WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 186 A Valuable Paper. We publish in full in this issue of the

WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER the Annual Message of President Johnson, the re-Judiciary Committee on Impeachment, the testimony of Gen. Grant before that Committee, and a vast amount of other valuable political matter. Besides this will be found editorials on all the above topics and on the current political events of the day, a complete summary of all important news, reports of Court Proceedliterary selections, poetry, the fullest market reports, new advertisements and everything that goes to make up a firstclass family and political newspaper.-We ook the readers of the WEEKLY IN. TELLIGENCER to compare it to any other weekly paper published in Penusylvania. They may rest assured it will be found second to none.

To give the large amount of reading matter we this week present to our patrons, we have been compelled to issue a supplement, but all our arrangements are now made to enlarged the WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER to a size that will make it about equal to our present issue with the supplement. That will be done after January 1st. The INTELLIGENCER will then contain more valuable reading matter than any weekly paper published in the State. Let our friends see to it that no effort is spared to increase our circulation. Every reader can do something for us. Take this paper as a sample of what the enlarged WEEKLY will be, and get your neighbor to subscribe at once.

The President's Message.

We herewith lay before our readers the Annual Message of the President to the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled. It is a document which will be carefully read by every intelligent citizen of the United States; and it cannot fail to command almost universal commendation Like all the State papers of Andrew Johnson, it is written in a clear, lucid style, admirably adapted to the forcible expression of the views of the President and his Cabinet on the blobby important topics which demand the earnest consideration of Congress. It will not be found to be a mere dry disquisition on unimportant affairs; but on the contrary, a live document, dealing fearlessly, and in a manner that will commend itself to the favorable considertion of the masses with all the vita questions which are now agitating the public mind. We deem it unnecessary to attempt any review of it in detail.-Suffice it to say, the President takes no step backward: but, encouraged by the results of the recent elections, he insists that the voice of the people shall be heeded by Congress. On the great question of the restora-

tion of the Southern States to the Union the message is eminently sound and conservative. The many evils which have sprung from the disorganizing and disunion policy of Congress are pointed out with great force and clearness. The attempt to establish a negro empire on the ruins of the States is denounced as it deserves to be. Negro Suffrage, as inaugurated in the South, is shown to be a gigantic and unmitigated evil, calculated to impoverish that once rich section of our country, to lay heavier burthens of taxation on the working white men of the North, and to be the fruitful source of many and constantly increasing political disasters.

The President does not fear impeach ment. And he tells Congress, in plain terms that he will defend the Executive branch of the Government from any unconstitutional attack which may be made upon it. In doing this he will be fully sustained by a vast majority of the white men of the United States. should the Radicals be foothardy enough to force the matter to such an issue. But, as every one will read the mes sage for himself, we forbear further com-

ment. It is such a document as was needed at the present crisis, and fully meets the demands of the occasion. WE were again under obligations to

Robert Johnson, Esq., son and Private Secretary of President Johnson, for an advanced copy of the Annual Message. We are thus enabled to lay it before the readers of the Daily Intelligencer at the same hour it was being read in Con-

THE Philadelphia Inquirer, and perhaps some other papers, published the President's Message yesterday morning, in advance of its delivery. Such an act is a breach of good faith for which there can be no possible excuse, and honorable publishers would not be guilty of so doing.

GENERAL HANCOCK has issued an order assuming command of the Fifth Military District. It is a sensible document. He says he regards the main tenance of the civil authorities in the faithful execution of the laws, as the most efficient under existing circumstances. In war it is indispensable to repel force by force, and overthrow and lestroy opposition to lawful authority, but when insurrectionary force has been overthrown, and peace established, and the civil authorities are ready and willing to perform their duties, the military power should cease to lead, and the civil administration resume its natural and rightful dominion.

South Carolina Election.

The latest returns from South Carolina show that the negro convention project has been defeated in that State There was not a majority of the registered votes cast at the election, and, in consequence, no convention will be held. It is a great pity the result was not similar throughout the entire South. The doings of the mongrel assemblages called State Conventions, are doing much to annihilate radicalism in the North, but the white people of the South are paying very dearly for that great blessing.

The Vote of Illinois. The Cincinnati Enquirer says the vote of Illinois shows that the huge Republican majority of the past has been wined out. The Democratic papers of that State claim confidently that they would have carried the State if there had been any general election. From all appearances Illinois may be regarded as safe for the Democratic candidate for President next fail.

Gen. Ewing on Grant.

Gen. Thomas Ewing, son of the old Whig Statesman of that name has written a strong letter to a friend who asked his opinion on the formation of a Grant .Club, in which he says he must know what Gen. Grant's political views are before he can support him for President. An extract from his letter will show how a large majority of the soldiers are thinking and feeling just now, He says:

I want first to know whether he approves of the reconstruction measures, for, if he does, I cannot support him. I regard them as mischievous; begot of revenge, misdi-rected philanthrophy and lust of power. I would as soon expect a house to stand on would as soon expect a noise to stand on the crater of a living volcano, as a State, where whites and blacks being nearly equal in numbers, the whites are proscribed, and the blacks made rulers. Such a gov-ernment cannot long have the heartfelt sympathy of any large body of white men

The Impeachment Reports. We give up much of our space to-day o the reports of the Judiciary Committee of Congress on the impeachment of

President Johnson. By some means, Mr. Churchill, who had all along declared that there was nothing in the testimony taken to justify impeachment, was, at the last hour, long after ports of the different members of the all the testimony was in, and without a particle of evidence to change his mind, induced to sign his name to what ap pears as the majority report. The peo ple will read that singular document with much interest. They will be struck with amazement, and their minds will be filled with indignation as they peruse it. They will see plainly ings and of all local occurrences, choice evidenced on the part of the majority of the most important committee of Congress a willingness to violate every legal maxim, and to outrage every principle of justice for the purpose of gaining a temporary partisan advantage. Nor is that all. They will see that these reckless men are prepared to strike down the strongest Constitutional barriers, and to undertake to subject the executive to the irresponsible will of a majority in a Congress, which has just been condemned by the voice of the people of the North in elections very recently held. The people will look in vain throughout that report, for the setting forth of any crime committed by

the President. They will search it

through without finding even a misde

meaner charged against him of suffi-

cient importance to call for popular condemnation, much less demanding his impeachment. The people will be the judges in the great issue now joined. and they will decide between the party accused and his partisan accusers. We ask the people to look at the indictment against the President prepared by a minority of the Judiciary Committee, and only assented to by Mr. Churchill for reasons which are more than suspected. It starts out by arraigning Andrew Johnson for what a known as the North Carolina Proclamation, a document embodying a plan for the restoration of the States recently in rebellion to their proper position in the Union. On that proclamation all subsequent ones relating to other States were modeled, and all which was done in the premises by the President was done in pursuance thereof, nothing being done in refer-

ence thereto by him not necessary to the accomplishment of the proposed most praiseworthy design. Who was the real author of this North Carolina Proclamation? General Grant has answered that question in very decided and most unequivocal language. On his solemn oath, before this very committee, when being examined in reference to this question of impeaching the President he said, speaking in regard to the necessity of a speedy restoration of the Southern States to the Union, and of the plan adopted by President

Mr. Lincoln, prior to his assassination Mr. Dincold, prior to his assassination, and inaugurated a policy intended to restore these governments. I was present once, before his murder, when a plan was read. The plan adopted by Mr. Johnson was substanually the plan which had been inau-gurated by Mr. Lincoln as the basis for his gurated by Mr. Lincoln as the basis for his tuture action. I do not know that it was verbatim the same. I think the very paper which I heard read twice while Mr. Lincoln was President was the one which was carried right through.

