Towers of the Conventides

in of the de montions

THE SENTINEL.

Wednesday, September 12, 1866.

Argument.

The discussion of this question, at this late seried, can have little practical utility, yet it may affect instruction and correct erromeous fews. The issues growing out of the acts of the Convention are mainly, if not wholly, judical, and can only be decided by the Courts.— What we knee to say, therefore, is the errors error in the public mind,

All our conclusions in regard to the rights of All our conclusions in regard to the rights of the States, the powers of the President or of the Congress, and Indeed the multiforce questions growing out of the war, must be determined by an appeal to the Constitution of the United States, and the official interpretations of that intrappear by the Supreme Court of the United States about appeals to history, or the laws of intions, or the cultions of eminent lawyers.

has parforment, but they settle tothing. The affinition of the Unlimi States, and not the sof matiens, must determine all questions like to the powers of the Federal government, the rights and powers of the States and milations they metals to each other.

the relations they means to each other.

The centest both of principle and of arms through we which have passed, and which is still unsettled, must find its solution in the logic of faces and in the principles of the Constitution. Insumuch as many of the questions are new and phylening, it is, therefore, not supprising that blanders have been committed. What President Johnson emply to have done, may be better determined now, thus at the beginning. It is not to be presumed, that mustat man could, at once, have looked through the untirety of the tangled web which presented itself at the close of hostilities. The most safe, the most wise and the most ingliffmatic policy, exceld hot have therefore been developed fell. Most upon the President's brain in the outset. Time, circumstances, the reason and the necessity of things, and a suraful study of the great charter of his payers and duties, could alone make clear and perfect what was at first obscure sod half formhat was at first obscure and half formperfect what was at lifet to the president Johnson ed. Certain we are, that President Johnson determined to do right, following his best judgment, and so far, with some abatement arising from the position difficulties of his position, he has done admirably well. Let us, therefore,

has done admirably well. Let us, therefore, briefly examine the points in controversy, touching the powers of the Federal government, the rights of the littles, the powers of the President and the powers of the late State Convention.

First, as to the rights and presers of the Federal and Sinte governments and of the President.

Our appeal in this investigation, as before stated, must be to the Constitution of the United States and to the official interpretations of that instrument by the Supreme Court,—the final legal stricter. Originally, all supreme authority was lodged with the people of the States. We do not say absolute power, because that only belongs to God. For mutual protention and benefit, a conject was formed by the articles of confederation, but the powers grantand benefit, a compact was formed by the cles of comfederation, but the powers grant to the compact were insdequate to the pus-s of the Union. The people of the States, since, abanduning the idea, as we humbly be of a compact, or alliance, or bague, and the designation of the "Constitution of the United States." This instrument defined the powers of the Federal Government, the people of the States surrendering all their praviously held powers and rights deemed necessary to the formation of this "moore perfect Union," reserving all powers, not granted, to themselves. Compilisated and now as this experiment was, the restriction of the Constitution of adhered to their, forough all time. It was the ear upont is the world. But also I corrupgradual encreachments upon the rights of finites, and faunticism, have well nigh ruled abits constructed by our fathers.

Transference which spring up, which ouland in an appeal to arms, was first a conof parties and actions simply, in which the
mad government was not a party. Augry
thing heatility, norty actions,

and government on the a post-ign and blifer heatility, purely acctional, a have still reged, antil couled down by ag-more reflection, but for the untoward events to followed. At this crisis, the supposed

is a coulied.

It is to Committee the spire chains for the analysis of the Committee the spire chains for the analysis of the Februal such control of the Februal such control of the Februal such control of the States to the reduction of the Februal such control of the States to the reduction of the Februal such control of the States to the reduction of the states the reduction of the states the reduction of the states the reductio in all precessorious and in all the action of the press, and in the interview of Mr. Linelan with the Confederate commissioners at Portress Montos, no higher claim was estup. The powers to import for the President or the Congress of the Vederal authority, and converted by some, as a conqueror of the States; or their ashjugator;

and restoration, were never claimed officially by the Federal sixtherity, and certainly have not a shadow of warrant in the Constitution. The right in a simple one and extends no further than the right with full power-to except the Constitution and love of the United States within the limits of the States. And here, the power

