THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH

Slavery in Maryland.

From the Tribune. We have briefly noticed the startling fact mestioned by our Baltimore correspondent that the slave trade was being carried on in Maryland by the judicial and executive officers of that State, under the pretended authority of the Maryland Code, and in alleged accordance with the national Constitution. Advertisements announcing the sale, for a term of years, in pursuance of the sentence of a court and the authority of a sheriff, will excite a feeling of something more than surprise in the breasts of hundreds of thousands, who for more than a year have been accustomed to thank God that slavery in America had been constitutionally abelished They believed that they had lived to see the day so long prayed for, when, in his westward course over our ocean-girt republic, the sun no longer rose upon a master nor set upon a slave. But here is a new and nideous vision of auction blocks in front of court houses, for the sale of "stayes and other cattle," with a sheriff as auctioneer, flourishing his judicial record and polning to the "Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery" as confirming its validity. Even those who in the olden time had so "con quered their prejudices" as to contend that slavery was not a crime, must teel that its unblushing revival at this moment, and in this form is, to say the least, a blunder.

The responsibility for the existence of this anomaly, which it nds to make us contemptible

in the eyes of the world and despicable in our own, rests primarily with the Cougress which, in proceeding to amend the Constitution for the abolition of slavery, and intending that abolition to be total and final, neglected to use words that indicated their intention. Earnest suggestions to this effect were met by the reply that it would be more historically interesting, and would exhibit a more continuous and uniform legislation to adopt and incorporate into the Constitution the identical prohibition of slavery framed by the Fathers of the republic and embodied in the ordinance that secured freedom to our great Northwest. To the indel-gence of this sentiment, which we thought then, and which we still thing, partoox rather of idle pedantry than of sound statesmapship, is the country indebted for the fact that American slavery and the slave trade are carried on to-day under the shelter of that amendment.

An absolute prohibition of slavery, without

exception, would have passed Congress and would have been ratified by the people of the States as readily and as certainly as the one which was adopted; and yet in its place we have the following article, authorizing and justice. tifying slavery in a class of cases which, if left to the decision of the Rebel States, may be enlarged and extended until slavery is made once more their peculiar institution; -"Article XIII. section 1.-Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or may place subject to their jurisdiction."

Until some new amendment shall abolish this exception, servitude for crime will be permissible under the national Constitution, but what

sible under the national Constitution; but what we baye to do, and what we can do, is to see that it is indicted as a punishment only for crime, and not for color. This subject may pro-perly engage the attention of Congress under the second section of the amendment, empowering them to enforce the article by appropriate legislation. But the true remedy for this and other abuses to which the blacks are subjected by State legislation inspired by slavors, is in exposition by the Supreme Court of the United States of the true meaning and effect of the Constitutional Amendment, in giving to the republic a national policy of equal freedom and

as a punishment for crime may seem to miligate against this view, but it should be remembered that, by the first article of the Constitution, apportioning representatives and direct taxes, "persons bound to service for a term of years" were expressly included among the number of free persons, and that it was not uncommon for the German and other "redemptioners," as they were called, thus to bind themselves to a sort of slavery, so far as labor and obedience were con-cerned, although it was entirely free from those features of chatteldom which gave to Southern slavery its peculiar horrors. The question how far the amendment abolishing slavery has changed the national policy, as hitherto de-duced from slavery under the old Constitution by pro-slavery judges, is one which has not as yet engaged the attention of our national judi-

The provisions of the Maryland Code under which, for the same crime, white men and wo-mea are sent to the Penitentiary, and black men and women are sold into slavery, affords an excellent opportunity for an elaborate argu-ment and final decision on the right of the States thus to discriminate between American citizens, and to establish, in a republic where all men are born free and equal, aristocratic and class distinctions. The subject was recently alluded to in an address to the Union League Club of New York by its President, and the opinion was antimated that the amendment had rendered of questionable validity some of our antiquated State laws, both at the North and the South, that imposed disabilities and penalties—not for

crime, but for race and complexion. "A class of Judicial questions," said Mr. Jay, "growing out of slavery and its incidents, which had been finally settled, as was supposed, under the Constitution as it was, would seem to be di-turbed if not reopened by the Constitutional amendment, that has substituted freedom for slavery as the premise of the argument by which their validity was formerly established. It may possibly be that the identical course of in lucpossibly be that the identical course of in ide-tive reasoning, which starting from the view of the late Chief Justice that the framers of the Constitution of 1789 regarded the blacks as hav-ing no rights whatsoever, served to establish upon that basis, by the severest logic, the right of the States to disfranchise, outlaw, degrade, and insult what Mr. Taney called "the slave races," a class thus uncared for and unprotected by the Constitution, may lead to a different conby the Constitution, may lead to a different con-clusion, when the judges commence with the new fact, that the American people in their sovereign capacity have constituted, ordained, and established that the members of the race thus disfranchised shall be equally entitle I with themselves to the inalienable rights of American

