THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH.-PHILADELPHIA, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1866.

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THE NEW YORK PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEORAPH.

The Constitutional Amendment on the Basis of Representation.

From the Times.

The House of Representatives has passed the resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States changing the basis of representation. Hitherto that basis has been the whole number of free persons and three-lifths of all others. This gave the slaveholding States a representation of all their free persons, and about 2,400,000 in addition thereto-assuming their slaves to number 4.000,000. Now that their slaves have become free persons they are all counted, so that the South will have 1,600,009 persons added to their representative numbers, which, under the present ratio, would give them thirteen more members than they had before. The opinion has been expressed that ane-fifth of the entire colored race in the South has perished during the four years of the war. It is said that this is under rather than over the estimate of General Grant, and the experience on the coast of South Carolina certainly bears it out. If tais is so they would lose size members from this cause, so that their clean gain in representa-tion from the abolition of slavery would be but

Secon. That this is an evil, so far as it goes, all will agree. Whether it is of sufficient magnitude to call for an amendment of the Constitution may fairly be open to doubt. That the specific amendment adopted by the House is the prover mode of remedying the evil, no one, we think, who examines it carefully, will for a moment contend.

The amendment provides that whenever any State shall deny or abridge the right of suffrage to any persons within her limits on grounds of race or color, all the persons of that race or color shall be excluded from representation. Probably no proposition before Congress was ever more thoroughly and effectually demolished than the device of the state of the set of t more thoroughly and effectually demolashed than was this during the debate that was had upon it. Mr. Jencker, of Rhode Island, was the first to point out the fact that by necessary implication this amendment recognized the right of a State to deny suffrage on account of color; and this objection was repeated and reiterated with in-greased emphasis and indignation, by many leading Radicals in the House. Mr. Shellabarger was especially explicit and strong in his denun-ciation of the propo-ed amendment. Mr. Lawerence, of Ohio, concurred in tais view, and added other s rong objections of his own. Mr. Schenck, of Ohio, took the ground that it discouraged any attempt on the part of the Southern States to impreve the conditions of their negroes or to admit them gradually to the exercise of political rights, Mr. Brosmall, or Pennsylvania, was very clear and sharp in his hostility to the amend-ment; and there were, on Monday night, not less than fifty members of the Union party who

Yet, on Wednesday morning, when the vote was taken, every one of these men voted for it— from which it may be very fairly inferred that it is utterly impossible to conjecture how members will vote irom what they may say in debate. They all explained, however, that bad as the amendment is, they thought it better than none at all; and that their constituents would exact something at their hands. Our opinion is that the constituents would be that that constituents are much more sensible than they are generally supposed to be, and that they will hold their representatives to a sterner responsibility for passing a bad measure than

for passing none at all. The amendment embodies what is certainly one of the most extraordinary propositions one of the most extraordinary propositions ever made the basis of public action. It pun-ishes a State for attempting to improve and qualify for suffrage a portion of its people. This was distinctly avowed to be part of its object by Mr. Stevens himself. What is de-manded at the hands of the Southern States is watersal suffrage for the confranchised slaves universal suffrage for the enfranchised slaves. Anything short of that is not only to be re-

ants and successors the charge to prosecute till the claims are paid." The radicals are not satisfied with keeping our domestic affairs in such a state of turmoil and contasion that no man can see how the country is to come out of its political and tinan-cial difficulties, but they want also to muddle and bewilder our foreign relations in the same way. Ferhanes they even expect that a good noise over the foreign trouble may distract public attention from the game they wish to play on reconstruction. Indeed, if this were not their thought - if they really wished to sus-tain the honor of the country against a foreign foe-is it possible that they would so distract the national councils that the country cannot assert its honor with safety? Doubtless the whole country will agree with Mr. Chandler that the last commanication from the Eritsch Government as to our Alabama and similar claims was unduly and improperly brusque, almost rude; and called on our part for so strong a declaration of our position in the businees that nothing but an apology or bullets could follow. But what then? What is it and who is it that the declaration tast our denity called for? Who is it that compels the country to accept quietly a British snub? Mr. Chandler and his radical co-laborers, the men who prevent the arrangement of our domestic quarrels and keep up strife and division where there should be harmony, unity, and peace. Mr. Chandler has begin at the word end. Let him and his fellow radicals go earnestly to work

Mr. Chandler has begun at the wrong end. Let him and his fellow radicals go earnestly to work to settle the domestic affairs of the country; let them give us peace at home, and then as much non intercourse or even war abroad as they like. But while the country is kept as it is now, and Congress battles against the people, the country will answer to all proposals against England in the words of Mr. Lincoln, "One war at a time.

