trons for the exercise of public mithors, had who held nathority under them might be anen Convention assembled. It also blind slavery is ordinance; it varieties all offices, reputately or already stated, the war debt, and and its promising efficer to by its ordinaucra of the most important topics, logisther will copy of this old Constitution of the State suit alive) before the Present at the U Platen that he might see that there added a furtibal compliance with my believe. T nk wayat satisfa tory. A logislatur w

n secretor as a right or approved a resultuto be orders of the President, no voice wa-loard, through the public prist or elsewhere, to question his authority, or sound any note of neustrance. The restoration was a spi-be complete. Men's hores revived presimed to have pared, and that they might por to work with, positionize in endeas of high report the waste every water made by the ras

or which had been provided a Court of

But Congress assembled. The Presideus in his communication related the steps he had taken in the restoration of authority of the Union, and aurous ced that tranquility prevailed, and the them to be represented in Congress. These affirmations were promptly met with deof the army, who had recently made tour in the Sonta for personal observation on which the President's representations were how a, was pronounced "a white washing report." Private letters were read to untain the denial, from persons whose names it was alleged to be necessa ry to conceal, lest their revelations should affect their personal safety; and these were assumed to outweigh the evidence both of the President and General. And it was now amounced, for the first time, that the President's whole course had been an error, and an excess of authority; and that the forfeitness and penalties, and pusgatorial process through which we had been passed by him availed nothing, net-withstanding the examples in dealing with insubordination by the Executive in the times of Washington and Jackson; that Congress, by legislation, possessed the only rightful power to end the war; and, as if in vindicate in authority against an imputed usurpation of the Executive, must take up the subject de nore. The delegation of men of moderate comusel whom the State had elected to Congress were, without discrimination, exclude from their seats in both Houses, and denied the privilege, which was asked, appearing before a committee raised to it quire into the condition of the Southern States, and whether any of them were er cross examine witnesses who should testify in reference to North Carolina and, it they deemed it expedient, to call other That committee, though ap-

pointed about the 12th of December, 1865, did not, during the whole of the 39th congress, nor has its successor, in the present Congress, to this day, andle any report giving its opinion in the matter submitted to it, touching the condition of the States mentioged, or their title to be represented in Congress. They reported a mass of some eight handred actave pages of expaste testimony of military officers, Bureau flicers and others, (the Hon. Brown being the only native North Carolinian testifying as to her, and his evidence being of the most favorable character to wards the people and the State, but the opinions or conclusions no either of the inquiries referred to them -On the 13th of June, 1866, Congress, by a vote of two-thirds majority in card House, adopted a joint resolution propoposing a fourtreath amendment to sin-Constitution of the United States, report ed from this committee; but this amend ment contains to reference as to "the conrepresentation." And the Washington the Senate and understood to represent the sentiments of Congress, in a standing neticle beaded "the Great Leane." for many weeks neged its passage as a mere se of a ctional power between the Northern and Southern States; whether the North should have a majority of 43 members, as by the present role of apportionment, or highersether majority to 03, by adopting the sale proposed in the amendment. So page this article; the question is, whether the North is to have 93 or 94 majority in the House of Representatives."

Of Substitution of members and some of them will lose three." This fourteenth article proposed to be on negroes the right of suffrage; and that ticular topic. It is ascending to the four lalready stated, is equally mischievous and coal, in hod from midnight till daylight, mac and Rio Grande shall be desfined encompassed about.

W. M. Linened Sa Sa

THE RULE OF THE REPORT

States was destroyed by the war, and that States, by requiring her regulation outlibs the President's provisions for its revival subject to be adopted and followeds were nugatory, by reason of which there Having occasion to comment on this no lawful Legislature in the State, clause of the Constitution, I am remind-Surely it is not reasonable to Impute the ty is found for this extraordinary assump vicction of this amendment as an offence, tion of power, in that provision, decla gations, the Legislature itself was unau-this clause authorizes Congress, (which

further changes. During all this time aristocratic or monarchical innovation. I and up to the present there has been no not needed for this," he says, "it will be epresentation allowed from any

who will swarm about the seate of power Congress, at most, has only a negative so had been sounded, at the negativing of the constitution and the subversion and patronage, and restored him to his exchanges; and, therefore, is entitled to herefore, birthright, by a majority vote of two thirds no dictation nor votes in interfering with and, in effect, command of these acts of Heavy, in his almost successful efforts to and, in effect, command of these acts of Heavy, in his almost successful efforts to defeat the adoption of the Constitution. Does any one doubt that, but the legion and the subversion of our society.

