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SENATOR MORTON.

THE GREAT INDIANA STATESMAN SPEAKS HIS MIND.

He Defines His Position, and Gives His Views on the Political Situation—A Document Worthy of Attentive Perusal.

INDIANAPOLIS, May 25.—A letter from Senator Morton is published here to-day. The Senator begins by saying:

Several weeks ago an open letter was addressed to me, through the columns of the New York *Times*, written on behalf of more than one hundred prominent Southern Republicans, making their views on the political situation and inviting mine. I have also received many letters from different parts of the country inquiring into the condition of the Senatorial question from Louisiana as it stood at the adjournment of the Senate. The Senator then alludes to Mr. Kellogg's presenting himself to the Senate on March 5 for admission, and the action of the Senate on his case. He also reviewed the action in Louisiana as to Mr. Kellogg's election.

After stating that Mr. Kellogg's credentials were referred, Mr. Morton says: The Committee on Privileges and Elections met soon afterward and the Republican members united in a report that, prima facie, S. B. Packard, was the lawful Governor of Louisiana; the Legislature was the lawful Legislature, and that Wm. P. Kellogg had been elected in conformity to the act of Congress, and was entitled to be sworn in and take his seat. As a member of the members of the Senate were absent and the subject would lead to a long debate, and there was general anxiety to adjourn, the report was not held before the Senate. If the majority of the Senate shall, at the next session, be of the opinion that Kellogg was lawfully elected by the Legislature of Louisiana, he will be entitled to his seat, notwithstanding the events that have since occurred. No subsequent breaking up of that Legislature, combination or arrangement can in the least affect his title or destroy the legality of the body which gave it that title.

Though the very members who proclaimed the election of Packard and made that of Kellogg should subsequently declare that of Nichols and take part in the election of Spofford, it is too clear for argument they could not take away the rights which had vested or confer those upon Spofford which had been before lawfully vested in Kellogg. Unless Kellogg voluntarily withdraws, the Senate will have to decide the question of his election as it stood at the time of adjournment.

SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS.

The Republican governments of Louisiana and South Carolina have yielded to force. They have gone down before an armed minority, whose threats of future violence were guaranteed by a long train of bloody deeds done in the past. I repeat that the real character of the transaction should be obscured in the least by pretended investigations or negotiations.

Stripped of all disguise, and professed in the simple fact is that Packard and Chamberlain have ceased to maintain themselves in authority, and the Government of the United States, in the exercise of its discretion, caused them to support them. The Democrats, finding themselves defeated, fell to pieces, and from their ruins, in part, new Legislatures have been constituted, whose legality comes only in the fact that there are members of them who believe that the rights of the majority have yielded to an armed movement of minority. The Democratic party in Louisiana, an unconstitutional minority, backed by wealth, arms and military experience, were determined to govern, whatever it might cost in the way of life.

Their threatened majority at the late election cost many lives, and was the product of the most infamous and damning of crimes. The murders and crimes had been proved, and the unconstitutional majority so made by fraud proved process. The administration decided that such a case of insurrection and violence was not presented as authorized the National Government to interfere, and that it was not the present case, that it belongs and struggle and remonstrance, peaceably, but the rights of all classes should be protected, and the laws administered for equal benefit of all. The Democratic party of this land assumed to take, especially subject to the voluntary execution of the party which believes that the colored man ought not to have political rights even possessed of the ballot, and who never has been considered a part of the people.

President Hayes was urged to give to Louisiana and South Carolina at once, and was told that it was a question of life or death to the party which they would go as Mississippi, Alabama and other States had, and it would be better to give them up at once. Throughout repubblicn this argument, I repeat, was used to induce the action of the Senate on last Friday, the mass crimes and violence which had wrecked Mississippi and Alabama from the Republican party and had so nearly captured Louisiana and South Carolina, would certainly succeed if not timely. This was an argument of expediency, not right and justice. President Hayes but accepted the situation as it was presented to him, and the Senate, by its action, has left the Republican governments of Louisiana and South Carolina, could only be kept in place by the army.

