THE WILMINGTON JOURNAL

WILMINGTON, N. C.,

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1869.

President Grant.

We have already laid before our readers the inaugural of President GRANT. Short, unmeaning, pointless, without a single salient conclusion, everything in general and nothing in particular, we have the first state paper of the world-renowned warrior. In fact, except that he declares in favor of the adoption of the proposed Fifteenth Article to the Federal Constitution, there is no specific recommendation or opinion expressed in his inaugural. And so guarded is he in recommending the adoption of this amendment that it seems to be rather the result of a desire to get rid of a subject "which is likely to agitate the public" than from an honest conviction that it is founded in right and justice.

To be sure he promises always to express his opinion to Congress upon all leading questions, and even, if pressed, threatens his veto, but warns them in advance that he will quietly submit to their opinion as the representatives of the people, for he takes pains to reiterate that he has no policy as against the will of the people.

The President's financial policy, like his other views, will conflict with the opinions of no one. He desires to do everything to give strength to our credit, but proposes nothing. Economy and honesty, cheap commodities in a President's inaugural, are vaguely hinted at, but we venture the opinion that the thieves in office are too "loil" to fall under the frowns of the incoming administration. Fealty to party, rather than an honest performance of duty, will be the *open sesame* to renewed preferment.

As a State paper General GRANT's Inaugural is a miserable failure. Neither indication of talent or of future policy is evinced. But we hope this paper does not do him justice. He was not elected because of his great civil abilities. A party in power, defeated in preliminary battles, took him as the surest method of securing their continued success. They counted not without their host. An undesired candidate led them victoriously through the contest. As general and unmeaning as is this address, we trust we see in it a well-defined purpose to deal justly with all portions of our common country. As Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States during the war, Gen. GRANT cannot but despise the cowardly politicians whose warfare upon the South only begun after he had compelled a surrender of their arms. If he has any warlike proclivities he will seek to exercise them elsewhere than over the men whom he met in battle and overcome. He will not emulate the example of those whose victories are recorded after the cessation of hostilities.

No politician, not even a civillian, he may for a time give way to the party pressure which will be brought to bear. But we cannot believe that the heart which dictated the terms of surrender to the army of Gen. LEE, will use the prerogatives of a yet higher office to punish men whose only fault was an honorable and gallant devotion to their section. We look, then, not for a brilliant administration, but one marked by strong common sense and a high regard for justice.

The Legislature.

The proceedings of the Legislature on Wednesday were more than usually uninteresting and unimportant.

In the Senate a resolution was offered to retain E. S. Martin as Page to the Senate. This brought about a long discussion, in which serious charges were preferred by several Senators against the Doorkeeper for illicit appropriation of stationery. It appears in his liberality he presented the Page with a considerable quantity, who turned State's evidence against that official. The absence of the Doorkeeper prevented the usual farce of a Committee of Investigation, and the matter rests in *statu quo*.

The bill to provide a system of public instruction came up as unfinished business. Quite an animated debate sprung up on a motion of Senator Love to prevent the employment of colored teachers, in any event, for white pupils. This was met by Mr. Moore, of Carteret, by proposing an amendment to the amendment prohibiting the employment of white teachers for colored pupils. The amendment to the amendment prevailed, and then the whole proposition was defeated. The further consideration of the bill was postponed.

In the House Mr. French introduced a bill to incorporate the Independent Telegraph Line, and Mr. Sinclair a bill to authorize the Commissioners of New Hanover County to receive in the County Workhouse convicts from other counties.

The bill to lay off the Homestead and personal property exemptions was taken up and discussed, without any important action.

Andrew Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON, in publishing a farewell address to the people of the United States upon retiring from the Presidency, has added to his reputation as a writer and has left upon the records of the country at once the most powerful vindication of his own administration and the most unanswerable impeachment of the wrongs and tyrannies of Congress which has yet appeared from him. "The impeachment of Warren Hastings by the gifted Sheridan," says the *National Intelligencer*, "if more gorgeous and eloquent, was not more direct and truthful. The summing up of the sins, wrongs and crimes of the Crown of England, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, gives no more sense of the weight of British wrongs than does the plain, clear, terse and feeling statement of Mr. JOHNSON, concerning the outrages, oppressions, tyrannies, and usurpations of the perfidious and corrupt Congress.

"It should be read and studied by the American student or statesman, and treasured in his heart of hearts for profit and instruction in the uses of patriotism in the coming day of weal or woe that impend over our beloved country—a country still best loved by the virtuous of the people when worst governed—a people who may yet be called to stand as a "wall of fire" against aggressions upon their most vital rights.

"We cannot resist the conviction that the address of President JOHNSON will arouse the American people to a renewed sense of the deep wounds which liberty and constitutional government have received at the hands of the corrupt Congressional cabal, and will serve to rivet bitter memories of them for good to a late day in our history. It is hardly necessary to add that, in our belief, the final day of the public service of Andrew JOHNSON has not yet been reached."

The Legislature.

We print the silly and disgraceful proceedings of the Legislature on Wednesday night and Thursday rather to "point a moral" than for any intrinsic merit they contain. It is well for the people to see how uselessly and sinfully their representatives are wasting their time and the people's money. When will this ridiculous farce end?

Mixed Schools and Colleges.

