Lancaster Intelligencer.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1865.

"The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thought and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of men; and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject; being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in public capacities, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence."

Will Agitation End with the Abolition of Slavery?

In our columns of to-day appears the official announcement of the adoption by the requisite number of States, of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. Whatever opinions may be entertained with regard to the manner in which the measure was forced upon some of the States, it cannot now be regarded as other than a final settlement of a much vexed question. The negroes are authoritatively declared free, and there need be no apprehensions of any attempt to re-enslave them. The States recently in revolt have accepted the result in good faith, and, if permitted to do so, will speedily adjust themselves to the new order of affairs in the best manner possible. All their public acts since the surrender of the rebel armies, show that they are ready to comply with every reasonable demand of the general government, and that they are anxious to resume their position as States in the Union. They have not set up a single obstacle to a permanent restoration of the Union and the establishment of a lasting and honorable peace. They freely accept the fact that the negroes once slaves are now free; and, if left to manage their own domestic affairs, will so adjust the relation between employers and the laboring class as to bring eventual order out of the chaos that now exists in their social condition.

What the Abolitionists have so long striven for is now accomplished. Slavery is effectually done away with. It is dead. Will they now permit it to be buried out of sight? Are they willing to rest satisfied with the accomplishment of a long cherished purpose? Shall we be rid of their dangerous and disturbing agitations, now that the negro is free? We fear not. They have laid down a new platform, far in advance of their former demands. They now boldly avow their purpose never to rest satisfied until the negro is recognized as the equal of the white man, and all laws which make a distinction in favor of the latter wiped out of our statute books. This is their present position, and they are laboring with fanatic zeal to accomplish their purpose. In Congress and out of Congress they are applying every known means to keep up the agitation. Their old appliances of the press and the pulpit are being used with powerful effect. They are bold, daring and utterly unscrupulous. They are willing to make war upon the President, ready to keep the Southern States out of the Union for an indefinite period, and prepared to hazard the best interests of the nation to accomplish their diabolical purposes.

It is for the people to say whether they shall continue un-rebuked and unchecked in their ruinous course. The white men of the North have it in their power to put down these pestilent fanatics at once and forever. It can only be effectually done at the ballot-box.—It must be done, if we would not have this republic resemble the miserable governments of Mexico and other States where the experiment of admitting an inferior and degraded race to full rights of citizenship has been tried. Wherever tried it has proved an utter failure, and a source of misery to all concerned. Let us have none of it.

The Beginning of the End.

In to-day's *Intelligencer* will be found two official papers which are just now of the profoundest significance. By order of Andrew Johnson, Secretary Seward officially announces the restoration of the State of Alabama to the Union.—The Provisional Governor appointed by the President is relieved from all his duties and responsibilities, and the Governor elected by the people is recognized as the executive officer of that State.—The wording of the two communications is of a character to lead us to believe that President Johnson is fully resolved to keep his plighted faith with the people of the South, despite the acts of the disunionists of the dominant party in Congress. The President will be gladly sustained in such a course by a vast majority of the people North and South, without respect to party. Let him but tread firmly on the plain path of official duty, which is the only path of national safety, and he will find the honest masses of all sections and parties rallying round him with the determination to sustain him in his course. Let the case of Alabama be but beginning of the end of what is needed—the speediest possible restoration of the Union.

The President.

Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, in his speech at the serenade given to him at Washington on Thursday night, said: "Andrew Johnson is no hot-house plant, but a mountain oak, which defies the fury of the thunder gust. Intrepid yet patient, firm but forgiving, with the Union and the Constitution as his pillar and his cloud, he seeks to reconcile and bring together again the estranged children of a common father. Let us all aid him in the good work, and secure its accomplishment."

We suppose by the term "Thunder gust" the speaker intended to designate the radical fanatics who are opposing the policy of the President. We are glad to hear that Andy Jonnson is not scared by them, and we earnestly hope he will show that he is not. Let him stand up boldly for his own policy, and he will find the people at his side. The radicals are not strong, and can be easily put to flight. They are like those Eastern Warriors, whose main dependence is upon the noise they make. If in spite of their clamor an opponent has the courage to make a show of fight the tom-tom heroes are sure to turn tail. If Andy Johnson chooses he can carry out his policy in spite of Sumner and Stevens and the whole crew of their fanatical followers. If he be the strong resolute man he is represented to be he will do it. The whole country, both North and South, will rejoice to see him do so. Let him go in, and he will find the masses at his back.

