RECONSTRUCTION.

Partial Report of the Congressional Committee.

Important Testimony of Alexander H. Stephens.

WASHINGTON, April 16.—The testimony reported to-day from the Committee on Reconstruction embraces the examination of a dozen witnesses relating to the condition of Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. It is conflicting in its character in respect to all the States excepting the former, about which all the witnesses so far examined agree in testifying favorably. We have room only for the testimony of Alexander H. Stephens in relation to the condition of Georgia.

Mr. Stephens was sworn and examined by Mr. Boutwell, as follows:

Q. What means have you had since Lee's surrender to ascertain the sentiments of the people of Georgia with regard to the Union? A. I was at home in Georgia at the time of the surrender of Gen. Lee and remained there until the 11th of May, and during that time conferred very freely with the people in my immediate neighborhood, with the Governor of the State, and with one or two other leading or prominent men in the State. From the 11th of May until my return to Georgia, which was the 25th of October, I had no means of knowing anything of the public sentiment then except through the public press and such letters as I received. From the time of my return until I left the State on my present visit here I had very extensive intercourse with the people, visiting Augusta, visiting Milledgeville during the session of the Legislature, first on their assembling, again in January upon their reassembling, and again in the latter part of February. While there I conversed very freely and fully with all the prominent leading men or most of them in the Legislature, and met a great many of the prominent, influential men of the State not connected with the Legislature, and by letters from and correspondence with men in the State, whom I have not met, I believe that embraces a full answer to the question as to my means of ascertaining the sentiment of the people of that State upon the subject stated in the question.

Q. As the result of your observation, what is your opinion of the purposes of the people with reference to the reconstruction of the Government, and what are their desires and purposes concerning the maintenance of the government? A. My opinion—and decided opinion—is that an overwhelming majority of the people of Georgia are exceedingly anxious for the reconstruction of the Government, and for the State to take her former position in the Union, to have her Senators and Representatives admitted into Congress, and to enjoy all her rights and discharge all her obligations as a State under the Constitution of the United States as it stands amended.

Q. What are their present views concerning the justice of the rebellion? Do they at present believe that it was a reasonable and proper undertaking, or otherwise? A. My opinion of the sentiment of the people of Georgia upon that subject is that the exercise of the right of secession was resorted to by them from a desire to render their liberties and institutions more secure, and a belief on their part that this was absolutely necessary for that object. They were divided upon the question of the policy of the measure; there was, however, but very little division among them upon the question of the right of it. It is now their belief, in my opinion—and I give it merely as an opinion—that the surest, if not the only hope for their liberties, is the restoration of the Constitution of the United States and of the Government of the United States under the Constitution.

Q. Has there been any change of opinion as to the right of secession as a right in the people or in the States? A. I think there has been a very decided change of opinion as to the policy by those who favored it; I think the people generally are satisfied sufficiently with the experiment never to resort to that measure of redress by force, whatever may be their own abstract ideas upon that subject; they have given up all idea of a maintenance of these opinions by a resort to force; they have come to the conclusion that it is better to appeal to the forums of reason and justice, to the halls of legislation and the courts for the preservation of the principles of constitutional liberty, than to the arena of arms; it is my settled conviction that there is not any idea cherished at all in the public mind of Georgia of ever resorting again to secession or to the exercise of secession by force; that the whole policy of the maintenance of their rights, in my opinion, is at this time totally abandoned.

Q. But the opinion as to the right, as I understand, remains substantially the same? A. I cannot answer as to that; some may have changed their opinion in this respect; it would be an unusual thing as well as a difficult matter for a whole people to change their convictions upon abstract truths or principles; I have not heard this view of the subject debated or discussed recently, and I wish to be understood as giving my opinion only on that branch of the subject which is of practical character and importance.

Q. To what do you attribute the change of opinion as to the propriety of attempting to maintain their views by force? A. Well, sir, my opinion about that—my individual opinion, derived from observation—is, that this change of opinion arose mainly from the operation of the war amongst themselves, and the results of the conflict from their own authorities in their individual rights of person and property, the general breaking down of constitutional barriers which usually attend all protracted wars.

Q. In 1861, when the ordinance of secession was adopted by your State, to what extent was it supported by the people? A. After the proclamation of President Lincoln calling out 75,000 militia, under the circumstances it was issued, and blockading the Southern ports, and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the Southern cause, as it was termed, received the almost unanimous support of the people of Georgia. Before, they were much divided on the question of secession, but afterwards they supported the cause, within the range of my knowledge, with very few exceptions There were some few exceptions, not exceeding half a dozen. I think the impression then prevailing was that public liberty was endangered, and they supported the cause because of their zeal for constitutional rights. They still differed very much as to the ultimate object to be obtained and the means to be used; but these differences yielded to the emergency of the appre hended common danger.

