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## Ohio Statesman.

SPEECH

—OF—

## COL. LLEWELLYN BABER,

**At the Democratic Mass Meeting at Midway, Madison County, Ohio, September, 15th, 1868.**

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—In the outset of the discussions in this Presidential campaign, the outcry is raised by the Radical Republican speakers and press, that the issue of the war is to be fought over, and their whole effort is directed to divert the public mind from the living issues of the day for the purpose of exciting the passions and prejudices of the people by misrepresentations as to the past. Now, the facts of history establish that every issue made during the prosecution of the war, as declared by the proclamations of President Lincoln, the resolutions of the Conventions which inaugurated a Union organization for the purpose of putting down the rebellion, and the platform of the Baltimore National Convention, which nominated Lincoln for re-election, with Johnson for Vice President, has been settled, and the result accepted, not only by the States that were in rebellion, but the Democratic platform adopted at the New York Convention, avows that the questions of slavery and secession are settled, never to be again agitated.

Here, in Ohio, at a meeting of the Republican State Central Committee, held in Columbus on July 25th, 1861, after a very full discussion, in which gentlemen of the Giddings school opposed their adoption, as they wanted a partisan war for the "nigger," the following preamble and resolutions were passed:

"WHEREAS, It is the duty of all citizens in these times of national peril, to lay aside all differences of political opinion, and unite in defense of their Government; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That it is not now expedient to call a Convention of the Republican party, for the nomination of officers to be chosen at the State election.

"*Resolved*, That the call be addressed to all who are in favor of the *unconditional preservation* of the union of these States, of the maintenance of the integrity of the National Government, and of the vigorous and continued prosecution of the war for that purpose;" and the Democratic State Central Committee were requested to join in the movement.

On the day previous to the meeting of the Republican State Central Committee, the Senate of the United States, on the motion of Andrew Johnson, had adopted the famous Crittenden resolutions, which had passed the House with only four votes against them, namely: Burnett, of Kentucky, and Reed, of Missouri, secessionists, and Potter, of Wisconsin, and Riddle, of Ohio, Abolition disunionists; while Sumner dodged, Hale gave in his adhesion.

The Convention thus called in Ohio under the signatures of men heretofore connected with different political parties, met at Columbus, on September the 5th, 1861, adopted the Crittenden resolutions, as its *sole* platform, and was presided over by the Hon. Thomas Ewing, whose late able letter exposes how completely the honest masses have been betrayed by men who have not adhered to a single pledge upon which they have obtained power.

This lead of Ohio was followed everywhere, except in Iowa and New England, and the Republican organization was *dissolved*, and the Union party formed of elements united on the principle of restoring the Union, and suppressing the rebellion by force, while on *other* questions every member held in abeyance his political opinions. The people without distinction of party volunteered by thousands, and furnished unlimited amounts of money to put down the rebellion and restore the Union, and no draft was necessary until the belief became prevalent that politicians were trying to pervert the war for partisan purposes.

Even President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was defended as an act of military necessity, and a diplomatic stroke to prevent the acknowledgement of the independence of the Southern Confederacy by France and England, with whom the Cabinet of Jefferson Davis had been coquetting on the subject of freeing the slaves of the South in consideration of certain contingencies.

So necessary was it to satisfy the people that the war was to be confined to its original purpose, that the Baltimore Convention, which renominated President Lincoln,

"*Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels or traitors, or to offer any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of hostility and a return *to their just allegiance to the Constitution* and laws of the United States; and we call upon the Government to *maintain* this position."

Here, just allegiance to the Constitution and laws is all that is demanded of the rebels, now, unconditional submission to the will of Congress "outside of the Constitution"—as expounded by Thad. Stevens—is the test of returning loyalty. Under which rule General Longstreet and Gov. Brown, of Georgia are counted as good and true men in the Radical church, while Alex. H. Stephens and General Lee, who declare in their recent reply to General Rosecrans, that they are willing to accept every issue as settled upon which the war was prosecuted, are still rebels and traitors.

