



The Reason Why.

A Republican friend (at least we took him to be such when he commenced talking to us) took it upon himself the other day, to administer us a rebuke for publishing in our last issue the New York Herald's prophecy in regard to a rebellion in the North, and after sagely asserting that such publications only tend to hasten, or bring about the results predicted, he pettishly inquired, "Why don't you, instead of publishing that d-d Copperhead stuff, give us something of the other side?" We certainly never attempted anything in the line of argument, without starting out with both sides of the question presented in view, and we might answer our Republican friend's question by saying that however fairly a question may be presented, some men are so set in their ways, so one-sided, or so prejudiced that they never can see but one side of it. According to the system of philosophy that has always been accepted by the world—or at least up to the time of the commencement of the present rebellion—the process of reasoning has been from cause to effect. The Herald, reasoning from what it knew of the state of the public mind, says that it predicted four years ago that if Lincoln was elected the South would secede, and now, upon the same basis, it predicts that in the event of his re-election in succession at the North will follow; and to prevent such an unfortunate state of affairs, it advises the people to choose another than Mr. Lincoln for President, as the only possible means in their power of averting the calamity. "But," says our Republican friend—and not only him but many others—"you must not utter such a warning, for by so doing you only give countenance to and hasten the blow!" What a system of reasoning is this! Upon the same principle, they might argue that to warn a man to stand away from before a cannon about to be touched off, would insure his getting shot! At the time the famous Crittenden compromise resolutions were before Congress, and while their adoption was unhesitatingly urged by the Democrats and American members as being acceptable to the South, and as a certain way to avert secession and civil war, many of the Republicans argued that there was no cause for alarm, that the rejection of the resolutions would not bring about secession and rebellion, and that there would be no cause for secession. Others of the same party thought that they did not fear rebellion, but if it came to blood, they said, let it come, they would not be responsible for it. But the compromise resolutions were finally defeated by the Republicans—they voting in a body against the resolutions and the Democrats and Americans voting for them. Secession and rebellion followed, and those favorable to compromise foresaw and predicted. Therefore, the Republican party has been held, in a great measure, responsible for aiding in bringing about rebellion, for the representative men of the party had it in their power to pass the resolutions, allay sectional animosities, satisfy the South that there was not an Abolition party organized for the purpose of making a war upon the institution of slavery, and they refused to do it. Now, we presume, our Republican friend would argue from these premises, that the men who insisted that there would be no rebellion, and who at the same time were opposed to and voted down all compromises, were the true patriots and statesmen, and that those who favored compromise were aiding traitors! Of course, if he arrives at such a conclusion (natural enough for him) we must respectfully beg leave to differ with him, as our reasoning faculties will not permit us to come to any such conclusion. Without stopping to discuss such shallow propositions as our friend's, further, we will tell what we set out to do, the reason why we don't publish "the other side."

Three years ago we invested our "little all" in printing material, and came here and commenced the publication of the STATESMAN. In the first number issued we stated that we should "conduct our business in our own way." We meant to do this, and as the type and fixtures were our own, we felt that we had a right to do it, and as we set those type ourselves, wrote our own editorials, and knew our own dispositions, we were certain we would do it. In short, we regard our business as we do any other mechanical branch—one that should be followed for profit, and that so long as it is carried on legitimately, no one has a right to dictate to us how it should be done any more than we have to go into a dry goods store and tell the merchant how he shall arrange the goods upon his shelves; and, while we always act upon the principle of buying where we are best suited, we deem it the right and duty of others to act upon the same principle toward us. We never were reduced to the necessity of begging patronage, and we never will be, for should a time ever come when we failed to secure a support from the business to which we have been educated, we should feel competent to seek it in some other line. We act upon the broad business principle that what benefits individuals, benefits communities, and what benefits communities tends to the prosperity of the country at large. Then, while we are giving attention to our own affairs, we have the interests of the community and the country in view and labor alike for both. But, as we would not beg for patronage upon the principle of independence, neither would we give up our principles and write to suit the fancy of any particular party for its support. We do not arrive at conclusions without examining into the "whys and wherefores," and what we write politically we do conscientiously. Believing that the policy that has been pursued by the Administration ever since the departure of Mr. Lincoln from the principles enunciated in his Inaugural Address, has been tending to the destruction of the Union and its free institutions, we cannot say that we believe he should be re-elected; but on the contrary we believe and freely assert that he should not be re-elected. Mr. Lincoln was nominated upon a platform which requires the war to be prosecuted as much, if not more, for the abolition of slavery and the subjugation of the South, as for the preservation of the Union. He has declared his intention to have the war prosecuted for the abolishment of slavery, if re-