Practical Fenianism-How to Give the Irish People a Republican Government. From the Herald

The British press believes that the Fenian movement has had sufficient effect upon the Irish people to render them for many years even more discontented and uneasy than they had previously been under the harsh laws and bad Government of Great Pritain. This is doubtless true, and there is evidence of the extensive workings of the acitation among the people in the proclamation of martial law in so many cities. Measures of this nature are not adopted against movements of which the Government has no fear. But there is danger that, unless wisely directed at the present time, Femanism may do little else for the Irish people than to render them thus chronically uneasy and discontented, and to bring down upon them inter-mittent proclamations of martial law, to be used as a more convenient means of oppression than any other that Gov rument officials can hit upon. Wisely directed, however, the yast machinery

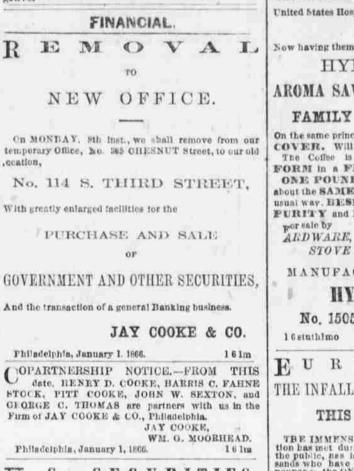
of the Fenian organization, the fervid faith which its followers have in it, and the liberality with which all classes of our Irish people con-tribute to its funds, may be turned to excellent account, and may accomplish more for downirodden ireland than revolution ever accom-plished for any people since the world went round. Fenian energies should be directed en-turely to the single object of bringing the Irish people out of Ireland into this country. The Fenian Brotherhood should become, heart and coult an immense emisration scorety and their coul, an immense emigration society, and their grand purpose should be to further this exodus of their countrymen. By acting with this view through all its agents, and spending its great will do more for Ireland than it could have hoped to do in that country. It will give the Itish people a republican Gov-ernment, and to every Irishman a comfortable

home. This it can never do in Ireland. Republicanism cannot flourish on that soil. Already in several Western States a movement to turther emigration on a most extensive scale has been set on toot. This originatea in Minnesota, but is widespread. These emigration societies pro-pose to choose available lands and locate the

and his letter repudiating the notion that it was a toke. His consistion is, that if he die before the bills are paid in full, satisfactority adjusted, or retailated for, he will die "pressing these claims, and will have as a legacy to his descend-ants and successors the charge to prosecute till the claims are paid." The radicals are not satisfied with keeping our domestic affairs in such a state of turnoil and consistion that no man can see how the country is to come out of its political and tinan-cual difficulties, but they want also to muddle and server the foreign relations in the same way. Pershams they even expect that a good noise over the foreign trouble may distract public attention, from the game they wish to plan or memory function. The political sins.

whing to lead the discouraged into new en-deavors, and the repentant into the commission of fresh political sins. He is the enemy of peace, the foc of law, the hater of order. He persists in telling his fellow-citizens that they are down-trodden and cruelly oppressed. He does his best to make them dis-contented with their lot. He is in the worst sense of the word a demagorue. He is a mis-chief-maker, a fomenter of sedition, and, there-fore, a public pest. There is no sort of excuse for his irritating language, unless he thinks that Virginia is delinquent in hanging back from the experiment of a second insurrection. How do those Virginians feel about this who have deter-mined to return in good faith to their allegiance? If this dishonor which Wise so rhetorically parades be real, are they men to suffer it? Ac-cording to the Wise theory, whoever has re-turned to logality is a knave, whoever has taken the outh of allegiance is a coward, whoever sub-mits to the Federal authority is a poltroon, who-ever holds his peace is a dumb dog worthy of his cheins and allegen

mits to the Federal authority is a poltroon, who-ever holds his peace is a dumb dog worthy of his chains and slavery. War is the inevitable logical sequitur of Wise's oratory; and if he doesn't mean lighting he is nothing better than a flea en the body politic, and should be thumbed and fingered into quiet-ness. He is precisely in the position of a man who should call upon the people of New York to shoulder arms against the Albany Government. We declare that we sincerely sympathize with all that is good and honorable in Virginia under this affliction. To a quondam Rebel who has concluded to discard the old nonsense, and to live a good citizen, the oratory of Wise must be live a good citizen, the oratory of Wise must be a positive distress; while nobody kno*s into what petty mischievous courses it may mislead the weak. If he would but stick something sharp into himself, and die after the high Roman fashion1 But he knows better than to do that. He knows that there is no speech-making in the grave.



LADELPHIA, MONDAY, F	EBRUARY 5, 1866.	THE PARTY AND TANK OF THE PARTY
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AROMA SAVING AND CONDENSING	SILAS YERKES, JR., THOMAS CRAVEN, President ALFRED S. GHLFTT V. Presidentiand Treasurer, JAMES B. ALVOED, Secretry. [19 by]	gueranteed by the city of Fhile-
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Taving the agency for he sale of "Wetterstedt's preservation of versels' bettoms for this city. I am pre-pared to unright the some on veromable terms JOIN H. HA MATT Kens maton Sorew Dock. 311 DELAWARE Avenue, above LAUREL Street. E AND D TEA DEALERS, CAFEWELL'S PATENT WIND-GUARD AND AIR HEATER FOIL COAL OIL LAMPS Sent to any part of the United States, nost paid, on the receipt of Twenty five cents. They use ons-third inse of them any other Lamp now in use. They prevent the glass from breasing of the lamp from smoking. J. B. CAFEWE JL & CO. Palentees, 122 lm No. 3/3 BACE Street, Philad's, No. 1204 CHESNUT ST., O D GOVERNMENT JAVA TOFFEE NATEA ENGLISH BEEAKFAST TEA, SUPEN MARYLAND AMS, FIN & DRIFD BEEF AND TONGUES. 9 15 Gm