Q. What paper was that? A. The North Considerate resident was that? Carolina proclamation. I took them to be the very same paper; they were substan-tially the same, if not the very same.

Johnson:

Any man who reads the differen clauses with which the majority report concludes, will find that all of them which are of importance relate to the attempt of Mr. Johnson to carry into effect the plan for a restoration of the Southern States drawn up and approved by Mr. Lincoln, prior to his assassination. All else therein contained is matter of very little importance. And yet, we see from the clear and unequivocal testimony of General Grant that Mr. Johnson originated no policy of his own; that he was in fact only endeavoring to carry out in good faith the policy inaugurated and laid down n a written document by Mr. Lincoln, the very man these accusers of the

President profess to idolize. The able report of the minority of the Committee confirms all we have stated. It was written by the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, one of the ablest Republicans in Congress, and is signed by another Republican member of the Committee, also a man of superior haracter. So far as the minority report goes in its condemnation of the mpeachment resolution, and in its clear and strong exposition of the illogical and illegal assumptions of the majority, that report is endorsed

by the two Democratic members of the Judiciary Committee. Because they could not coincide with that part of this minority which censures the President, the Democratic members saw fit to prepare a third report. That we will lay before our readers in full. The minority report furnished by Rection of the majority. It knocks every prop from under the structure they have reared, and leaves it to stand as he basest and most disreputable attempt o outrage law ever undertaken in any government on the face of the earth. This majority report is literally ground to pieces between the two more able and patriotic documents given to the public, one of them by conscientious Republicans, the other by constitutional Demcrats. Both are as correct in their assumptions of law as the report of the reckless and disreputable partisan ma-

jority is wrong and false. This impeadment qustion is one of gigantic magnitude, and of the most vital importance. It involves the most momentous questions ever brought before the American people for consideration. The very existence of our form of free government is staked on the issue. If the President should be impeached and removed, on such grounds as are laid down in the majority report, a precedent will be established which would leave us a prey to such ills as have made the very name of government a mockery in the neighboring republic of Mexico. We might then expect to see a President removed at any time by the mere mockery of a trial, whenever a sufficient majority of the House and Senate should stand opposed to him. The Executive branch of the Government would thus be made the subservi-

gress. The people of these United States are not prepared quietly to submit to any such outrage. A large majority of them are this day opposed not only to this bold attempt at usurpation on the part of Congress, but to the entire policy of the fanatics who control that body. And, should Congress dare to attempt the removal of the President on any such frivolous charges, the masses will right the matter very speedily.

ent tool of a partisan majority of Con-

There is little excitement now. The report of the majority of the Committee in favor of impeachment has scarcely created a ripple on the surface of public opinion. The reason of that is because no one believes that a majority of the Lower House can be induced to recommend action by the Senate. We hope that view is well founded. The business of the country, and all its best interests imperatively demand such a prudent display of wisdom and moderation,

Every State in Mexico gave a majority

"Educate Our Masters." Any one who will take the trouble to look into the last issue of the Lancaster Examiner will find, under the above heading, an article in its editorial columns advocating with great fervency the education of those whem it styles "Our Masters." And who are these "Our Masters?" The article does not leave us in doubt. With explicate clearness it states that they are the negroes of the South. And has it really ome to that? Are these barbarian blacks in truth "Our Masters?" Radi cal newspapers openly confess that they are; and, as we look at the condition of ten of the once sovereign States which were a part of what was once the Union, we must admit that there is truth in

the degrading confession. Every one of the States recently in rebellion is under negro domination The whites in the South are in a condition of abject political servitude to the ignorant and degraded blacks. Sambo and Cuffee, too stupid to remember their names, lord it over men and women of the same better blood which we proudly boast. The negro is unques tionably master of the white people o the Southern States. But is he "our master" as well? Unquestionably he will be, if the Radical policy is carried

None but negroes, or miserable white

wretches elected by negro votes can succeed in reaching Congress from the South if the reconstruction policy prevails. Thus that whole section will be represented by negroes, or by white men who are mean enough to make themselves fawning sycophants to the negro for the sake of securing his vote. In future Presidential elections the vote of these negroized States will be cast solid for the man who will be most lavish of promises to the negro. Is it strange, then, that the Examiner, and other Radical newspapers, should admit that the negroes are "our masters?" By the terms of what is called the reconstruction policy they are really made so. What, then. shall we do about it? The Examiner confesses that they are unfit to exercise the right of citizenship, and cries out "educate our masters." The Demomen of Pennsylvania follow at the coming Presidential election?

Acknowledging Their Errors. Gradually the Radicals are being forced to admit the want of wisdom displayed by them in the legislation with which the Rump Congress has cursed the people no longer, they are forced to make the most humiliating confessions. Republican newspapers are just now filled with admissions of the folly and stupidity of the men they but a short time ago extolled as the wisest and most sagacious statesmen. There is not a single question of public interest which has been handled by Congress, during the war, and since its close, that seems to have been treated aright. Their legislative acts have been a continued series of political blunders. The great folly of many of the more prominent measures adopted are so glaring that their want of wisdom can no longer be concealed. On the important subject of taxation a Radical cotemporary thus

This question of taxation is becoming nore and more a subject of paramount This question of taxation is becoming more and more a subject of paramount importance, and certainly merits the gravest consideration of our legislators. It cannot be denied that the present system is fraught with injustice through an unequal distribution of its burdens; that it paves the way to the most flagrant venality through the connivance of unprincipled the way to the through the connivance of unprincipled employers; and that, in many cases, it is so onerous as to destroy the resources from the cases to obtain a revenue.

We regard the above candid confession as a decidedly hopeful indication. It shows that the recent severe defeats which the Radicals have sustained are teaching them a little wisdom. The people have only to keep on as they have begun to insure the eventual adoption of the proper financial policy, and wise and judicious legislation on all important questions. What is needed is a complete revolution in the political complexion of Congress. The sooner that is brought about the better for the country. Of that fact the people of the North are becoming well convinced.

Cheating Pennsylvania.

In looking over the lists of white negroes who have been elected as delegates to the Mongrel State Conventions in the South, we have not noticed the name of a single Pennsylvanian. How does that happen? A large majority of the dirty scamps who disgrace a white skin by seeking a seat in these bogus bodies are recently-imported Northerners. New England sends dozens of cadaverous slab-sided Yankees to represent different districts. The extreme Northwestern States have their full share of filthy fellows who are setting up for Congress in strong negro dispublicans is sufficient to condemn the tricts. But Pennsylvania, stupid old Dutch Pennsylvania, has been cheated out of her proper share of the spoils. How could that have happened? Had we no clerks in the Freedmen's Bureau, no hangers on about the armies, no teachers of negro schools, nothing out fate. of which to manufacture a Southern statesman of the new school? The matter is worthy of Congressional investigation, and we call the attention of Mr. Stevens to it. Let him attend to the matter at once.