Q. Was not the ordinance of secession adopted earlier in date than the proclamation for the seventy-five thousand volunteers. A. Yes, sir; I stated that the people were very much divided on the question of the ordinance of secession, but after the proclamation the people became almost unanimous in the cause. Some looked to an adjustment or settlement of the controversy upon any basis that would secure their constitutional rights; others looked to a separate Southern nationality as their only object and hope. These different views as to the ultimate object did not interfere with the general active support of the cause.

Q. Was there a popular vote upon the ordinance of secession? A. Only so far as in the election of delegates to the convention.

Q. There was no subsequent action? A. No, sir. The ordinance of secession was never submitted to a popular vote afterwards.

Q. Have you any opinion as to the vote it would have received, as compared with the whole, if it had been submitted to the free action of the people.

Witness. Do you mean after it was adopted by the convention?

Mr. Boutwell—Yes, after it was adopted by the convention, if it had been submitted forthwith or within a reasonable time.

A. Taking the then state of things into consideration, South Carolina, Florida and Mississippi, I think, having seceded, my opinion is that a majority of the people would have ratified it—perhaps a decided or large majority; if, however, South Carolina and the other States had not adopted their ordinance of secession, I am very well satisfied that a majority of the people of Georgia, and perhaps a very decided majority, would have been against secession if her ordinance had been submitted to them; but as matters stood at the time, if the ordinance had been submitted to the popular vote of the State, it would have been sustained; that is my judgment and opinion about that matter.

Q. What was the date of the Georgia ordinance? A. The 18th or 19th; I think the 19th of January, 1861, though I am not certain.

Q. The question of secession was involved in the election of delegates to that convention, was it not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the result of the election, as far as the convention expressed any opinion upon the question of secession? A. I think the majority was about thirty in the convention in favor of secession; I do not recollect the exact vote.

Q. In a convention of how many? A. In a convention based upon the number of Senators and members of the House in the General Assembly of the State; the exact number I do not recollect, but I think it was near three hundred, perhaps a few over or under.

Q. Was there any difference in the different parts of the State in the strength of the Union sentiment at that time? A. In some of the mountain counties the Union sentiment was generally prevalent; the cities, towns and villages were generally for secession throughout the State, I think, with some exceptions; the anti-secession sentiment was more general in the rural districts and in the mountain portions of the State, yet the people of some of the upper counties were very active and decided secessionists. There was nothing like a sectional disunion of the State, at all; for instance, the delegation from Floyd county, in which the city of Rome is situated, in the upper part of the State, was an able one, and strong for secession, while the county of Jefferson, down in the interior of the cotton belt, sent one of the most prominent delegations for the Union. I could designate other particular counties in that way throughout the State, showing that there was not what might be termed a sectional or geographical division of the State on the question.

Q. In what particular did the people believe their constitutional liberties were assailed or endangered from the Union? A. Mainly, I would say, in their internal, social polity, and their apprehension from the general consolidating tendencies of the docrines and principles of that political party which had recently succeeded in the choice of a President and Vice President of the United States. It was the serious apprehension that if the Republican organization, as then constituted, should succeed to power, it would lead ultimately to a vtrtual subversion of the Constitution of the United States and all its essential guarantees of public liberty; I think that was the sincere and honest conviction in the minds of our people. Those who opposed secession did not apprehend that any such result would necessarily follow the elections which had taken place; they still thought that all their rights might be maintained in the Union and under the Constitution, especially, as there were majorities in both Houses of Congress who agread with them on Constitutional questions.

Q. To what feature of their internal social policy did they apprehend danger? A. Principally the subordination of the African race, as it existed under their laws and institutions.

Q. In what spirit is the emancipation of the slaves received by the people? A. Generally it is acquiesced in, and accepted, I think, in perfect good faith, and with a disposition to do the best that can be done in the new order of things in this particular.