THE EXPRESS tries to make a vote or two for its party in Lancaster, by charging one of the editors of the *Intelligencer* (Mr. Cooper) with a leading agency in the dismissal of Mr. Dennis Marion from the position of Messenger in the Land Office at Harrisburg. Mr. Cooper asserts that its allegations in respect to himself are untrue. He has not the slightest objection to its encomiums upon Mr. Marion, towards whom he entertains friendly instead of "spiteful" feelings. Whether these encomiums are sincere or hypocritical may soon be put to the test. About the first of May next the Land Office will fall under the control of the political friends of the *Express*, when the editors of that paper can do Mr. Marion a far better service by having him reinstated than they are now doing by parading before the public the unfortunate fact of his retirement.

An Interesting Question.

A serious question may arise hereafter, in consequence of the refusal to admit the Southern delegations to their seats in Congress. One of the principal complaints made by our revolutionary fathers against the British Government, and which eventuated in hostilities and separation, was the exclusion of the Colonies from all participation in the legislation of the Empire. They took the strong and invulnerable position that taxation and representation should go hand in hand, and that laws passed by the British Parliament had no binding force upon the people of the Colonies, for the reason that they were not represented in the body. And the people were right. The civilized world justified them in the noble stand they had taken, and a seven years' war resulted in the dismemberment of the Empire and the establishment of our independence as a Nation.

Is not the same principle involved in the position taken by the dominant party in Congress at the present time? The South is actually excluded from all participation in the legislation of the country. Laws will be passed which are to be made binding upon them, although they have no voice in their enactment. As States they are virtually denied all the privileges which appertain to the other States of the Union, and are to be held in the character of territorial dependencies—in a condition of mere pupilage—without the poor privilege of saying yes or no in the framing of the laws which are to affect them in their persons and property. This makes a much stronger case than the one which existed prior to 1775. Then, we were mere Colonial dependencies of the British Crown—now, the Southern States are as much independent sovereignties, according to the sound and incontrovertible argument of President Johnson, as they were before the late rebellion. They never lost their status in the Union—in other words, they did not and could not commit suicide. They were held in abeyance, and the operation of the Federal authority was only suspended for the time being—not destroyed. The cessation of the war restored the supremacy of the General Government, and, of course, hostilities having ceased and all resistance ended, the States are entitled, by every principle of Constitutional law, to resume their proper places in the Union.

But what will be the effect of keeping them out, and legislating for them without their consent? Will they be disposed to yield a ready obedience to laws which they had no voice or part in framing? Is taxation and *no* representation to be saddled upon the people of those States for all time to come, or until it shall please the dominant party to grant them the great Constitutional right of a representation in Congress? If the iron rule of an inexorable majority of radicals is to prevail and to shape the policy of the country for all time to come, then we very much fear that we have not yet seen the end of our troubles, nor is the Government any longer what was intended by the patriot framers of the Constitution. The case as it stands now, is simply the forcible disfranchisement of the members of Congress from a minority of the States of the Union by the members from a majority of the States—a virtual expulsion from the Federal body of one section by another. Is this right—is it Constitutional? and can such a course result in anything but disaster to the Nation?

We are glad to see some signs of returning reason even among the ultra radicals. The New York *Times* is forced to make an admission which justifies all we have said. It declares editorially:

"The true policy is to expedite rather than delay the re-admission of the Southern Representatives and Senators. It is neither right nor safe for any part of the country to legislate for another part of the country, without giving it any voice in that legislation. *Representation is the vital principle of Republican institutions.* Its denial *to any extent* impairs the normal operations of our Government, and opens the way to all kinds of abuses."

Excusing the Jamaica Insurgents.

The report of the Governor of Jamaica has appeared in the English papers. He describes the character of the late insurrection and details the measures to which he resorted for its suppression, and expresses the belief that, but for the promptitude with which the Government acted, the revolt would have become general, and would have resulted in the extermination of the white race. We have already given our readers an account of the origin of the uprising and of the scences enacted at Morant Bay and elsewhere. Some sixteen or twenty white men were killed and eighteen or twenty wounded, before the arrival of the troops. Of the way in which some of the hapless victims were murdered and mutilated, Governor Eyre says:

"The most frightful atrocities were perpetrated. The Island Curate of Bath, the Rev. V. Herschell, is said to have had his tongue cut out while still living, and an attempt is said to have been made to skin him. One person (Mr. Charles Price, a black gentleman, formerly a member of Assembly) was ripped open and his entrails taken out. One gentleman (Lieutenant Hall, of the Volunteers) is said to have been pushed into an outbuilding, which was then set on fire, and kept there until he was literally roasted alive. Many are said to have had their eyes scooped out; heads were cleft open and the brains taken out. The Baron's fingers were cut off and carried away as trophies by the murderers."

And yet, with this horrible record staring them in the face, and with the most overwhelming evidence of the devilish designs and the infernal atrocity of those engaged in this fiendish work, men and newspapers are found in our midst ready to defend these black demons and palliate their hellish outrages.