What might have been the result had President Grant promptly recognized Packard and Chamberlain governments in January, and declared his power to sustain them by force, it is not now necessary, perhaps, to inquire. It is enough to say that he did not do it. But, on the 5th day of March, when Mr. Hayes came into power, he found these governments existing only in name, surrounded by enemies, living only from day to day by the permission of Congress and the Executive, and which could have been in the power of the President to maintain them by the army?

THE ARMY APPROPRIATION.

Mr. Morton then spoke of the House refusing to make appropriations for the support of the army, and said he was pleased that the army should not be used in Southern States, which, he says, was clearly unconstitutional. The question was, though, the President provided the Southern States with the army? There are and have been for years many Republicans in the North who have advocated the use of the army to support Republican governments in the South, and the Republican majority in the Senate upon the Southern question is not original, it is existed at all. Five Republican Senators voted against the Force Bill, and the Democratic party in the House in the condemnation in a committee, then refusing to support the Packard government, and a majority of the Democratic Senators, subsequently, while adhering to the Force Bill, and voting against its constitutionality, have steadily refused to recognize the Republican Legislature, elected in Louisiana since 1872, by voting against bringing a contest chosen by it. Will the Democratic party, constantly the right of the President under the Constitution to recognize the Packard government and support it by military power, the undersigned would have much faith in and the Democratic party in the Senate, public opinion in his own party and both Houses of Congress against him he would have failed in the end. The Democratic party, the House in the Senate in entirety, and from my knowledge of the Senate Republican majority of that body could hardly be relied on to support him in such a course. We have had too much talk from conservative men (intensity that many well-meaning people in the North had come to believe that all that was necessary to secure a true condition of things in the South was to withdraw the army, the Republicans to abandon the struggle and commit the government to the white Democrats of those States.

SOUTHERN POLITICAL MURDERS.

The professed purpose of the Democratic party of the very men who planned the massacre in Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina have been received with digust intensely nauseating to the people who understood the facts. The political murders in the South have ceased to be shocking, and are readily justified by unequate talk about carpet-baggers, scalawags and radical thieves. Not a man been punished for the murders in Tennessee, Kentucky, Eliston, Colfax, Coushatta, Meshaster Institute, Clinton, Vicksburg, or any other of the one hundred and slaughters of Republicans that might be named. I do not believe that President Hayes intends to destroy the Republican party and attempt the erection of a new one upon its ruins. I believe in the patriotism and high integrity in all undivided purpose to make the Administration a beneficence to country. The language of his inaugural address, since its delivery, has been quoted to the devotion to the great doctrines of human rights, which alone the life of the Republic can be secured, and I believe he is sincere in it. I repeat that there will be no attempt to be molested or destroyed. He begins the conduct of national affairs under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty. The minds of men were in a state of excitement to which it could be done; that things could not long go on as they were.

He marked out his course, and addressed himself to it with undaunted courage. Mr. Hayes was elected as a Republican, and I believe he will be a Republican President, not in a mere partisan way, but in the sense of devotion to Republican principles and the maintenance of the Republican party as the party in the political power in the hands of worthy and qualified Republicans. Political principles do not execute themselves. They require a party to do that. Organization in politics is as essential to the success of great numbers of the same way of thinking, but acting without concert, are as helpless as an unorganized multitude in the presence of a disciplined army. I present the Republican party in a broad and indispensable instrumentality for carrying into operation the true principles of government and human rights.

