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

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A Test Case for the President. From the Tribune.

Whether the Rebel States shall be admitted promiscuously, or whether each thall be heard on its own merits, are questions upon which Congress and the President differ. Congress proposes to consider each application. The President insists that all the States are reconstructed according to his method, and should be admitted. He could not, therefore, justly object to having the whole question tried on the evidence in any one of his eleven cases-Suppose Congress should adopt his view, and agree to examine the credentials of Louisiana as a specimen State. She is doubly fortunate in having sent not only Senators and Representa' tives to Washington, but also a Delegate, claiming to represent the Territory of Louisiana. The latter, the Hon. H. C. Warmoth, has collected, in a pamphlet of great ability, the loading facts and arguments on the general question. It appears there are two Constitutions of Loul-

siana in existence. One is the amended Con-stitution o. 1861, which requires the officers of the State Government to swear allegiance to the Contederate States. Probably that instrument will be admitted to be a somewhat imperfect basis for the Congressional representation of the State. The other is the Constitution framed by a convention called under a military order. known as General Order No. 35, dated at the headquarters of General Banks, March 11, 1864. In this order, no respect was paid to any previ-ous organic law. It was based on the supre-macy of military law, was carried by military force, temporarily sustained by the same means, and ever since, down to this day, has been upheld, overridden, or disregarded at the discre-tion of the military authoriues. It was ratified by 6836 votes to 1566 against it; the whole being cast in twenty parishes, while in twenty-eight parishes no elections were held. In 1860 the vote in these twenty parishes was 26,694; the whole vote of the State, 50,510. So much for the "popular" character of the Constitution on which the existing State Government is organized.

There are three parties in Louisiana. The "Democratic" party, which at the last election cast 23,000 votes, denounces in its platform the Government under which it voted as the "creation of fraud, violence, and corruption." The Republican party, casting 19,000 votes, white and black, ignores the Constitution wholly, declaring "there has been no State Government here save that which the Governor, temperad by the military authorities, saw fit to give us." There is a third party, calling itself Conservative, and which naturally omits to have any opinions in its platform; but its leaders, one of whom was a claimant for a seat in the last Congress, are sending letters to Washington urging Congress to protect them from the very Government in virtue of whose title they before asserted the right of the State to representation.

It we turn from an inquiry into the origin of this Government to an inquiry into its charac-ter, we find that it is to-day nothing but a machine for restoring to political power the Rebels who, in 1861, against the known majority of the people, engineered the State out of the Union. The Legislature which has just adjourned was composed almost exclusively of persons lately in insurrection against the Government. couris charge the grand juries that it is treason to advocate equal suffrage. The Executive is a renegade radical, who has abandoned the party which originally steeted him Lieutenant-Governor, gone clean over to the Rebels, proclaims the disorganization of "the Abolition party, spite of its apparent success in the war," and predicts its death as a result of an attempt to predicts its death as a result of an attempt to enforce taxation for the maintenance of the public credit. He has organized militia to protect Rebels and harass loyalists. "General John Scott, of the late insurgent forces, is General John Scott of the Louisiana militia Coloud Louis Ruch of the C. S. A onis forces, is now Colonel Louis Bush of the Louisiana militia. So it is over the whole State of Louisiana. Rebel soldiers, officered by Rebel officers, with Federal arms, are to be the military questioners of the rights, libert.es, and property of Union men. These are to have no voice at the ballot-box which will be heard, and they have no arms given them to protect thomselves against outrage and oppression." The Legislature backs up the Governor with a law prohibiting "any person or persons to carry firearms on the premises or plantations of any citizen, without the consent of the owner or proprietor, other than in lawful discharge of a civil or military order,"---under penalty of fine and imprisonment. In pursuit of the same policy, the schools for the freedmen have been discontinued all over the State, while the ireednen are heavily taxed to support schools from which they are excluded. Cases of indictment by the grand jury, mock trial be-fore a Rebel court, and imprisonment for the ollense of loyalty, are perfectly well authenti-cated. That sort of law is mercifully reserved for the whites. For the blacks we find a code of laws establishing a system of seridom, forbidding the free passage of blacks from one plantation to another, and under the form of apprenticeship and vagrant laws, re-enacting slavery in fact The details of these statutes we have heretofore explained, and need not repest. Such is a faint and imperfect picture of one State that by the mouth of the President pre-sents itself as a member of the Union, and demands immediate admission to Congress. Its claim has no single element of legality or of loyalty. The Government of the State is republican neither in form nor in substance. The commonest rights not merely of the freedmen. but of the waite Unionists of the State, are contemptuously denied. There may, or may not be, any other State which presents in any respect a better record, or better evidence of loyalty to-day. But what we say is, that this is one of the cleven States the immediate admission of all of which is urged by the President as not merely advisable but imperative; and the merits of his advice must be ludged by its effect in this one instance. If it be deried that the test is a fair one, we revert immediately to the theory of Congress, that the claims of each State shell be considered separately; and each adn it ed or rejected on its merits. Which alter-native will the friends of the "President's Policy" accept?