Q. What at present are the relations subsisting between the white and the black people, especially in the relation of employer and employed? A. Quite as good, I think, as in any part of the world that ever I have been in, between like classes of employer and employe; the condition of things in this respect, on my return last fall, was very different from what it was when I left home for my present visit to this city; during the fall, and up to the close of the year, there was a general opinion prevailing among the colored people that at Christmas there would be a division of the lands, and a very general intention on their part not to make any contracts at all for the present year. Indeed there were very few contracts, I think, made throughout the State until after Christmas or about the first of January. General Tillson, who is at the head of the bureau in the State, and whose administration has given very general satisfaction to our people, I think, was very active in disabusing the minds of the colored people from their error in this particular. He visited quite a number of places in the State, and addressed large audiences of colored people, and then they became satisfied that they were laboring under a mistake in anticipating a division of lands. After Christmas and the first of January they made contracts very readily generally, and since that time affairs in the main have moved on quite smoothly and quietly.

Q. Are the negroes generally at work? A. Yes, sir, they are generally at work; there are some idlers, but this class constitute but a small proportion.

Q. What upon the whole has been their conduct, proper under the circumstances under which they have been placed, or otherwise? A. As a whole, much better than the most hopeful looked for.

Q. As far as you saw, what are the leading objects and desires of the negro population at the present time in reference to themselves? A. It is to be protected in ther rights of persons and property; to be dealt by fairly and justly.

Q. What, if anything, has been done by the Legislature of your State for the accomplishment of these objects? A. The Legislature has passed an act of which the following is a copy:

No. 90.—An act to define the term, "persons of color," and to declare the rights of such persons.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted, &c.. That all negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes, and their descendants, having one-eighth negro or African blood in their veins, shall be known in this State as "persons of color."

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, That persons of color shall have the right to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be sued, to be parties and give evidence, to inherit, to purchase, and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and estate, and shall not be subjected to any other or different punishment, pain or penalty for the commission of any act or offence, than such as are prescribed for white persons committing like acts or offences.

The third section of this act simply repeals all conflicting laws; it was approved by the Governor on the 17th of March last.

Q. Does this act express the opinions of the people, and will it be sustained? A. I think it will be sustained by the courts, as well as by public sentiment; it was passed by the present Legislature, as an evidence of the tone of the Legislature of the State, upon this subject. [Here Mr. Stephens submitted a letter he had written to Senator Stewart stating that the act passed secured freed persons all their essential rights before the law.]

Q. What, if anything, is being done in Georgia with regard to the education of the negroes, either children or adults? A. Nothing by the public authorities, as yet. Schools are being established in many portions of the State under the auspices, I think, of the Freedmen's Bureau, and quite a number by the colored people themselves, encouraged by the whites.

Q. What disposition do the negroes manifest in regard to education? A. There seems to be a very great desire on the part of the children and their parents to have them educated.

Q. What is the present legal condition of those who have lived together as husband and wife- do the laws recognize and sustain the relations and the legitimacy of their offspring? A. Our State laws do—they recognize all those living as man and wife as legally man and wife; a good many of them took out licenses and were married in the usual way; there is no difference in our laws in that respect; licenses are issued for white and black alike, only they are prohibited from intermarrying with each other; the races are not permitted to intermarry.

Q. Were the amendments to the Constitution of the State of Georgia recently adopted submitted to the people? A. No, sir, they were not submitted; I have no hesitation, however, in expressing the opinion that nine-tenths of the people would have voted for them if the Constitution had been submitted; that is but an opinion; I heard no dissent at all in the State; I was there at the time; I got home before the convention adjourned; the State Constitution as made by the Convention would have been ratified almost without opposition; it would have been ratified *mem con*, if it had been submitted, that at least is my opinion.

Q. What was the voting population of your State in 1860? A. Something upwards of a hundred thousand.

Q. What is probably the present voting population? A. The voting population of the State under the present Constitution is perhaps eighty thousand; that is a mere estimate.

Q. What is the public sentiment of Georgia with regard to the extension of the right of voting to the negroes? A. The general opinion in the State is very much averse to it.

Q. If a proposition were made to amend the Constitution so as to have representation in Congress based upon voters substantially, would Georgia ratify such a proposed amendment if it were made a condition precedent to the restoration of the State to political power in the Government? A. I do not think they would. The people of Georgia, in my judgment, are perfectly willing to leave suffrage and the basis of representation where the Constitution leaves it. They look upon the question of suffrage as one belonging exclusively to the States; one over which, and under the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction, power or control, except in proposing amendments to the States, and not in exacting them from them; and I do not think, therefore, that the people of that State, while they are disposed, as I believe earnestly, to deal fairly, justly and generously with the freedmen, would be willing to consent to a change in the Constitution that would give Congress jurisdiction over the question of suffrage; and especially would they be very much averse to Congress executing any such jurisdiction without their Representatives in the Senate and House being heard in the public councils upon this question, and that so vitally concerns their internal policy, as well as the internal policy of all the States.