So utterly lost to all sense of decency, and so completely wedded to the cause of the negro, are numbers of the Republican journals of this country, that quite a number of them have been found willing to take sides with the black Jamaica insurgents against their white victims. The revolt was owing to the teachings of a set of religious fanatics, who are scarcely worse than some of the canting hypocrites of the Republican party, who are eternally whining over the wrongs done to the negroes in this country. There is abundant reason to believe, that a repetition throughout the South of the horrors recently perpetrated in Jamaica would be excused if not justified by Yankee preachers and puritanical politicians. The truth is, there is a diabolism about abolitionism that seems to distort the moral faculties of the fanatics who are now the leaders of the party in power. They so hate the white people of the South that many of them would gloat over the spectacle which would be presented in case of a general negro insurrection. They would shout and sing psalms while some of their own race were being disemboweled alive, and women outraged by a pack of infuriated barbarians, who had been transformed into demons incarnate by the teachings of the Abolition press and pulpit. Can any one doubt it who has heard them excusing the Jamaica insurgents?

THE Convention of literary societies recently held in Philadelphia, for the purpose of forming a Literary Union of Pennsylvania, have adopted a constitution excluding colored men from membership. It seems, however, that there were delegates present from an association of negroes known as the Bancroft society, and these maintain that as they were members of the convention, the constitution cannot alter their status.—It is a nice question, and will serve as a subject for discussion among the different debating societies represented.

Let Every Man Read and Think for Himself.

In the midst of political revolutions the voice of reason is almost always drowned by the noisy din of popular clamor; and he is most sure of a hearing from an excited multitude who is most radical in his utterances. In the French revolution those men who cried out most lustily for blood, while prating of liberty, fraternity and equality, were the idols of the *sans cullottes*. The baser portion of the people were uppermost, and their fierce and brutal passions moulded the only public sentiment which was allowed to exist. Had speech and reason been left free, France would have escaped with less than one-half the dark stains which the reign of terror left upon her fair fame as a nation. But, such is human nature. A great storm of passion, like that which accompanies every violent political revolution, drives timid men into retirement. If such men speak at all, they are sure, through terror, to utter just such sentiments as they think will be most popular, no matter how great may be the sacrifice of principle. Being moral cowards, they are ready to seek personal safety, even at the expense of personal honor. The selfish are always ready to take the side which promises profit or seems likely to win, and they are earnest in proportion to the prospect of gain. Thus it comes to pass that amid political revolutions the most radical ideas are sure to be the most popular. If there be error, it is sure not to be on the side of moderation.

During the great revolution through which we have been passing, and from which we are now slowly and painfully emerging, reason has been too often drowned by the hoarse and fierce cry of brutal passion. He who was most vindictive in his utterances was sure to be most loudly applauded. Men who made pretentious professions of christianity were bloodiest in their instructions.—Ministers of the Gospel of the God of Peace, the very men whose duty it was to soothe the wild passions of their hearers, were too often the most violent agitators, the most reckless excitors to deeds of blood. The partisan Press surrendered itself entirely to the passions of the hour. There was an end to calm discussion of the great question which agitated the public mind, and in many instances he who undertook to stay any current of popular excitement did so at the peril of life and property.

Now that the rebellion is effectually ended, there must be a speedy return to reason. We begin to see signs of the coming reaction already. The sooner it is thorough and complete, the better for all concerned. If American citizens intend to rule their country as freemen should, they must reason calmly and decide impartially. The great questions of the hour address themselves with equal force to every citizen. They must be settled at the ballot-box in accordance with the dictates of good common sense and sound political reasoning. Let every man think and act for himself.

Day by day the acts and the designs of political parties are being unfolded. The radical Republicans occupy one position, the Democratic party another and entirely different one. We believe the people cannot be much longer led blindfolded by a set of mad fanatics. Popular passions are rapidly cooling down, and reason must speedily resume its sway. With returning reason must come the ultimate triumph of the Democratic party. In the meantime let each man in the nation read and think for himself. That is all that is needed to make the triumph of the Democracy both speedy and lasting.

Doolittle Castigating Stevens.