President Lincoln was re-elected on the Baltimore Platform, which indorsed his policy of restoration against the opposition of Wade and Davis, who issued a pronunciamento and got up the Fremont Convention in Cleveland, which set out in its resolutions the *present* Congressional programme. It is notorious that only five Senators of his own party were in favor of his renomination, because they supposed he would be in the way of the purpose *then* formed of Africanizing the South, by treating the States as conquered provinces.—However, the army influence, which held with tenacity to the old doctrine that the war was to be *solely* fought for the restoration of the Union prevailed. Hence, when the Ohio soldiers, on their return home, were invited to send delegates to the Union Convention, held June 21st, 1865, which nominated General Cox for Governor, they insisted and passed the following:

"*Resolved*, That President Andrew Johnson, by his unwavering devotion to the Union through years of the severest trial, has won our highest confidence, that we cheerfully indorse the *policy of his administration*, looking to the restoration of peace and civil order, in the so-called seceded States, and that as Union men of Ohio we will give him our hearty and undivided support," and voted down unanimously Colonel Dean Piatt's amendment, which is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That it is the belief of this Convention that the reconstruction of the revolted States belongs to the Legislative department of the Government, and that the Executive can only promise provisional military governments until such time as Congress may act.

"*Resolved*, That time can alone heal the wounds inflicted by this war, and therefore there is no cause for haste in the reconstruction of the revolted States, and when the time comes for such a reconstruction, our indemnity for the past and security for the future demand that the revolted States shall be given to loyal men only."

At that time President Johnson's North Carolina proclamation was issued, and his policy was just as well understood as now; and the *Cincinnati Commercial*, in an editorial on the proceedings of the Convention, took occasion to rejoice over the defeat of the Negro Suffrage Radicals, and General Cox's celebrated Oberlin letter, which appeared shortly afterwards, was supposed to give the *coup de grace* to the Radical extremists.

The Democratic party in their Conventions throughout the country, equally indorsed the policy of the Administration, and it looked for a time as if we were about to have a return to the times of President Monroe's administration after the close of the war of 1812, and the country be allowed to recuperate itself by the restoration of a general era of good feeling. But the meeting of Congress soon dispelled all such anticipations, because the ambitious leaders which controlled it, plainly saw that they could only retain themselves in power by making the people believe that they were *more loyal* than those who had borne your flag to the front and conquered a peace, to be maintained by submission to the Constitution and authority of the United States. Civil governments had been set in operation in all the late rebel States except Texas, and Senators and Representatives were asking admission to their seats.

General U. S. Grant, the present Radical candidate for President, in his report of December 18th, 1865, sent to Congress, says: "My observations led me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as *possible*. That while reconstructing, they want and require protection from the Government; that *they* are in earnest, and wishing to do what they think is required by the Government, not HUMILIATING to them as citizens, and that if such a course is pointed out, they would pursue it in *good faith*. *It is to be regretted that there cannot be a greater commingling at this time between the citizens of the two sections, and particularly those entrusted with the law making power.*" Who then is responsible for the change of feeling now existing in the South as asserted by the Radical leaders as an excuse for their outrageous system of legislation?

Until Congress interfered, by pouring hot oil on smouldering embers in the shape of negro suffrage, freedmen's bureau bills, and military reconstruction laws, framed purposely to humiliate the white race, everything promised well, according to the testimony of their own candidate for the Presidency. Indeed, Congress has legislated from the start with the design of inflaming the old sores and prejudices at the South, in hopes of exciting resistance there, to give a pretext of using military force to carry out its preconceived intentions. How pertinent is now the inquiry in Henry Ward Beecher's letter of August 30, 1866, to the Cleveland Soldiers' Convention, in which he asked: "Is the nation then to remain disunited, to serve the end of parties?"

The secession leaders at the Charleston Convention broke up the Democratic party, because they feared that a new set of men, under Douglas, would take the lead in the future, even if their own party triumphed, and that their clique would not continue to hold office; they vainly imagined that a separation of the Union could be effected which would continue them as *the* great men of an independent nation, but they failed, and not only ruined themselves, but their whole section.