April 12, 1866. Examination of Alex. H. Stephens resumed. By Mr. Boutwell:

Q. Do you mean to be understood in your answer that there is no constitutional power in the Government as at present organized to exact conditions precedent to the restoration of political power of the eleven States that have been in rebellion? A. That is my opinion.

Q. Do you entertain the same opinion in reference to the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery? A. I do. I think the States have abolished slavery in good faith as one of the results of the war; their ratification of the constitutional amendment followed as a consequence. I do not think there is any constitutional power on the part of the Government to have exacted it as a condition precedent to their restoration under the Constitution, or the resumption of their places as members of the Union.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the legal value of the laws passed by Congress and approved by the President in the absence of Senators and Representatives from the eleven States? A. I do not know what particular laws you refer to, but my answer generally is, that the validity of all laws depends on their constitutionality; this is a question for the judiciary to determine; my own judgment, whatever it might be, would have to conform to the judicial determination of the question; it is a question for the courts to determine.

Q. Have you formed any opinion upon that question? A. I cannot say that I have formed any materjal opinion in reference to any particular act of Congress embraced in the question.

Q. Assume that Congress shall, at this session, in the absence of Senators and Representatives from the eleven States, pass an act levying taxes upon all the people of the United States, including the eleven, is it your opinion that such an act would be constitutional? A. I should doubt if it would be; it would certainly, in my opinion, be manifestly unjust and against all ideas of American representative government; its constitutionality would, however, be a question for the judicary to decide, and I should be willing to abide by that decision, whatever it might be.

Q. If the eleven States have at present an immediate Constitutional right to be represented in Congress on a footing with the States at present represented, has that been a continuous right from the formation of the Government, or from the time of admission of the new States respectively, or has it been interrupted by war? A. I think, as the Congress of the United States did not consent to the withdrawal of the seceded States, it was a continuous right, under the Constitution of the United States, to be exercised so soon as the seceding States respectively made known their readiness to resume their former practical relations with the Federal Government under the Constitution of the United States. As the General Government denied the right of secession, I do not think any of the States attempting to exercise it thereby lost any of their rights under the Constitution, as States, when their people abandoned that attempt.

Q. Is it or not your opinion that the Legislatures and people of the eleven States respectively have at present such a right to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, that it may be exercised without regard to the part which persons elected may have had in the rebellion? A. I do not think they could exercise that right in the choice of their Senators and members so as to impair in the slightest degree the constitutional right of each House for itself to judge of the qualifications of those who might be chosen; the right of the constitutional electors of a State to choose, and the right of each House of Congress to judge of the qualifications of those elected to the respective bodies are very distinct and different questions, and in thus judging of qualifications, I am free to admit that in my opision no one should be admitted as a member of either House of Congress who is not really and truly loyal to the Constitution of the United States and to the Government established by it.

Q. State whether, from your observation, the events of the war have produced any change in the public mind of the South upon the question of the reserved rights of the States under the Constitution of the United States? A. That question I answered in part yesterday. While I cannot state the opinions of the Southern States upon the abstract question of the reserved rights of the States may have changed, my decided opinion is that a very thorough change has taken place upon the practical policy of resorting to any such right.

Q. What events or experience of the war have contributed to this change? A. First the people are satisfied that a resort to the exercise of this right, while it is denied by the Federal Government, will lead to war, which many thought before the late attempted secession would not be the case, and civil wars they are also now very well satisfied are dangerous to liberty; and, moreover, their experience in the late war, I think, satisfied them it greatly endangered their own. I allude especially to the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the military conscriptions, the proclamations of martial law in various places, general impressments and the levying of forced contributions, as well as the very demoralizing effects of war generally.