On the occasion of the consideration in the Senate of the joint resolution in regard to the seceded States, of which Thaddeus Stevens is the author, Mr. Doolittle, a Senator always classed among the radicals, took occasion to give our representative a well merited scoring. Mr. Doolittle said:

Sir, it is not improper for me to refer to the proceedings of a caucus held in the city of Washington. By the published proceedings of that assemblage it seems that on the first Saturday in December, without any discussion whatever, a certain resolution, which reads word for word just like this resolution which is sent here from the House, was adopted in that caucus under the leadership of a certain gentleman whom I will now speak of as a member of this House best known to history who resides in the State of Pennsylvania. His history is known of all men; and one thing we know of him—he is most bitterly and uncompromisingly hostile to the policy of the present Administration. On the subject of reconstruction he goes with him who goes farthest; holding even that the State of Tennessee is an alien State. It was, if I am not mistaken, in the Convention at Baltimore which nominated Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson for President and Vice-President, that Thadeus Stevens objected to the nomination of Andrew Johnson because he was an alien enemy. I have seen nothing in the history of that gentleman to lead me to suppose that he has in any respect changed his opinions, for it is not long since we had a speech of his delivered in the State of Pennsylvania, marked with his usual ability and with that cool assurance that sometimes rises to the sublime, in which he proposed, if I do not mistake, almost the entire and universal confiscation of the whole Southern States. Now, Mr. President, of the doings of that assembly in connection with the resolution I feel at perfect liberty to speak, without violating the rules of the House. I will simply say that within three minutes by the clock of the hour when that assembly was called Thaddeus Stevens had moved his Committee on Resolutions; and withdrawing with his committee from that body to make his report, within ten minutes, without any consideration whatever, it was by that cool tact of his pressed through the body and declared to be unanimously admitted. Why this hot haste? What necessity for such hot haste, Sir? Who does not know that the leader of that caucus did not desire to wait? Nor did he wait until the President had spoken to the country in his Annual Message on the state of the country. The Constitution requires the President, from time to time, to give information on the state of the Union; and we have no right to presume that the President would not furnish the information which his Constitutional duty requires. He has at his control all the agencies which are necessary for this purpose. There is an able Cabinet which surrounds him and is able to furnish him with assistance. Mr. Doolittle then declared it to be the duty of Congress and the country to support President Johnson in his policy of Reconstruction.

Don't Know Tennessee.

The Louisville *Journal* makes the following good hit at our representative:

Old Thaddeus Stevens, of the House of Representative, says he "doesn't know Tennessee." Then he should take to the study of geography. He will find Tennessee to be considerable of a place. One end of it butts up against the Mississippi river—did Thaddeus ever hear of that stream?—and was once the dwelling place of one Andrew Jackson who said that the "Federal Union must be preserved."

Tennessee is the home of Andrew Johnson—does Stevens know him?—and if Tennessee isn't in the Union, neither is Andrew Johnson, and the Pennsylvania radical ought forthwith to pitch him out of the Presidential chair and put into it a citizen of the United States. How comes it that so virtuous and enlightened a patriot should have supported for the Vice Presidency a man from a foreign State, as Tennessee is if not in the Union and not *known* to the Legislative Department of the Government? Why does Stevens sit quiet and see a *foreigner* from a *foreign* State usurp the functions of the Presidency? If Thaddeus doesn't "know Tennessee," he shouldn't "know" Andrew Johnson, for he is a citizen of Tennessee. What monstrosities the unsanctified radicals are exhibiting!

General Grant Blows up the Radical Fortifications.

While Thad. Stevens has been whipping the whole horde of Republican Congressmen into the support of his crude and illy digested plan of opposition to the restoration policy of President Johnson, General Grant has been making a tour of the States recently in rebellion. Old Thad. has been on the war path; Grant, as it appears, on a mission of peace. The hero who subdued the rebellion returned to find a fierce fight going on at the capitol. The country will not be surprised to hear that he at once took sides in the contest. He has had a talk with Andy Johnson, the particulars of which are thus reported in the New York *Herald* the other day, which says:

General Grant had a protracted interview with the President this morning, and communicated to him the result of his observations during his recent trip through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and a portion of Georgia. He was everywhere received with tokens of personal respect, and none were more forward in such manifestations than the leaders in the late rebellion. The discontented who staid at home during the war, and the women are our bitterest enemies. The labor question is still in an unsettled condition. A large majority of the negroes are in comparative idleness, and nearly all refuse to make or renew contracts till after Christmas. In some localities the negroes religiously believe a general division of property is to take place at that time, and a vague expectation of something of this sort prevailed nearly everywhere. They have been strengthened in this belief by the express or implied promise of those having them in charge. In too many instances, it is feared, they are the greatest hindrance in the work of reconstruction. All men of standing and influence were outspoken in favor of complying with any demands the President might consider necessary for their restoration. Slavery, State rights and secession they admit to be settled against them irrevocably and forever. Their desire now is to return to the Union in fact as well as in name, and devote the balance of their lives to repairing the ravages of war. The summing up of General Grant's observations inclines him to the belief that the Southern people almost unanimously desire a speedy readmission to their old position as States in the Union, and that their professions of future loyalty and good behavior are honest and sincere.