or formality amounts to little. The main end to be attained is the renewal of some commercial arrangement, which can be reached only by a resumption of negotiations, tending to the ad-justment of mutually satisfactory terms. To enact the bill now before Congress, or any other bill, without consultation with representatives of the Provinces, will be futile; for it will give effect to but one view of the outpattor will effect to but one view of the question, while really useful legislation presupposes an arrange-ment resting upon mutual concessions and se-

curing mutual advantages. Although necessarily disposed to encourage a cheerful spirit among the provincials, and to hold up a prospect of trade in other directions. as an ultimate equivalent for the trade that will be lost with the United States, Mr. Galt trankiy admits the present embarrassment which must follow the constition of reciprocity. He expresses great regret at the failure of the late negotiations, "because," he is reported to have said, "I believe we cannot suddenly change our cus-tomers without inconvenience, and because, as a practical man, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that there will be a great disturbance of trade resulting from the termination of the treaty." Undoubtedly; and from this "great disturbance of trade" our mercantile community will suffer as well as the people of the provinces. It is not possible suddenly to arrest a trade so vast as that which has grown up under the treaty without producing inconvenience and loss on both sides of the lakes. Comparatively, of course, the disturbance will be loss seriously felt by this country than by Canada, because in our case the amount of trade to be actual. our case the amount of trade to be affected bears smaller proportion to our aggregate of trade. Some interests, especially upon the frontier, will nevertheless suffer seriously, and, in the existing position of business matters, beset as they are with uncertainty, we cannot prudently afford to be indifferent to a trade amounting to sixty or

seventy millions annually. Mr. Galt is "not without hops that the time is not remote when the United States will re-store the trade to a satisfactory footing." If Congress were not given over to the negro, to the neglect of the vast financial and commercial problems which await solution, we too should ope that a lew months would suffice to establish relations of reciprocal trade more liberal in their nature, and consequently more fruitful of profit, than the relation which is about to termi-Sooner or later, we are conndent, such a nate. result will be reached; and meanwhile, perhaps, a little experience of the evils as well as the losses which the disarrangement of legitimate commerce on the northern frontier will oc-casion, may help to bring some of our Congres-

sional obstructives to their senses. To hasten this result, however, our business people should exert themselves to impress upon Congress the importance of the interests at stake, and the necessity of caring for them promptly and practically. We have reasons for believing that the Secretary of the Treasury appreciates the embarrassments to his Department, and the injury to the revenue which will be inevitable II no arrangement be entered into. The measure prepared cy the Committee of Ways and Means is in itself proof that that body at length begins to realize the necessity of action. It is therefore expedient for the commercial bodies of our cities to make themselves heard upon the subject; as it is also expedient for those who are familiar with the trade carried on under the treaty, and who will be the first to jeel the effects of its discontinuance, to exert themselves by petition and otherwise to induce the Ways and Means Committee to revise its scheme, and adapt it more judiciously to the purpose contemplated. The Chamber of Commerce of this city might with particular propriety, take the lead in the movement; for having last year adopted a report in favor of a renewal of the old treaty, with modifications, its members may be supposed to ok with more than common satistaction upon the liberal terms which the Provinces are now prepared to sanction.