Q. When were you last a member of the Congress of the United States? A. I went out on the 4th of March, 1859.

Q. Will you state, if not indisposed to do so, the considerations or opinions which led you to identify yourselves with the rebellion so far as to accept the office of Vice Presidency of the Confederate States of America, so-called? A. I believed thoroughly in the reserved sovereignty of the several States of the Union under the compact of the Union or the Constitution of 1787; I opposed Secession, therefore, as a question of policy, and not one of right on the part of Georgia. When the State seceded, against my judgment and vote, I thought my ultimate allegiance was due to her, and I preferred to cast my fortune and destiny with hers and her people, rather than take any other course, even though it might lead to my sacrifice and her ruin. In accepting position under the new order of things my sole object was to do all the good I could in preserving and perpetuating the principles of liberty as established under the Constitution of the United States. If the Union was to be abandoned, either with or without force, which I thought a very impolitic measure, I wished, if possible, to rescue, preserve and perpetuate the principles of the Constitution. This I was not without hope might be done in the new confederacy of States formed. When the conflict arose, my efforts were directed to as speedy and peaceful an adjustment of the questions as possible. This adjustment, I always thought, to be lasting, would have ultimately to be settled upon a continental basis, founded upon the principles of mutual convenience and reciprocal advantage on the part of the States on which the Constitution of the United States was originally formed. I was wedded to no particular plan of adjustment, except the recognition as a basis of the separate sovereignty of the several States; with this, recognized as a principle, I thought all other questions of difference would soon adjust themselves according to the best interests, peace, welfare and prosperity of the whole country, as enlightened reason, calm judgment and a sense of justice might direct; this doctrine of the sovereignty of the several States I regarded as a self-adjusting, regulating principle of our American system of State Government, extending possibly over the continent.

Q. Have your opinions undergone any change since the opening of the rebellion in reference to the reserved rights of States under the Constitution of the United States? A. My convictions on the original abstract question have undergone no change, but I accept the issues of the war and the result as a practical settlement of that question. The sword was appealed to to decide the question, and by the decision of the sword I am willing to abide.

Q. If the proposition were to be submitted to Georgia, as one of the eleven States lately in rebellion, that she might be restored to political power in the government of the country upon the condition precedent that she would on the one hand extend suffrage to the negro, or on the other consent to their exclusion from the basis of representation, would she accept either proposition and take her place in the government of the country? A. I can only give my opinion; I do not think she would accept either as a condition precedent presented by Congress, for they do not believe that Congress has the rightful power under the Constitution to prescribe such a condition. If Georgia is a State in the Union, her people feel that she is entitled to the representation without conditions imposed by Congress; and if she is not a State in the Union, then she could not be admitted as an equal with the others; if her admission were trammeled with conditions that do not apply to all the rest alike, general universal suffrage amongst the colored people as they are now there, would by our people be regarded as about as great a political evil as could befall them.

Q. If the proposition were to extend the right of suffrage to those who could read and those who had served in the Union armies, would that modification effect the action of the State? A. I think the people of the State would be unwilling to do more than they have done for restoration. Restricted or limited suffrage would not be so objectionable as general or universal, but it is a matter that belongs to the State to regulate. The question of suffrage, whether universal or restricted, is one of State policy exclusively, as they believe. Individually, I should not be opposed to a proper system of restricted or limited suffrage to this class of our population; but, in my judgment, it is a matter that belongs of sight to the States to regulate exclusively each for itself; but the people of that State, as I have said, would not willingly, I think, do more than they have done for restoration; the only view, in their opinion, that could possibly justify the war that was carried on by the Federal Government against them was the idea of the indissolubleness of the Union; that those who held the administration for the time were bound to enforce the execution of the laws and the maintenance of the integrity of the country under the Constitution; and since that was accomplished, since those who had assumed the contrary principle—the right of secession and the reserved sovereignty of the States—had abandoned their cause, and the Administration here was successful in maintaining the idea upon which war was proclaimed and waged, and the only view in which they supposed it could be justified at all—when that was accomplished, I say the people of Georgia supposed their State was immediately entitled to all her rights under the Constitution. That is my opinion of the sentiment of the people of Georgia, and I do not think they would be willing to do anything further as a condition precedent to their being permitted to enjoy the full measure of their constitutional rights. I only give my opinion of the sentiment of the people at this time. They expected that as soon as the Confederate cause was abandoned that immediately the States would be brought back into their practical relations with the Government as previously constituted. That is what they looked to. They expected that the State would immediately have its representatives in the Senate and in the House, and they expected it in good faith as loyal men, as the term is frequently used. I mean by it loyal to law, order, and the Constitution, to support the Government under the Constitution. That was their feeling; they did what they did believing it was best for the protection of constitutional liberty. Toward the Constitution of the United States, as they construed it, the great mass of our people were always as much devoted in their feelings as any people ever were toward any cause. This is my opinion. As I remarked before, they resorted to secession with a view of maintaining more securely these principles, and when they found they were not successful in their object, in perfect good faith, as far as I can judge from meeting with them and conversing with them, looking to the future developments of their country, in its material resources as well as its moral and intellectual progress, their easnest desire and expectation was to allow the past struggle, disastrous as it was in its results, to pass by, and to co-operate with the true friends of the Constitution, with those of all sections who earnestly desire the preservation of constitutional liberty and the perpetuity of the Government in its purity. They have been a little disappointed in this, and are so now. They are patiently waiting, however, and believing that when the passions of the hour have passed away this delay in restoration will cease. They think that they have done everything that was essential and proper, and my judgment is that they would not be willing to do anything further as a condition precedent. They would simply remain quiet and passive.