Why a Political Preacher Favors Negro

Suffrage.

Ben Wade and the whole gang of Radical politicians having failed to force negro suffrage upon the unwilling people of Ohio, the political preachers have taken it up, and are advocating it from their pulpits. One S. E. Collins, of the Baptist Church, delivered a stump speech in his church at Mansfield on Thanksgiving day, in which he said:

Negroes should have the right to the bal-lot for various reasons, principally for the reason that their votes would serve to neuralize the influence of the foreign Roman-ist element, which is flocking into the ist element, which is flocking into the country and participating in the elections in utter ignorance of the true idea of Republican liberty.

We may expect to have that cry taken up again by the Republican party before long, and to hear a concerted howl from all the time-serving political preachers who are still out of the Penitentiary, or who have not been driven into exile on account of an exposure of their rascalities.

SHIPBUILDING has been almost entirely suspended throughout the country. In Philadelphia there is not a single vessel on the stocks of greater dimensions than a coasting collier, and many hands are entirely out of employment in consequence. The Radical policy is destructive, not only of peace and that fraternal feeling which should be fostered among our people, but equally as fatal to all the great material interests of the nation.

THE Lynchburg (Va.) News says it has heard that two hundred and thirtyfour farms in Bedford county are soon to be sold by the United States revenue officers for the non-payment of taxes It is difficult to believe the government will sanction any such proceeding. The Southern people are in no condition to pay taxes-they cannot get food for themselves and their families. Their farms, if sold, would not bring onefourth of their real value.

Testimonial Banquet to Senator Wal- The Southern Negro Supremacy Conven-

The Age comes to us with a very full report of the proceedings at a magnifient banquet tendered as a testimonial to Senator Wallace, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee for his services in that arduous position On Wednesday evening last, invited quests to the number of about one hundred and fifty sat down to a splendid entertainment, in the fine Banqueting Hall of the Continental Hotel. Mr. Wallace occupied the seat of honor, and the table was graced by the presence of very many of the most prominent Democrats of Philadelphia. Letters were received from Geo. H. Pendleton, J. Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, T. A. Hendricks and other leaders of the party at a distance. Mr. Wallace made a very able speech in reply to the first toast, "The State of Pennsylvania," in which he reviewed with power and great clearness and logical precision the political issues of the day. Ex-Governor Bigler, Judge Woodward, and other prominent Democrats also made short addresses. The occasion was one of decided pleas ure to all concerned That Senator Wallace well merits this mark of favor no one doubts.

The Louisiana Negro State Convention. The Negro State Convention of Lousiana is a beautiful specimen of what now constitutes the bulk of the once powerful Republican party. It is a fair sample of destructive, crazy radicalism. The following resolution was voted down on Wednesday:

Resolved, That we hereby utterly repudiate all desires for class legislation and all desires to Africanize the State; that we do not as a people or a party desire, or meditate, or countenance bloodshed or revenge; that all we claim is equality before the law for all men without distinction of race or color or previous condition; that we deprecate or previous condition; that we deprecate the sentiments expressed in a leading article in the New Orleans Republican, in its issue of the 23d inst., and denounce the said article as uncalled for, and incendiary and dangerous to the best interests of the party and declare that said article does not represent the sentiments, wishes or pur-poses of the Radical Republican party of Louisiana or the colored race. Cuffee and Pomp, and the meaner

white negroes who consort with them. are not going to declare any disinclinacratic party says "we will have no such tion to indulge in revenge and bloodmasters." Which party will the white shed. Such a resolution is entirely too mild to suit their "loyal" stomachs. They are not to be put off with "equality before the law." That would only put them on the same level with their former masters. They have the whites under their feet now, and they intend to keep them there so long as they can. The people of the North are looking on the country. Finding they can deceive at the spectacle presented by these negro State Conventions and are preparing to annihilate the party which has introduced them.

Abraham Lincoln's Opposition to Negro

Suffrage. Abraham Lincoln was uniformly, and to the last hour of his life steadfastly nostile to negro suffrage. He never abandoned the belief that it would be improper and dangerous to incorporate so large a mass of ignorance in the body politic. On the very last day of his life the question of reconstruction was discussed in a Cabinet meeting and a plan partially arranged, looking to the adjustment of the difficulties. There was no clause incorporating negro suffrage in it. At a cabinet meeting held very shortly after the accession of President Johnson the same subject came up, and the Cabinet were a unit then against negro suffrage. Secretary Stanton, in his evidence before the Ju-

diciary Committee, says: The President expressed his views very clearly and distinctly. I expressed my views, and other members of the Cabinet expressed their views. The objection of the esident to throwing the franchise open to President to throwing the franchise open to the colored people appeared to be fixed, and I think every member of the Cabinet assented to the arrangement as it was speci-fied in the proclamation relative to North Carolina. Af er that I do not remember

The insane project of making voters of all the barbarian negroes of the South came from Congress. That body is alone responsible for the iniquitous and destructive system which is now working ruin in the South. Stanton and some others who were members of Mr Lincoln's Cabinet, after the adoption of negro suffrage by Congress, supported it. But it never received the sanction of Mr. Lincoln.

THE Radicals after having exhausted their power in the North, to radicalize the South, are now obliged to resort to the power they have created in the South to preserve their existence in the North. It is for this purpose that Thad. Stevens proposes to carve three or four States out of the State or satrapy of Texas. The Radicals have lost confidence in their ability to carry the Northern States in the next Presidential election, hence they resort to the attempt to invest their negro proteges with the political power of the South, depending upon this means to elect the next President and preserve their control over the Government. All such subterfuges are vain. Radicalism is doomed, and it is no more in the power of the negroes of the South than of their leaders in the North to avert its

The Louisiana Convention.

The Louisiana State Convention i composed of seventy-eight members. Forty-four of these are Africans, a majority being genuine plantation negroes, with no infusion of white blood. The temporary President was a huge Congo negro of the blackest type, who on taking the chair said he was "On'ed by de selection ob de Conwention." A half-white negro was elected Secretary. and a white fellow, meaner than any nigger in the body, accepted the subordinate position of Doorkeeper. That is a fair specimen of what the Republican party is in the only States where it has had any success lately.

Mr. Sermour Beclines the Nomination for

President.

The following letter from Governor Seymour, of New York, will be read with regretful interest by every Democrat in Pennsylvania. The ability, the sterling honesty and the exalted patriotism of Governor Seymour have made his name familiar as a household word o every conservative man in the coun-

try: UTICA, Monday, Nov. 26, 1867. To the Editor of the Democratic Union, Oneido SIR: I see that you have put my name at he head of your paper as a candidate for he office of President of the United States. Other journals in this, as well as in the Eastern and Western States, have also thus exressed their wishes for my nomination by he Democratic National Convention. These parks of good-will and confidence give me marks of good-will and confidence give me great pleasure, but I am compelled to say that I am not and cannot be a candidate for the Presidency. As my reasons for saying this are personal, it is not necessary to state them. They in no degree grow out of a waning interest in the great and serious cuestions which divide nertice in this conquestions which divide parties in this coun-ry. On the other hand, I feel that we are about to enter upon an earnest and thoughtful discussion of the condition of public

afiairs.