In the early history of the Roman Republic, we read that the Phebeians, for bulk of the colored vote could be carried as readily for an Emperor, if he was reconstitution and Act the subversion detection and Act the subversion of the constitution and the subversion of the constitution and the subversion of our society.

In the early history of the Roman Republic, we read that the Phebeians, for each of the conduct of their rival party the Patrito provide the regulation to this end, Virginia, and Willie Jones and his adler-through the agency of a State Convention cuts in North Carolina, had lead the ar-yet Congress has determined to secure the gument now farmished, in the assertion of result by setting uside the requirements the power claimed under this clause, of the present Constitution on this lived, would it not have been rejected, and with ignoring the old constitutional electors, indignation, in both of these great states and itself establishing the very qualifica- of the South I tion for electors of the members of the

ture government. In other words Con-

most wholly is give attention to our ex-dering it to be destroyed and another to 30,000 of the citizens best adapted to enser to be adopted in its stead? Well may advise and to educate the popular mind, was not enough; it examines them with a moree, the relation of the States to each the course of Congress, in these proceed. gress never before essayed to invade the ernal affairs. It is true that during the be. war the President by proclamation pro-nounced slavery abolished, and General schofield, as soon as he was in a situation to give effect to the principle, repeated the announcement by a General Order at Raleigh. These were military proceedings situent body of the State, not on such merely. But Congress approached slavery with an amendment of the constitution, and the convention elected by order of the President deraied it expedient to signalize the expressions of the people of the State in their longing for quietude, to extingui-la It by an ordinance of its own. The inbiou of slavery, however, was but an ac-"If the amendment be not adopted, all of negation. It but prescribed what shall the larger Northern States will lose two not be, in the future existence of the state; er illustration added to the sagacious rebut, by the acts of "reconstruction," Cougress reaches its arm far beyondlits sphere | most dangerous of all revolutions is a re-

and sentiment between the people of qualifications of its own electors. It might these different sections, we should have have been otherwise, but not more clear-heard no more of the North and South, as 'ly, expressed thus; "Whereas the States adverse interests, but that each would of the Union have prescribed, and have amendment through a Congress, in which thous, in each State, shall have the same the South had not a solitary member. Is qualifications that the State requires in pecced that, supported as it was, on such require a Convention to prescribe, who grounds, in the organ of Congress, it shall vote in a State election, the State