Q. Does your own judgment approve the view you have given as the opinion of the people of the State? A. My own judgment is very decided that the question of suffrage is one that belongs under the Constitution, and wisely so, too, to the States respectively and exclusively.

Q. Is it your opinion that neither of the alternatives suggested in the question ought to be accepted by the people of Georgia? A. My own opinion is that these terms ought not to be offered as conditions precedent. In other words, my opinion is that it would be best for the peace, harmony and prosperity of the whole country that there should be an immediate restoration, an immedeate bringing back of the States into their original practical relations, and let all these questions then be discussed in common council. Then the representatives from the South could be heard, and you and all could judge much better of the tone and temper of the people, than you could from the opinions given by any individuals; you may take my opinion, or the opinion of any individual, but they will not enable you to judge of the condition of the State of Georgia so well as from her own representatives to be heard in your public councils in her own behalf; my judgment, therefore, is very decided that it would have been better, as soon as the lamentable conflict was over, when the people of the South abandoned their cause and agreed to accept the issue, desiring as they do, to resume their places and to look to the halls of Congress and the Courts for the protection of these rights in the Union—it would have been better to have allowed that result to follow under the policy adopted by the Administration than to delay or hinder it by propositions to amend the Constitution in respect to suffrage or any other new matter. I think the people of all the Southern States would, in the halls of Congress, discuss these question calmly and deliberately, and if they did not show that the views they entertained were just and proper, such as to control the judgment of the people of the other sections and States, they would quietly, patiently, and patrictically yield to whatever should be constitutionally determined in common council; but I think they feel very sensitively the offer to them of propositions to accept while they are denied all voice in the common council of the Union under the Constitution in the discussion of these propositions. I think they feel very sensitively that they are denied the right to be heard, and while, as I have said, they might differ among themselves in many points in regard to suffrage, they would not differ upon the question of doing anything further as a condition precedent to the restoration, and in respect to the alternate conditions to be so presented I do not think they would accept the one or the other. My individual general views as to the proper course to be pursued in respect to the colored people are expressed in a speech made before the Georgia Legislature, referred to in my letter to Senator Stewart; that was the proper forum, as I conceive, in which to discuss this subject, and I think a great deal depends on the advancement of civilization and progress looking to the benefit of all classes that these questions should be considered and kept before the proper forum.

Q. Suppose the States that are represented in Congress, and Congress should be of the opinion that Georgia should not be permitted to take its place in the Government of the country, except upon its assent to one or the other of the two propositions, is it then your opinion that under such circumstances Georgia ought to decline?

Witness. You mean the States now represented, and those only?

Mr. Boutwell. Yes.

Witness. You mean by Congress, Congress as it is now constituted, with the other eleven States excluded?

Mr. Boutwell. I do.

Witness. And you mean the same alternative propositions to be applied to all the eleven States as conditions precedent to their restoration?

Mr. Boutwell. I do.

A. Then I think she ought to decline, under the circumstances and for the reasons stated, and so ought the whole eleven. Should such an offer be made and declined, and these States should thus continue to be excluded and kept out, a singular spectacle would be presented; a complete reversal of position would be presented. In 1861 these States thought they could not remain safely in the Union without new guarantees; and now, when they agree to assume their former practical relations in the Union, under the Constitution as it is, the other States turn upon them and say they cannot permit them to do so safely to their interest without new guarantees on their part. The Southern States would thus present themselves as willing for immediate union under the Constitution, while it would be the Northern States opposed to it. The former disunionists would thereby become Unionists, and the former Unionists practical disunionists.

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EDUCATION.