The Great Issue and the Great Danger Before the Country. From the Herald

"Revolution!" said Henry Clay on an important occasion before Congress, "we are in the midst of a revolution." The remark was not in. applicable in his day; but it is a thousand times more applicable to our present political situation. We had on Tuesday, for instance, a resolution from the Committee on Reconstruction, defining the position of Congress in reference to the admission of the members from Tennessee. In order to show how far the exclusive policy thus devoloped is in conflict with the President's restoration policy, we reproduce this morning, in tull, his admirable off-hand speech of the 22d of February to a visiting body of the citizens of Washington. On the same evening, in support of the President, we had here in New York a namby-pamby, milk-and-water speech from Mr. Secretary Sew-ard, according to which everything was as it should be, and President and Congress would work affectionately together. But what is the truth? Let the intelligent reader look over this frank, carnest, and patriotic address of President Johnson, and then to the subsequent proceedings of Congress, and Mr. Seward's speech To repeat an expression to which he owes his fame as the great leader of the Northern antislavery crusadors, there is an "irrepressible conflict" between Congress and the Administration, in regard to which we have no promise or prospect of a compromise. The issue and the danger thus broadly presented to the country, we think we cannot toe often or too earnestly submit as demanding the instant and serious attention of the American people. What is this rupture between Congress and the Executive? The President contends that in the reorganization of the Southern States on a basis which includes the ratification of the great constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, the repudiation of secession and the Rebel State debts, the recognition of the sovereignty of the United States, and the protection of the freedmen in their civil rights, the States concerned are entitled to readmission into Congress, so far as they can present representatives of approved and undoubted loyalty. He pleads for their restoration; he protests against the obstructions placed in the way by "a central directory;" he complains that the course of this directory, headed by Thaddeus Stevens, is disorgaalzing and revolutionary; and he deplores the tendencies of Congress to constitution tingering as dangerous to the Government in its present form, and preparing the way for a despotic system. This is the President's position, and his indictment against the Reconstruction Committee and the radical majority of each House of Congress, And what is their response? That not one Re presentative from the lately rebellious States shall be admitted into either House short of a law of Congress declaring each of said States in its turn satisfactorily reconstructed and quall field for admission. And what are the qualifica-tions demanded? On Monday last there was a report from the Reconstruction Committee to the House, proposing to admit the Tennessee members "on an equal footing with the other States, on the express condition that the people of Tennessee" maintain their present local laws excluding all Rebels from the elective franchise for five years, and from eligibility to office as long, and that the State shall agree never in any shape to recognize any of the debts of the any shape to recognize any of the debis of the Rebellion, nor claim or allow any compensation for emancipated slaves; and that these condi-tions be ratified by the State before the act of her admission shall take effect. This was the report of the Committee; but it was referred back to them with the objection from several of the members that this plan "does not afford suffi-cient guarantees of fidelity to the Union and of protection to the freedmen." protection to the freedmen." With the return of the report to the House we With the return of the report to the House we shall doubtless have these omissions provided for; but we have enough to establish the spirit and purpose of this Congress. In the indignant retusal of the House to receive an official com-munication from Governor Worth, of North Carolina, we have the declaration in effect that all the work of Southern reconstruction done by the President goes for nothing; that Congress rejects it, and will apply its own conditions of estoration. The prospect, therefore, of the

admission into Congress of any or the eleven ex-cluded Southern States for at least two years to come is very gloomy. In this policy of exclu-sion Stevens and his followers are playing a desperate game for the next Presidency; but it is full of misshief and Iraught with danger to the country. It involves serious losses to us all the country. It involves serious losses to us all and to the Treasury, in the continued derange-ments of Southern industry and trade, and the aggravation rather than the abatement of the social and political demoralization of the South growing out of the Rebeilion.

But there is still the greater danger of a revo-lution in the Government itself, from the system of the fathers of the Union to a centralized despotism. There are already constitutional smendments enough before the two Houses, if adopted, to revive the reism of the Long Parlia-ment and another Cromwell to turn it out of doors. The President takes his stand against doors. The President takes his stand spanns, these dangerous innovations, even to the extent of rejecting all powers of paronage greater than those which he believes the Constitution will war-rant. He believes that with the amendment securing the abolition of slavery throughout the country against all contingencies, the Constitution will answer our present purposes. Down to the late Rebellion it had carried us through seventy years of progress and prosper-ity, and unapproached in the growth of any other nation. It had carried us through domestic trials and foreign wars in spite of the incubus of African slavery; and with that incubus removed, surely the two sections may live and prosper in harmony under the Constitution as it is, till sufficiently harmonized for its revision with all the States in council.

