Air. Washburne (Ill.) moved that the preamble and resolution be laid upon the table, which was agreed to yeas, Ill; mays, 46.

Mr. Hall introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the act of July 2, 1882, prescribing an oath to be taken and subscribed by persons elected or appointed to office under the United States, before entering upon the duties of such offices, is of binding force and effect in all departments of the public service, and should in no instance be dispensed with.

A motion was made to lay the resolution on the table, which was lost—yeas, 32; nays, 126. The resolution was then passed.

On motion of Mr. Stevens, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. Washburne (Ill.) in the chair, on the President's annual message, when Mr. Stevens submitted a series of resolutions, referring its various branches to the appropriate committees, and so much as relates to reconstruction was referred to the Select Committee.

Mr. tevens said Candid consideration of the power and proper principles of reconstruction can be offensive to no one, and may possibly be profitable by axicing inquiry. One of the suggestions of the message, which we are now considering; had special reference to this; perhaps it is the principle most interesting to the people at this time. The President assumes, what no one doubts, that the late rebel States have lost their constitutional relations to the Union, and are incapable of representation in Congress except by permission of the Government. ble of representation in Congress except by permission of the Government.

It matters but little with this admission whether you call the m states out of the Union, and now conquered territories, or assert that because the Constitution for bids them to do what they did do, that they are, therefore, only cead as to all national and political action, and will remain so until the Government shall breathe into them the breath of life anew, and permit them to occupy their former position; in other words, that they are not out of the Union, but are only dead carcasses lying within the Union. In either, it is very plain that it requires the action of Congress to enable them to form a State government and send representatives to Congress.

There is probably no difficulty in solving the question. There are two provisions in the Constitution, under one of which the case must fail. The fourth article says: "New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." In my judgment this is the controlling provision in this case. Unless the law of nations is a dead letter, the late war between the two acknowledged beligerents severed their original compacts and broke all ties that bound them together. The inture condition of the conquered provinces, With the concurrence of the President, Congress is the only power that can act in this matter.

To prove that they are, and for four years have been out of the Union for all legal purposes, and being now conquered, subject to the absolute disposal of Congress, I will sugsest a few ideas and adduce a few authorities. If the so called Confederate States of America were an independent belligerent, and were acknowledged by the United States, and by Enrope, or had assumed and maintained an attitude which entitled them to be considered and treated as a be liligerent, then, during such time, they were precisely in the condition of a foreign nation with whom we were at war, nor need their in dependence as a nation be acknowledged by us to produce that effect.

As there are no symptoms that the people of these provinces will be appropriate in constitute. Ingress, There is probably no difficulty in solving the ques dependence as a nation he acknowledged by us to produce that effect.

As there are no symptoms that the people of these provinces will be prepared to participate in constitutional government for some years, I know of no arrangement so proper for them as territorial governments. There they can learn the principles of freedom and sat the fruit of foul rebellion under such governments. While electing members to the Territorial legislatures, they will necessarily mingle with those to whom Congress shall extend the right of suffrage. If the amendment prevails, and these States withhold the right of suffrage from persons of color, it will deduct about thirty-seven, leaving them but forty-five with the suffrage unchanged, the \$8\$ Southern members, with the Democrats, who will in the best times be elected from the North, will always give them a majority in Congress and in the Electoral College; they will at the very first election take possession of White House and the halls of Congress.

I need not depict the ruin that would follow the assumption of the rebel debt or the repudiation of the Federal debt. The oppression of the freedmen, the memdment of the State constitution and the re-establishment of slavery would be the inevitable result. That they would soom and disregard their present constitutions, forced upon them in the midst of martial law, would be both natural and just. No one who has any regard for the freedom of elections can look upon favor.

If they should grant the right of suffrage to persons those governments, torced upon them in duress, with a favor.

If they should grant the right of suffrage to persons of color. I think there would always be Union white men enough in the South, aided by the blacks, todivide the representation, and thus continue the Republican a cendency. If they should refuse to thus alter their election laws, it would reduce the Representatives of the late slave States to about forty-live, and render them harmless for evil. It is plain that this amendment must be consummated before the defunct States are admitted to be capable of state action, or it never can be. The proposed amendment to allow Congress to lay a raty on exports is precisely in the same situation. Its importance cannot well be overstated. It is very obvivations that for many years the South will not pay much under the internal revenue laws. The only article on which we can raise any considerable amount is contou. It will be grown largely at once; with ten cents per pound export duty, it would be farnished cheaper to roreign markets: than they could obtain it from any other part of the world. other part of the world.

The late war has shown that two millions of bales exported at five hundred pounds to the bale, would yield \$100,000,000. This seems to be the chief revenue we shall ever derive from the South. Besides, it would be a protection to that amount to our domestic manufactures. Other proposed amendments to make all laws uniform, and to prohibit the assumption of the rebei debt, are of vital importance, and the only thing that can provent the combined forces of the copperheads and secessionists from legislating against the interests of the Union whenever they may obtain an accidental majority. terests of the Union whenever they may obtain an ac-cidental majority.

