[CLOSE OF YESTERDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.]

SENATE.-The proposed amendment to on the subject of repreentation was taken up at one o'clock. Mr. Morrill rose, he said, to discuss one or two of the important topics connected with this subject. That it was an important measure, it need only be stated that it pro-That it was an important posed to change the basis of representation in the popular branch of the national Congress. Its importance was rendered, he was about to say, painfully significant by the discussions on this floor within the last few weeks which have occupied the attention of the Senate. It is said to be unnecessary and unimportant by one class of Senators; also, that it is unjust to the States, particularly the States which have been lately in rebel-lion. It is said on the other hand, by those who take a different view of the subject, that it is unjust to the freedmen, whom it is the duty of the nation to protect and provide for. It was said yesterday by Mr. Sumner that we violate a great principle of American law and American liberty when we attempt to pass it—that it is fundamentally wrong and unjust to a defenceless and un-protected race the wards of the nation where duty it is to give them protection. It plain that, between these cross purposes

he measure will come to nought.

Mr. Morrill said it was his purpose to show that reither of the causes of opposition to the measure was just. The proposed amendment is not unjust to the States recently in rebellion, and it does not violate agrea fundamental principle of American representative law. On the other hand, it do not violate the principles of popular liberty in the person of this dependent race. Although I shall not pretend that it is an adequate measure, or that it deals out full and ample justice to this feeble race, whom I believe it to be the duty of the nation to propeneve it to be the duty of the hation to protect and defend, yet I maintain its tendency is in that direction. The proposition is rendered necessary, said Mr. Morrill, by the changed condition of affairs. One of these changes has been an amendment to the Constitution, which forever sweeps away from the Constitution of the United States that class described as all other persons, three fifths of whom shall be counted in the basis of representation. Slavery and involuntary servitude have been swept away from the country, and now what do we find? You find the basis of your representation not proposed to be changed, but you find that it

has been changed. It has been changed by the events of the The great revolution in which we have been engaged has changed the basis of representation in the popular branch of Congress. Notwithstanding this change, we find Representatives from these lately rebellious States demanding admission into the lower branch of Congress upon representation based upon a system of slavery which is among the things that were and this question is 'presented: Shall the American Congress admit into its councils some thirty representatives in the lower branch of Congress based upon a provision of the Constitution now ,rendered obsolete by the change to which I have alluded? This would be to bring into your presence the institution of slavery itself. This would be to say that, notwithstanding the great revolution that her game forward you will not lution that has gone forward, you will not recognize it. To-day thirty representatives, in theory and in fact, demand admission into the lower house of Congress, based entirely upon the representative system provided by the Constitution of the United States. I would ask those who deny that the proposed amendment is necessary how they propose to provide for the great fact of

they propose to provide for the great fact of which I have spoken.

Mr. Saulsbury desired to know of Mr. Morrill whether he was in favor of letting Southern slaves vote, and whether he would ep the South unrepresented until thes slaves were permitted to vote?

Mr. Morrill said the question was not per tinent to the point he was discussing continued his argument, alleging that some To admit the present applicants for seats in the other House would be to recognize the institution of slavery. In answer to the objection that had been urged against this proposition, that it would deprive the Southern States of their constitutional rights, he said these States were still insurrectionary. At the close of the war General Shermar attempted to recognize their existence as States with civil rights, but the President quickly repudiated his action in that regard, thoug he immediately afterward did bimself what he had repudiated in General

He appointed Governor Perry in South a, and authorized him to recognize the State government of South Carolina on of a military order; and almost the first act of Governor Perry's official life was to restore all the rebel officers in the State of South Carolina, upon the condition of their taking the oath to Congress. Mr. Morrill said Congress could not recognize these Southern State government

as set up by Mr. Johnson.
Mr. Wilson (Mass.) said there were indications that the pending measure would b defeated. This he seriously regretted, for his heart and his conscience approved of it. He approved of it, because he believed that it would sweep the loyal States of this Union by an immense majority, and that no public man could succeed who opposed it. He approved of it, because if it were in the Constitution of the United States to-day before five years passed away every black man in America would be entranchised and

clothed with the ballot. Gentlemen on the other side of this chamber oppose this measure as unjust to the cently in rebellion. Some of them tell us that we, who are pressing this measure, are willing, if we can secure the franchise for the black man, to let all other We are told, too, that it is immoral, indecent and offensive to reaso and conscience. This measure came into Congress with the sanction of the Committee on. Reconstruction, composed, as it is, of men of individual honor and personal character. It comes to the Senate, after an overwhelming vote of the House of Representatives. It is sustained by ninety out of every hundred of the public journals that support the present administration. Were it submitted to the American people, it would be sustained by every man in the loyal States, who believes that the soldier who fought the battles of the country is the equal of the rebels who fought against it.