This is the way of union and safety; but it is not the way of our present fanatical Radicals of Congress. Their way is that of the provincial discipline of the Roman empire, and the mainteof their power in the Government, Dance though it may change the Government itself from the servant to the master of the people -from a republic to an oligarchy established in Congress This is the danger against which President John son stands forth the champion of the people and the people, in vindication of their sovereign rights, must stand by the President. The issue and the danger before them will admit of no other course.

The British North American Confederation. From the World.

The project of uniting all the British North American provinces in one grand confederation. which was agitated last year, and fell through by the opposition of the lower provinces, is revived with the prospect of early success. At a banquet which took place, a day or two since, in Cornwell, Upper Canada, where the principal Canadian Ministers were present and made speeches, this subject was put forward, in a tone of confident prediction, as if no doubt was entertained of an immediate favorable result. The influence, o: the Imperial Government has been brought to bear on the lower provinces, and it is expected that the union will be consummated at an early day.

One of the most powerful causes of the new impetus given to this project, is the failure to procure the renewal or extension of the Reciprocity treaty. The geographical position of the upper provinces, which streach along behind a belt of our States interposed between taem and the ocean, re-ders intercourse with us, and transit for their products through our territory. a commercial necessity. If they cannot obtain it by treaty, there is a strong temptation to acquire its advantages by annexation. The conederation is one of the means of countervailing this tendency. If consummated, it will foster national spirit and the pride of independence; for nobody supposes that so populous and extensive a country, united under one Govern-ment, can long remain a desendency of a foreign crown. Great Britain tLinks the United States are already too large and powerful for the genebalance of power. She would, under any circumstances, object to our further growth by annexation. She has much stronger objections to our enlargement at her expense.

She has no expectation of holding Canada permanently; she regards it as certain that her Rosewood Drawing-Room Furniture North American colouies will be nexed to the United States, or u pendent. She can concede their without loss of presuge; and establish an allied nation as a



The Canadian Ministers on the Reciprocity Negotiations.

From the Times.

The Canadian Minister of Finance has availed himself of a political banquet to explain and vir dicate to his countrymen the course which he and his co-delegates pursued in the recent negotiations at Washington. Some of his remarks possess an interest beyond the Province, as serving to indicate the grounds on which the proposition submitted to the Committee of Ways and Mean's was founded, and the conclusions at which a clear-headed man has arrived in regard to the immediate effect of the abrogation of the treaty, with no commercial substi-tute of any kind.

In the first place, Mr. Galt justified the readi ness of the delegales to acquiesce in reciprocal legislation instead of a treaty, as the basis of future intercourse, and their further willingness to disregard points of form, if these were found to interiers with the main object in view. is not by standing up for minor points," he said, "that a man preserves his self-respect, but by holding last to those great points in which more than mere ct quette 1s concerned;" a remark which we commend to some of the gentlemen at Washington, who would allow the whole question of reciprocity to go by default, rather than give up their punchhoasness in the manner of re-opening negotiations. In such a case, precedence poise to the United States. This, the leading object of her America is doing all in her power to the self-importance, and to promote independence in her North Am sions. She encourages them to en the highest functions of sovereign ministers and agents are allowed ington and negotiste directly without any appearance of respon to the colonial Government. In domestic legislation she leaves free. By the projected union the be strongly turned towards inde she can easily direct their nation towards a throne, to be filled by a of Victoria.

If there are germs of an anne the upper provinces, there are not But if Canada should be anney lower provinces could not expect absorption by so powerful a net the United States should come to tory on both sides the St. Lawren naturally covet the provinces entrance to its mouth, and lie o which it empties. In view of ultimate annexation, resulting for the Reciprocity treaty, a success be made to the loyalty and British lower provinces in favor of the and we shall probably wilness, completion of an arrangement fr portant consequences in the fu this continent.

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