lected. He no doubt believes that "slavery and a republican form of government are incompatible." He perhaps always thought so, notwithstanding our Republic flourished and prospered as never any government did before, for nearly a century in connection with the institution of slavery. We cannot reason ourselves into the belief that Mr. Lincoln can restore the Union by making war upon the established institutions of a portion of the States. A war, conducted upon such a basis to restore the Union, it seems to us, can never have the support of even a majority of the people of the North, while the war itself would be manifestly an unjust one. The theory of such a war is based upon false premises, totally at variance and inconsistent with the principles of Republican government. If such a war could in the end be successful so far as to subjugate the South, we conceive that the Union which we would then have would be one held together by standing armies and the bayonet. Slavery might be removed by such a war, but in removing it, "the cause of the war"—as claimed by Mr. Lincoln and his adherents,—would it not furnish ample cause with the subjugated people to rise up so soon as an opportunity offered and make war upon the people who had previously subjugated them and robbed them of their political rights? We certainly think so. We understand that the legitimate objects to be attained by the war, are not to interfere with the established institutions of the rebellious States, or for the purpose of dividing the people of the right to regulate their domestic affairs in their own way, but for the purpose of protecting the loyal people in such rights, subject to the Constitution of the United States, and for the purpose of overthrowing the rebellious authority of Jefferson Davis and the so-called Southern Confederacy. And we believe that when these latter objects are attained, the war ought to cease. If the result can be accomplished without the further shedding of blood, in the name of Heaven let it be done. These are our views and they are the views of Gen. McClellan, and because we believe that he would adhere to the line of policy which he lays down, if elected, we anxiously hope that he will be our next President. We believe that under the guidance of McClellan the Union would be restored, and that under the guidance of Lincoln it would not be restored. And this is the reason, or rather these are some of the reasons why we do not give "the other side."

Nullification in Oregon.

The Olympia Standard charges the local Legislature of Oregon with passing a nullification act—a Specific Contract Law. The Standard announces the fact as follows: "By Monday's Oregonian we learn that the Oregon Legislature has passed a Specific Contract Law. This is practical nullification, for its effect will be, until declared unconstitutional by the Federal courts, to nullify the law of Congress declaring that Treasury notes shall be a legal tender for all debts that may be contracted. We had indulged the hope that Oregon would have preserved the reputation she had won for her loyal devotion to the interests of the Government by her large Union majority, by refusing to follow the evil example set her by California; but like her sister State, her supposed pecuniary interests proved too strong for her patriotism."

The loyal (Rep.) papers of Oregon take a different view of the matter, sustaining the legitimacy of the Contract Law. The Mountaineer thinks the law all right, and speaks of Mr. Thornton's protest against the bill in this style: "Crazy Thornton is out in an address to the people of Oregon, in which he bewails the passage of the specific contract law. The old lunatic sees nullification, secession, and we know not how many other evils, in a bill the sole object of which is to compel knaves to do that which honest people do from choice. It is difficult at times to distinguish between folly and knavery, but in the case of the Boston county member, the fool sticks out all over, and we bespeak for the spectacle of old lunatic the cap and bells."

Not much argument about that, but considerable zeal for the contract act. But, admitting that the passage of the law is "practical nullification" as the Standard asserts, it should be borne in mind that the bill was introduced in the Oregon legislature by a Republican member, advocated by Republicans and passed by Republican votes. The "Copperheads" (as all Democrats are termed) usually are made to shoulder everything that looks in the slightest particular like disloyalty, but the passage of this nullification, specific contract act cannot be charged upon them; for to seek to find a Legislature among the members of the local Legislature of Oregon, would be like searching for a needle in a haystack. And that's the worst of it—a great secession crime committed and no Copperheads to lay the infamous act upon. Yet, after all we are not apprehensive that Oregon will secede from the Union right away. She always follows in the footsteps of California, and California passed a specific contract law nearly two years ago, and she still remains in the Union. That State remains as true to the Union as any other State, and we do not think there is any likelihood of her legislative passing a secession ordinance, and we are quite certain that Oregon will not attempt secession unless California sets the pernicious pattern. If the latter State should ever so far forget her loyalty and devotion to the Union as to commit the traitorous act of secession, Oregon would follow suit at once, or sink in the attempt.

THREE McCLELLAN TERRITORIES IN A BODY.