The effect of such a decision on the suffrage question which now agitates the country, was in a subsequent part of the address thus described:— Should the Supreme Court, upon a thorough review of the national policy as affected by the amendment, reach the conclusion of the sion that, the national Constitution as amended no longer permits the States to establish in-equality, by the outlawry or disfranchisement of a class, the difficulties heretofore anticipated from an interference by Congress with the sup-Tosed rights of the States to disfranchise at their pleasure will be avoided. The decision will affect north and South alike, and the question of suffrage on an equal basis will be opened for readjustment in all the States, with such conditions as regards residence, intelligence, and laxation or property as each State may see isxation or property, as each State may seve-

rally prescribe."

If upon the first suggestion there should be any difference of opinion on these points, we think there should be none in regard to the unconstitutionality of the law or Maryland, creating class distinctions where none are to be found in the Constitution. If Maryland has the right to punish American citizens for their race, that completion, why not for their relegious or their complexion, why not for their religious creed or their political opinions? We trust that

no time will be lost in issuing writs of habeas corpus, whenever there may be occasion for that old safeguard of personal liberty, and in submitting the question in its national length and breadth to the judgment of our supreme

Two Kinds of Reform. From the Times.

It need not in the least detract from the favorable estimate which we have formed of Mr. Bright's energy as an agitator, if we devote a word or two to a truth which the London Reform Trades meeting of December 3 seems to make apparent. The meeting was professedly one of the organized trade societies of the metropolis, and was projected in accordance with Mr. Bright's idea that all the power which artisans are able to use for industrial purposes should be used for political purposes as well. Fully expecting that the various trade societies would take the same view of the matter, he predicted a procession of two hundred thousand persons, and a day of great enthusiasm. Neither the one expectation nor the other was fulfilled. The procession appears to have numbered about twenty-five thousand, and beyond the fact that there was a great crowd of lookers on, the ex-citement was of a very mild description. This result was due, to some extent, to minor causes,

but the conclusion cannot be avoided that the heart of the laboring classes was not very strongly moved on the question of reform.

We have repeatedly pointed out that the apail y of these classes on political subjects is greater than some would have it appear. The difficulties under which they live are unconnected with the suffrage, as they know very well. Every Euglish mechanic of any intelli-gence knows that full work and high wages are not to be controlled by any legislation what-ever. The working classes of England are, without doubt, always studying the relations of capital and lator, for those relations are what control their condition, and enter into every ircumstance of their hard-working lives. But with these things changes in the representation have nothing to do. In fact, the course of British legislation having been toward the fostering of British trade and successfully so, the masses are generally disposed to content themselves with political affairs as they are. In fact, the British workman is not in the main, discon-tented with his rulers, for he knows that were he to take their place, he could not remove evils that are inevitable. As for sensation writers, who abuse everybody who does not believe in them, and who affirm that England "proans" under its aristocratic system, they may be dismissed with the statement of a fact well understood by well-informed persons— Englishmen are not weary of their aristocracy. but, on the contrary, look to that aristocracy with great respect, and recognize its general influence in preserving the status of the nation among other nations with much gratification. the preservation of the "ancient honor of the family" is, as most even of the poorest classes understand it, a sort of sacred obligation with the majority of the titled gentlemen, whose names are reminders of many old historic epochs epochs not less interesting to ourselves than to other peoples; nay, epochs in which our own ancestry bore an bonorable part, and in this sense are a guarantee of the scapitty and the respectability of the nation itself.

The political movements, in short, which from time to time are rife in England, are not to be udged by an American standard. In that country much that with us is a constant subject of debate, is settled and accepted. The course of parties does not run there as does the course of parties with ourselves. There the masses understand, and are proud to understand, that the general forms of government are fixed, and, humanly speaking, immutable, and that there are limits even to political vagaries. We, who are to ever patching, or seeking to patch, the holes which we ourselves have made in the structure, which we have reared with so much labor, and love so well, cannot understand that another nation will stand firm around a social editice formed upon a different model. But the culter formed upon a different model. But the truth is the truth nevertheless. The difficulties under which labor in England suffers are nowise concerned in these matters, and the trade societies which did not parade at Mr. Bright's bidding knew it. The problem which they have to solve is a different one from that which he has undertaken to solve. They intend to solve in the problem which the solution of manhers and the solution of manhers. Parliament, but for the establishment of indusrial enterprises of their own. They are more bent upon realizing that labor is capital than upon the possession of a franchise which would be of comparatively little use to them. They turned out to see the show of December the 31 as people will turn out to see any show. But when all was over they returned home with mineled feelings. Prominent was, of course, that of respect for Mr. Bright, who is respected even by his enemies; but as a rominent was the other feeling, that votes were very well, but victuals were better, and that the elevation of the British workneman must depend upon the union of industry and skill, to be guided by his own brains, and to enure to his own benefit.