Now the same idea has taken possession of the Congress which found itself in unlimited control of political power at the close of the war; and for fear that they could not continue to monopolize the offices in the States lately in insurrection should be restored to representation, they have inaugurated, under the forms of law, a rebellion against the Constitution of the United States, which will destroy the whole country, unless the authors of it meet with the same fate as the Confederate Chiefs. In the meantime, the people were to be deceived as to their true design, under various pretexts. The public mind would have been shocked, at first, by the demand of Negro Suffrage as a condition precedent to a State exercising its rights in the Union; hence, the proposed XIVth Constitutional Amendment was gotten up, as a sort of bridge to carry over the elections—but with no intention of adhering to its terms in good faith. It was strenuously denied until after the elections were over that Negro Suffrage was the object of the scheme. A more gigantic fraud was never perpetrated on the people, when for the purpose of giving Congress control of the negro population of the South you were asked here in Ohio to surrender powers of legislation over your own domestic concerns, that would enable Representatives from Massachusetts and Kentucky to exercise the same power over you as the Legislature of Ohio—a centralization which in time will reduce us to the condition of France, where universal suffrage prevails, but a license must be obtained from Paris to carry on the smallest local business. Do you desire to be compelled to refer in the same way to Washington City? The great merit claimed for the XIVth amendment is, that it equalizes representation, making a voter in Ohio equal in political power to a voter in South Carolina or any other State. The constructive representation allowed to the South for three-fifths of their negroes was complained of; while nothing was said of the constructive representation of women and children in New England, which gives her the same advantage over the West, if voters are to be taken as a basis of political power. On the apportionment of 1860, the six New England States for twenty-seven Representatives in Congress have 18,909 votes apiece, while the six Western States, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, require 24,029 votes each, a difference of over 5,000, thus giving New England an advantage of over 135,000 votes in representation. Yet, when the Western men, through Senator Sherman in Congress, proposed to shape representation on voters as they had promised their constituents before the election, New England would not agree to it, but through Mr. Blaine, of Maine, got up the present proposed constitutional amendment, which operates to continue the inequality against the West, as will be seen by the following table, which is calculated on the total vote for President in 1860, 4,730,193; estimating South Carolina at 50,000 and dividing by 233, as provided in the act of May 23d, 1850, which gives a fraction over 20,000 to a Representative, and assigns additional members to the largest fractions, so as to make the whole number 242, as at present:

APPORTIONMENT ON CENSUS OF 1860.

| | Present Apportionment. | Voting Basis | Gain. | Loss. | Proposed Amendment. | Gain. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maine | 5 | 5 | | | 6 | 1 |
| New Hampshire | 3 | 3 | | | 3 | |
| Vermont | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 3 | |
| Massachusetts | 10 | 8 | | 2 | 11 | 1 |
| Rhode Island | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | |
| Connecticut | 4 | 4 | | | 4 | |
| New York | 31 | 34 | 3 | | 34 | 1 |
| New Jersey | 5 | 6 | 1 | | 6 | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 24 | 24 | | | 25 | 1 |
| Ohio | 19 | 22 | 3 | | 20 | 1 |
| Indiana | 11 | 13 | 2 | | 12 | 1 |
| Illinois | 14 | 17 | 3 | | 15 | 1 |
| Michigan | 6 | 8 | 2 | | 7 | 1 |
| Wisconsin | 6 | 8 | 2 | | 7 | 1 |
| Iowa | 6 | 6 | | | 6 | |
| Minnesota | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | |
| Kansas | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| California | 3 | 6 | 3 | | 3 | |
| Oregon | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| Nevada | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| | 157 | 172 | 19 | 4 | 169 | 12 |

APPORTIONMENT ON CENSUS OF 1860.

| | Present Apportionment | Voting Basis | Loss. | Proposed Amendment. | Gain. | Loss. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Delaware | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | |
| Maryland | 5 | 5 | | 5 | | |
| West Virginia | 3 | 3 | | 3 | | |
| Kentucky | 9 | 7 | 2 | 8 | | 1 |
| Missouri | 9 | 8 | 1 | 10 | 1 | |
| Virginia | 8 | 6 | 2 | 6 | | 2 |
| North Carolina | 7 | 5 | 2 | 6 | | 1 |
| South Carolina | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | | 1 |
| Georgia | 7 | 6 | 1 | 5 | | 2 |
| Florida | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Alabama | 6 | 5 | 1 | 5 | | 1 |
| Tennessee | 8 | 7 | 1 | 7 | | 1 |
| Mississippi | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | | 2 |
| Arkansas | 3 | 3 | | 3 | | |
| Louisiana | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | | 2 |
| Texas | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | | |
| | 85 | 70 | 15 | 73 | 1 | 13 |
| RECAPITULATON. | | | | | | |
| North | 157 | 172 | | 169 | | |
| South | 85 | 70 | | 73 | | |
| | 72 | 102 | | 96 | | |

It will be seen from the above tables that though the North would gain most on the voting basis amendment, New England would lose four Representatives, while under the proposed amendment she gains two, making a difference of six; while Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin by the proposed amendment lose seven Representatives, they would have gained on the voting basis—the proposition discussed before the people.