The passions and prejudices excited by civil war are dying out. All now see that questions of finance, tariff, the rights of States, and the powers of Government, cannot be settled by clamorand calumnies, Both parties feel that the grave problems growing out of the disordered state of the country must be confronted, and that due country must be confronted, and that due respect for their organizations demand an earnest and thoughtful inquiry as to the best models of lightening the load of debt and taxation which hinder the business of our land and weighs down with heavy sheckles the arms of labor. In trying in the future, as I have in the past, to uphold principles which I deem to be right, I can do battle with more vigor when I am not a candidate for official position. Very truly candidate for official position. Very truly

The Alabama Negro Supremacy Conven

tion commenced its sittings in Montgomery on the 5th inst. It has therefore been in on the 5th inst. It has therefore been in operation some twenty-five days. The sittings of the Louisiana Convention began on the 22d inst., and it is as yet scarcely under full headway. But already a white member has found it necessary to repudiate in toto the violent and incendiary language of one of the Grans of the Gonvention in New Orleans, used in an article which we resolve it match to clause. Orleans, used in an article which we reproduce in another column. The Virginia Convention, which will probably be the most important and exciting of them all, will commence on the 3d of December—Lornorrow. The Convention in Georgia has been called for Monday, December 9. No date has been assigned for holding the conventions in the remaining unreconstructed States. Indeed, it is not positively ascertained whether in one or two a sufficient number of votes have been polled to authorize the District commanders in calling the conventions in those States at all. This is the case with Arkansas, and, perhaps, When a civil war has been brought to is the case with Arkansas, and, perhaps with Florida. In South Carolina, also, the

with Florida. In South Carolina, also, the vote is very close, the total showing so far only a slight preponderance in favor of holding the Convention.

That we are justified in designating these assemblages "negro supremacy conventions" will be readily conceded by any candid person who has kept the run of the proceedings of the pioneer convocation—the Convention in Montgomery, Alabama. In that body the Radicals—black and white—have an overwhelming majority and they that body the Radicais—black and white— have an overwhelming majority, and they have gone to work with all the the zeal and hot temper of men who have sud-denly become possessed of some signal piece of good fortune or have been magically invested with some extraordinary power and influence. Their leaders are of the tar, pitch and turpentine style of talkers, rabid, prejudiced and ignorant, of brutal in-stincts and entertaining an intolerable aver-sion to the white population in the State. The few moderate men in the Convention cannot withstand this torrent of St. Do-mingo radicalism, and are obliged to give before it or submit to vile persons abuse and insult. Personal violence has abuse and insult. Personol violence has even been resorted to for the purpose of coercing an anti-proscription brother into the radical way of thinking. Among their first acts was to endeavor to abolish the existing State government—which is yet clothed with some of the garments of reason and is willing to see justice done the white processing dreet in its stead a government. race--and erect in its stead a governmen race—and erect in its stead a government with Sambo in all his glory as the chief—the head, body and soul. Then the inost intolerant ordinances were pased, out stripping Congress in the extent of disfranchising waite men. It was even impudently urged that the Military bill did not go far enough in wreaking vengoance upon the overpowered Southern white people, but new tortures in the shape of confiscation, expatriation and disability to enjoy or exercise the conin the shape of confiscation, expatriation and disability to enjoy or exercise the commonest rights of citizenship were among the degrading devices of these princes of darkness in convention assembled; and toned down, as some of their incendiary and revolutionary schemes have been, by hints from the central black organizers in Washington, the leaders were according to our ington, the leaders were, according to our correspondents at Montgomery, at las accounts still engaged in upon those disgraceful measures. At one of these caucuses a threat was made by or these cauciuses a threat was made by one of theleaders that if the majority report, which disfranchises all who attempt to defeat the new constitution by declining to vote upon it, and, in addition, proposes the oath in all future elections which will practically disfranchises the contraction of the contraction o

tically disfranchise a great number more were not accepted by the party, he should himself bolt and use all his influence to defeat the work of the Convention-in short. do himself what he was anxious that others do himself what he was anxious that others should be distranchised for attempting to do. The scheme of making the white citizens pay the blacks for services from the date of the emancipation proclamation is among other preposterous suggestions which this motley assemblage has given birth to. But it is unnecessary to multiply, avidences of batred and sary to multiply evidences of hatred and malignity, united with the most egregious ignorance and downright impudence, which the leaders in this Alabama convowhich the leaders in this Alabama convo-cation have displayed in their efforts to de-grade the white and elevate to an utterly unit position the black race of the South. It remains to be seen whether the conven-tions that are to follow will adopt the course of this pioneer black radical effort at Mont-graphy and subject themselves to a coul-

gomery and subject themselves to an equal measure of opprobrium and disgust.—N Y. Herald.

The Impeacument Question. The Washington correspondent of the N The Washington correspondent of the X. Y. Heradd says:

The feeling on impeachment is undergoing a visible modification. When a majority was reported favorable to the measure embers jumped hastily to the conclusion that some additional testimony had been secured which, even without its being made known was sufficient to warrant them in ranging themselves on the side of the ma-jority of the committee. Sufficient time has now elapsed for the testimony upon which most reliance was placed to form an impeachment motion to receive careful atten-tion, and prominent radicals declare in literal terms that the President appears in even a better light than his friends might have anticipated. The more the impeachhave anticipated. The more the impeachment testimony is read by members not previously blinded by prejudice, the greater the conviction becomes that the whole matter has been a huge imposition on the sense and patience both of Congress and the country. A well informed radical Senator stated to-day that, though doubtful of the result a few days ago, he feets confident new that the country.

now that the question will be beaten in the House by a majority of over thirty. The tembers from Ohio are divided in senti nent, and also those from Pennsylvania ment, and also those from Pennsylvania. New Jersey is decidedly against it, together with Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut. New York is divided on the general vote. However, a majority of Republicans will be found in array against impeachment. The men of sense and business in both houses are eagerly desirous of having the question brought up at once and disposed of forever. They are irritated at having the present valuable time wasted in its discussion.

Model Farm. The trustees of the State Agricultural College met at Harrisburg last week, when Mr. Watts, President, reported that the farm of Mr. Harvey, in Chester county, had been purchased for \$17,500, for the purpose of making it the Model Farm in the enterty part of the State. This farm as we eastern part of the State. This farm, as we learn from the West Chester Republican, is eastern part of the State. This farm, as we learn from the West Chester Republican, is located in London Grove township, near West Grove Station, on the Philadelphia and B. C. Railroad—one of the best meighborhoods in Chester county. The land is in a high state of cultivation, and gently rolling. The buildings consist of a large stone house, furnished in modern style and surrounded by a beautiful lawn of forest and ornamental trees. The barn is large and the outbuildings all that could be desired. There is also a hot-house grapery, with an almost endless variety of fruit trees and shrubbery. Spring water is forced to the house and barn, and also a reservoir on an eminence on the property, from which the whole farm can be supplied with pure water. It is understood that the citizens of Chester county contributed about half the purchase money, so as to secure the farm within their county limits.—Reading Journal.