The Territories of Washington Idaho, and Montana, if they were permitted to vote on the Presidential question, would each and all give rousing majorities for McClellan and Pendleton. Montana would probably give the largest Democratic vote. A gentleman just in from that Territory informs us that three-fourths of the citizens there are Democrats. In view of these facts President Lincoln and his advisers should consider sagaciously in not making arrangements to have these Territories admitted to the Union as States by proclamation, and their electoral votes counted. As President would say, "Mr. Lincoln's sagacity is infernal!" Old Abe always looks out for himself.

THE STATE ELECTIONS.—The dispatches keep remarkably quiet now about the late State elections. The probabilities are that Maryland, Pennsylvania and Indiana have given Democratic majorities, while Ohio has certainly been carried by the Republicans. We are not likely to learn anything further about the State elections until after the 8th of November.

Make the Most of It.

The Lewiston Age and the Idaho Statesman editors are consoling themselves over their late political defeat by publishing the intelligence that some drunken Copperheads, since the election, have been heard to "hurrar for Jeff. Davis." That is probably correct. The Age and Idaho Statesman editors are so besotted in partisanship that they cannot give the facts only upon one side, and that side of course is favorable to the Lincolnites; but the Boise News editor not having the fear of loyal league maledictions before his eyes, records the fact that some drunken men at Idaho City, on election day, were parading the streets with tickets in their hands "hurrar for Abe Lincoln and Jeff. Davis in the same breath, not caring a sixpence which won!" We dare say that there are a great many such characters in Idaho as those the News instances. They are just as apt to hurrar for Davis as they are for Lincoln, or vice versa. They do not see any difference perhaps between the two men, and as to the principles involved and contended for by the two Chiefs, they are probably not capable of making any distinction. And such persons are invariably shown up in the loyal sheets and classified as "Democrats" or "Copperheads." But in point of fact, they are not Democrats any more than they are Republicans, no matter whether they hurrar for Jeff. and Abe. before or after an election.

Are Returned Miners and Immigrants Entitled to Vote?

Judge Wait, for many years Chief Justice of the Supreme Bench in Oregon, in an opinion given through the columns of the Oregon Arena upon the question of the right of immigrants and returned miners to vote, says: "Our Constitution, Article 2, provides as follows: 'Section 1. All elections shall be free and equal.' '2. That every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who shall have resided in the State during the six months immediately preceding such election,' 'shall be entitled to vote at all elections authorized by law.' Such a citizen is entitled by the Constitution, to vote at the approaching Presidential election, and no Legislature can destroy or impair that constitutional right."

So far as returned miners are concerned, I lay down the following as law, viz: That no temporary absence from the State works a forfeiture of residence. Any citizen of this State may temporarily absent himself therefrom, upon business, pleasure, or mining, for one day, one year, two years or longer, without the loss of his residence; and, in contemplation of law, he is deemed to have continued to reside in his State during all that time. Business and convenience have demanded this construction of the law, and the judicial arm of the Government has fully so adjudged.

In order to determine the right of immigrants to vote, it is necessary to ascertain what is implied by the term "resident." A resident is an inhabitant. Both of these words are less comprehensive than the term "domicile," and it is under the head of "domicile" that the electors of the law would either give a man two domiciles at the same time. A person may be a resident and an inhabitant of a place without having a "domicile" there; but a "domicile" includes both residence and habitation—therefore, any State having a domicile in its territory, and over twenty-one years of age whose "domicile" has been in Oregon for six months next preceding an election, is entitled to vote; and any such citizen, who six months prior to the next election, left and abandoned his domicile in his sister State, with the bona fide intention of making this State his future home, and who, thereupon, carried out that intention and is now residing in this State at the next election; this doctrine has been adjudged both in the Federal and State courts.

In New York, Massachusetts and other States, the following doctrine has been recognized at law, to-wit: 1st, that "every person has a domicile somewhere," and 2d, that "a man has two domiciles for one purpose at the same time." And from these doctrines it necessarily and clearly follows that when a person abandons his residence in one State, with the bona fide intention of removing to another, he is domiciled in his sister State, and actually carries out that intention, his residence in his new domicile relates back by implication of law, to the time of the abandonment of his old domicile. Any other doctrine would be a denial of the fact that a man has two domiciles for voting "at one and the same time," or for a time at least, he would not have a "domicile" somewhere.

The Rebels Prefer the Election of Mr. Lincoln to Gen. McClellan.