But this is not all that we ought to do before these inveterate rebels are invited to participate in our legis-lation. We have, or are about to turn loose, four mil-lions of slaves, without a but to shelter them or a cent in their pockets. The infernal laws of slavery have prevented them from acquiring an education, under-standing the commonest law of contract, or of manag-ing the ordinary business of life. This Congress is bound to provide for them until they can take care of themselves. ing the ordinary business of life. This Congress is bound to provide for them until they can take care of themselves.

If we do not furnish them with homesteads and hedge them around with protective laws, if we leave them to the legislation of their late masters, we had better have left them in bondage. Their condition would be worse than that of our prisoners at Andersonville. If we fail in this great duty now when we have the power, we shall deserve and receive the execrations of history and of all future ages.

It is time that Congress should assert its severity and assume something of the dignity of a Roman Senate. It is fortunate that the President invites Congress to take this manly attitude, after stating with great frankness in his able message his theory, which, however, is found to be impracticable, and which, I believe, very few now consider tenable. He refers the whole matter to the judgment of Congress. If Cargess should fall firmly and wisely to discharge that high duty, it is not the nalt of the President.

This Congress owes to its own character to set the seal of reprobation upon a doctrine which is becoming too fashionable, and unless rebuked will be the recagnized principle of our Government. Governor Perry and other provisional governors and orators, proclaim that "This is the white man's government." On the lowest prejudices of the ignorant, repeat the cnckoo's cry, "This is the white man's government." Demagogues of all parties, even some high in authority, gravely shout, "This is the white man's government." What is implied by this?

That one race of men are to have the exclusive right forever to rule this nation and to exercise all rights of plied by this.

That one race of men are to have the exclusive right forever to rule this nation and to exercise all rights of sovereignty, while all other races, and nations and colors, are to be their subjects and have no voice in making the laws and choosing the rulers by whom they are to be governed. Wherein does this differ from slavery except in degree? Does not this contradict all the distinctive principles of the Declaration of Independence? from slavery except in degree. Does not this contradict all the distinctive principles of the Declaration of Independence?

When the great and good men promulgated that instrument, and pledged their lives and sacred honors to defend it, it was supposed to form an epoch in civil government. Before that time it was held that the right to rule was vested in families, dynasties or races, not because of superior intelligence or virtue, but because of a divine right to enjoy exclusive privileges. Our fathers repudiated the whole doctrine of the legal superiority of family or race, and proclaimed the equality of all men before the law. Upon that they created a revolution, and built the republic.

They were prevented by slavery from perfecting the superstructure whose foundation they had thus broadly laid. For the sake of the Union they consented towait but never relinquished the idea of its final completion. The time to which, they looked forward with anxiety has come, and it is our duty to complete their work. If this republic is not now made to stand on these great principles, it has no honest foundation, and the father of all men will still shake it to its centre.

If we have notyet been sufficiently scourged for our national sin to teach us to do justice to all of God s creatures, without distinction of race or color, we must expect the still more heavy vengeance of an offended Father—still increasit g His inflictions, as He increased the severity of the plagues of Egypt until the tyrant consented to do justice! and when that tyrant repented of his reluctant consent and attempted to re enslave the people, as our Southern tyrants are attempting to do now. He filled the Red Sea with broken chariots and drowned horses, and strewed the shores with dead carcases. and drowned horses, and strewed the shores with dead carcaeses.

Ar. Speaker, I trust the Republican party will not be alarmed at what I am saying. I do not profess to speak their sentiments, nor must they be held responsible for what I say. I speak for myself, and take the responsibility, and will settle with my intelligent constituents. This is not a white man's government in the exclusive sense in which it is used. To say so is political blasphemy, for it violates the fundamental principles of our gospel of ilberty.

This is man's government, the government of all men alike; not that all men will have equal power and sway within it; accidental circumstances, natural and acquired endowment and ability will vary their fortunes; but equal rights to all the privileges of the government is innate in every immortal being, no matter what the shape or color of the tanernacie, which it inhabits. If equal privileges were granted to all, I should long ages to came.

The privilede engendered by slavery would not soon not expect any but white men to be elected to office for long ages to come.

The prejudice engendered by slavery would not soon permit mind to be preferred to color, but it would still be beneficial to the weaker races. In a country where politice I divisions will always exist their power; ined with just white men, would greatly modify, if it did not entirely prevent the injustice of majorities. Without the right of suffrage in the late slave States, I do not speak of the free States, I believe the slave had far better have been left in bondage.

L see it stated that very distinguished advocates of the right of suffrage lately declared in the city that they do not expect to obtain it by congressional legislation, but only by administrative action, because, as one gallant zentlemen said, the States had not been out of the Union." Then they will never get it. The President is far sounder than they are: He sees that administrative action has nothing to do with it. If it sver is to come it must be by constitutional amend-

ment or congressional action in the territories and in ment or congressional action in the territories and in enabling acts,

"How shameful that these men of influence should mislead and miseducate the public mind. They procletim "This is the white man's government," and the whole coil of Copperheads echo and hiss the sentiment, and upstart, jealous Republicans join in the cry. Is it any wonder ignorant foreigners and fill-terate natives should learn this doctrine and be led to despise and maitreat a whole race of their fellowmen? men?
SIr. this doctrine of a white man's government is as atroclous as the infamous sentiments which damned the late Chief Justice to everlasting infamy, and I fear to everlasting fire also.

The committee then arose, and the House adjourned. Philadelphia Bank Statement Specie in Banks.
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