It will be a question of manhood; a question whether one rebel in South Carolina is to count as much in the electoral colleges and in the House of Representatives as two loyal men of New England or the great Western States fighting the battle before the people. On the question of the equality of the basis of representation, I believe it would triumph and go into the Constitution being incorporated into the Constitution, the practical effect would be this and only this. It would raise up a party in every one of these States immediately on its pas-

sage.

These men might be influenced by the These men might be influenced by the love of power, by pride, by ambition to begin the contest for they would not like to yield the power of these States in the Union They might begin the battle animated by the second states are the discountered. unworthy motives, but as soon as the dis-cussion commenced it would address itself to the reason, to the heart and to the conscience of the people. The advocate of negro enfranchisement would themselves grow up to believe in the justice and equity and right of giving the ballot-box to black man. There would be discussion in every square mile of the rebel States; ap-peals to the pride, the ambition and the heart; to justice and equity; to the interests and to the passions, and to all the lofty motives that can sway and control and in-

They would co-operate with the friends of freedmen throughout the country. They would be the left wing of the great army of freedmen in the country, and we would give them our prayers, our influence, our voices and our aid in fighting that battle. They would have the support of the prayers of the poor black men in the South in that struggle. [Before five years had passed away there would not be a rebel State that would not enfranchise the colored men. And when they did triumph they would have made a public sentiment by which every black man could go to the ballot-box in safety with his friends. Force by positive law to-day upon Virginia and the Carolinians, or any of those States, colored suffrage, and the negro would go to the ballot-box almost at the peril or his life; but let there be four, or five, or six years of discussion, and it will triumph peaceably, and it will be as easy for a black man to vote without molestation as they vote to-day in the commonwealth of Massachu-setts. I believe, too, that if this measure was in the Constitution it would bring suffrage to the black men of this country within five years, and that when suffrage did come under these circumstances, it

to stay. It would be fixed for ever in the general policy of the country.

Believing this, I must give my vote for this measure. Mr. Wilson was discussing the various propositions on the subject of representation now before the Senate, and maintaining that Congress could not by a joint resolution or by a law, regulate suf-frage in the several States, when he was interrupted by Mr. Yates, of Illinois, who desired to ask a question, and said I would like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether, by the constitutional amendment, every man made free is not as free as the Senator or myself? In other words, whether he is not entitled to the same rights and privileges, by which I mean civil as well as political privileges, as the Senator or myself; whether he is not one of the people of the United States, one of the citizens of the United States, and entitled to the same rights and privileges, with him and with myself, or any other one of the people of the United States?

I mean by the force of the constitutional

amendment abolishing slavery and emanci-pating that people, as I contend, into the sovereignty, into the body politic of the United States. That proposition being put, as I think, the Senator from Massachusetts will admit, for he cannot deny it, according to the stand-point from which he sees things and from which I see things. I will not ask the question whether, under the Constitution as it now exists, States have jurisdiction over the question of citizenship in the states; but I will ask him the question whether, we came to make an organic alteration in the Constitution of the United States, and when we have in view the security of the rights of all citizens of the United States—and, of course, I mean citizens without regard to race or color, as these words I believe, according to the opinion of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. Johnson), have no longer any meaning under the Con-stitution of the United States—whether now, when we propose to establish an or-ganic act by the operation of an amendment to the Constitution, whether we propose to place it in the power of any State to disfranchise any portion of the American people? That is the question, for the proposition now pending submits to the people of the rebel. States to decide whether the freedmen are to have these rights or not. Does the Senator from Massachusetts, or any other Senator, pretend to say that, under the constitutional amendment, the question of representation will be decided by the citizens of these rebel States, by which I mean not only white citizens, but also the people of the United States—the people that are as free and have the same tion is whether you will permit, in a new organic act of that Constitution, a portion of the people of the Southern States—and rebels and traitors at that—to say who shall be represented upon the floor of the Senate These are the questions. I do not put them for the sake of embarrassing the Senator from Massachusetts, but I put them for m wn information, and have not yet decided whether I will support the amendment of not. The fact is these questions have dis turbed me to some extent, and I would like