Short as the journey of General Grant has been, its effect must be fully as damaging to the radicals as were any of his campaigns to the rebels. He completely explodes their theories, and blows up all the fortifications in which they have been entrenching themselves. He shows clearly:

First, That all men of standing and influence in the South freely accept the situation with all its consequences; that they regard slavery and their peculiar dogma of State rights and secession, as forever settled against them; that they desire to return to the Union in fact as well as in name; that the Southern people almost unanimously desire a speedy admission to their old position as States in the Union; that their professions of loyalty and good behavior are honest and sincere; and that they are ready to devote the balance of their lives to repairing the ravages of war.

Secondly, Gen. Grant clearly proves, from personal observation, that the negroes themselves are the greatest hindrance in the work of restoration; that they are living in idleness, and refuse to go to work, because they have been led by the radicals to believe that there is to be a general division of the property of the whites among them at Christmas.

If Andrew Johnson needed any further support than that which the people are so ready to give him and his policy, he has it in General Grant. Let him stand squarely up to the work before him, and the great body of the people of both sections will yield him an unquestioning and hearty support. They did not need the assurances of Gen. Grant to convince them of the entire soundness of the President's policy, but with that Andrew Johnson's position is so strengthened that he need have no fear of the whole crew of radicals, who follow the lead of such fanatics as Sumner and Stevens. Grant has effectually blown up all their fortifications.

The Negro the Only Obstacle to Reunion.

That nothing but the impracticable theories of the radical Republicans stands in the way of a speedy, perfect and permanent restoration of the Union is clear to every man of common sense who reads the public prints. Indeed it is no longer possible for any one to help seeing it, be he ever so stupid. The New York *Tribune*, of yesterday, has an article headed "An Outside Congress."—This "Outside Congress" is composed of Fred. Douglass and certain other negroes, who have been sent to Washington to urge negro suffrage. Greeley gravely proposes that the rejected Southern members and these negroes, they both being outsiders, get together and settle the little matter of allowing the negroes to vote. This he asserts would at once end all opposition to the restoration of the Southern States, on the part of the party now in power. Here him! He says:

—Do we seem to speak lightly? Most certainly we were never more in earnest. A reconciliation between the Southern Whites and the Blacks would completely solve all our remaining difficulties in an hour. Mr. Stephens might demand confiscation; Parson Brownlow might call for military execution; the cotton jobbers now roaming over the Gulf States might insist, so long as a single bale remained outside of their clutches, that martial law could not safely be withdrawn; politicians might expatiate on the bad temper and imperfect reconstruction of the ex-Rebels; but let it be proclaimed that the representatives of the late slaveholders and those of the Black race had come to a full and clear understanding and agreed on the basis of future harmony, and no parliamentary tactics could keep a single Southern delegation out of Congress for even a week.

Does any man, can any man ask for a clearer or a more open admission, that the only object of the radical Republicans, in their effort to keep the Southern representatives out of Congress, is the desire and resolve, to force upon the States they represent the odious conditions of negro suffrage and negro equality? Let them be judged out of the mouth of Horace Greeley.

An Amendment to the Constitution Wanted.

There is a great deal said in Congress about negro suffrage, negro equality, negro rights and all that, and amendments to the constitution are offered to meet the several points. We have no doubt all parties will agree that negroes should be on an equality with the whites in one respect, and that is that they should have the privilege of working for a living like the whites. Therefore an amendment to the constitution is wanted which will make the niggers work. Here is a chance for Sumner, Wilson, Wade, Thad. Stevens and all the rest. The sugar plantations in Louisiana, to say nothing of the cotton plantations all over the South, are anxiously awaiting an amendment to the constitution that will reach this subject.—*N. Y. Herald.*

In our opinion an amendment to the constitution of the negro would do more to effect the desired result than an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. That's what is wanted.

THE Pennsylvania Railroad Company will shortly commence the erection of a new, handsome and commodious passenger depot, on the extensive grounds southwest corner of Thirty-first and Bridge streets, West Philadelphia, which are now being graded. It will be a great accommodation to the public, especially to those arriving in the city from the West. It is but a few squares to Fairmount, where passenger cars may be taken to all sections of the city.

The Fraud in the 16th District.