Reading Journal. "The Old Capitol Prison." We wish somebody would give the pub-c an impartial, accurate account of what book place during the war in the Old Capid Prison. Think of American citizens ging snatched up and held in continement

ne, two, and even three months, denied I communication with their friends, and burged extortionate prices for what they estred. And when the facts are investirated, no substantial charges are made ou gated, no substantial charges are made out. Think of prisoners not being permitted to hold converse with their counsel unless in the presence of a detective. Think of men being persecuted by their jailor until in sheer desperation they commit suicide. We believe that if the people understood a tithe of the secrets of the Old Capitol Prison, we would have much less sail about the we would have much less said about the enormities of Libby Prison.—Washington Express.

Odd Fellowship in the United States. The report of the Grand Secretary of the reder in the United States has just been is-Order in the United States has just been issued. He reports the membership at the present time to be 217,886, there having been an accession the past year of 33,764 members. The receipts for the past year have been \$1,965,713 01, of which \$1,760,123 56 were from bodies under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge, and \$505,503 45 from bodies under the invisition of the Grand Engles have been the properties of the Grand Engles under the jurisdiction of the Grand En-campment. The total relief dispensed in the same time was \$690,675 97, of which \$625.820 25 were by bodies under the juris diction of the Grand Lodge. Therelief dis-pensed by the bodies under the jurisdiction of the Grand Encampment was \$64,885

Helnous Outrage by a Negro.

PIERCETON, Ind., Nov. 29.—An outrage was committed between twelve and one o'clock to-day, on the person of Mrs. J. S. Baker, wife of a well known and respected citizen, living a mile and a quarter south of this place. A negro entered the house during the absence of Mr. Baker, and askduring the absence of Mr. Baker, and asked for some apples, and seeing Mrs. Baker
was alone, drew a revolver and threatened
her life if she did not submit to his vile designs. After accomplishing his purpose,
he left the house. The alarm was given,
and persons are in pursuit of the negro. It
is thought he cannot escape. There is great
excitement in the community. The Wahits of the President

At a recent temperance meeting in Wash ington, Congressman Paine charged in the nost positive terms that President Johnson is a drunkard. B. B. French, Esq., Commissioner of Public Buildings, in a note to the National Intelligencer, contradicts this assertion in the most positive manner, from his own daily intercourse with the Presi his own daily intercourse with the Presi dent. He says:

"I have seen him at all hours of the day— in his office, in his sleeping-room, in the reception-room—and never have I seen him in the least under the influence of strong drilk, for did I ever see him taste any but

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:
The continued disorganization of the The continued disorganization of the Union, to which the President has so often called the attention of Congress, is yet a subject of profound and patriotic concern. We may, however, find some relief from that anxiety in the reflection that the painful political situation, although before untried by ourselves, is not new in the experience of nations. Political science, perhaps as highly perfected in our own time and country as in any other, has not yet disclosed any means by which civil wars can be absolutely prevented. An enlightened nation, however, with a wise and beneficent Constitution of free government, may diminish their frequency and mitigate their severity by directing all its proceedings in accordance with its fundamental law.

When a civil war has been brought to a close, it is manifestly the first interest and duty of the State to repair the injuries which the war has inflicted, and to secure the benefit of the lessons it teaches as fully and as speedily as possible. This duty was, upon the termination of the rebellion, promptly accepted, not only by the Executive Department, but by the insurrectionary States themselves, and restoration, in the first moment of peace, was believed to be as easy and certain as it was indispensable. The expectations, however, then so reasonably and confidently entertained, were disappointed by legislation from which I felt constrained, by my obligations to the Constitution, to withhold my assent. It is therefore a source of profound regret that, in complying with the obligation imposed upon the President by the Constitution, to give to Congress from time to time tion, to give to Congress from time to time information of the state of the Union, I am unable to communicate any definitive ad-ustment, satisfactory to the American Peojustment, satisfactory to the American Peo-ple, of the questions which, since the closs of the rebellion, have agitated the public mind. On the contrary, candor compels me to declare that at this time there is no Union as our Fathers understood the term, and as they meant it to be understood by us. The Union which they established can exist only where all the States are represented in both Houses of Congress; where one State both Houses of Congress; where one State is as free as another to regulate its internal concerns according to its own will; and where the laws of the central Government, strictly confined to matters of national jurisdiction, apply with equal force to all the people of every section. That such is not the present "state of the Union" is a melancholy fact; and we all must acknowledge that the restoration of the States to their proper legal relations with the Federal Government and with one another, according to the terms of the original compact, would ernment and with one another, according to the terms of the original compact, would be the greatest temporal blessing which God, in his kindest providence, could bestow upon this nation. It becomes our imperative duty to consider whether or not it is impossible to effect this most desirable constitutions.

onsummation.
The Union and the Constitution are in The Union and the Constitution are inseparable. As long as one is obeyed by all parties, the other will be preserved, and if one is destroyed both must perish together. The destruction of the Constitution will be followed by other and still greater calamities. It was ordained not only to form a more perfect union between the States, but to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, proposed the general welfare, and secure the promote the general welfare, and secure the promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Nothing but implicit obedience to its requirements in all parts of the country will accomplish these great ends. Without that obedience, we can look forward only to continual outrages upon individual rights, incessant breaches of the public peace, national weakness, financial disrights, incessant breaches of the public peace, national weakness, financial dis-bonor, the total loss of our prosperity, the general corruption of morals, and the final extinction of popular freedom. To save our extinction of popular freedom. To sayour country from evils so appalling as these, we should renew our efforts again and again.

To me the process of restoration seems perfectly plain and simple. It consists merciy in a faithful: optication of the Constitution and laws. The execution of the aws is not now obstacted or opposed by physical torres. Then, is no military or other cal force. There is no military or other necessity, real or pretended, which can pre necessity, real or pretended, which can prevent obedience to the Constitution, either North or South. All the rights and all the obligations of States and individuals can be protected and enforced by means perfectly consistent with the fundamental law. The courts may be everywhere open, and, if open, their process would be unimpeded. Crimes against the United States can be prevented or punished by the proper judicial authorities, in a muniby the proper judicial authorities, in a man er entirely practicable and legal. ner entirely practicable and legal. There is, therefore, no reason why the Constitution should not be obeyed, unless those who exercise us power, have determined that it shall be disregarded and violated. The mere naked will of this Government, or of some one or more of its branches, is the only obstacle that can exist to a perfect union of all the States.

union of all the States. On this momentous question, and some On this momentous question, and some of the measures growing out of it, I have had the misfortune to differ from Congress, and have expressed my convictions without reserve, though with becoming deference to the opinion of the Legislative Department. Those convictions are not only unchanged, but strengthened by subsequent events and further reflection. The transcendent importance of the subject will be a sufficient excuse for calling your ate a sufficient excuse for calling your at ention to some of the reasons which have so strongly influenced my own judgment. The hope that we may all finally concur in mode of settlement consistent at once

The hope that we may all many concurring a mode of settlement, consistent at once with our true interests and with our sworn duties to the Constitution, is too natural and too just to be easily relinquished.