Napoleon, Italy, and the Pope,

From the Herald. We yesterday published a telegram which announces that the London Times considers the affairs of the Holy See, in spite of tranquil appearances, in a really critical condition. The view taken by the Times does not surprise us. It is in perfect harmony with all that we have seen on the subject. There is peril-real peril. The peril, however, is not the result of anything inherent in the situation itself. It springs from a different source. It arises from the simple circumstance that the Holy Father alone of all the world, if we except a few bigoted and foolish advisers, refuses to see that, so far as his office is concerned, the separation of the spiritual from the temporal is now inevitable. To remain a spiritual, ke must cease to be a temporal prince. Why his Holiness should so obstinately cling to that which cannot cling to him, we confess we find it difficult to explain. His obstinacy would be the less surprising if the dignity and usefulness of his position were to be affected by the change. But we have no such fears. It cannot be that he relies on the strength and patriotism of the Papa guard, which is composed of cowardly and un-principled renegades from all the ends of the earth, and of which John H. Surratt may be regarded as a specimen. Surely he does not expect that from the Empress Eugenie, who, with the Prince Imperial is soon to visit Rome, he will receive some comforting intelligence of the Emperor's private intentions which could not sately be entrusted to another messenger Napoleon, he must know, has played his last at Rome. Further aid from him is not to be expected. Delay in this case is specially danexpected. Delay in this case is specially dansecous. If the Pope does not come to a decision, and that speedily, the matter will be decided for him. Victor Emanuel will be an interested onlooker; but he will be nothing more.
Violence from without there will be none. But
the Roman people will declars for union with
the Italian kingdom, and the Papal guard will
be impotent to defeat their numerical Pilitit be impotent to defeat their purpose. Pity it will be if violence is resorted to: for no force from within can check the inevitable tendency of events Let the Holy Father at once accept the situation, and all difficulties are settled. Rome and the States of the Church will become part of the Italian kingdom. Victor Emmanuel will content himself in Florence, one of the fairest capitals in the world. Rome, with all its ecclesiastical curiosities, will be ungrudgingly left to the Pope and his sacred college of Car-

shall not venture to predict. The Pennsylvania Senatorship.

dinal. If he remains dogged and obstinate to the last, how humiliating the last may be we

From the World. The contest for the Senatorial seat to be vacated by Mr. Cowan, of Pennsylvania, has narrowed down among the radicals to three candidates-Governor Curtin, Simon Cameron, and Traddeus Stevens. The Penusylvania papers,

of the radical stripe, outside of Philadelphia, generally favor Stevens; and Forney, who was himself a hopeful candidate, but who has with drawn from the contest, pronounces for Stevens as his candidate. In return for this support, Mr. Stevens rose in the House the other day and enthusiastically defended Mr. Foracy when the Chroniole (one of "my two papers, both daily") was attacked in a personal explanation, by Mr. Spaulding, of Ohio. Mr. Stevens defends Forney, and Forney, in an "Occasional" to the Philadel-phia Press, says:—"I am tree to say that I think the election of the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, as the successor of Mr. Cowan, would promote lasting harmony in our political household, and would unquestionably secure to the State and the nation a champion of those great principles of matchless experience, integrity, and courage."
And yets in the Lancaster *Intel igencer*, in 1838, when Stevens was a petry Pennsylvania politician, appeared the following, which is understood to have emanated from the pen of John

stood to have emanated from the pen of John W. Forney:—
"Thaddens Stevens, we are glad to say it, is not a Pennsylvanian. His own history proves that he came hither a stranger to her people, and has continued at all times consistently adverse to her interests. He has been, since his unfortunate presence in the Legislature, Pennsylvania's evil genius, and it she has degenerated at all, and the three past years of her life prove that she has, he planned the misfortune. We will not repeat here his utter destitution of reputation, for his career is one of that kind which could only have been run by a vilkind which could only have been run by a vittain at heart. Pennsylvania has three blemishes on her escutcheon—the Masonic inquisition, the chartering of the United States Bank, and the sent outrageous condition of affairs. first, it is not requisite to say he originated and completed. The second was the fitting offspring completed. The second was the fitting of spring of his brain; for he read that in amous bill before the Ritner House of Representatives. The last (the buckshot war), is his own by every law of right. He began the anarchy—it is the sad consequence of his own plans. He dissolved the Government. He is now urging the Senate to go on in its path of destruction. He is emphatically "the power behind the throne." The phatically "the power behind the throne." The last is a desperate and final plunge. It will either make or unmake him. It it is successful he can cover up the festering infamy of his life and save himself and his companions from im-pending ruin. If it is unsuccessful, he will be spurped, not only from the hall of the Legislare, but from the very State - if the laws perm!