o have them answered. Mr. Wilson said he would endeavor to nswer the questions of Mr. Yates frankly I will say, to begin with, that the constitu-tional amendment which was proposed here by the Senator from Missouri, (Mr. Henderson), and reported by the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Trumbull), adopted by Congress and ratified by the people was never understood by any man in the Senate or House of Representatives, or by the pub-lic press of the country, as conferring upon Congress the right to force the suffrage on any State of the Union. I say further, that If it it had been supposed that it gave that right it never would have passed Congress or received the sanction of the States will say, sir, that I think beyond doubt or question, it gave, it clothed Congress with ample and full power to protect the civil rights and immunities of every emanci-pated slave in the country; that that slave is as free as I am, that the child emanci-pated in his cradle to-day is as free as the Senator from Illinois or myself, as much citizen of the United States as either of us but, sir, citizenship never did, in this coun try, carry with it the right of suffrage or the right to hold office. A man may be a citi-zen and rot have the right of suffrage. There are men in Massachusetts who have een citizens for forty years and have no the right of suffrage to-day.

Mr. Yates-Was it understood at the time of the passage of the amendment that it would confer civil rights?

Mr. Wilson—I suppose it did give Congress ample power to make these men free as the non-voting white population of those States, as fiee women or children, or persons who had not the right of suffrage. But I did not understand it then, and I do not believe now that it care. believe now that it gave Congress the power to clothe these people with the right of suffage, or the right to hold office:

Mr. Yates-Although I do not deny the proposition of the Senate, I will put this estion to them. I do not deny the power of the States to regulate suffrage by any neans, to decide upon the qualifications o those who are to vote, to devise and make rules and regulations. It is the duty of the States to regulate this right, but they cannot destroy it; and I ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether he believes it is in the power of the State of Massachusetts, or of South Carolina, in simply regulating the right of suffrage, to deprive the citizens of a State of the right to vote altogether.

Mr. Wilson—I answer that, right or wrong, the State of Massachusetts has

Mr. Yates—That is not the question Mr. Wilson—The Senator may say that it is not right, that it ought not to be done. I agree with him. In my own State I voted against an amendment to the State Constitun requiring the qualification of reading

and writing.

Mr. Yates-I ask if this proposed amendment does not allow the rebel States to exclude the freedmen from voting. Mr. Wilson-I have never read or he or seen anything that convinced me that the adoption of the constitutional amendment gave the Congress of the United States any power to regulate suffrage in any State.

Mr. Yates—I desire to know whether by the pending amendment South Carolina or

any other State cannot disfranchise them entirely.

Mr. Wilson—I may answer the Senato simply by saying that I think this amend ment leaves the matter to the States precisely where it is now. There is no implica-tion in it—no compromise in it—no surrenders of any power of the government.

Mr. Yates-The position I assume in this —that before the adoption of the constitu-tional amendment the States had a right under the Constitution and under the deci-sion of the Supreme Court of the United States, to disfranchise the colored people. Colored men were considered a subject race, not part of the people, not part of the sovereignty. But, sir, by the constitutional amendment they are as free as the Senator from Massachusetts this day. Now, the question is, whether, with this amendment before us, we will put into this amendment a new amendment by which these States may disfranchise these persons altogether? Mr. Wilson, in reply to Mr. Yates read from the opinion of Attorney General Bates that political rights and political power were essentially different—that the former belong to all citizens alike, and were in the very name and nature of citizenship; but the latter does not belong to all citizens

Mr. Wilson said that the framers of the Constitution, mindful of the imperfection of human institutions, prescribed the mode by which the work of their own hands night be amended by the generations that should come after them; that the first Congress under the Constitution, in which many of its framers had entered, proposed welve amendments to that instrument, ten of which were adopted by the people; that Congress proposed two amendments more, received the sanction of the nation and that from time to time other amendments were proposed by eminent states-men, without their being subjected to the imputation of being "innovators," or "rad-cals who were reckless of consequences."

He observed that at the close of the great civil war that had tested our institutions, revealing alike their strength and weakness the Republic was divided into two classes of men—the one demanding the immediate admission of the rebellious States, rebel end foremost; the other demanding guarantees that should secure alike the rights of all men, black and white; that the one class proposed amendments to the Constitution that should secure by irreversible provisions the rights of all, and the other flip pantly denouncing this amendment as the unreasonable demand of a radical faction.