which rejected it, have rendered it valid ! Congress, and by the press, that anthoriand make a the ground of more stringent ing that "the United States shall guaranmeasures, as is said has been done by tee to each State a Republican form of Congress, if, according to their own alle government, &c." on the supposition, that the rized and could do no binding act .- for this purpose, is the United States,) to n, therefore, you hear some good man examine the Constitutions of the several ay, in his eager desire for quictude, that States, from time to time, to determine a should have adopted the 14 h amend- whether they are R-publican in form, and, ment, and been spared the re-construction if found in its judgment not to be, to acts, inquire of him, how we could have make or require them to be made such ratified it, if it be true, as Congress asserts. As well might it be maintained that a corthant we have no valid Legislature! poration chartered for the purpose of int'engress met again in December 1866. surance of buildings, of which models a the last days of the search, and of the were furnished, should become a dictator Congress, there was passed the first of the of the architecture of the country. Of series called "Reconstruction Acre." It all the provisions of the Constitution, was approved March 2, 1867. Lut was this would seem to have been the most in-found so defective, that, in the succeeding significant in the discussions which pro-Congress, which was convened, in extra ecded its adoption, or among the commenession, immediately upon the expiration tators since. The most extended treatise of the old one, it was amended by an act on it, to be found any where, is contained in the 17th of March, and by another act in about half a page of the 53d number a July, and since the commencement of of the Federalist, written by Mr. Madihe present regular session, there are pen- son, which he says it was intended "to ling, I know not how many bills for still defend the system (then existing) against State of a harmless superfluity;" and to another to South, to act forth their grievances, or objection, which he states for the sake of energet the misrepresentations which answering it: that "it may become a pro-ave constantly abounded, of the transactics text for alterations in the State govern-I need not state, that the scope and in- States themselves," he observes, "the anout of these acts is to admit all negroes, thority extends no further than in a grap. on, to the exercise a pre-existing government of the form, t capable and intelligent classes, are the States may substitute for them"most capative and intension, and intension of particular for the states may substitute for them to be excluded and chartest from the states and that "the only restriction impressed shall have tried each man, not, of course, by bringing him before the presence of witnesses, but upon the the presence of witnesses, but upon the information of particular formation formation of particular formation formation of particular formation formation of particular formation of particular formation formation of particular formation for fine particular formation of the guilt of section and that the only restriction impressed in the fill means the choice, there is no doubt that the state of the country formation. And that the only restriction impressed is the fill means the choice, there is no doubt that the state of the country would give a negative voice. But the state of the country for the true fill means the choice, there is no doubt that the odoubt formation of the guilt of the propose to make their advice and influence in favor of the true fill means the choice, there is no doubt that the odoubt formation of the guilt of the propose to make their advice and influence in favor of the country formation of the guilt of the information of partisans and sycophants, not propose to make an "exchange" at all, who will swarm about the seats of power Congress, at most, has only a negative eq

And does it not strike you, that men Convention, which it intends shall be im- had coased to be serious on to grave a topposed on the people of the State, in its tu-lic, and had become jourse, when they prosume, and assert, that our accestors, who gress provides for clothing the negro with framed the Coast tation of 1776, and that the rights of an elector, and taking it away Macon, Guston and their associates, who terwards in America, and that, by the from a large part of the white men, and amended it is 1835, and the whole peo- gradual process of training the people farnishes the pattern in its direction for ple of the State, since it became a State, he election of members of a Convention. were innormal of what constituted a Re joyment and support, they acquired the agreed to return to the class tipus agreed to return to the election of members of a Convention, were ignorant of what constituted a Rethe domestic government of a State. The not Republican, and that Congress was to the number of 70,090, and strike down accommodation; and to pursue the allegor Federal Constitution being provided all performing a long neglected duty in or by proscription the white vote by 23,000 of Agrippa, the body took arms, and reduce ings, be said, by their chief mover, to be ment? The philosophers tell us that exoutside of the Constitution. They cortainly are not within it, and ought not to But this is an experiment upon the most brought to a perfect equality; and in soother, and the like kindred topics. Con- ings, be said, by their chief mover, to be province of a State government in its in- tainly are not within it, and ought not to If such requisitions can be made up sucred and important of human things, on the States and obedience exacted by the civilization, the order and existence the longer should be shortened and squared principles, or "with powers organized in