The resistance of the States or people of the States to the execution of the Constitution and the laws having teem suppressed or overcome, the Pederal authority, in re-adjusting and re-conciling the difficulty, extends no further than those and necessary to the adjustment of the mathinary of the Federal and State governments, in order to harmony in the execution of the laws. The results of the war conferred no new powers either upon the President, or the Congress or the entirety of the Federal government. We are not talking of what the Peasiment. We are not talking of what the President or the Congress or the samy did during the war and after, but we are enquiring as to what they had the right to do, under the Constitution. cessed, what was the duty of the President!— To restore or reconstruct the States or the Union! Certainly not. The Union had not been dis-Certainly not. The Union had not been dis-membered, nor were the States broken up. But the people of the States in their allemation and refractory course towards the Federal govern-ment, both in the exercise of registative and ex-centive powers, had adopted such organic changes in their Constitutions and laws as still prevented the execution of the Constitution and prevented the execution of the Constitution and laws of the United States. The States them-solves could not commit transar, nor by any act, except by force of arms, destroy the Union.—Whatever of legal or moral guilt had been in-corred, attached to the people and not to the States, and it may well be questioned, if the States themselves were not tainted, as the President admits, whether any taint could attach to

dent admits, whether any taint could attach to
the official acts of their officiary. Whatever of
guilt was personal, and its character must be
determined by the Courts alone, in full view of
the law, the motives and the circumstances.

The suppression of the armed resistance of
the States to the authority of the United States
suspended temporarily the functions of the
civil governments of the resisting States, and
necessarily subjected them to the control of milnecessarily subjected them to the control of mit-itary authority. As soon as the resistance to the National authority ceased, there was no power under the Constitution in the President or any other branch of the government to hold the States under military rule. The only legiti-mate object of the war being the restoration of the National authority and the enforcement of its laws, so seen as the refractory States were in a condition to exercise civil functions and bear their part randily in the machinery of the government, the President or the National government could no longer, under the Constitution, exercise military authority in those States, with-

out their consent.

The question then arises, by what legitimate method was this to be effected? It strikes us that there were three methods by which this might be done. Let it first be premised, that when the President says, in his proclamation, that the rebettion "has in its revolutionary progress deprived the people of the State of North Carolina of all civil government," he certainly meant to say simply, that the functions of the civil governments of the States had been undeft governments of the States had been coded and supersoded by the military as w and not that the govern were defunct or minibilated. And further, when he says, "it becomes necessary and proper to carry out and enforce the obligation of the United States to the propie of North Carolina in scouring the enjoyment of a republican form of government," he certainly does not mean to say that North Carolina was at that time without a Genetitution and without a Republican form of government. By no means, But in order to reassure the people of North Carolina of his purpose to abridge them of no right or privilege pledged to them by the Lonsitution, but strictly to hold the Federal government to the rail discharge of its governments to the States, he would so suspend the aperation of martial law as to enable the people of North Carolina themselves to carry out and excreise the functions of the Republican form of government they alwards had, as that they might after or assend what had been done by them during their revolutionary state, and an is conform it to the Canalitation of the United States as to enable the Mathonal Executive to execute the Constitution analization of the timbed claims in to make the Mational Executive to execute the Constitu-tion and laws of the United States within its min. It will be seen, taking the idea all along, but the sole legitimate object of the National recomment, in taking up arms, in proceedings

the forms of the State Constitutions. It is enough to say that this method did not meet the views of the President, as a safe and certain one to affect the object of the restoration of the national authority. Secondly, admitting his peaches, and promptly paid his note.