Some five years ago these chambers rang with the passionate utterances of incipien treason; every man who inveighed against amendments for the security of freedom hastened to support these amendments which were to be forever irrepealable. The first of these proposed amendments demanded that in all the territory south of the line of latitude 36 deg. 30 min., slavery of the African race should be recognized as existing; that it should not be interfered with by Congress, and that it should be recognized as property by all departments of territorial government; the second amendment proposed that Congress should have no power to abolish slavery in places unde its exclusive jurisdiction; the third amend ment proposed that Congress should be divested of the power to abolish git in the District of Columbia so long as it existed in the States of Virginia and Maryland, or either of them, without the consent of the inhabitants of said district; the fourth proposed that Congress should have no powe to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to Territory in which slaves were, by law, permitted to be held; and the fifth amendmen proposed that Congress should have power o provide by law that the United should pay to the owner the full value o his fugitive slave in all cases where the United States Marshal was prevented by violation and intimidation from arresting him: or when, after the arrest of such fugi tive slave, he might be rescued by force. These amendments in the interest of

human slavery were forever to stand as par of the Constitution, and Congress was to have no power to amend the section allow ing three-fifths of the slaves to be repreited, or that provision of the Constitutio to be changed which requires the surrender of persons held to service or labor. Such were the five amendments proposed five years ago; and those men who assumed to be conservative were ready to incorporate into the Constitution of their country these inhuman and unchristlan provisions Strange as it might seem, these very mer were now ready to denounce those who simply asked that a few amendments migh

be adopted for the security of human rights He (Mr. Wilson) alleged that for thirty years, in public and private life, he had striven for the emancipation, elevation and improvement of the African race; that he had gone and would go as far as the man who had gone or would go furthest in any and all practical measures that woul-enlarge or secure the rights of all men in every portion of our country; that, acting in this spirit, and animated by this purpose, he had made up 'his mind to vote for the amendment of the Constitution proposed by he committee. He did not support it as the best measure that could be devised by the wisdom of man, but he supported it as the best one that could now be secured. He saw no compromise in it—no defilement of the Constitution of his country—no degradation of any class or portion of his countrymen.

He contended that the power to regulate

or prescribe the right of suffrage belonged to the States at the formation of the Consti tution: that the constitution and laws of every State prescribed the qualifications of the electors. From the adoption of the Constitution of the United States all parties, all branches of the Government. State and national, had conceded that the States pos sessed the power to prescribe the qualifica-tions of electors. His colleague, in an eloquent and exhaustive speech, had presented poets, the great and good of all lands and ages, in favor of human rights. He (Mr. Wilson) thanked him, and he was sure the friends of human liberty would thank him for gathering up the sentiments and opinions of these ancient sages and philanthro pssts. Their utterances could not but in spire Senators with renewed zeal in th cause of human rights. But while these ut terances told us what ought to be, they did not show that the Congress of the United States, by legislation, could secure what ought to be. The adoption of the constitutional amendment did not clothe Congres with the power to regulate suffrage in the States. He averred that, when this amendment was pending in Congress no man thought so; nor did he believe that the legislatures of the States, or any member thereof, understood it to confer any right of gov erning others, or of bearing rule in the States; that if it had been understood that this proposed amendment of the Constitution was to give to Congress the right, by legislation, to override the constitutions and laws of the States, and to prescribe the qualifications of electors, that amendment would never have been ratified by the States. It secured personal freedom—the right to be protected in the enjoyment of ite, liberty and property.

By the framers of the Constitution person held in bondage numbered three-fifths in the basis of representation. That concession to slavery gave the slaveholding States undue power and influence in Congress, and was ever a just cause of complaint. By emancipation these persons formerly ac-counted as slaves are free, thus giving additional Representatives to the late slaveholding States. By the Constitution as it is four and a half millions of slaves recently emancipated were added to the free population of the country, adding thirteen Representatives to the emancipating States. By the Constitution as it is the States were clothed with the power to prescribe the qualifications of electors.

qualifications or electors.

The emancipated slaves, that would give to the recently slaveholding States some thirty Representatives in Congress, were wholly denied the right of suffrage. By wholly denied the right of suffrage, By adding to the basis of representation these freedmen, the power of those who deny their rights in the Government would be under the denounced and branded radicals.

strengthened. By the Constitution as it is, one rebel in South Carolina or Mississipp was equal in power in the House of Repre-sentatives and the electoral college to two loyal men in New England, the great Central States, or the States of the West. Such inequality, he contended, was unjust and wholly indefensible.

