## THE NEW YORK PRESS.

## Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Importlant Topics of the Hour.

### POMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH

Senator Yates on Universal Suffrage. From the Tribune. It is probable that the second clause of the Anti-Slavery Agrendment will be a good deal discussed and availed of in the legislation that is to precede Reconstruction. The power to enforce the prohibition of slavery by "appropriate legislation" might be derived from the first clause of the amendment under a previous provision of the Constitution, but it was none the less a pradent precaution to affirm it in express terms. Several measures based on this

second clause are now before Congress, among them the following, introduced last January in the Senate by the Hon. Richard Yates, of Illinois:-

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Repre-mentatives or the United States of America in Con-gress assembled, lnat no S ate or Ierritory of the United States shall, by any constitution, law, or united States shall, by any constitution, law, or other regula ion whatever, norecolore in force or hereafter to be adopted, make, or exitorec, or in any manner recegnize any distinction between oil zens of the United States, or of any State or Territory, on account of race or color or condition, and that hereat, er all citizens without distinction of race, color, or condition, shall be protected in the full and equal enjoyment and exercise of all their civil and political rights, including the right of suffrage."

It is about two years since lilinois, under the guidance, we believe, of Governor Yates, abo-lished her black code, which was scarcely better than a slave code, and here now is her Governor, become Sensior, and presenting a bill to protect all cutizens without destinction of color in the enjoyment of all rights, including the right of enjoyment of an ingate, including the injust of suffrage. This progress is somewhat character-istic of the West, which is apt to make up its mind with a considerable degree of decision. What it wants, it wants with a will. Mr. Yates may or may not be ahead of his State in this matter, but he assumes the risk fearlessly:-

"Gentlemen ask me 'if I will go before the people "Gentlemen ask me 'If I will ge before the people of Lilinois with such a proposition as this?" Ay, m-deed, and welcome it. I nave no fear of the result. Through the couds of the present I see the bright-ness of the future. There is deep-seated in the hearts of the American people everywhere, the firm conviction t at this nearo question, however un-patable its discussion may be, will never be set-th d until it is adjusted upon the principles of justace and equality." and equality.'

If Congress does possess the power to regulate by such a bill as this the qualifications of electors, there is no little force in the suggestion that its exercise is the only sure way to settle questions of reconstruction. Whether any par-ticular amendment to the Constitution will be adopted is coubtful, and whether it can or cannot be, it involves delay, whereas legislation is complete, speedy, and, Mr. Yates believes, will be effective. The war, in his view, was to de-termine "whether the Constitution and laws of the United States were to be the supreme law of the land, or whether State Sove-reignty was to be the supreme law. The Union conquered, yet it is now proposed to leave to the local politicians of the several States the adjustment of the relations of freedmen; and by so doing to imperil all we have gained politically by the war, and to abandon the freedmen themselves to the con-trol of their old masters, or of the white class which they aided to subdue. But by the antislavery amendment, the former slave has become a freeman; his disability is removed; he steps a freeman, his disability is removed; he steps from his condition of slavery into the family of freedom, becomes one of the body politic, and is one of the sovereign people. He does not need that the rights of clizenship should be conferred on him; they are his; and all that is necessary is that he should be protected in their enioyment. The distinction between civil and political victor is an illusors one of the source of the steps political rights is an illusory one; at any rate, the ballot is necessary to the secure enjoyment of all other rights, and as it is admitted that Congress has the power to pass laws to protect the freedman in his person and property, it must have the power to protect him in the exercise of the elective franchise.

Nor is Senator Yates disturbed by the cry that his demand is impracticable-that such a mea-

New York Tribune, desired foreign intervention; New York Private, desired foreign intervention; another, headed by a more couragoous leader, desired a declaration of foreign war. The Gov-croment refused to listen to either class, than. It refuses to listen to either, now. The situation is not essentially changed, as far as the spirit, the pluek, and the faith of sound-hearted Ameri-cans are concerned. The firmness of the Execu-tive is just as essential to the salvation of the country this year as it was when the radical country this year as it was when the radical hounds were on Mr. Lincoln's track four Jears ago.