right to hold the States temporarily under military rate, which none can deny, be might have so far suspended that rate as to allow the people to meet and elect a new Legislature, which might have called a Convention in due form. Or, thirdly, we hold that it was legitimate for him to act as he did, to asspend martial law, so as to allow the people to elect a Convention de novo. His proclamation was both authorita dr nove. His proclamation was both authorita-tive and permissive,—requiring the people to act under prescribed conditions and then less ving them free to act, subject to certain limits thou. It may be said that the conditions limits tion. It may be said that the conditions imposed, prolifeiting carain classes from taking part in the election of the Convention, violated the existing Constitution of the State and vitiated the legitimacy of the Convention it, acid. It may be that the Courts might differ with the President as to the guits or innocessor of the exempted classes, but there was no flow to want for the decision of the Courts. His

right to hold the States under military rule only temporary, and the peaceand unfery of entire States; hence an imperious political and moral necessity obliged him to act promptly.— Hence we conclude, that the authority to author mitoral mecessity obliged him to act promptly—
Hence we conclude, that the authority to suthor
ize the people, in whom he could conside, to act,
and the permit the election and insumblage of
the Convention, was legitimately and properly
exercised, granting to the President the liberty
to act upon his best judgment, in the absence of
any specific directory or any established rube
laid down by the Coorts or the Constitution for
his guidance in the president. We discard, as
foreign to the question, all claims set up for the
President as a conquertor of the States, or their
liability to saduction as conquered provinces or
territories, or the risima act up by the Congress
to prescribe terms of restoration or conditions
of re-habilitation. None of these ideas property
enters into this question, or have any thing to do
with the case. The sole authority of the Redsral Government to raise troops, levy a war and
suppress the resistance of the States, in the
forestication of the Constitution and reconclination, or the ball to the States in the
forestication of the Constitution of the Constitution on the Constitution of the Cinical States and papality
yields the guestion, is no where found in the Contitude continuous of restoration and reconclination, to preserve to them, under all circonstitution, to president in calling a Co

Toggams, the Ohio Abolitionist, who had the unbinshing impudence to profess to represent North Carolina, in part, in what Mr. Holden calls "the loyal Convention" in Philipdelphia, made a speech. Indeed he appears to have been the spokesums of the Delegation, and to have entirely obscured such lesser lights as Goodloe, Hon. A. H. Jones, and others. From a sketch of this dirty follow's remarks in the New York Horald, we extract the following:

"I was told by a Quaker in North Carolina, as Several parties of the aild was coming here, that he had seed the Bodies ed, and at one noist groups orck to the disloyal Governor of that State, a never came back to the authorities."

Of course all this is a fubeliced manufactu

Of course all this is a falsehood manufactured out of the whole cloth. Who was the Quaker that told that marvellous story? Over as his name, Tourges. The statement relative to Gov. Worth is an infamous invention, and Tourge knew that he was lying when he uttered it. But Fred. Douglas, Anna Dickinsop, Eamilton, Brownlow, and the New Orleans nigger, received it all an groupel truth, we'll warrant, and that was all that Tourges wanted.

"There are now, in this fitate, about sighty housand voters. We feel sure that thirty thousand of those are "unmistakably loy al" and "decoted" Union men; and that twenty thousand seem of them, though not as cordist in their copies as the thirty thousand referred to, unweighted and the transform to move the second second

The Malatta Convention.

subgril o scree, as announced in our
sy's telegrams, adjourned on Friday eve-

a address to the people of the United a prepared by the Committee, has been labed. We have no lides of inflicting it our madera. It declares that the Presi-policy everywhere South of Mason and a line has wronglet the most deplorable quences, socially, metally and politically wonth a long series at wrongs, personand antrages received by Union men at the rat "special," and always the President to reside out to reside out the first series and any to reside out the series of the first o specific acts tending to restore them or and endanger the lives and liberties are in the South. It calls the Presidential Syrant, the reckless man in

Tils address and these resolutions not being considered sufficiently emphatic in favor of aulow and Hamilton stripe, the border fitates withdrew in diegust, leaving the Convention in the hands of the "Southern loyalista" proper, who also adopted resolutions and an address taking ground unequivocally in favor of the enfounchisement of their constituents,—the ne-

"Mr. Warmouth then read the address prepared the Committee of the Non-reconstructed

ns for Andrew John-

Mr. Gendice, of N. C., while sympathizing with the sufferings of the people, as detailed in the address, did not agree in the conclusion thereof; in other words, he was opposed to imposing negro suffrage on the South, particularly under the present Administration, as the result sould be the opposite of that desired by the unwention. He subsequently added, that he disnessly was in favor of negro suffrage.