A correspondent of the New York Herald, writing from the midst of the rebel commissionaires and emissaries at the Clifton House, says: "As I have already telegraphed, the rebel commissionaires at Clifton House, are very much perturbed by their reason for this, as they assert, they are sure to gain their independence if Lincoln is re-elected; that the war will be carried on with his bungling mismanagement until the people of the North become disgusted, and a rebel revolution will follow, which will make their success certain. With McClellan in the White House, they fear a bold move on his part that will turn the masses against the leaders of the South, and cause a general stampede, leaving the leaders of the Southern Confederacy in the lurch."

This is unquestionably the rebel view of the case, and the rebel preference in the end. Nor is either the one or the other correct, and the rebels of the rebellion States. On the contrary, both are entertained by all persons, no matter where they may be, who sincerely wish the rebellion to succeed. Ask a real secessionist in the midst of ourselves, for example, what his preference is as between Lincoln and McClellan, and he will tell you that it is wholly for Lincoln. Press him for the reason of his preference, and he will assign the same reason assigned by the rebel emissaries in Canada. He believes the South is sure to gain its independence if Lincoln is re-elected. And this is the universal belief among the rebels and their abettors. And founded upon this belief is their universal preference for Lincoln over McClellan.

All this is significant, verifying remarkably free doctrines of the conservative respecting Mr. Lincoln's policy, as showing unambiguously the duty of patriots in the coming election.—Let the indications be carefully pondered. It is certain, as we conceive, that the rebels do not overrate the consequences which Mr. Lincoln's re-election would draw upon the government, though we think it equally certain that they underrate the consequences which that event would draw upon themselves. The re-election of Mr. Lincoln would involve indeed the true independence of the South as well as the independence of the South; for the destruction of the government and the dissolution of the Union, so far from being equivalent to the independence of the South, would involve the independence as well as of civil liberty to South and North alike. There is and can be no such thing as the independence of the South outside of the Union and the Constitution. The hope of Southern independence is a wild and guilty dream. Sooner or later it will be dispelled, and the sooner the better; for the consequences of cherishing it are utterly ruinous to the people of the whole Union. The preservation of the Union of the Constitution is the condition of the true independence of the South as well as of the North. The destruction of the Union will draw after it the extinction of Southern independence not less than of Northern independence. The grave of the Union will be the grave of American liberty.

Rightly considered, therefore, the political and social interests of the South are in complete harmony with those of the North, both demanding the defeat of Mr. Lincoln, who is destroying the Union by subverting the Constitution, and the election of a conservative President, who will preserve the Union by vindicating the Constitution. The rebels need not say, would show a more enlightened sense of self-interest, and indeed a higher order of character in general, if they would but acknowledge this great fact, and manfully tender their submission to the Constitution, instead of plotting for Mr. Lincoln's re-election, by way of pursuing the shadow of independence, in clutching which they must drop the substance. In desiring Mr. Lincoln's re-election, the rebels display the madness with which the gods are said to smite those whom they would destroy. The thing in truth is sheer madness. The rebels know not what they do. If their desire should unhappily be realized, they, as is too certain would have the malignant satisfaction of witnessing the overthrow of the Union, but they themselves could not escape the falling temple. They would pay dearly for their vengeance. Like Samsou, they would die with the Philistines.—The South and the North would be overwhelmed in one common ruin. But leaving the rebels to act as their treasonable passions may direct, we ask loyal men of the Union, the men who so earnestly desire the preservation of the national unity as the condition of the national independence and of the national liberty, whether or not they are willing to co-operate with the rebels in their mad design, by promoting the re-election of Mr. Lincoln? The rebels, if they are to be true to their will, may yet save it, in spite alike of Southern and of Northern revolutionists. We say they may if they will. Will they not? Will they not, in this solemn emergency, lay aside their party animosities, and unite for the national good, to expel every motive but that of love for the liberties bequeathed to us by our fathers, and uniting under this sure and solitary inspiration, strike one mighty blow for the salvation of the Republic? The rebels, if they are to be true to their will, may yet save it, in spite alike of Southern and of Northern revolutionists. We say they may if they will. Will they not? Will they not, in this solemn emergency, lay aside their party animosities, and unite for the national good, to expel every motive but that of love for the liberties bequeathed to us by our fathers, and uniting under this sure and solitary inspiration, strike one mighty blow for the salvation of the Republic? The rebels, if they are to be true to their will, may yet save it, in spite alike of Southern and of Northern revolutionists. We say they may if they will. Will they not? 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