The fraud by which an attempt is to be made to count out Duncan, the Senator elect in the 16th District, is being shown up already, and a more infamous transaction never disgraced any political party. The *Valley Spirit* has a lengthy article on the case, from which we make the following extract. It will be remembered that the votes returned were from Battery B and Co. A of the 77th Regiment, and that no votes were cast for any other candidates except for McConaughy, the Republican candidate for Senator, and for Rowe, the Republican candidate for District Attorney in Franklin county. The *Valley Spirit* says:

A poll was opened in Battery B, on the day of election. The judges were Daniel Stoner, Matthew McConnell and Levi T. Robinson, and the clerks were James Hallet and David H. Hafleigh. The returns received were signed with the names of Stoner and McConnell, two of the judges, but with the names of John Hall and James Carbaugh, as clerks, who were not members of the board. The board of election declare that twenty-four or five votes were cast for the State ticket, but *not a single vote was polled for McConaughy or Rowe*, and no return was made of the election—the papers were never signed and the tickets were abandoned. The judges say that wherever their names appear on any of the returns they are forged, and one of the clerks declares that he cannot write his own name. In addition, he is returned as a voter, but swears he did not vote at all. Four others of the men returned as voters were forty miles away from the battery on the day of election. Another was never in the battery in Texas, but, on that day, was at home in Franklin county. Six others never were residents of that county, &c., &c.

Never were such bare-faced and unblushing frauds attempted as those which have been repeatedly enacted within the last four years. The ballot-box has almost come to be a mockery. We do not think the efforts being made to cheat Mr. Duncan out of his seat can succeed. We can scarcely believe it possible that a majority of the Senate will lend themselves as parties to so open and base a fraud, but we are not sure that they will not do so.

The Two Remaining Obstacles to Reconstruction.

From the N. Y. Times.

The Southern conventions and legislatures have conformed, in the main, to the declared policy and wishes of the Government. Their shortcomings have been on minor points, and without doubt, will be promptly enough made good if the Government asks. So far as relates to the President's action in the premises, there is no serious obstacle left to a speedy reconstruction.—There are two things only that can be converted into serious hindrances, and both of these depend upon the action of Congress, not upon that of the Executive. We mean the establishment of negro franchise as a condition precedent to restoration, and the insisting upon the test oath of 1862 as a *sine qua non* of admission into any seat of the Senate or House of Representatives.

In regard to negro suffrage, the President has stated in his Message that "it is not competent for the General Government to extend the elective franchise in the several States." His objection to any such requirement from the South rests on constitutional grounds. There is a class of extremists who contend that the President can obtain suffrage for the freedmen through the war power. It is an absurd pretension. A war power has no existence but in the necessity of prosecuting the war effectually, and securing its ends. The war has now closed. All war powers have ceased, save those indispensable to the transition from the military government of the war to the normal civil condition of the late theatre of the rebellion.

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The only power which Congress has upon the matter of securing freedmen suffrage is the power of proposing an amendment to the Constitution to that end. We doubt whether there is a member, in either branch, visionary enough to imagine it to be possible to obtain the ratification of any such amendment by three-fourths of the States. Not one of the late slave States would ratify it of their own accord, nor would one-quarter of the other States, for the simple reason that more than three-fourths of them exclude colored men from their own ballot-boxes, and it would be monstrously unjust for such States to compel the Southern States to an electoral system they themselves are unwilling to adopt. * * * * *

As relates to the test oath, perhaps there may be more room for rational doubt. Possibly it may be proper for Congress to maintain its dignity by holding to that oath, which makes it impossible for any man who ever has been a traitor to sit in the national councils. But it is little else than a point of dignity. No practical danger is involved in it. The future allegiance of the late traitors who have been pardoned by the President, may be as securely relied upon as that of any class of people in the South. There is no reason to doubt that they have taken the oath of allegiance in absolute good faith. They can have no motive to break it. Nobody believes a renewal of rebellion possible. It is not fit that these Representatives and Senators elect should be excluded from the halls of national legislation merely as a punishment. If it is best to punish them, it should be done with the regular pains and penalties of the law, visited upon their property and persons. There is no such independent punishment known to the statute book as exclusion from places of public trust. That exclusion is only incidental to some high penal conviction. This test oath was originally intended to be simply protective, not at all punitory. It is no longer necessary for protective purposes, because there is no longer treason, either actual or potential. * * * * *

Is there any dignity involved in the case which would justify the continuance of this suspension of the representative principle, which is the very vital essence of our civil system? We trust that Congress will judge this matter as dispassionately and as liberally as possible.

Sketch of Otero.