Capt Teurgue of M. O. spoke in opposition to his collesque's views and in favor of negro suffrage, saying that he had definite instructions from two Housard men in his firste on that both.

While he was speaking Fred, Douglass en i the ball, and was greated with cheers and applies of hearts.

Mr. Goodlee saked whether his collective thought that even if they had impartial while Andre Johnson would be allowed, while Andre Johnson was president, to go to the polis an vote.

kt, of Louisian

[Translated for the Pentinel, from the Courrier Den. The Diminution of a Race.

e race is disappearing.

Iready experienced some
is no longer permitted;
a that fearful trath. In July, 1865, the Scoretary of State of Massachus arts published through that his section of the deaths and births, and were marked with astonishment that an immense majority of new births was due to foreign parents. Much commentary upon the fact war infulited in at that time, and we asked ourselves it the rightly of the Yankers, properly called, had diminished in such

rether the section that the position of the Northern elections that the position of the Northern elections that the position of the Indicate the right of franchise.

The character and quality of the resolutions requested and adopted will appear from the following, which we select:

Resolved, That the unhappy policy pursued by Andrew Johnson, Frankeut of the United States, in its effects upon the logal pooled the South, is unjust, oppressive and intolerant; and scorrdingly, however ardeally we desire to see our respective States once more represented in the Congruss of the nation, we would deploye their restoration on the inadequate conditions prescribed by the President, as tanding not to abste, but only to magnify the state lates of the Government of the United States in the deministration of public afforts is by its Constitution confided to the popular or law making department of the Government.

Resolved, That the political status of the State large of the Government.

Resolved, That the political status of the State large in repellion to the United States for the public and the rights of the popular or law making department of the United States for the public and the rights of the popular or law making department of the Government.

Resolved, That there is no right, political, legal or constitutions, in any State to seeder or withdraw from the United States (See of the England Congruss of the State large) in reducing the state large in the state large in the public and the rights of the proper such that the security of the totality of births—this proportion is still less than that of last year, which was about 28 per cent. The number of children born of parents, loreigners by birth, in considerable, &c., &c., &c., \(\text{c. 17} \). It is not the variable of births alone that in the caption of the independent action of any and every other department of the Government.

Resolved, That there is no right, political, legal or constitutional, in any State to seeder or considerable, &c., &c., \(\text{c. 27} \).

nessys, the McGorhs, the McFodds, the Branni-gans, the O'Callagham, &c.

Let it not be alleged that the apparent want of virility on the part of the Bestonians proper is due to emigration; the population born upon the soil of Massachusetts is still quadruple of that born abroad. Where then is the mystery? Whence comes the fruitfulness of the European ladies! To what most, we attribute the rela-

province of the physiologist than to that of the moralist. For me have never hund it mid that vows of chastity are common in New England, but, judging from the scandalous law anize which arise,—from those which are quashed in their incipiency,—from the customs which they litustrate, and from the abundance of a certain class of newspaper advertisements, we fear that progressive diminution of the Yankess proper, not only in the cities, but, moreover, in the rural districts, where they are replaced by the

Happily the United States are not embraced in New England alone, and it is not in the Western, Southern or Central States that it will be necessary to found professorships of virility. Massachusetts treats those States with all the insolence of her pride, but better would it he if she were alive to the dangers which threaten her.

Mexico-Rumored Abdication of Maximil-

Special Dispatch to the New York Times.

New Orneana, Sept. 6.—A private letter received here to day from Monterey says that Maximilian abelicated in Javor of Princa Napoleon on the 10th ultime.

[To the Associated Press.]

Naw Ournam, Sept. 7.—The statement current here that Maximilian had abdicated the throne of Mexico in only one of those rumon which usually precede approaching restitution of important public events. I have very high Government authority for stating that the rumor is in no wise true, though it is known officially here that Maximilian some weeks since had packed up his effects for the departure, access to the palace having been denied for saveral days while this was being done. It is also believed that the French authorities absolutely refused to permit his final departure from the country at that time. The so-called impersor will however, between the large to the country at that time. believed that the French authorities a rained to permit his final departure country at that time. The so-called will, however, leave to day, but not ab as is stated, in favor of Prince Napoleo.