This amendment, said Mr. Wilson, simply proposed a penalty for denying to freedmen the right of suffrage.' It proposes that tree persons, as now, shall continue to be the basis of representation; but that if any portion of them, on account oi color or race, were denied, in any State, the right of suffrage they should not be counted in the basis of

epresentation.

If it were true—and who could doubt in that the State possessed the power of pre-scribing the qualifications of electors, how could it be maintained that, by implication, this amendment conceded to the States the power of denying the right of suffrage ever. It yielded nothing whatever of the powers now possessed by the Federal Government, but it did say to every State, 'if you deny suffrage to any man on account of color or race, the whole of that class or race shall be excluded from the basis of representation." There was no compromise in this; no concession; no sur-render of any rights now possessed by the

Government. He believed that if this amendment should be submitted to the Legislatures of the several free States now in session, they would hasten to adopt it, and if the free States did adopt it, their people could de-mand, and would demand, that it should be a condition precedent to the admission into the halls of Congress of any and every applicant for a seat as a representative therein. He could tell the Senators that the people of the free States would hail and welcome the adoption of this amendment. Nearly every Republican press in the entire Union supported it, and if it should be passed by Congress, he would venture to leclare that no man or set of men could go before the people of the free States and op-pose it. No man could go before the people and maintain that the system that made one rebel soldier in South Carolina the equal of two loyal soldiers in the free States

was a system worthy of their suffrages. He (Mr. Wilson) believed that the incorporation of this amendment into the Consti-tution of the United States would, in a short ime, secure suffrage to men of African de scent. The States recently in rebellion would never consent to lose, for any length of time, their representation in Congress. But, on the other hand, on the adoption or incorporation of that amendment into the Constitution, a party would spring up in all the recently slaveholding States, animated by interest, by pride, by the love of power, and more or less influenced by a sense of justice to colored men, which would advo-cate negro suffrage. Such a party would spring into existence, and it would rapidly increase—in some States, undoubtedly, more rapidly than others; that party would be a liberal and progressive party; it would act in harmony with the patriotic and liberty-loving men who had carried the country through fire and blood to unity, liberty and peace. On Southern soil they would fight the battle of negro enfranchisement, and in that battle they would triumph; and in so triumphing they would have the sympathy and support of the liberal and progressive men of the whole country. In that triumph they would create a public sentiment that would not allow but protect the negro in depositing his ballot in peace and security and it would be found that the negro who had hitherto been true to the country through the rebellion would stand by that country, by the friends of that country and by the men who gave him liberty and clothed him with the full powers of citizen of the United States. He (Mr. Wilson) had not the shadow of a doubt that if this amendment were incorporated into the Constitution of the United States it would, within less than five years, secure the full enfranchisement of men of African descent in every State of the Union.

Believing, therefore, that this amendment would secure enfranchisement, that it would lessen the power of the enemies of a freedom, and that it was the only mode now left to secure justice to the African race, he would give it his vote, and with that vote his earnest support. It was in the power of the Government last spring to have exacted suffrage in the rebel States; the moral sense of the nation, the justice of the nation demanded it. But the golden moment was lost. Now the nation must secure that great measure in some other mode, and this amendment seemed to be the only practicable mode left to secure that object. He could not sacrifice the interests of a race. nor peril the cause of his country, nor could be yield up a certainty for any cherished theory.

If this amendment should fail through any action of his, if nothing should schieved, if these seats be again tilled, the great opportunity be lost, perhaps for years, f the unequal basis of representation should continue to stand, and suffrage pe denied. e could frame no answer to satisfy his own conscience or to satisfy a disappointed peo-The adoption of this amendment surrendered nothing of power or rights. was made in the interests of liberty and jus-tice—not to degrade but enlarge the rightof a race; and he predicted it would speedily secure the enfranchisement of the colored

Politicians and presses flippantly char cterized nine-tenths of the men who had placed the present Administration in power as "radicals." For thirty years there had been a class of men who had instinctively lung to every lingering wrong, and wailed over every rotten institution as it fell. . Had those political Bourbons yet to learn that for the past thirty years the patriotism, freedom, justice, humanity and progressive development of the republic had been represented by the "radicals?" Had they forgotten that for thirty years, on every issue before the country, the radicals had been vindicated by events, and by the verdict of history? Surely, they could not have forgotten the glorious fact that the radicals never plotted treason, never betrayed the cause of freedom, nor never fired upon the flag of their country.