an act which destroyed every light in State, and, with these particular which destroyed every light in State, and, with these particular which destroyed every light in State, and, with these particular which destroyed every light in State, and with these particular which destroyed every light in a superior of the superdiment, be keeply because the adoption of the superdiment, be keeply because the superdiment, and therefore fulls, having abandoned labor and lept or the superdiment, and the present number, to ninety-three; the term and love, confidence and every line policy and government, which is attempted to effect in the adoption of the superdiment, be keeply because the adoption of the superdiment, be keeply because to the doubt in a policy and desired are superdiment, and the superdiment of the superdiment, be keeply in a present number, to ninety-three; the term and every in a present number of the State, in the future, in the adoption of the superdiment, be keeply in a present number of the superdiment, and therefore the superdiment of the and still fostered from America may be alled an exception. In Europe, in ten North, New York, Pennsylvania, Object of sixty, there may have and others, where the paneity in number to person or property reputation or maintenance of the constitution in the been governments bearing that name; by far the most conspicuous of them, the Roembrace the o her as a common brother the right to prescribe, the qualifications of man, being a military empire, which flourhood. But far otherwise was the argue the electors for both houses of their State lebed by plundering the world and rioting be weighed by us in adopting a bere, ject, will find in the opinion of the hood. But far otherwise was the argue the electors for both houses of their State ished by plundering the weighed by us in anoping a new jeet, win more in the electors for both houses of their State ished by plundering the weighed by us in anoping a new jeet, with more the place of the preservation of the spoils, but with none of the security where their number would exert a power. Supreme Court, in the case of the but a struggle for the preservation of ties for personal freedom and right which ful influe, ce in the State, and, with the State vs. Manuel, in 1838, that at that have been known in this country and unproscriptions existing and in prospect, time, and before, the free negro hart, national freedom as understood by in
der the British monarchy. The enlightmay render it controlling?

In a Court of Justice in North Carolis before the dark days of civil war. In it to be wondered at, that the Legislatures voters for the most numerous branch of der the British monarchy. The enlight- may render it controlling? of the Southern States should, as they did the State Legislature." And instead of ened and refined nation of France has Gentlemen, the fact before our eyes, reject it; and it may be asked, was it ex- tongress undertaking to prescribe, or to made three or four attempts to establish that the colored men, in the election orand mountain republican institutions since dered by Congress have, with the minutits King nobby contributed his aid in the est exceptions, been formed and compactscould not be rejected? Was there any has the right, and has always heretofore establishment of American independence; and into a party, upon a supposed diversionable contumacy manifested in its rejection? And if the theory of Congress, and for electors of Prestone, that all civil government in these ident and Vice President of the United votes, perhaps forced votes, of the probut in every instance has relapsed and rety of interest and antagonism to the turned to monarchy; and that by the whites, is a conclusive feason why the

votes, perhaps forced votes, of the peo-ple. What is the tesson we derive from power, and assert the dignity and rights this great fact in human experience? It of the race, which discovered and settled is, that few nations of the world have ever had a population sufficiently virtuous founded its institutions and have always would even the assent of the Legislature, ed of the claim not unfrequently made in and intelligent to govern themselves. Regoverned it heretofore. Such a consider publican institutions, which divide out ation renders union on our part a matter power into departments, which define not of self-defence, and appeals to the pride oly rights but remedies, and base their of race and manhood, as well as to interwhole machinery upon the constituent est, duty, the prosperity, safety, and the body of the people, are too complicated, and too easily abused, to be long sup-ported by an ignorant or debased people. I think the line of color should be the And in those countries, where they have line of division in the exercise of the elecbeen maintained there has been always tive franchise. I am therefore opposed an exclusion of far more than one half of to what has been denominated "impartial all the inhabitants from the right of sul-frage. The entire female sex, nearly rights of the white man. Whatever may equal to the males in all countries, for the be his condition as to education or other sake of the decency of society and the test proposed, his associations will enable delicacy proper to be observed towards him to vote with a freasonable degree of them, and all makes under the age of ma-intelligence, and he should not be excludjority at twenty-one years, have been unied from the rights of the race to which the new enjoyment of freedom, aspire with neighbor to become political opversally excluded. To these are added he belongs and which experience has to become politicalns, and rely upon co operating with ancient political opsuch others, as, in any particular State, shown that he may exercise without dedispensations of Government or party ponouts in opposing such a course, is wisdom and discretion has thought untriment to the public weal. That the fit to be entrusted with political power whites have the power of defence in their or "to have a portion of the Republic own hands in easily demonstrated. By committed to their charge." In the American of 1860, the white men of the ican States, after an education by expe- State above twenty-one years of age rience to government by elections for a were, in round numbers, 138,000, the hundred years, it has been found and to blacks 71,000—the majority of whites commit the ballot to all white men twen- being nearly two to one. By the regisy one years of age, who give assurance tration of 1867, the whites entitled that they are bona fide members of the your are 103,000, the blacks 21,000community where they vote, and, in most shaning that all the colored men were regastances, where they have contributed between and that some 35,000 whites are omething of taxes to the major not registered, supposing the numbers to tenance of government. But, if, for this remain in the same relative proportion as seriod of time, this people had lived un- in 1860. Some few thousand white men der a grinding desputiem like the Russi contilled under the rule adopted have pro-an, or the thinese, (the latter is more ap-posite to the case in hand) would they ing these and some 25,000 to 20,000 disof the main sex, inhabitants of the State, anty (the emphasis is his) of a Republis have been qualified to carry on gov. havebleed, there still remains, according twenty-one years of age and upwards, can form of government, which supposes crament upon any such rule! The French, to registration, a white majority of 32,000 with all their science, social refinement voters. And the very prescription of the and polish, thought the establishment of rest, known as it is in many instances to of the elective frauchise by a provision in which is guaranteed." He goes on to the Sante Constitution which a considerasay, the forms then existing would be sitted in the street, some constitution which a considerasay, the forms then existing would be sitted in the street, some constitution which a considerasay, the forms then existing would be sitted in the street, some constitution of the constitution which a considerasay, the forms then existing would be sitted in the constitution of the c of government. They should "liberty, matter what their stain of the guilt of se-