It is clear to my apprehension that the States lately in rebellion are still members of the National Union. When did they cease to be so? The "ordinances of secession," adopted by a portion (in most of them a very small portion) of their citzens, were mere nullities. If we admit now that they were valid and effectual for the purpose intended by their authors, we sweep from under our feet the whole ground upon which we justified the war. Were those States afterwards expelled from the Union by the war? The direct contrary was averred by this Government to be its purpose, and was so understood by pe its purpose, and was so understood by all those who gave their blood and treasur all those who gave their blood and tr-asure to aid in its prosecution. It cannot be that a successful war, waged for the preservation of the Union, had the legal effect of dissolving it. The victory of the nation's arms was not the disgrace of her policy; the defeat of secession on the battle-field was not the triumph of its lawless principle. Nor could Congress, with or without the consent of the Executive, do anything which would have the affect directly or inwhich would have the effect, directly or in directly, of separating the States from each other. To dissolve the Union is to repeat other. To dissolve the Union is to repeat the Constitution which holds it together

the Constitution which holds it together and that is a power which does not belong to any Department of this Government, or to all of them united.
This is so plain that it has been acknowledged by all branches of the Federal Government. The Executive (my predecessor as well as myself) and the heads of all the Departments have uniformly acted upo the principle that the Union is not only un lissolved, but indissoluble. Congress sub nitted an amendment of the Constitutio mitted an amendment of the Constitution to be ratified by the Southern States, and accepted their acts of ratification as a necessary and lawful exercise of their highest function. If they were not States, or were States out of the Union, their consent to a change in the fundamental law of the Union would have been jugatory, and Congress. vould have been nugatory, and Congres

would have been nugatory, and Congress, in asking it, committed a political absurdity. The Judiciary has also given the solemn sanction of its authority to the same view of the case. The Judges of the Supreme Court have included the Southern States in their circuits, and they are constantly, in bane and elsewhere, exercising jurisdiction which does not belong to them, unless those States are States of the Union. If the Southern States are component parts of the Union, the Constitution is the supreme law for them, as it is for all the other States. They are bound to obey it, and so are we. The right of the Federal Government, which is clear and unquestionable, to enforce the Constitution upon ionable, to enforce the Constitution upo tionable, to enforce the Constitution upon them, implies the correlative obligation on our part to observe its limitations and execute its guaranties. Without the Constitution we are nothing; by, through, and under the Constitution we are what it makes us. We may doubt the wisdom of the law, we may not approve of its provisions, but we cannot violate it merely because it seems to confine our powers within

cause it seems to confine our powers withi limits narrower than we could wish. It is limits narrower than we could wish. It is not a question of individual, or class, or sectional interest, much less of party predominance, but of duty—of high and sacred duty—which we are all sworn to perform. If we cannot support the Constitution with the cheerfu alacrity of those who love and believe in it, we must give to it at least the fidelity of public servants who act under solemn obligations and commands which solemn obligations and commands which they dare not disregard. The constitutional duty is not the only on which requires the States to be restored There is another consideration which

though of minor importance, is yet of grea weight. On the 22d day of July, 1861, Con-

weight. On the 22d day of July, 1801, Congress declared, by an almost unanimous vote of both Houses, that the war should be conducted solely for the purpose of preserving the Union, and maintaining the supremacy of the Federal Constitution and large without invaling the dimitire constitution and large without invaling the dimitire constitution. aws, without impairing the dignity, equali y and rights of the States or of individuals and that when this was done the war should cease. I do not say that this declaration i personally binding on those who joined personally binding on those who joined in making it, any more than individual members of Congress are personally bound to pay a public debt created under a law for which they voted. But it was a solemn, public, official pledge of the national honor, and I cannot imagine upon what grounds the repudiation of it is to be justified. If it be said that we are not bound to keep faith with rebels, let it be remembered that this promise was not made to rebels only. Thousands of true men in the South were Thousands was not made to rebels only. Thousands of true men in the South were drawn to our standard by it, and hundreds of thousands in the North gave their lives in the belief that it would be carried out.—
It was made on the day after the first great battle of the war had been fought and lost. All nativities and intelligent to the transfer.

the violation of it now, in the day of our power, would be a rude rending of that good faith which holds the moral world together; our country would cease to have any claim upon the confidence of men; it would make the war not only a failure, but a fraud.

Being sincerely convinced that these views are correct, I would be unfaithful to my duty if I did not recommend the repeal of the facts of Congress which place ten of the Southern States under the domination of military masters. If calm reflection shall satisfy a majority of your honorable bodies that the facts referred to are not only a violation of the national faith, but in direct conflict with the Constitution, I dare not permit myself to doubt that you I dare not permit myself to doubt that you will immediately strike them from the

statute book.

To demonstrate the unconstitutional character of those acts, I need do no more than refer to their general provisions. It must be seen at once that they are not authorized. To dictate what alterations shall be made in the Constitutions of the several States; to control the elections of State legislators and State officers, members of Congress, and electors of President and Vice President, by arbitrarily declaring who shall vote and who shall be excluded from that privilege; to dissolve State Legislatures or prevent them from assembling; to dismiss judges and other civil functionaries of the State, and appoint others without regard to State law; to organize and operate all the political machinery of the States; to regulate the whole administration of their domestic and local affairs according to the mere will of strange and irresponsible agents, sent among them for that purpose—these are powers not granted to the Federal Government or to any one of its branches. Not being granted, we violate our trust by assuming them as palpably as we would by acting in the face of a positive interdict; for the Constitution forbids us to do whatever it does not affirmatively authorize either by express words or by clear implication. If the authority we destatute book. To demonstrate the unconstitutional char uthorize either by express words or by lear implication. If the authority we declear implication. If the authority we desire to use does not come to us through the Constitution, we can exercise it only by usurpation; and usurpation is the most dangerous of political crimes. By that crime the enemies of free government in all ages have worked out their designs against public liberty and private right. It leads directly and immediately to the establishment of absolute rule; for undelegated power is always pullimited and un-

only objectionable for their assumption of ungranted power, but many of their pro-visions are in conflict with the direct prohi-bitions of the Constitution. The Constitu-tion commands that a republican form of government shall be guaranteed to all the tates; that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due pro-cess of law, arrested without a judicial warcess of law, arrested without a judent war-rant, or punished without a fair trial before an impartial jury; that the privilege of habeas corpus shall not be denied in time of peace; and that no bill of attainder shall be passed even against a single individual. Yet the system of measures established by hese acts of Congress does totally subvert and destroy the form as well as the substance of republican government the ten States to which they ply. It binds them hand and f the ten States to which they apply. It binds them hand and foot in absolute slavery, and subjects them to a strange and hostile power, more unlimited and more likely to be abused than any other now known among civilized men. It tramples down all those rights in which the essence of liberty consists, and which a free government is always most careful to

gated power is always unlimited and un-

The acts of Congress in question are not

the essence of liberty consists, and which a free government is always most careful to protect. It denies the habeas corpus and the trial by jury. Personal freedom, property, and life, if assailed by the passion, the prejudice, or the rapacity of the ruler, have no security whatever. It has the effect of a bill of attainder, or bill of pains and penalties, not upon a few individuals, but upon whole masses, including the millions who inhabit the subject States, and even their unborn children. These wrongs, being unborn children. These wrong expressly forbidden, cannot be These wrongs, being tionally inflicted upon any portion of our people, no matter how they may have come within our jurisdiction, and no matter whether they live in States, Territories, districts.