Had these conservatives forgotten, what the world will ever remember, that the crimes against country, liberty, justice and humanity that bad marked the past thirty years were committed in the name of con-servatism? Conservatives trampled down the sacred right of petition and the freedom of speech; arraigned before the bar of the House, the illustrious Adams and censured the fearless Giddings; manacled colored seamen ou the decks of Massachusetts ships in the barber of Charleston and drove Sam Texas to make slavery perpetual, and opposed the admission of free California; rejected the prohibition of slavery in Utah and New Mexico, and enacted the fugitive slave law; repealed the prohibition of slavery in Kenses, coined the hallot-boxes by very in Kansas; seized the ballot-boxes by lawless violence; enacted slave codes; murdered free State settlers and framed Le compton constitutions; struck down a Sen-ator on the floor of the Senate, and fired upon the flag covering bread for starving soldiers; organized treason, and plunged the country into civil war; banded toge-ther as Knights of the Golden Circle, and fired orphan asylums in the city of New York; starved prisoners of war at Andersonville, and plotted the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Every crime for a generation against liberty and the rights of man in America had been committed by men who prated of their conservatism and denounced the advocates of country, freedom, justice and humanity as reckless agi-

moving in harmony with the internal forces of nature and God, had achieved glorious victories and won enduring triamphs.
While timid conservatism ever inglori-

ously retreated from one lost battle for old abuses to another, radicalism met every demand of slavery, of treason, of injustice, with a prompt and emphatic No! and moved right on to assured victories-victor ies that history would record, and coming generations remember. In the struggle fo generations remember. At the struggle for the present, where there was a wrong to be righted, or a grievance to be redressed, con-servative presses and conservative politi-cians would find that the radicals would go into the contests with the light of past vic-

tories on their faces.

Mr. Wilson said that the Senator from Indiana, (Mr. Hendricks) had endorsed the blasphemous doctrine that the great Repubic. founded upon the equality of humanity was a white man's government. That Sen-ator denied the services and sacrifices of the black man during the war. The negro soldiers had behaved nobly, fought bravely and suffered much for the country. Thousands of them had died that the country might live. More than six thousand negro soldiers lie buried within five miles of where the Senator from Indiana stood when he undertook to belittle the services of colored soldiers.

The Senate, at 4 o'clock, went into execu tive session, and soon after adjourned, hav-ing previously agreed that a vote should be taken to-morrow at 4 o'clock.

House.-Mr. Wilson also reported back with a recommendation that it pass, the Senate bill to restrict the expenses of col lecting soldiers' claims against the govern This is the bill restricting claim agents

fees to ten dollars. Some debate grew up on this bill.

Mr. Wentworth (Ill.) in denouncing claim agents, gave notice to soldiers that if they would send their papers to members of Congress, they would attend to their business with great pleasure.

Mr. Wilson explained that the fee of ten

dollars was simply a limitation; the soldier could drive any bargain within that limit. This bill had been reported for the purpose of protecting the soldiers. If the gentleman from Illinois attended to all the claims of oldiers from his district he would have ver little time to devote to reciprocity legisla

tion. [Laughter.]
Mr. Wentworth said he had done so after the Mexican war and expected to do so now. He was the gratuitous agent of every man in his district for all his Washington

business. [Laughter.] Mr. Wilson reminded the gentleman that the State of Illinois had sent more soldiers to this war than the United States sent to Mexico. He had had himself, as he presumed every other member had, attended cheerfully and without compensation to the business of soldiers in his district, but he could not undertake to attend to his duties as member of Congress and at the same time attend to all such claims. Mr. Schenck (Ohio) proposed to recommit

he bill with instructions to amend the bill by providing for a system of agents, to be paid by the United States, by whom the claims of soldiers for back pay, bounties and pensions due from the government may be collected free of cost to the soldier. After considerable debate, participated in by Messrs. Shellabarger, Ingersoll, Wilson,

Eldridge, Cobb and Schenck, in which it was stated that Ohio, Illinois, Iowa and other States had agents here attending to the bus-iness of soldiers, free of charge. The motion of Mr. Schenck to recommit

with instructions, was voted on by yeas and nays, and was carried. Yeas 70, The House resumed the consideration of the Senate bills to protect all persons in the