We hear it said that the Republican project of reconstruction is a failure. The only sense in which it has failed is that it has been resisted by armed and murderous organizations, by terrorism and proscription of the most wicked and cruel of the age, and if the Democratic assurances to President Hayes in Louisiana and elsewhere of protection and equal rights are executed in good faith they will not be a failure, but a great success, extorted from its enemies. The great features of reconstruction are the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, establishing the equal civil and political rights of all men, and the statutes enacted for their enforcement. So far as these have failed reconstruction is a failure; so far as they succeed, reconstruction

THE PURPOSE OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE

Let it be understood that the great purpose now of the Southern people is to recover from the losses inflicted by the rebellion. They do not now think of leaving the Union. They are not now preparing schemes for future secession, but are with industry and revolving plans for recovering from their great losses. For this purpose they will support the Democratic party North as long as it is subservient to their policy, notwithstanding their ill-suppressed resentment for its influence in getting them into a rebellion, and its sneaking and cowardly course while it lasted. We are told they are quiet in those States where the Democratic rule is established. Very likely. When they have gained the complete power and the Republican party has ceased to struggle, there will be no inducement to shoot men because of their politics.

There will be peace when there is an abject submission. Let the Opelousas massacre in Mississippi, which has made the Modoc comparatively respectable, answer. Peace which is obtained by stamping a political party out of existence is not the harbinger of prosperity and happiness.

NOW MR. TILDEN LOST HIS HOLD UPON THE SOUTH.

The large body of white people who engaged in the rebellion are firmly united in favor of several things, and they will stand by the party that favors them, and oppose to the bitter end the party that opposed them. Among these the payment of rebel property taken or destroyed by our armies. When Mr. Tilden wrote his letter just before election against these claims he lost his hold upon the South, and was made to feel it in the hale struggle in Congress. No Democratic candidate will repeat his blunder.

Although southern Democrats voted for him after he wrote the letter, it from that moment of their opposition and had more to do in resuming them from filibustering to prevent the counting of votes than any other cause. It greatly reconciled them to the loss of Tilden. In the late House the dividing line between rebel and loyal claims was ignored, and as a single Democratic administration would be chosen. When the time to pass about claims, the distinction in rebel and union debt will be obliterated and lost. Slaves will be treated as other property sacrificed by our Government. It will not affect one or a second at once, but step, by step, strong more rapid, until the public mind has become demoralized. The rebellion has ceased to be a crime—scarcely a mistake. The complete restoration of the fraternity will demand the abolition of all distinctions in law between loyalty and treason. The Republican party was never more authority to the nation than it is to-day. All talk about laying down the arms, negotiations to take up a new one with a new title into which the old Confederates may enter without wounding their susceptibilities would be criminal if it were not supremely silly. The proposition that the party which saved the nation and emancipated its slaves should abandon the principles on which it saved, if, in fact, it does, and which has a record the most glorious in the annals of human organizations, shall reconsider, recede or an act of conciliation to the late enemies of the Republic silences, commend by its authority. We are but realizing what has been visibly coming for several years.

THE PRESENT DISEASE IN THE SOUTH.

From 1865 it has been apparent that the Republican party of the South should be overthrown by force if it could not be done otherwise. The opening scenes of carnage in Memphis, in which more than 2,000 Republicans were killed, and wounded in Louisiana alone, were but a prelude to the campaign of violence which ended in the bloody field of last year. The organization of the Democratic party would make the Democratic party supreme, and fasten upon the country its ultimate policy and principles.

The same fate directed the bloody crusades in the South for the last ten years that have now culminated in a final victory in South Carolina and Louisiana, are still living and have lost none of their power. The men who within several years have violated the Democratic party in solid column, North and South, against the fifteenth amendment are still in the ascendant. If any one hesitate enough to believe they or a majority have been suddenly converted and are fond of advocates of the equal rights of men? It is my opinion that the body of the southern Democracy have not changed to the extent of the civil and political rights of the negro, and that if Tilden had been elected President within his term of four years the overthrow of the fifteenth amendments would have been substantially overthrown.

In most of the Southern States this would have been accomplished by methods recently illustrated in Mississippi and Louisiana, and in which the party would be enabled to make a sufficient majority, and in which the party would be enabled to make a sufficient majority, and in which the party would be enabled to make a sufficient majority