One of the Havana newspapers gives the following sketch of Mr. Otero, who was lately so brutally murdered at Brooklyn:

"Otero was a native of the province of Asturias, Spain, and might have been about thirty-five years of age, more or less. He came to this city (Cardenas) when quite young, and immediately went to work, soon succeeding by his assiduity and honorable conduct in making a tolerable fortune. Within the last few months fortune favored him in the lottery with a prize of twenty-five thousand dollars, and with his enterprising and eager character, desirous of advancing the interests of the country to which he owed his fortune, he proposed to endow this city with a handsome coliseum. With this view he purchased the old theatre, the only one of the kind then here, before the Lyceum was built, and instead of an ugly house, which in no way corresponded with the progress and culture of the city, he raised a building which cost him his fortune. The perseverance, fatigues and arduous labors of Mr. Otero in completing his work are well known to all Cardenas.—Already our friend was congratulating himself on his success, since the hopes of seeing his building finished before next carnival were his golden dream.—This is his work—there is his capital, acquired by so much honest industry. We have seen the painting, which he had entrusted to that excellent scene painter, Monte Lilla, almost completed. There only remained to get ready the seats in the parquet, the boxes, railings, and other appendages, for which purpose he went to the United States, where the hand of the assassin put an end to his existence."

THE Rockingham (Va.) *Register* reports the recent sale of 12,280 acres of timbered land in Rockingham and Augusta counties, viz: 4,000 acres of North Mountain land belonging to Messrs. Click & Spec; 6,800 acres belonging to Daniel Cupp, and 1,380 acres known as "Union Springs," belonging to Messrs. Allenmong & Mayers. This land has all been sold to a company of capitalists from Carlisle, Pa. The sales were made for cash. The price is not stated.

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Ledger.]

The Negro—His Position.

The Proclamation of the President declared, the marches of the Union armies brought, and finally the action of sovereign Conventions consummated the liberty of the slave. But alas! the condition of the emancipated slave to-day but furnishes mournful evidence of the truth of the exclamation of the gifted and beautiful Madame Roland—"Oh, Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name." A perfect and splendid animal in the development of his physical nature, a perfect child in the feebleness of his intellectual powers, the negro possesses immense capacities for evil, with little, or none, for good. Deprived of the wholesome restraints of involuntary servitude, his destiny is now inevitable relapse into his native Afric barbarity; and the fiat of his freedom, instead of being fraught with blessing and benefit to him, has been a fatal blunder in statesmanship and a positive curse. In his servitude he looked to his master for food, clothing, and kind management, and he got it. The master was necessarily impelled to give these from the various considerations of self-interest, public opinion, State laws, and the generous teachings of humanity generally. There may have been instances of personal cruelty, but they were few, constituting the exception and not the rule. In proof of this the world saw exhibited the spectacle of this race, born under a tropic sun, and in the most degraded barbarity, transported to the cold clime of the temperate zone, under the government of their masters steadily progress in mind and increase in physical qualities.

But the chief interest of the master now in the care of the slave is removed. He is no longer property, and in that sense he is nothing to his former owner. He is free; no compulsion for him now but that cruelest and most tyrannical of masters—dread necessity and absolute want. To say nothing of his inborn, invincible, and ineradicable inclination to idleness, it may be regarded as almost impossible for the negro ever to work well here in the South, because he can not and will not be as well fed and clothed as in his condition of slavery. These two things are indispensably necessary to a good day's work from the negro. Where is his pork, vegetables, bread, comfortable woolen clothing, warm houses, and fire-wood, to come from now? There exists no watchful and provident master to provide them. He must look to himself. Will his sloth, idleness, and ignorance supply them? Never. And thus free, though he be, his only possessions are degradation, imbecility and barbarism. Opposed to him is the white race, panoplied with civilization and all its subtle forces, its genius, its science, its learning, its discoveries, its energy, its enterprise, boundless and infinite as the resources of the globe itself. Thus the conflict begins, and one race or the other must lower lie—one or the other must go to the wall, without escape from the inevitable consequences. Just as the red man, once ran wild in the wilderness and prairies of this Western Continent, receded and vanished before the advancing civilization of the white man, so will the negro retire and perish in the "irrepressible conflict" of race to which his emancipation has subjected him.

We write the above in no inimical spirit to the negro, for we believe that we are and have been his best friend. We write in sorrow, not in hostility, for we pity him rather than despise. But it is but stern truth, that his condition and prospects are frightful, and men are now living whom we honestly believe will survive to witness his extinction upon this Continent. In his slavery he had ample and abundant comforts, but under this "grievous bondage" of freedom, what comforts does he enjoy? It is no abuse of language to say that they are abridged to the scantiest necessity, his diseases have superceded joyous animal health, while his morals and religion are fading, perishing, dying together. The civil war annihilated one-fourth (so estimated) of the entire black population, a large proportion of the remainder it dispersed in conjunction with their nomadic proclivities, broadcast over the land, and all were at once hurled into want and degradation. With familiy ties disrupted, houseless, destitute, he is driven out upon the cold charity of the world. True, the healthy and strong may get work and wages, but the old, the infirm, the sick, and the young, combined with his constitutional improvidence, will speedily consume his hard and small earnings. Thus he is brought face to face with Winter totally destitute of any provision to meet its cold and hunger. No Africa here with its overflowing lap of tropic fruits and roots to fill his stomach, merely by the gathering, but an uncongenial clime and the strong and austere antipathy of the Anglo Saxon race, a terrible contest awaits him merely for the boon of life. No human power can now avert the result. His real friends would have preserved him in slavery—his real enemies have sealed his doom with the curse of freedom.