To demonstrate more fully the fraud upon the West, in making the people believe that the proposed XIV Amendment is based on voters, take the figures of Greeley's almanac and it will show thus:

| | No. Rep's. | No. Votes. | Average per Represent've |
|---|---|---|---|
| Massachusetts | 11 | 169 175 | 15,379 |
| Vermont | 3 | 42,884 | 14 281 |
| Rhode Island | 2 | 19,651 | 9,975 |

Making on sixteen Representatives an average of 14,482 votes to each Representative, while the average of the Southern States, according to the same authority, is 15,200, proving that these States have a much lower average per Representative than two-thirds of the Southern States.

The reason why the Radical leaders of New England would not agree to Senator Sherman's voting basis amendment, which he had promised the people of Ohio, was, because it increased the representative power of the West, who on questions of tariff, taxation and bonds, would be no more willing to vote money out of their own pockets, than the agricultural South. The great West fought for the unity of our Territory, and the integrity of our Government, under the Constitution, and not to gain political power or promote mere selfish aims. Ohio has no interest in the XIVth proposed constitutional amendment, which, on the census of 1860, for her 442,441 votes will require 22,142 to each Representative, while it gives Massachusetts 11 Representatives on her vote of 169,175 at 15,379, votes apiece, an advantage to the latter of 7,000 votes per District, making 77,000 votes on the whole number.

Indiana fares still worse under this Yankee process of equalizing representation, for under this very equitable amendment for 272,265 votes, over 100,000 more than Massachusetts, she gets but one Representative. But New England, in thus making cats' paws of our western booby politicians to do her work, is only carrying out the same rotten borough system of representation by which she governs her people at home. You know that the Democrats have carried the Governor of Connecticut for two successive elections, and yet the Radicals have managed to control the Legislature, and elected a United States Senator. The process is as follows:

Every town in that State, existing at a certain date, is allowed two Representatives in the Legislature and no more, whether it has a population of 1,000 or 20,000, so that the cities of New Haven and Hartford, with an aggregate population of 68,319 and a Democratic majority of 2,800, have but four members in the Legislature, while the counties of Tolland and Windham, with a population of 55,456, have forty-five Representatives, or, in other words, 1,234 people in a Radical county count equal in representation to 17,079 in a Democratic county. Old Saybrook, with 251 votes, has as many Representatives as the city of New Haven with 9,307!

Truly, our Yankee brethren ought to have a patent for their system of equalizing representation, and if nobody but the Radical leaders in the West had to pay for these sorts of wooden nutmegs taking for real ones, we might stand it. But the proposed Constitutional amendment having served its purpose in deceiving the people as to its real object, and having been rejected by the South mainly on account of its disfranchising clauses, which were purposely inserted in it to secure that result, the Radicals in Congress proceed to bring forward their military reconstruction scheme to enforce negro suffrage on the South, the only feature in which Congressional reconstruction differed essentially from President Johnson's plan, for the Radicals at the Chicago Convention propose amnesty to all rebels who will vote their ticket.

What has been the result? Seven negro State governments have been created by military despotism and fraudulent registration and voting. Louisiana, with a population of 357,000 whites and 350,000 blacks, registers 45,199 white to 84,431 black votes. Alabama is forced under a negro government, after it had been voted down under the law of Congress which submitted the matter to vote. Arkansas is admitted under a constitution adopted by a majority greater than the registered vote of the counties in which it was cast. Out of the fourteen Senators claiming to represent these States, nine are mere adventurers, carpet-baggers, who, in the language of President Lincoln's letter to General Shepley, of November 21st, 1862, "it was disgraceful and outrageous" to admit to seats. Seven hundred and fifty thousand (750,000) negroes have been made voters by Congressional usurpation, not only to vote down rebels, but to choose a President for thousands of those in the North and West who have borne the flag of the country on every battlefield, and who would have never fired a gun or spent a dollar for such a purpose.

Test oaths are incorporated into the Constitutions of those States, which operate to disfranchise a large majority of the voters of the North and West, who have lately rejected negro suffrage overwhelmingly.

How many electors in Ohio could take the oath to support negro suffrage and never to favor any change in the Constitution on that subject?

Yet our Republican friends who voted against negro suffrage in Ohio last year, before being allowed to register and vote for General Grant in Alabama would have to swear:

"That I accept the civil and political equality of all men, and agree not to attempt to deprive any person, or persons, on account of race, or color, or previous condition, of any political or civil right, privilege or immunity enjoyed by any other class of men."—*Alabama Bogus Constitution, Art. 7th.*

In the State of Louisiana they have gone still further and provided that "All children of this State between the ages of six and twenty-one shall be admitted to the public schools, or other institutions of learning, sustained or established in the State, in common, without distinction of race, color or previous condition. There shall be no separate schools or institutions of learning established exclusively for any race by the State of Louisiana."—*Louisiana Bogus Constitution, Art. 7th.*

What think you of this provision? How many votes could it obtain in the State of Ohio? Can any one who believes in the Golden Rule, "do unto others as you would they should do unto you," sustain such an infamous system?