jected, but to be punished as a crime on the part of a State by curtailing her representation n Congress. If South Carolina, for example should see fit to admit her negroes gradually to vote, after becoming qualified by intelligence or by industry, or in any other way, and if she should thus admit one-half or two-thirds of the whole number, these very voters would nevertheless be excluded from representation in order to punish the State for requiring qualifications of any sort. This certainly is not the way to promote the welfare of the negro race in the Southern States. Its direct tendency is to prevent all attempts to improve their condition and to keep them forever in the state of ignorance and degradation in which slavery has left them.

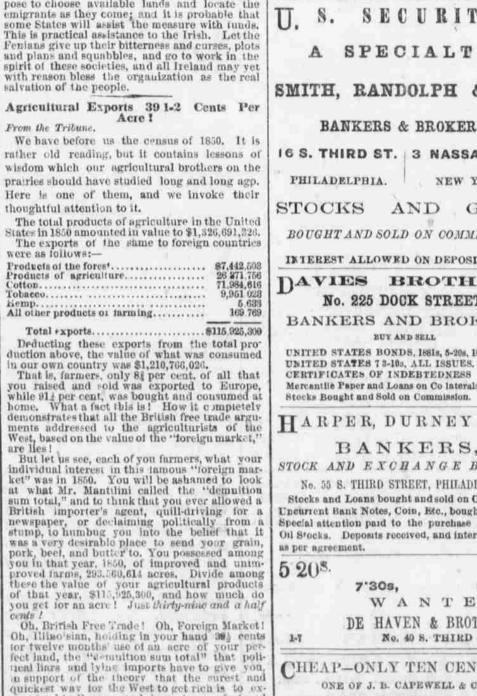
The amendment has precisely the same effect in New York, excluding every colored person in New York from being represented at all, because only a portion of the colored race is permitted to vote in this State, and the very men of that race who have, by industry and intelligence, qualified themselves for suffrage, and who now vote at every election, will be deprived of repre-sentation under the effect of this amendment. Now, whatever may be thought of the wisdom of any particular course of action on this subject, we certainly claim for this State, and for every other State, the right to extend the suffrage in its discretion, and according to its own ideas of public policy, and that, too, without being "punished" by Congress or the National Government for whatever course it may see fit to adopt. Over that subject, according to our system of govern-

ment, the State ought to be supreme. It California thinks it wise to admit the Chrnese settlers within her borders to the right of suffrage upon certain conditions and after certain qualifications, she certainly oughtinot to be deprived of any portion of her power in the National Government therefor. Those whom she permits to vote should certainly be represented. And it is a very novel and starting principle to be introduced into the constitution of a republican government, that men may be voters and yet not be represented. A cardinal principle of such a form of government is that all the inhabitants of the country—all within its borders who are the subjects of its laws either directly by their own votes or by the votes of others authorized to vote for them. But it is certainly something new to allow men to vote for representative of others, and yet not to be represented themselves. And this is pre-cisely what this amendment does,

The country will regard with some surprise the passage of such an amendment as this by so large a vote and against the declared sentiments and opinions of so many members who had de-nounced it. It was doubtless due to the conviction that some remedy was required for the evil of inequal representation, and to the fear that it would not be remedied at all if this particular method should be rejeared. This led very many to vote for it who did not approve of it in any point, but who preferred this with all its evils to norking at all. We doubt the wisdom of their action. Upon to serious and important a subject as an amondment of the Constitution, men can scarcely afford to peril great and funda-mental princi les for the sake of correcting a temporary and partial evil. It is much wiser to wait until the evil can be corrected in some safe and proper way, or until it corrects itself, as it inevitably will within a very tex years. So tar as the House is concerned, however, this point is settled. But the Senute has yet to act upon it, and after that it must receive the ratification of three-tourths of all the States. He must be a very sanguine man who believes that this can ever be secured.

Senator Chandler's Proposal for Non-Intercourse. From the Herald.

We give elsewhere the resolution of Senator Chhndler proposing non-intercourse with England as a remedy for our grievances against that country, his speech in support of the resolution,



Wise's Folly.

goods !

From the Tribune. What country is there in the world (except ours) in which, after the suppression of a sangumary rebellion, the remaining promoters would be allowed to meander about abusing their lawful magistrates, and blowing their own cracked horns hat pleasure? Anywhere else, Governor Wise, is permitted to talk at all after a war like ours, would be forced to do so without the customary ingual apparatus, for his head would be off his shoulders, unless stitched on by his surviving idends. It is a pretty fair test of the strength of the Government that it allows this man to go on with his talking, and to assert that the Rebels were "pure patriots, loyal citinens, brave, honest, and devoted men"-in short, "immortal heroes and martyrs."

port food to Europe, and Import manufactured

Perhaps we can afford to laugh at this to

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