#### The Reconstruction Committee-Its Attempt to Assist the Republican Party in the New England Elections. From the Herald.

The Reconstruction Committee has given to the world a series of carefully chosen extracts from the evidence before it on the condition of the Southern States. There is now in the hands of the committee a valuable mass of evidence as to the extent to which the Southern people are reconstructed in their political sentiments. It is a pity that it did not suit the purposes of the fifteen to lay before the world the whole of this evidence, or a digest of the whole of it. The information that would thus have been furnished would have been useful, and the people could have learned by it the exact political condition of the late Confederacy. exact political contained of the tate Confederacy. But we could scarcely have expected anything so fair from a body so bitterly partisan. Instead of performing its plain duty in this matter, the committee has given selections from its ma-terial, chosen with an especial view to the effect they may have on the New England elec-tions. It sends out not a faithful report, but an electionering document. electioneering document. It has garbled the testimony, choosing for present publication only such parts as it deems likely to inflame the public mind against the South, and so to strengthen the position of the Republican party

in opporing the restoration of those States. It will gratify every true friend of the country to find that this partisan committee going through all the evidence before it with this par-tisan purpose in view has been able to say so It will reassure all men and give a new little faith in the ultimate success of the good cause to find that this notorious Fifteen—this radical inquisition has not been able, after all its labors, to put forward one good substantial argument against reconstruction. Opinions are given. General Grierson "thinks" that it the disloyal bad been more severely dealt with there would have been more loyalty in the South at present. It may be very important that General Grierson thinks this, and yet very sensible persons may doubt if the best sort of lovalty is made in that way. General Grierson is cognizant that slaves have been told that when the soldiers went away they "would be just as much slaves as ever." This proves that there are men down there who will tell lies. But is the fact that there are some liars in a given community to deprive all the decent men in that community of the benefits of law, and to entail upon the whole country the evils of anarchy? General Saxton also testifies. This general has always been one of the military pets of the radical party. He is "a hero that never set a squadron in the field, nor the division of a battle knows." He is a major general, though it is notorious that he was never in a night. He owes his promotion not to gallant services, but to a happy choice of political views. It shows the reckless disrespect the radicals have for what is good and great, and for public opinion, when they set up the expressions of such a man against the very positive declarations of men like Grant and Sherman. Testimony from General Thomas is included

to give weight and one good name to the docu-nent. But in giving the honest soldier's story they had to give the good with the bad, and though here and there a sentence in what Thomas says indicates that Rebel thoughts are still strong in the South, there is so much that is the other way that these utlerances of one man will alone well nigh destroy the radical position that the Southern States must be kept out on account of the sentiments of the people. Thomas, interrogated as to the feel-ing immediately atter Lee's surrender, says that the universal report made to him was "to the effect that the mass of the people were very happy at the downfall of the Rebellion, and at their prospect of soon getting again under the Constitution and Government of the United States." The "mass of the people" then were not very good Rebels at that time, and if they now feel less happy at the prospect of getting under our Government, is not the inference inevitable that it is the course of the Radical Congress that has made the change? "People in Alabama," says Thomas, "think they have had a fair trial in their attempt to gain their inhad a fair trial in their attempt to gain their in-dependence, and have failed completely," and that is the whele point on which reconstruc-tion turns, and the only print of which we require to be sure, in order to be certain that restoration is safe and proper. The people are satisfied that their attempt was a failure, and have thrown away all the thoughts and hepes it gave rise to it gave rise to. Besides this declaration of General Thomas. and the similar one previously made by General Grant, all the statements of the radicals the other way are trivial and trashy. We might, if any point was to be gauged by it, admit the iruth of all the radicals say in this document, and in-quire—What then? When you have shown all this, what have you proved? What has all this got to do with reconstruction? with constitu-tional rights and rational colling? Nothing sheat tional rights and national policy? Nothing what-ever. All this rehash of the idle gabble of Schurz is impudently irrelevant as to the great question is impudently irrelevant as to the great question before the country. It is an examination of the pititul points of a people's life, of their prejudices, their small vices, their likes and dislikes—things with which the law does not meddle in countries less despotic than Austria. And all these little points are quoted against the South, and a great party tells us that these are reasons why the nation should not re-establish itself m its former strength, and should not restore eleven great States to their natural places. Did a great party ever before put forth anything so has in imbeever before put forth anything so lost in finb cility as this ?