The Habeas Corpus Case in Alabama.

The Warrant for Attachment Against General Wood Vacated---Judge Busteed Protests Against the Action of the President, &c.

MOBILE, Dec. 12, 1865.—It will be recollected that Thomas C. A. Dexter, a special Treasury agent, was arrested by the military on the charge of fraud, and that General Wood, commanding the Department of Alabama, declined to obey the writ of habeas corpus issued by Judge Busteed for the liberation of Dexter, on the ground that said writ was suspended in the State by proclamation of the President, and that the action of General Wood in this matter was sustained by the President. Yesterday Judge Busteed delivered the final opinion in this case, saying:

The warrant for attachment against General Wood will be vacated without the Court's consent; but, while acquitting General Wood, I cannot, even by implication, consent to what I consider an encroachment of the Executive Department of the Government upon one of its co-ordinate brances. The exercise of these functions by the President not only allows, but directs disobedience to these authorities. I claim exemption from any responsibility of guilt as alleged. No official station is or ought to be beyond the public watchfulness, and, as with us all, places and power and acts are held in trust for the people, I deem it due alike to them and myself to make the foregoing statement of facts. I respectfully protest against the acts of the President, and assert that the trial of the petitioner, Dexter, cannot lawfully proceed in any other way than that established according to the forms now prescribed by the constitution, Christian reverence and obedience to which is the most patriotic service that either citizen or official can render to the Government.

Pork and Packers.

The receipts of hogs at Cincinnati and Chicago, left for packers, this season and last, compare as follows:

	1865.	1864.
Cincinnati	137,675	240,587
Chicago	77,962	410,698
Total	215,639	651,285
		215,637
Deficiency		436,648

This would ordinarily be regarded as indisputable evidence of a short crop, and would consequently cause a wild speculative excitement. But packers do not see a "short crop" in it now, and therefore hogs are declining in value instead of advancing. The trade feel confident that there are hogs enough in the country, but owing to the great abundance of corn and the good feeding weather experienced, they delay their coming in order to take on more meat. It will, however, require lively work, especially at Chicago, to catch up with last year's business.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

The President's House.

It is understood by the Washington news gatherers that the President's house was cleared of articles of furniture to an extraordinary degree when Mrs. Lincoln left it. The subject has been kept from the public as much as possible, as it was a matter of scandal disgraceful to the country. The *Express* correspondent says:

THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE

is in a very *shabby* condition the *old occupants* having used up all the appropriations, *as well as the furniture.* Both Houses of Congress are preparing for a fresh appropriation.

"I visited (said Mr. Riddle of Delaware, in the U. S. Senate,) the White House, or Executive Mansion, as it is called, last week, *and it is a disgrace* to the country."—*Hartford Times.*

Slavery Abolished---The Constitutional Amendment Adopted.

Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, to all to whom these presents may come greeting, know ye that whereas, the Congress of the United States, on the 1st of February last, passed a resolution, which is in the words following, namely:

"A resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE 13, SEC. 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 any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

And whereas, It appears from official documents on file in this Department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut and Georgia, in all twenty-seven States; and whereas, the whole number of States in the United States is thirty-six; and whereas, the before specially named States whose Legislatures have ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known, that Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the 2nd section of the act of Congress, approved the 20th day of April, 1818, entitled, "an Act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States and for other purposes," I hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

[L. S.] In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Nintieth.

WM. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

The Government of Alabama Restored

The following has been addressed by Secretary Seward to Mr. Parsons:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, December 18, 1865.

To His Excellency Lewis E. Parsons, Provisional Governor of Alabama, Montgomery, Ala.:

SIR—The time has arrived, when in the judgment of the President of the United States, the care and conduct of the proper affairs of the State of Alabama may be remitted to the constitutional authorities chosen by the people thereof without danger to the peace and safety of the United States.

By direction of the President of the United States, therefore, you are relieved from the trust which was heretofore reposed in you as Provisional Governor of the State of Alabama. Whenever the Governor elect shall have accepted and become qualified to discharge the duties of the Executive office, you will transfer the papers and property of the State, now in your custody to his Excellency, the Governor elect.

It gives me especial pleasure to convey to you the President's acknowledgment of the fidelity, the loyalty and the discretion which have marked your administration.

You will please give me a reply specifying the day