrats, and "Sons of Liberty," will ever vote to tax themselves to pay the interest on the National debt, unless the Government will first assume the payment of the rebel war debt, and agree to indemnify them for the loss of their slaves?

To prosecute the war, the Government had to borrow large sums of money by the sale of stocks. The Democratic leaders of the North, being hostile to the stocks, and did everything in their power to destroy their credit and prevent the people from investing their money in them, well knowing that if they succeeded in this, the war must fail, and the rebellion triumph. The debt having been created for the purpose of conquering the rebels, they are naturally hostile to it, and it can not be expected that when restored to political power, they will vote to tax themselves for its payment, nor can it be expected that they will act with any Northern party who will tax them for that purpose. The new party to be formed at Philadelphia will inevitably be, from the nature of the elements of which it will be composed, a repudiating party, except upon the condition of assuming and paying the rebels for their slaves.

I need not extend my remarks on this subject, and will only further observe, that

Continued on Second Page.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK, Waynesburg.

D. DOWNS, Pres't. J. C. FALKENBERG, Cashier.

DISCOUNT DAY—TUESDAYS.

May 16, '66—15.

W. E. GAPEN, ATTORNEY AT LAW, WAYNESBURG, PA.

Office—In N. Clark's building, 6th St.

A. S. STONELL, J. J. HETTMAN.

MCCONNELL & HUFFMAN, Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, Waynesburg, Pa.

Office in the "Wright House," East door, -College St., will receive prompt attention.

Waynesburg, Pa., Oct 26, 1862—15.

R. W. DOWNEY, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

Office in Lytle's building, opposite the Court House, Waynesburg, Pa.

Nov. 4, 1865—15.

W. H. BUCHANAN.

WYLY & BUCHANAN, ATTORNEYS & COUNSELLORS AT LAW