cautionary means. Mr. McCulloch, rather than take the responsibility of throwing away the Southern branch of the revenue, assumed the alternative responsibility of modifying the eath. This test eath, whatever may have been said in its justification during the Rebellion, is found, new the test on the same of the South the now that we are in possession of the South, to involve the practical absurdity of relieving the South from taxation as a means of punishing it for its past dislovalty. But the officers thus appeinted by Mr. McCul-

But the others have appointed by him without a leek cannot be legally paid by him without a change of the existing law. A convention of the Southern and assessors collectors was held, a few days since, at Atlantz, which resulted in sending to Washington a committee to solicit from Congress such a medification of the law as would permit them to be paid, and to continue the discharge of their duties. Some action must be had, or Congress will abandon the revenue. The only alternative to the repeal of the test oath is an increase of salaries to such a point that Northern men can afford to take the Southern collectorships and asses-serships; a change which would be every way mexpedient. Not only would they want a local knowledge necessary to an intelligent dis-charge of their duties, but the repugnance of the inhabitants to such intrusion would render their duties difficult and irksome, and would require an addition to the military force of the Sou support them. The best way out of the difficulty is to repeal the test oath, and to substitute therefor the oath to support the Constitution. If revenge for past disloyalty is to be the permanent policy of the Government, the South will never be reconciled, and we shall have an ex-pensive Government by force instead of the cheap Governmant by consent which accords with our republican system.

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# THE DAIL' EVENING TELEGRAPH .- PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1866.

sure cannot be carried.

"As for me, I would rather face the music and The theresponsibility like a man, and send to the people of the State of Illinois the boon of universal suffrage and of a rull and complete emanepation, than meet the taut of Morthern demagogues that I would force suffrage upon North Carcillas, and Ten-nessee, and Delaware, while I had not the courage to preserving if for our own tree States. Sir it will tu prescribe it for our own iree States. Sir, it will be the crime of the century if now, having the power, as we clearly have, we fack the nerve to do the work that is given us to do.

the work that is given us to do. "Let me say to my Republisan triends, you are too late. You have gone too far to receae now. Four million people, one-seventh of your whole popula-tion, you have set free. Will you stand back ap-palled at the enchantment your own wand has called up? The sequences of your own teachings are upon you. As for me, I start not back appalled when universal sufface contronts are. When the when universal suffrage contronts me. When the bloody gho.t of sinvery rises, I say, 'Shake your gory locks at me; I did it.' I nocept the stuntion. I tight not against the logic of events or the decrees of Frovidence. I expected it, Sir, and I meet if haif way. I am for universal suffrage, I bid it all hail." The speech is throughout in the same coufuture, and of the inalienable idelity of the people to the idea of political equality.

#### The Reconstruction Committee and Our Foreign Friends.

From the Times.

We venture to think that if the labors of the Reconstruction Committee, thus far, have not given very general satisfaction at home, they have been estimated at their just value abroad.

There has not been a single stop taken by that Committee, hitherto, that has not afforded supreme gratification to the Gregorys, the Rosbucks, and the Lairds of the House of Commons. There has been nothing in the radical temper, as displayed either in the Reconstruction Committee or in the House, that has not carried the greatest loy into the household of every enemy of the Union, from Vera Cruz to Paris.

All that was predicted for us of political failure, as the necessary consequence of mili-tary success, the opponents of the President's policy here are doing their best to realize for us. Were there an international difficulty to arise tomorrow, we should practically present the same sectional and geographical division as when the legions of Lee and Stonewall Jackson were encamped on Loudon and Maryland Heights. If we have escaped this terrible danger thus far-if we escape it henceforth-is it due to the judgment, discretion, and patriotic forbearance of the radical faction? Is it not rather due to the same conciliatory temper which steadily refused to yield to radical impulses in conducting the foreign relations of the Government during the nottest and most disheartening period of the Rebellion ?