> had been sounded, at the beginning of the of the constitution and the subversion presented to intend an Agrarian division cians, made a secresion (the historian user of spoils, as they are expected to be for "ratification," and that the voners would not have a for more intelligent comprethis word) from the city, and took-up and fortified a camp on the sacred mountain. M. Agriopa, with ten of the principal hendion of the government they were cosenators, was sent out by the Patricians to remonstrate with them and make latter? The free governments we have peace. He told them that they were all heretotore enjoyed are exceptional blessne people; that human society was like ings among markind; for which we can the human body composed only of differ never be sufficiently grateful to God, in ent parts, and their withdrawal, by the that he permetted them to grow up graduconspiracy they had formed, reminded him of a fable he had heard, of a comptally, like the oak, first in England and atracy of members of the body against the belly. The analogy was as apposite, that from generation to generation to their cumuch as the shorter cannot be distraint and duress; if their old and es- of human society. Where has it ever off to equality; a simple operation of sur no turther advanced in civilization, that members of the body, and that there are ar

of deliverance? It requires a wisdom "to look into the seeds of time and

principles, or "with powers organized in such form, as to them may seem most it was twenty centuries ago. It is highest, that the result will be such and the first of the sale of equality with the sale of equality with the sale of equality with the sale of the sale of equality with the sale of equality with the sale of the sale of equality with the sale of appended to the constitution, let, is the remainder of the constitution, let, is the presentation of the condition of the con the admiration of the world and which proposition to admit the negro to po points of enquiry directed to the Committee, whe condition of these States or their want of qualifications of the electors or the dignity of the constitution and framers the authors of constitutions and framers that they are sufficient to representation. But the constitution against the negro with the right of suffrage, that they are sufficient to the constitution against the negro with the right of suffrage, the negro women to carry without any other qualifications of the electors or their want of qualifications of the electors or their want o

ple, are to carry the dead weight of And here let me say, that a Whig of the barbaric race of Atrica, whose the Whigs as I am and have uniform highest pretension to civilization and by been, never in connexion with any culture is, that it has been, until a other political association, I am gratimost recent period, the slaves of times fied that the Democratic party, my to whom it is proposed to force them old adversaries, have, with whatever

na, all the rights of a white man, all the conterls of parties in this con-(with special statutes to punish with try, between Jefferson and Hamilton death those who might kidmap, de port or attempt to enslave him) except the privilege of testifying in a case affecting white men, which has been to importance, that now under the consideration of the American per extended since their general libera tion, and, I doubt not, will be made