I have no desire to save from the proper and just consequences of their great crime those who engaged in rebellion against the Government; but as a mode of punish-ment the measures under consideration are

ment the measures under consideration are the most unreasonable that could be invented. Many of those people are perfectly innocent; many kept their fidelity to the Union untainted to the last; many were incapable of any legal offence; a large proportion even of the persons able to bear arms were forced into rebellion against their will; and of those who are guilty with their own consent the degrees of cuilf with their own consent, the degrees of gui are as various as the shades of their character and temper. But these acts of Congress confound them all together in one common doom. Indiscriminate vengeance upon contound them all together in one common doom. Indiscriminate vengeance upon classes, sects, and parties, or upon whole communities, for offences committed by a portion of them against the governments to which they owed obedience, was common in the barbarous ages of the world. But Christianity and civilization have made and broavess that recourse to a purshsuch progress that recourse to a punish-ment so cruel and unjust would meet with the condemnation of all unprejudiced and

the condemnation of all unprejudiced and right minded men. The punitive justice of this age, and especially of this country, does not consist in stripping whole States of their liberties, and reducing all their people, without distinction, to the condition of slavery. It deals separately with each individual, confines itself to the forms of law and explicates its own purity. We are law, and vindicates its own purity by an impartial examination of every case before a competent judicial tribunal If this does not satisfy all our desires with regard to Southern rebels, let us console ourselves not satisfy all our desires with regard to Southern rebels, let us console ourselves by reflecting that a free Constitution, triumphant in war and unbroken in peace, is worth far more to us and our children than the gratilication of any present feeling.

I am aware it is assumed that this system of government for the Southern States is not to be perpetual. It is true this military not to be perpetual. It is true this military government is to be only provisional, but it is through this temporary evil that a greater evil isto be made perpetual. If the guarantees of the Constitution can be broken provisionally to serve a temporary purpose, and in a part only of the country, we can destroy them everywhere and for all time. Arbitrary measures often change, but they generally change for the worse. It is the curse of despotism that it has no halting place. The intermitted exercise of its power brings no sense of security to its halting place. The intermitted exercise of its power brings no seuse of security to its subjects; for they can never know what more they will be called to endure when its red right hand is armed to plague them again. Nor is it possible to conjecture how or where power, unrestrained by law, may seek its next victims. The States that are still free may be enslaved at any moment; or if the Constitution does not provided all

or if the Constitution does not protect all protects none.
It is manifestly and avowedly the object It is manifestly and avowedly the object of these laws to confer upon negroes the privilege of voting, and to disfranchise such a number of white citizens as will give the former a clear majority at all elections in the Southern States. This, to the minds of some persons, is so important, that a violation of the Constitution is justified as a means of bringing it about. The morality is always false which excuses a wrong because it proposes to accomplish a desirable cause it proposes to accomplish a desirable end. We are not permitted to do evil that good may come. But in this case the end

end. We are not permitted to do evil that good may come. But in this case the end itself is evil, as well as the means. The subjugation of the States to negro domination would be worse than the military despotism under which they are now suffering. It was believed beforehand that the people would endure any amount of military oppression, for any length of time, rather than degrade themselves by subjection to the negro race. Therefore they have been left without a choice. Negro suffrage was established by act of Congress, and the military officers were commanded to superintend the process of clothing the negro race with the political privileges torn from white men. white men.

The blacks in the South are entitled to be well and humanely governed, and to have the protection of just laws for all their rights of person and property. If it were practicable at this time to give them a government exclusively their own, under which they might manage their own affairs in their own way. It would become a graya question way, it would become a grave question whether we ought to do so, or whether

whether we ought to do so, or whether common humanity would not require us to save them from themselves. But, under the circumstances, this is only a speculative point. It is not proposed merely that they shall govern themselves, but that they shall rule the white race, make and administer State laws, elect Presidents and members of Congress, and shape to a greater or less extent the future destiny of the whole country. Would such a trust and power be safe in such hands?

The peculiar qualities which should char-The peculiar qualities which should char-

The peculiar qualities which should characterize any people who are fit to decide upon the management of public affairs for a great State have seldom been combined. It is the glory of white men to know that they have had these qualities in sufficient measure to build upon these continent a great political fabric, and to preserve its stability for more than ninety years, while in every other part of the world all similar experifor more than ninety years, while in every other part of the world all similar experiments have failed. But if anything can be proved by known facts—if all reasoning upon evidence is not abandoned, it must be acknowledged that in the progress of nations negroes have shown less capacity for government than any other race of people. No independent government of any form has ever been successful in their hands. On the contrary, wherever they have been left to their own devices, they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbarism. In the Southern States, however, Congress has undertaken to confer upon them the privilege of the ballot. Just released from slavery, it may be doubted whether, as a class, they know more than their ancestors how to organize and regulate civil society. Indeed, it is admitted that the blacks of the South are not only regardless of the rights of property burst telegists. Indeed, it is admitted that the blacks of the South are not only regardless of the rights of property, but so utterly ignorant of public affairs that their voting can consist in nothing more than carrying a ballot to the place where they are directed to deposit it. I need not remind you that the exercise of the elective franchise is the highest attribute of an American citizen, and that, when guided by within the blacks are restriction. by virtue, intelligence, patriotism, and a proper appreciation of our free institutions, it constitutes the true basis of a democratic All patriotic and intelligent men then saw the necessity of giving such an assurance, and believed that without it the war would end in disaster to our cause. Having given that assurance in the extremity of our peril,

must necessarily depend upon the elevated character and true allegiance of the elector. It ought therefore to be reposed in none except those who are fitted morally and mentally to administer it well; for if conferred upon persons who do not justly estimate its value and who are indifferent as to its results, it will only serve as a means of placing power in the hands of the unprincipled and ambitious, and must eventuate in the complete destruction of that liberty of which it should be the most powerful conservator. I have therefore heretofore urged upon your attention the great danger "to be apprehended from an untimely extension of the elective frauchise to any new class in our country, especially when the large majority of that class, in welding the power thus placed in their hands, cannot be expected correctly to comprehend the duties and responsibilities which pertain to suffrage. Yesterday, as it were, four millions of persons were held in a condition of slavery that had existed for generations; to day they are freemen, and are assumed by law to be citizens. It cannot be presumed, from their previous condition of servitude, that, as a class, they are as well informed as to the nature of our Government as the intelligent foreigner who makes our land the home of his choice. In the case of the latter, neither a residence of five years, and the knowledge of our institutions which it gives, nor attachment to the principles of the Constitution, are the only conditions upon which he can must necessarily depend upon the elevated character and true allegiance of the elector. ment to the principles of the Constitution, are the only conditions upon which he can are the only conditions upon which he can be admitted to citizenship. He must prove, in addition, a good moral character, and thus give reasonable ground for the belief that he will be faithful to the obligations which he assumes as a citizen of the Republic. Where a people—the source of all pointical power—speak, by their suffrages, through the instrumentality of the ballotbox, it must be carefully guarded against the control of those who are corrupt in principle and enemies of free institutions, for it can only become to our political principle and enomies of free institutions, for it can only become to our political and social system a safe conductor of healthy popular sentiment when kept free from demoralizing influences. Controlled, through fraud and usurpation, by the designing, unarrhy and despotism must inevitably follow. In the hands of the patriotic and worthy, our Government will be preserved upon the principle. ernment will be preserved upon the prin-ciples of the Constitution inherited from our ciples of the Constitution inherited from our fathers. It follows, therefore, that in admitting to the ballot box a new class of voters not qualified for the exercise of the elective franchise, we weaken our system of government, instead of adding to its strength and durability." "I yield to no one in attachment to that rule of general suffrage which distinguishes our policy as a nation. But there is a limit, wisely observed hitherto which rules the helpton served hitherto. suffrage which distinguishes our policy as a nation. But there is a limit, wisely observed hitherto, which makes the ballot a privilege and a trust, and which requires of some classes a time suitable for probation and preparation. To give it indiscriminately to a new class, wholly unprepared, by previous nabits and opportunities, to perform the trust which it demands, is to degrade it, and finally to destroy its power; for it may be safely assumed that no politicalitruth is better established than that such indiscriminate and all-embracing exstables. such indiscriminate and all-embracing extension of popular suffrage must end at last in its overthrow and destruction." in its overthrow and destruction."