The whole spirit of these laws is intended to drive out the white race from the fairest half of our Union, and prevent white immigration from the other States, so as to consign that country to the negroes and carpet-bag adventurers, who go down there and return to Washington to make laws and amend constitutions for the white people of the North and West. Only a few days ago I received a letter from a gentleman in Tennessee, who has all along acted with the Radicals and went with the Brownlow party to establish negro suffrage in that State; he is a farmer and no politician, but uses the following language:

"I want you to give me your candid opinion as to the result. In case of the continuance of the present order of things, I want no more property here; but if things are changed, I prefer it here at present prices to anywhere I know of. You know enough of me to know that I am, and was radically Union—nature, education, instinct and everything else combined to make me so, but it is strange even beyond my comprehension to conceive, how it is that any decent man, boasting of an American civilization, can contemplate the present political condition of our State without emotions of horror.

"The future! oh, the future! Would that I had a vision in its reality for the next six months. It is not overdrawn when I say to you that the danger here is imminent. Newspapers give no account of the real condition. The people pray and beg our State rulers to let us alone; we pledge peace, obedience to all laws, no matter how oppressive; still the negroes are being armed; they are harangued by incendiary speakers; the Brownlow party are about to arm, as 'a State Guard,' two regiments in each Congressional District, upon various pretexts, all false.

"On the other hand, the people, seeing the danger and knowing the *animus* which governs the State, are organized, are armed and will resist; these men are not outlaws, they are not rebels, but are white men determined to protect their wives and daughters from outrage, themselves from being made slaves to negro masters."

When such a cry comes up from one who, provoked by ill treatment, received during the war, from rebels, plunged with his party, without regard to consequences, into extreme measures, it is time for reflecting men to pause, before they elect as President General Grant, on the Chicago platform, to guarantee by the sword of the nation the continuance of this horrible condition of affairs at the South.

The design in nominating the General of your armies, to enforce the Radical measures by a military despotism, means a Dictator for you of the North and West, if it ever should turn out that you should become restive under Congressional usurpation.

The South is used at present for Radical experimenting, just as was the District of Columbia at first. Your turn is to come next, if you indorse the Radical programme at the elections. Nebraska, a loyal State, which even elected Radical Senators and Representatives, was refused admission into the Union until she agreed to allow negro suffrage within her limits. Here, in Ohio, you have been tickled with a slight specimen of reconstruction in the shape of a bill introduced by your late member (Mr. Shellabarger) into Congress, declaring null and void the "visible admixture" law of your Legislature, and providing that if your judges of election should reject negro votes, that they might open side polls and hold an election of their own for Congressman. The *Ohio State Journal* indorsed the bill, but thought it inexpedient at present—doubtless because it knew that Judges White and Winans, and the Radical judges of election at Xenia, would find out a more practical way of nullifying the Constitution of Ohio.

Indeed, since the vote of Ohio last fall, the chief hope of the Radicals to carry the State is by negro voting under a decision of your Supreme Court, which practically nullifies the word "white" in the Constitution, and reverses the rule applied to white men when challenged, by holding it unconstitutional to require a mulatto to prove his right to vote. Judge Winans would persuade the 1,200 Republicans who voted against negro suffrage in this district, that it is now no issue, when the Xenia polls prove conclusively that it is in fact the only issue in his favor. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention at New York, indignant at the vile use the Radical party were making of the peace their blood had purchased, were emphatic in the demand that the reconstruction usurpations of Congress should be set aside, and the letter of General Blair declaring these acts revolutionary and void, presents to the people the only chance of setting them aside by a verdict in the Presidential election, from which there can be no appeal. Congress has so far tied the hands of the Executive and the Judiciary, and if it can now frighten out the people from taking cognizance of its unconstitutional acts, then, indeed, in the language of General Grant, "there will be peace;" but it will be the same in kind as when "Order reigned at Warsaw."

But, my fellow citizens, when you reflect what this Congressional system of reconstruction has cost—and what it will continue to cost—as long as the States of the South are kept in a condition in which the whole of them do not pay as much taxes as Hamilton county, and you have to pay for local governments over them, besides supporting your own State and National Governments, it is time to look up how your financial sheet balances.

Senator Sherman, in his Hillsboro speech, figures up that there was a balance of $34 749 777, applicable to the