

THE CENTRAL TIMES.

G. K. GRANTHAM, Editor.

Render Unto Caesar the Thing that are Caesar's, Unto God, God's.

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SPEECH OF HON. B. F. GRADY

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 2331) to repeal all statutes relating to supervisors of elections and special deputy marshals, and for other purposes—

Mr. Grady said:

Mr. Speaker: The debate to which we have been listening for some days has been of painful interest to me.

Many of the opinions advanced seem to me utterly at variance with the legitimate deductions from well-known facts in our history, and many unkind and unjust accusations have been preferred against the people whom I have the honor, in part to represent; and I have felt constrained in the interest of truth and justice to present to the House and the country some of the historical facts on which the political opinions of my people are founded, and on which their justification may confidently rest.

The people of North Carolina, Mr. Speaker, are, with exceedingly rare exceptions, the descendants of the men who stood manfully for their rights during the Revolutionary war and in the days when the question of the union of the States agitated. They inherit the sturdy qualities of their fathers, the same resistance to interference with their rights, and the same views of the nature of the Federal Government and of the powers delegated to it by the States, when they created it. They remember that North Carolina refused at first to enter into the new Union, and never agreed to do so until she could see ten amendments added to the Constitution as safeguards against the assumption of unwarranted powers by the new and untried co-ordinate departments of the Government.

These people, Mr. Speaker, belong to the class which has been sneered at in this debate for "forgetting nothing and learning nothing." It is true they can not forget the fundamental principles on which this Government was founded, and, he it said to their honor, they are dull pupils in the school which teaches that the discretion of the Congress is the only limit to its powers. The unkind accusations against the people of the Southern States (as for instance, that they are "happy in proportion to their villainy") I shall not resent, but as Mr. Calhoun has been denounced as the chief apostle of the vicious opinions of those people, I shall content myself with recalling the words of Daniel Webster in his funeral oration:

Mr. President, he had the basis, the indispensable basis of all high character, and that was unspotted integrity, unimpeached honor and character. If he had asperations they were high, and honorable; and noble. There was nothing groveling, or low, or meanly selfish that ever came near the head or heart of Mr. Calhoun.

These words, Mr. Speaker I commend to those gentlemen on this floor who can not rise above sectional animosity, or to a just appreciation of honorable manhood.

The forefathers of these people, Mr. Speaker, were not lawyers; but when they decided to carry their State into the Union they understood what they were doing. The Constitution had been fully discussed for more than two years, its advocates had explained all of its provisions, and their doubts had been removed; and if North Carolina delegated powers which she did not intend to delegate she was deceived; deceived a fraud was practiced on her, and she was induced by false representations to enter into a disastrous compact with the other twelve States. The understanding at that time was that they were forming a perfect union of the States, more perfect in that it provided more satisfactory and more efficient means and methods of doing what the Confederation was designed to accomplish as set forth in Article III:

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare.

The historical facts which I desire to present in the limited time allotted to me must be briefly stated and somewhat unsatisfactorily arranged, but I trust I may make myself understood.

At the time of the adoption of the Articles of Confederation—the first written Constitution of the United States—the sovereignty and independence of each of the States was not questioned by any respectable authority, and the fear of the States that there might arise in the coming years such a political party as the Democrats are now combating, induced them to preface that Constitution with the declaration that "each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

In 1787, 1788, and 1789, these free, sovereign, and independent States changed their Constitution in some particulars, but nowhere delegated their freedom, sovereignty, and independence. Nothing was delegated except certain powers, jurisdictions, and rights. And be it remembered that the words "national" and "na-

tion," as applied to the people of these States, were deliberately and purposely excluded from the Constitution. It is true that Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, Mr. Jefferson, and other statesmen of that day called the people of the United States a nation, even during the Confederation, and Mr. Hamilton in the Federalist frequently calls the Confederation an "Empire," but to infer or claim that the people of these States are, constitutionally, a "nation" because those great men called them so, is no more justifiable than to call the United States an "Empire" because Mr. Hamilton called them so.

The contention that we are now a nation, spelled with a capital "N," is based on the assumption, in part, that the Government of the United States is a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," that is a popular government as those words are usually understood; that is, a government wherein a majority of the people govern. But, Mr. Speaker, this is untrue. There is no provision of the Constitution, expressed or implied, requiring a majority of the people to elect a majority of either House of Congress or the President.

As a pointer just here, let me remind the gentlemen that every act of Congress recognizes the character of the Government in its enacting clause. The language is:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, etc.

That is, the "United States in Congress assembled," which was the language of the Confederation, when the proceedings of each day's session in the Journal commenced by announcing which "States" were present. Let me here, parenthetically, ask gentlemen to get their dictionaries and hunt up the origin, history, and definitions of "State" and "Commonwealth." The first and decisive fact which can not be disputed is that no bill can become a law unless agreed to by a majority of the States in the Senate, and no State can be deprived of its equal voice in the Senate without its consent.

Another fact pointing in the same direction is that if there is no election of President by electors chosen by the States, a majority of the States in the House of Representatives must make the selection.

Taking my facts from the census and other reports, I have constructed some tables which reveal three or four startling truths. I find that twenty-three States of the Union, containing not quite twelve and a half millions of people—that is, about one fifth of the population of the United States, excluding Territories—can control the Senate with forty-six Senators; can control the appointment of judges of all the United States courts; ambassadors, ministers, and consuls to foreign countries; the heads of Departments, and all other officers whose confirmation by the Senate is required by the Constitution, and veto any measure demanded by the people.

I find again that twelve States, containing a little over 35,000,000 people, can, by a bare majority vote in each State, which would represent, say 18,000,000 people—about three-tenths of the entire population—choose 226 Presidential electors, a majority of all even against the protests of the other seven-tenths of the people. I find that less than 28,000,000 of the people (in thirty-three States) can elect a President of the United States. I find again that ten

only \$10 to the world's fair and back.

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States, containing about 39, 000,000 people, can, by a bare majority in each, representing, say, 17,000,000 people, elect 180 members of the House of Representatives and control all legislation in this body, even against the protest of the remaining 45,000,000 people.

Now, these are facts not to be disputed by anybody. To reveal the true character of the Government and take away every excuse from those who contend that we are a "nation," in which the majority of the people rule. How absurd, then, Mr. Speaker, is much of the talk we hear on this floor about the "National Government" and the powers of the "nation."

We have a recent case in our history showing the absolute control of legislation by a minority of the people. During the Fifty-second Congress, while the Democrats in the House of Representatives were endeavoring to deprive the classes of the power to levy tribute on the masses, and to reduce expenditures of the peoples' money, they were met at every point by an adverse majority in the Senate, which did not represent a majority of the whole people.

Deducting the States whose Senators represented opposing political parties, and whose votes in the Senate were therefore nullified, we find