THE FALL SESSION OF MISS ARROTT'S SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES will commence on Wednesday, September 12th, at her residence, corner of Poplar and Sixteenth streets Philadelphia. REFERENCES:—Rev. G. Emlen Hare, D. D., Rev. Thomas Brainerd, D. D., W. H. Allen, Esq., late President of Girard College. 1y17-1y*

ENGLISH PICKLES, CATSUPS, SAUCES, &c.—Crosse & Blackwell's English Pickles, Catsups, Sauces, Durham Mustard, Olives, &c., landing by ship Yorktown and for sale by JOS. B. BUSSIER & CO. 108 South Delaware avenue.

BOND'S BOSTON BISCUIT.—Bond's Boston Butter and Milk Biscuit, landing from steamer Norman, and for sale by JOS. B. BUSSIER & CO., Agents for Bond, 108 South Delaware avenue.

MEDICAL.

WISTAR'S BALSAM
OF
WILD CHERRY
HAS BEEN USED FOR NEARLY
HALF A CENTURY,
WITH THE MOST ASTONISHING SUCCESS IN CURING
Coughs, Colds, Hoarseness, Sore Throat, Influenza, Whooping Cough, Croup, Liver Complaint, Bronchitis, Difficulty of Breathing, Asthma and every affection of
THE THROAT, LUNGS AND CHEST.

CONSUMPTION,
which carries off more victims than any other disease and which baffles the skill of the Physicians to a greater extent than any other malady, often
YIELDS TO THIS REMEDY!
when all others prove ineffectual.

The Rev. JACOB SECHLER, of Hanover, Pa. Well known and much respected among the German population in this country, makes the following statement for the benefit of the afflicted.

DEAR SIRS—Having realized in my family important benefits from the use of your valuable preparation —WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY—it affords me pleasure to recommend it to the public. Some eight years ago one of my daughters seemed to be in a decline, and little hopes of her recovery were entertained. I then procured a bottle of your excellent Balsam, and before she had taken the whole of the contents of the bottle there was a great improvement in her health. I have, in my individual case made frequent use of your valuable medicine, and have always been benefited by it.

JACOB SECHLER.

PRICE ONE DOLLAR A BOTTLE.
FOR SALE BY
J. P. DINSMORE.
Dey Street, New York.
SETH W. FOWLE & SON.
Proprietors, Boston
AND BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

GRACE'S CELEBRATED SALVE

CURES CUTS, BURNS, SCALDS.

GRACE'S CELEBRATED SALVE
Cures Boils, Ulcers, Cancers.
GRACE'S CELEBRATED SALVE
Cures Chapped Hands, Chilblains.
GRACE'S CELEBRATED SALVE
Heals Old Sores, Flesh Wounds, &c.

It is prompt in action, removes pain at once, and reduces the most angry looking swellings and inflammations, as if by magic—thus affording relief and a complete cure.

Only 25 cents a box! (Sent by mail for 35 cents.)
For Sale by
J. P. DINSMORE, 36 Dey Street, New York.
S. W. FOWLE & SON, Proprietors, Boston and by all Druggists, Grocers and Country Stores. ja30-3m

OPAL DENTALINA.—A superior article for cleansing the Teeth, destroying animalcules which infest them, giving tone to the gums, and leaving a feeling of fragrance and perfect cleanliness in the mouth. It may be used daily, and will be found to strengthen weak and bleeding gums, while the aroma and detersiveness will recommend it to every one. Being composed with the assistance of the Dentist, Physician and Microscopist, it is confidently offered as a RELIABLE substitute for the uncertain washes formerly in vogue.

Eminent Dentists, acquainted with the constituents of the DENTALINA, advocate its use; it contains nothing to prevent its unrestrained employment. Made only by
JAMES T. SHINN, Apothecary,
Broad and Spruce streets.

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Henry A. Bower,
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Geo. C. Bower,
Charles Shivers,
G. J. Scattergood,
J. C. Turnpenny & Co.
Charles H. Eberle,
James N. Marks,
E. Bringhurst & Co.,
Dyott & Co.,
H. C. Blair,
Wyeth & Bro.

ESTLACK'S DIPHTHERIA LOZENGES.—These lozenges are a safe and speedy cure for Diphtheria, Coughs, Sore Throat, Hoarseness and Bronchial affections generally. Try them. THOS. ESTLACK, Jr., Druggist, S. W. corner of Eighteenth and Market streets, Philadelphia. fe6-2m

DRUGS,

CAMPHOR.—A lot of Camphor for sale by WILLIAM ELLIS & CO., Druggists, No. 724 and 722 Market street.