-There is no reason for believing that either Stevens or Forney has greatly changed his political or personal character since 1838.

## SPECIAL NOTICES.

CORN EXCHANGE NATIONAL BANK, Filladet. PAR L. President of the Bank. Alexander Whil.den. Erg. baving in Bray last, laview of a prolonged absence in Europe residued his position, the Board of Directors to any elected J. W. Torre, Esq., Vice-President, and H. P. I. chetky, Esq., Cashier.

10 17 ALEXANDER G. CATTELL, President.

FARMERS' AND MECHANICS' NATIONAL BANK.

PHILADELPHIA December 7, 1886.

The Annual Flection for Directors of this Bank will be held at the Banking House on WEDNESDAY, the fi h day of January next, between the nours of 10 o'clock A. M. and 3 o'clock P. M.

12 11 26r

W RUSHTON, Jr., Cashier.

PHILADELPHIA AND READING FOURTH Street. FOURTH Street.

PHILADELPHIA, December 13, 1856.

DIVIDEND NOTICE.

The Transfer Books of this Company will be close 1 on TUESDAY, December 18, and reopened on TUES DAY, the 15th of January next.

A Dividend of FIVE PFR CENT, has been declared in the Pre erred and Common Stock, clear of National and State taxes payable in cash or common stock at par, at the option of the noider, on and after the 31st mistant to the holders thereof, as they shall, stand registered on the books of the Company, on the 18th mistant. All payable at this office in Philadelphia.

The option as to taking stock for this dividend will case at the close of business hours on Saturday, 30th Match next. Maich next.

All orders for dividends must be witnessed and

All orders for dividends must be witnessed and S. BKA DFORD, Treasurer.

RAILROAD. AND READING HAILROAD
LOLIDAY EXCURSION TICKETS,
Good from December 12, 1866, to January 2, 1867, will
be issued at reduced fares between all ristions on the
main r. ad and brauches.
H2 20 16t
General Superintendent.

SHAMOKIN COAL COMPANY. SHAMOKIN COAL COMPANY.

PHILADELPHIA. December 22, 1856

The Annual Meeting of the Stockhoiders of the SHAMOKIN COAL COMPANY will be held at their Office, No. 226 WALNUI Street (Room No. 3) on WEDNESDAY. January 16, 1867, at 11 o'clock, to elect Directors or the ensuing year.

The Transfer Books will be closed on and after the 25th instant. 25th instant. 12 22 26t CHARLES R. LINDSAY, Secretary.

NEW YORK AND MIDDLE COAL FIELD RAILROAD AND COAL COMPANY PHILADELPHIA, December 22, 1858.

The Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the above Company will be held at their Office, No 226 WALNUT Street (Room No. 3), on Tulesday, January 8, 1857, at 11 o'clock to elect Directors for the ensuing year. The Transfer Books will be closed on and after the 25th instant.

12 22 13t 4 CHARLES R. LINDSAY, Secretary.

A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE Stockholders of the FOWELL RUN AND SL(P-PERY ROCK OIL COMPANY will be held on FRIDAY, 4th of January, 1867, at 3 o'clock P. M., at No. 108 Market Street, to consider the affairs of the Company, and determine whether its estate and property shall be JOHN OAKFORD, Secretary,

THE UNDERSIGNED, TREASURER of the Organization composed of persons interested in and opposed to selling the GER WAN LUTHERAN BURIAL AROUND. EIGHTH Street, below Vine, is authorized to receive moneys and subscriptions to carry out the above object. Frompt a tention requested,

HENRY GRAMBO.

12 20 6t\*

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AMONG THE GOOD THINGS NOW being offered to an appreciative public, is a beauti al Dress Hat for Gentlemen's Winter Wear, pre-pared by WaRBI RION, Batter, CHESNUT Street, next door to Post Office. Call and see it. 12 19 II;

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A call is respectfully solicited. (12 3 1mrp PERDINAND J. DREER, JR THEODORE SMITH.

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His establishment is provided with rooms neatly furrialed, suitable for either large or small Dinner or Suprer Parties.

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