The Outres Skanner - Norfield has a fine proportion of soil.

TELEGRAPHIC.

The President Invited to New Orles. New Onlines, Sept. 9, P. M. A menting of prominent ditions was believe to day to invite the Provident to extensish visit to New Orleans.

Radical Meeting in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. B.
A large meeting was held less night, in fee of the Union League House, which was addented by Carl. Behurz, who periowed the situation of affairs and the policy of the President.

The President in St. Louis,-Allaire Missourt

St. Louis, Sept. 2.
The President was received with great one
transment Alton and in this City, to-day—
presches were made by kinnelf and Secretary
mard.

Sward.

The Lircuit Court of Bushacan County has continued the cases of preachers arrested for not taking the test oath autil the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is announced.

The proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention generally satisfy the Radicals here.

By the Atlantic Cable

HEART'S CONTEST, Sept. 9.

HEART'S CONTENT, Sept. 9.

The shore end of the cable of 1806 was safely landed here at 4, P. M. on-yesterday,
LIVERPOOL, Sept. 9, M.

The R. M. Steamship Java salled, to-day, for New York, with £29,000 in gold.

LONDON, Sept. 8, P. M.

Lord Northbrook, formerly Sir Jao. Baring, that to day.

died to day.

The Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in a speech delivered in Salisbury, last evening, urged upon the Liberals to support any good reform bill which should be brought forward by the Derby.

The Maine Election.

white rigid

PORTLAND, Sept. 10, P. M. PORTLAND, Sept. 10, P. M.
At 1 o'clock the Republican majority in this
city was about 1,000. In 1864 and 1863, it was
a trifle less than that in the city. The Republi-can canvass promised Lynch 2,100 in his district. Portland is, so far, shead of the canvass.
Vote in the city light.

From Europe,-Per the Atlantic Cable.

BERLIN, Sept. 10. The upper House of the Prussian Diet has passed the bill to indemnify the King for acting without the assent of the Diet in the matter of the budget and army supplies, previous to the war with Austria. The bill passed upon-

The Chamber of Deputies has rejected the Government proposal for the issue of sixty millions of Treasury notes, and adopted, in its stead, an amendment authorizing the issue of thirty millions, payable in one year from their data.

It is reported here that the King of Saxony has decided to resign in favor of his son.

revolted against the authority of the Crar.

FLORENCE, Sept 10.

The Italian government has imped a decree which disbands 58,000 men of the Italian army. Ametric has invited Italy to send Phenipotentheries to meet others appointed by Austria for the purpose of adopting measures for the improvement of telegraph and post intercourse between the two countries.

ATHENS, Sept. 9.

ATHENS, Sept. 9.

The Cretans have rejected the terms offered by the Turkish government and continue their revolt. The Epirots, inhabitants of Epirus, also claim their freedom from Turkey and have abandoned their habitations and taken to the hills.

LONDON, Sept. 10.

The Discourse of the British California bank

London, Sept. 10.

The Directors of the British California bank are urged to wind up the affairs of the institution. Earl Stanley in spoken of as the probable successor of Lord Cowley, as Ambassador to France.

Florance.

Florance, Sept. 10.

The Conference between the planipotentiaries of Austria and Italy progresses slowly. The financial question has not yet been settled.

Southern Markets.

Enw Onleans, Sept. 10, P. M.

Cotton unchanged. Sales of 650 bales of a low middlings at \$1.63 32.
Gold \$1.444. Bank sterling 53.
Mexican advices state that no twenty leagues exist in the country, which are not travened by guerrilla bands.

Deaths from Cholers, yesterday, 39.

Deaths from Choices, yesterday, 19.

Montas, Sept. 10, P. M.

Cotton sales, to-day, 500 bales. Prices unchanged. Liverpool, 30.

The President in Indians—Riotous Precoolings of the Radicals.

The Pre-lifest arrived here restored at oos, Along the route from el. Louis he conved with great enthusiano, but before be associated with great enthusiano, but before be associated to the year insembly here. There is turn of great discover association to great discover association of great discovery.

Latest by the Cable.

Louising Sept. 10, P.

The Parting question seems to be local