BLAIR'S CHOCOLATE FOR INVALIDS AND FAMILIES.—made from the true Caraccas Cocoa—free from all adulteration. The above article we can recommend as reliable for purity; exceedingly nutritious and acceptable to weak and delicate stomachs, for which it is especially intended; also suitable for family use. Put up in tin cases to preserve its peculiar and delightful flavor. HENRY C. BLAIR'S SONS, Apothecaries, Eighth and Walnut.

COD LIVER OIL.—Twenty-five barrels, new made, Cod Liver Oil, of very superior quality; Carb. Ammonia, just received, in jars; also, just received, twenty-five barrels very superior Alcohol, warranted 95 per cent., in the best of packages, and for sale by
JOHN C. BAKER & CO.,
oc21-1y No. 715 Market street.

EXTRACT OF BEEF for beef tea or Essence of Beef in sickness or for soups for table use. Made in Elgin, Illinois, by Gail Borden, from the juices of choice beef and is superior in delicious flavor and quality to any hitherto known. Packets with full directions, one dollar each. HUBBELL, Apothecary, 1410 Chestnut street.

DRUGGISTS' SUNDRIES.—Graduates—Mortars, Pill Tiles, Combs, Brushes, Mirrors, Tweezers, Pill Boxes, Horn Scoops, Surgical Instruments, Trusses, Hard and Soft Rubber Goods, Vial Cases, Glass and Metal Syringes, &c., all at "First Hands" prices.
SNOWDEN & BROTHER,
ap8-tf 23 South Eighth street.

ROBERT SHOEMAKER & CO., N. E. CORNER FOURTH AND RACE STREETS, Wholesale Druggists, Manufacturers and Dealers in Window Glass, White Lead, and Paints of every description, offer to the trade, or consumers, a complete stock of goods in their line, at the lowest market rates.
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MAGNESIA—Jenning's Calcined, in 10lb. round tins and boxes, also in bottles. Jenning's Carbonate of Magnesia, in 2 oz. and 4 oz. papers. Heavy Calcined Magnesia, fine, and for sale by CHARLES ELLIS, SON & CO., Druggists, Market and Seventh streets, Philadelphia. se6

BAY RUM.—Just received, an invoice of Genuine Imported Bay Rum, for sale by the gallon, by ROBERT SHOEMAKER & CO., Druggist, N. E. corner Fourth and Race streets.

BUSINESS CARDS.

PASSPORTS PROCURED.
JOHN H. FRICK,
NOTARY PUBLIC,
COMMISSIONER FOR ALL STATES,
PENSION AND PRIZE AGENT,
No. 232 DOCK Street.
Acknowledgments, Depositions, Affidavits to Accounts taken. mh13-3m

628 HOOP SKIRTS, 628
NEW SPRING STYLES NOW READY
of Hopkins' "own make," at No. 628 ARCH Street. These Skirts are gotten up expressly to meet the wants of first-class trade, and embrace every size and style for Ladies, Misses and Children, which, for finish and durability, have no equal in the market, and warranted to give satisfaction. Also, constantly on hand, a full assortment of good Eastern made Skirts, from 15 to 40 springs, at very low prices. Skirts made to order, altered and repaired. Wholesale and retail. no13-6m

E. C. KNIGHT & CO., WHOLESALE GROCERS, S. E. Cor. WATER and CHESTNUT streets, Philadelphia. Agents for the sale of the Products of the Southwark Sugar Refinery and the Grocers' Sugar House, of Philadelphia. ja1-1yr

GEORGE SHARP, Patentee and manufacturer of the BALL PATTERN SILVER WARE, No. 41 Prune street. ja28-3mo*

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THOMPSON'S LONDON KITCHENER, OR EUROPEAN RANGE, for families, hotels, or public institutions, in TWENTY DIFFERENT SIZES. Also, Philadelphia Ranges, Hot-air Furnaces, Portable Heaters, Lowdown Grates, Fireboard Stoves, Bath Boilers, Stewhole Plates, Broilers, Cooking Stoves, etc., at wholesale and retail, by the manufacturers,
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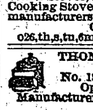

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WARM-AIR FURNACES,
For Warming Public and Private Buildings,
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BALE ROPE AND TWINE MANUFACTURED and for Sale by
FITLER, WEAVER & CO.,
23 North Water street, and
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NEW RAISINS.—500 boxes Bunch and Layer Raisins 200 boxes Valencia Raisins, 100 mats Seedless Raisins for sale by JOS. B. BUSSIER & CO., 115 South Water street.