The very temper brought to Lear upon the management or our foreign affairs during the long, exasperating season of Rebellion, makes it possible—it not wise—tor the radicals to say and to co-their utmost to-day, either in or out of

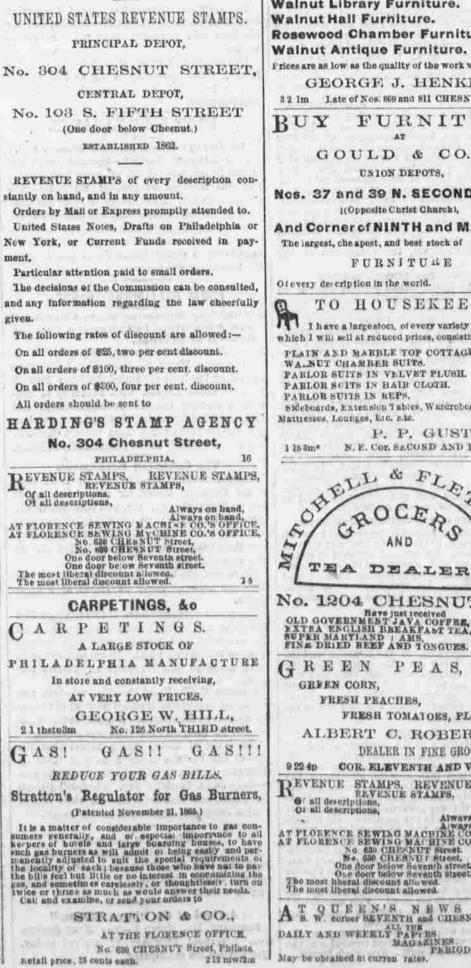
Had there been a radical for Secretary of State during the Trent crisis there certainly would have been no such free speech in Congress-or, have been no such free speech in Congress—or, for that matter, speech of any kind—as we hear to-day. The very heense these extreme politi-cians have at this hour is a heense procured for them and maintained for them by statesmen who have gone through the severe discipline of keeping a bridle upon their tongues. No one capable of tairly estimating the political situa-tion expects that Mr. Stevens, or mon of his type realize this fact. They are as inganable of type, realize this fact. They are as insapable of seeing where there lay extreme peril abroad, while the war lasted, as they are unable to see

The Test Oath.

From the World. President Johnson is reported to have intimated, on several recent occasions, his opinion that the oath imposed by the Constitution ought to be deemed sufficient. A man who swears present loyalty, and future fidelity, may be trusted if he swears truly. If he would perjure himself with this oath, he would with any other. All the security to be derived from oaths would be as fully had from the simple oath to support the Constitution, required by that instrument as a qualification for holding office, as by any possible mode of swearing. The Tribune has also, within the last few days,

The Tribune has also, within the last few days, virtually expressed disapprobation of the test oath. Virtually, we say; for its article made no direct allusion to it. But the implication is clear enough, when the Tribune affirms the ex-pediency of admitting Alexander H. Stephens, and men like him, to official positions. Mr. Stephens cannot swear that he never aided the Dephension test that he is a the recur is him to Rebellion; and yet the test oath requires him to wear to that before he can take his seat in the Senate.

Secretary McCulloch has found the law imposing the tast oath so Ill-indged and inconvenient that he has been obliged to disregard it in ad-ministering the affairs of the Treasury Depart-ment. Not that Mr. McCulloch would volun-tarily violate any law; but when two different laws impose on him inconsistent duties, he must, since he cannot obey both, elect between them, and indge for himself which is of paramount obligation. The tax laws require him to collect the revenue, which can be done only through the revenue, which can be done only through instruments. There are many revenue districts in the South where there cannot be found for assessors and collectors, capa-ble and responsible men who have never, in any way, given countenance to the Rebellion. If has accordingly, rather than lose the revenue, appointed men who could take no other oath than that of allegiance to the Government and ndeity to their official duties. where extreme peril may exist now, after the war has ended. In both cases, their indgment shows the same icebleness. In the very heat of the conflict, one section of them, headed by the



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