I repeat the expression of my willingness to join in any plan within the scope of our constitutional authority which promises to better the condition of the negroes in the South, by encouraging them in industry, enlightening their minds, improving their morals, and giving protection to all their morals, and giving protection to all their mist right, as freedmen. But the transfer of just rights as freedmen. But the transfer of our political inheritance to them would, in our political inheritance to them would, in my opinion, be an abandonment of a duty which we owe alike to the memory of our fathers and the rights of our children.

The plan of putting the Southern States wholly, and the General Government partiality, into the hands of negroes, is proposed at a time peculiarty unpropitious. The foundations of society have been broken up by civil war. Industry must be reorganized, justice re-established, public credit ed, justice re-established, public credi maintained, and order brought out of con maintained, and order brought out of con-fusion. To accomplish these ends would require all the wisdom and virtue of the great men who formed our institutions originally. I confidently believe that their descendants will be equal to the arduous task before them, but it is worse than mad-ness to avrect that pagages will pagage, ness to expect that negroes will perform it for us. Certainly we ought not to ask their

assistance until we despair of our own com The great difference between the two The great difference between the two races in physical, mental, and moral characteristics will prevent an amalgamation or fusion of them together in one homozebous mass. If the inferior obtains the ascendency over the other, it will govern with reference only to its own interests—for it will grocenize no accounts interests—for it will recognize no common interest—and create such a tyranny as this continent has never vet witnessed. are influenced by promises of confiscation and plunder. They are taught to regard as an enemy every white man who has any respect for the rights of his own race. If this continues, it must become worse and worse, until all order will be subverted, all industry cases and the facility that of the industry cease, and the fertile fields South grow up into a wilderness. Of all the dangers which our nation has yet encountered, none are equal to those which must result from the success of the effort now

making to Africanize the half of our country.

I would not put considerations of money in competition with justice and right. But the expenses incident to "reconstruction" under the system adopted by longress aggravate what I regard as ne intrinsic wrong of the measure itself t has cost uncounted millions already, and It has cost uncounted millions already, and of persisted in will add largely to the weight of taxation, already too oppressive to be borne without just complaint, and may finally reduce the Treasury of the nation to a condition of bankruptcy. We must not delude ourselves. It will require a strong standing army, and probably more than two hundred millions of dollars per annum, to maintain the supremacy of negro governments after they are established. The sum thus thrown away would, if properly used, form a sinking fund large enough to pay the whole national debt in less than fifteen years. It is vain to hope that negroes will maintain their ascendency themselves. Without military power they are wholly incapable of holding in subjection the white people of the South

I submit to the judgment of Congress whether the public credit may not be injuriously affected by a system of measures like this. With our debt, and the vast private interests which are complicated with it, we cannot be too cautious of a policy of persisted in will add largely to the

like this. With our debt, and the vast private interests which are complicated with it, we cannot be too cautious of a policy which might, by possibility, impair the confidence of the world in our Government. That confidence can only be retained by carefully inculcating the principles of justice and honor on the popular mind, and by the most scrupulous fidelity to all our engagements of every sort. Any scrious breach of the organic law, persisted in for a considerable time, cannot but create fears for the stability of our institutions. Habitual violation of prescribed rules, which we bind ourselves to observe, must demoralize the people. Our only standard of civil duty being set at naught, the sheet-anchor of our political morality is lost, the public conolitical morality is lost, the public con-cience swings from its moorings, and yields o every impulse of passion and interest.— If we repudiate the Constitution, we will If we repudiate the Constitution, we will not be expected to care much for mere pecuniary obligations. The violation of such a pledge as we made on the 22d day of July, 1861, will assuredly diminish the market value of our other promises. Besides, if we now acknowledge that the National debt was created, not to hold the States in the Union, as the tax-payers were led to suppose, but to expel them from it and hand them over to be governed by negroes, the moral duty to pay it may seem and hand them over to be governed by ne-groes, the moral duty to pay it may seem much less clear. I say it may seem so; for I do not admit that this or any other argu-ment in favor of repudiation can be enter-tained as sound; but its influence on some classes of minds may well be apprehended. The financial honor of a great commercial nation, largely indebted, and with a repub-lican form of government administered by agents of the popular choice, is a thing of such delicate texture, and the destruction of it would be followed by such unspeak-able calamity, that every true patriot must

able calamity, that every true patriot must desire to avoid whatever might expose it to the slightest danger. The great interests of the country require immediate relief from these enactments, Business in the South is paralyzed by a Business in the South is paralyzed by a sense of general insecurity, by the terror of confiscation, and the dre-d of negro supremany. The Southern trade, from which the North would have derived so great a profit under a government of law, still languishes, and can never be revived until it ceases to be fettered by the arbitrary power which makes all its operations unsafe. That rich country—the richest In natural resources the world ever saw—is worse then lost if it be not soon placed under the protection of e not soon placed under the protection of a free Constitution. Instead of being as i ought to be, a source of wealth and power it will become an intolerable burden upor

the rest of the nation Another reason for retracing our steps Another reason for retracing our steps will doubtless be seen by Congress in the late manifestations of public opinion upon this subject. We live in a country where the popular will always enforces obedience to itself, sooner or later. It is vain to think of opposing it with anything short of legal authority, backed by overwhelming force. It cannot have escaped your attention that from the day on which Congress fairly and formally presented the proposition to govern from the day on which Congress fairly and formally presented the proposition to govern the Southern States by military force, with a view to the ultimate establishment of negro supremacy, every expression of the general sentiment has been more or less adverse to it. The affections of this generation cannot be detached from the institutions of their ancestors. Their determination to preserve the inheritance of free government in their own hands, and transmit it undivided and unimpaired to their own posterity, is too strong to be successfully opposed. Every weaker passion will disappear before that love of liberty and law for which the American People are distinguished above all others in the world.

How far the duty of the President, "to

guished above all others in the world.

How far the duty of the President, "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution," requires him to go in opposing an unconstitutional act of Congress, is a very serious and important question, on which I have deliberated much, and felt extremely anxious to reach a proper conclusion. Where an act has been passed according to the forms of the Constitution by the supreme legislative authority, and is regularly enrolled among the public statutes of the country, Executive resistance to it, especially in times of high party excitement,