iong way together before they reach.
I trust, I need not say here, that I will the forks of the road at which they universal. have no unimosities or unjust projudi separated. They agreed in ele ces against the black people. I regard it as better for them, as well as mitted that these were States of the for us, that there shall be regular and Union, and that they had Republican stable government, by which all shall forms of government at the time of be protected in the pursuit of steady the adoption of the Constitution (ever labor, in honest employment, in the acquisition of comforts and of wealth; Charles II ); that each of these, unde and that each race, in the sphere of the Constitution, possessed the power its own complexion, shall have all the foregulate the elective franchise with pleasures and enjoyments of society in its limits, and that the African rac and social intercourse. Those of them was, in the farthest possible degree, who shall be content to net on this removed from the standard of qualifiprinciple, and to rely upon honesty, cation required of an elector. But ndustry and good behavior, will in the end find themselves far better of tem are assailed and the entire fabric than will be such as, intoxicated with of the State governments is menace charities, or the distribution of confiscated estates in expectancy, or other the army against an enemy in a fer good fortune in the whirlpool of reve eign war, which threatened our declution. Party spirit has been destruction; and if they are to be sucscribed by a great man as "the mad-ness of many for the gain of a few." To them the gain of honest labor will be far greater than will over accrue from attendance on leagues, barangnes, and the agitations of these dis-The means, gentlemen, of averling

this radical change in our institutions

is in the hands of the free white men

of North Carolina. Congress has not undertaken to impose it upon us by an immediate fat of its own, but by means of an election with a majority of more than 32,000 white voters reg of more than 32,000 white voters reg section. The "cellipse of the under istered already, after the exclusion of standing," which it occasions, will pass 30,000 more who are entitled under away; the minds and hearts of the our State Constitution to the elective franchise. And if election still means them to sustain a wrong policy, under an apprehension that if they do not comply. Congress will visit them with avestiture with so much of the power of the State. But a base fear, inspir ed by those who assume to be the shape the conduct of white freemen at the polls. By rejecting this measure, our old institutions remain, subject for the present to interruptions by military orders from the comman ding general of the district; and I have no apprehension that the distinguished officer who is now in com mand, or any other who will succeed him, will indulge in wanton ernelty, or visit citizens with any marks of displeasure for exercising their own of the upper M esissippi, in Misson

Northern and middle States, under the same august and immortal chief, a harsher pe alty than the destructive measure proposed. It is difficult to imagine what can be more injurious up the shores of the Hudson, and the that either negro domination or their hills of Jersey, and seroes into Penaabove what they agrieved in the bloody fields of the Carolinas and prophets of Congress, is no motive to Georgia, and at the final triumph in Virginia; and though they had recently a dreadful investine conflict deeply to be deplored, yet it developed the soldierly qualities and here virtues of our generation, on eithe of a glorious ancestry. And with a its immentable results, it has given to the American name and character as celat throughout the world which for ture ages will admire. In the valley indement in casting their suffrages in and Ohio, are thousands upon thou an election in which they are required ands of inhabitants who trace with to vote. But it is a subject of such pride their descent from these offici infinite importance, that we must do no gentium, the old States of the our duty, and leave consequences to Southern Atlantic frontier, who are that Deity which controls all human satisfied with the triumph of their arms; who cherish no office arms; who rejoice that a family fend has been ended; who believe of deliverance? It requires a wisdom torfeiture, and suffering enough and tell which grains will grow and which that it is not just, expedient, or he will not," to which I do not lay claim but to such an inquiry Ireply, we are whom they have been victorious, to not without grounds of hope, if we humiliation and r in, in a fearful ev

Madison and Rufus King, Uny and

tary principles at least. They all ad-

Rhode Island, with her charter

now these first rudiments of our sys

to as if we were entering the ranks

construing rallying the people of the

the crisis, and restoring the govern-

ment to its old and proper function

and establishing a real peace, it will not be as democrate, but as the survi-vors of the Constitution and the de-

liverers of the country, and then would

ensue a scene of joy such as has not been witnessed on earth since the Prince of Peace appeared, and the morning stars sang together.

Gentlemen, the passion of reveng

is not an enduring motive of huma-

white people of this country can not

conjunction, it is true, with those

millions of exports, in future to be se