United States in their civil rights and furnish the means of their vindication. Postoned till to-day. Mr. Broomall (Pa.) addressed the Hou se He said he was satisfied that our Southern allies in the war waged to preserve the ex-

istence of the Union, had nothing to trust to except the integrity and firmness of the Union majority in both Houses of Congress. That majority, through its appropriate committee had presented the bill under consideration as one of the measures relied on to carry on that great and patriotic purpose. The object of the bill was twofold—to declare who are citizens of the United States and to secure to them the protection which every government owed to its citizens. Obections had been made to the bill, because t called the negro a citizen. But why not call him so? Every civilized man must owe allegiance somewhere. The negro in America was a civilized

man, and must owe allegiance somewhere Until the opponents of this measure could point to the foreign power to which he was subject, he (Mr. Broomall) must assume the negro to be what the bill called him, a cittzen of the country in which he was born. If the negro owed allegiance to the government, then the government owed protection o him, and that protection must vided by appropriate legislation. An unsuspected argument had been made by the eader of the opposition in this body, that this bill permitted the negro to vote in the several States of the Union, and It was rather ludicrous to see the committee having the bill in charge agreeing to put in a provision to quiet the alarm of the opposite

He was willing to concede that if the Democrats were to be kept above the necroes in the social scale, there must be some iscriminating legislation in their favor. He used to think that the white man was better than the negro; but an experience of three winters in the South had satisfied him that depended somewhat on the white man's olitics. [Laughter.] Mr. Wright (N. J.) rose to a question of

order. The subject under discussion was an act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights. He had looked over it, and found that no such terms as "Democratic party," "Republican party," "Copperhead" or "Niggerhead" were used in it. The gentleman from Pennsylvania was therefore talking very wide of the mark if he meant to apply any of those epithets to the constituency which he (Mr. Wright) represented. The Speaker-The latter part of the gen-

tleman's remarks is not a point of order. The Chair thinks that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is confining himself to the bill which is very wide in its range, and therefore he overrules the point of order. Mr. Broomall confessed that since the last election in New Jersey he probably ought to treat the gentleman's (Mr. Wright's) constituents with a little more consideration; but whether he should a poloize to them or not would depend on their future behaviour.

Referring to Mr. Seward, he spoke of him as a distinguished public functionary, once the foremost champion of the rights of men, and whose statesmanlike knowledge had pointed out the irrepressible conflict be-tween slavery and freedom, but who could not now see that treason and loyalty were eternal and uncompromising antagonists. He spoke of the President as one who had been denounced as a negro Moses, and had been charged even with conspiring in the assassination of his predecessor, but who now had these same rebels, who once denounced him, hanging around his neck like so many millstones. Whether they would eventually drown him or not was yet to be seen. For his part, he never would consent that the government should desert its allies in the South, and surrender their rights and interests to the enemy, and in this he would make no distinction of caste or color, either

among friends or foes.

A colloquy between Mr. Broomall and Mr. Davis, in regard to the constitutionality of the second section of the bill, took place, occupying the time up to the close of Mr.

Mr. Raymond (N. Y.) obtained the floor,

out yielded it to Mr. Bingham, for the purpose of offering an amendment to the pending motion to recommit with instructions. The amendment was to strike out of the first section the words "and there shall be no discrimination in civil rights," &c., and also to strike out everything penal in the bill, and authorizing criminal proceedings, and in lieu of itto give to all citizens of the United States, in-jured by denial or violation of any of their rights secured, and protected by right of action in the United States Courts, with double costs in all cases of recovery, without regard to the award of damages.

Mr. Raymond addressed the House. He would not have discussed the bill at this time if he had not taken the liberty and responsibility of offering a substitute for it. He was very free to confess that he was not prepared to say anything on it at all worthy of its great importance. Whether considered simply as a proposed statute, or in its bearing on the general question of restoration of peace and harmony to the Union, he regarded it as one of the most important bills presented to the House, worthy of engaging the coolest, calmest and best judgment of every member. The bill pro-posed two things. First, to declare who should be citizens of the United States, and especially to declare that all shall be citizens without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude, who are previous condition of servitude, who are born on the soil. That was the first great provision. The second was to provide for the class of persons thus introduced to citi-zenship protection against anticipated inequality of legislation in the several

Both those provisions were of the utmost possible importance. He was thoroughly and heartiiy in favor of both, and he should vote for both if he could be convinced that they fell within the powers conferred on Congress by the Constitution of the United States, and were demanded by the emergencies of the occasiou. As to the first purpose of the bill he had no doubt whatever. The substitute which he had offered declared that all persons here-ofore born, or heretofore to be born, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States are and shall be citizens of the United States, and entitled to all zens of the Chied States, and entitled to air the rights, privileges and immunities of such citizenship. That was the enunciation of a great prin-ciple, which he thought ought to ciple, which he thought ought to and would, under ordinary circum-stances, secure to every one of the citizens thus entitled to citizenship ample and full protection.

It was not worth while, had he any de sire to conceal the fact, the special object of his substitute, as well as of the bill, was to introduce into American citizenship the four million of persons who had just been emancinated from a condition of slavery. He did not know that any bill was necessary for that purpose. He was inclined to think that no bill was necessary; that the moment the disabilities imposed upon them by servitude were removed they became by virtue of that act citizens of the United States, and that they were to-day entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship. But that had been doubted and denied in courts, in legislative halls, and in the Executive Department of the Government. It had been asserted, and decisions to that effect were on record, that they were not citizens because they were of the Afrinot citizens because they were of the African race. His proposition that they were citizens, and should be regarded as such from this time forward. Some questions had been raised as to the power of Congress to pronounce such a decision, but he believed that it had such a power under that clause of the Constitution authorizing Congress to establish a system of naturalization.

He was inclined to think that the word "naturalization" might be fairly regarded and construed as implying and including a power to introduce into citizenship thos now excluded from it, whether native born or alien. But, independent of that, he did not see where Congress got any authority to except these native persons of African blood from the general rule of the law of every nation, that all persons born on the soil are subjects or citizens of the government. That was the rule in England, in France, and in this country. No such power of execution has been conferred on Congress, and no such power had been exercised, if this bill should fail to become a law, and if the substitute which he had offered should be reported back by the Judiciary as he understood it would be, he would take pleasure in discussing that point further. He supposed he need not declare here the great desirableness to this class of persons of having conferred upon them the great, inestimable, priceless boon of liberty. He thought that the fact of conferring upon four millions of people absolute person freedom from servitude from this time for-ward forever, was the highest boon that it was in the power of any government to confer on an enslaved race.

Having gone so far, he desired to go on by successive steps still further, and to int them, in all respects, so far as their nature would allow and power permit, to the level of any other citizens. He desired, as the next step in the process of elevating that race, to give them the right of citizenship. He hoped that no one would be prepared or inclined to say that that was a trifling boon; for, if so, he feared the house was scarcely in the frame of mind to act upon the great question coming before it. He, for one was neither prepared nor inclined to disparage American citizenship. Make the colored man a citizen of the United States and he would have every right that any other citizen bad under the laws and Constitution of the United States. It was not among the least of the advantages of conferring upon him citizenship that it would constantly exercise on him an educating process. It would teach people of all other races, his fellow-citizens, to respect him and aid him in his efforts. Every one would concede that it was of the highest possible value to any portion of the people living in the country to receive from the Government the status of American citizenship.

He presented these considerations rapidly, hurriedly and imperfectly, simply as the reasons which induced him to offer a substitute for the bill now pending. The bill was intended to prevent unequal legislation; that was a high and proper object, and he that was a high and proper object, and he would cordially co-operate in securing it. His colleague (Mr. Davis) had also declared his purpose to vote for any constitutional law aiming at and calculated to secure the object; and he had been a little grieved to hear the point made against him. Mr. Davis) that he required a constitutional before he would give it his rote. Not in terms but in tone that point had certainly been made. He (Mr. Ray. mond) could not, on his conscience and oath, however much he might think an object desirable, vote for attaining it by means which seemed to him unconstitutional. Acting here on his responsibility as a legislator. not under stress of the necessities of war, but calmly, he could not and would not vote for any bill except his judgment satisfied him that it was constitutional. Even on grounds of expediency the House ought well to consider this matter. He desired that the House should not pass any bill that should be intercepted on its way to the statute books by weil grounded complaints of unconstitutionality from any other department of the Government. The second section of the bill providing for the punishment, by fine and imprisonment, of Judges of State Courts for enforcing State laws, he could not justify to his own judgment. He saw that the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Bingham) took the same view of it, for he had suggested an amendment to that section; that amendment seemed to attain the object and he (Mr. Raymond) would vote