DR. E. NYE HUTCHISON, as Secretary of the Board of Trustees of Davidson College, has taken occasion, through the columns of the Fayetteville *Presbyterian*, to refute the report circulated throughout the State that the Trustees of that College were making arrangements to establish a department for the education of colored students. The Raleigh *Standard*, complying with the request for papers in the State to notice, with its agrarian contempt for everything refined and noble in society, makes it the excuse for a violent and filthy attack upon this institution. The article is characteristic of the leveling spirit which actuates the foul-mouthed slanderer who villifies every noble and honorable feeling of our people during six days of the week through the columns of that paper, and on the seventh serves the devil by giving utterance, from the sacred precincts of the pulpit, to the hatred of the South which rankles in his loathsome heart.

While the leaders of its party in the Legislature are protesting against any purpose to mix the races in the public schools, and while the *Standard* has pronounced against it in the University, giving way this much at least to the "prejudices of caste," which it declares the Christian colleges of the world are rapidly rising above, yet it pours the venom of its wrath against the Trustees of Davidson because they have published the fact to the world that only whites will be educated there. No; the fact is patent that the miserable wretches who have grown in power by a voluntary association as equals with blacks, will do all they can to force that equality upon others. Their course in the Legislature is an acted lie. They mean to mix the races in schools and elsewhere, but they fear the "prejudices of caste" are too strong to do so by one sweeping enactment. While they seem to provide for the separate education of whites and blacks in the public schools, their organ denounces private institutions for doing the same thing. Nay, it wickedly and vainly attempts to prejudice our people against the distinguished divines and elders who comprise the Faculty of Davidson College, and the Christian denomination which they represent and which has done so much for the educational and moral welfare of the world.

It is time when such haters of social refinement are put forward as instructors of public opinion, that even Radical papers in Western North Carolina should become alarmed at the warfare threatened against the social relations of our people under the party lash. These degraded men will do everything to break down the "pestilent feeling of aristocracy," which, as Judge Underwood declares in one of his recent luminous opinions, sets the people of the South against mingling freely with the negroes. We believe their attack will first be made through our children. They will, under the tyrant's plea of necessity, establish mixed schools in those districts where one or other of the races furnish an insufficient number of scholars to justify a separate school. By this means the barrier will be broken down, and economy will soon require the mixed system to be adopted throughout the State.

In this bitter attack upon Davidson College, we recognize the rallying cry of the Radical clans. A few of the faithful will denounce, then hesitate, as they did in regard to negro testimony and negro suffrage, but soon they will "endure, then pity, then embrace," and we shall see even the Rutherford *Star*, which now threatens its party with defeat and destruction upon this issue, advocating it as one of the cardinal principles of its political faith.

The Fifteenth Amendment.

On Monday both Houses of the General Assembly ratified the proposed Fifteenth Article to the Constitution of the United States. The following proceedings of the House are taken from the *Standard:*

A message was received from His Excellency the Governor, which was read as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
RALEIGH, March 4th, 1869.

To the Honorable the Genert Assembly of North Carolina:

GENTLEMEN: I have received from the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, and hereewith transmit to your honorable body, "an attested copy of a Resolution of Congress, proposing to the Legislatures of the several States a Fifteenth Article to the Constitution of the United States."

The proposed Fifteenth Article is in the following words:

"A Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring), That the following Article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race or color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

By the adoption of the proposed article by three-fourths of the States the right to vote will be secured by the Constitution of the United States to every citizen, and will not, therefore, depend, as it does now, on the will of the several States.—The best, if not the only just form of government known among men, is that which secures to all an absolute equality in political and civil rights. It results inevitably from the formation of governments by persons equally free that every one should have the right to vote—that is to have a voice in the administration of the government to which is entrusted the lives, the liberties and the property of all. The people of the United States are all free. They all have an interest in society, and every male citizen should have the right to vote. This right should be as lasting as the Constitution itself, and as general and pervasive as the atmosphere in every State. The colored citizen in New York or Connecticut is as much entitled to it as the colored citizen in North Carolina or Georgia. Every type of man who is a citizen of the United States, is presumed to be capable of self government. There can be no distinction in this respect between the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Ethiopian, or the subordinate or modified types derived from either or all of these. They are all *men*. None of them acknowledge masters, but they are all free to seek their happiness in their own way, so long as they do not infringe the rights of others. Political slavery would not be less oppressive or depressing to them than what has been known in this country as African or domestic slavery. The gift of freedom to the colored race of the United States would be worse than worthless if not accompanied by the right of suffrage.

The people of North Carolina have already, by a large majority, secured to every citizen by their organic law, the right of suffrage. It is not probable that this right will be impaired or even modified, so long as the Republican party of the State remains united and controls the legislative department of the government. But it is hoped, from abundant caution and as a matter of principle, that the Legislature of every State will promptly ratify this amendment, thus settling the question for all time.

Those who are at present charged with the governments of the recently reconstructed States have had devolved upon them a duty in relation to the colored population which is more responsible and delicate, in many respects, than that which is incumbent on any State not formerly slaveholding. This population, faithful, patriotic and honest, as it is, has needed and still needs that training in the art or habit of self government which is the birthright of every white American; and the children of this population must be educated in the midst of the children of the whites, and educated equally with the latter, in such a way as not to do injustice to either race or to excite the prejudices of one against the other. The governments of these States, resting as they do on both races, and with men of both races holding office in their various departments, have engaged with alacrity and cheerfulness in the performance of this duty; and it is their fixed purpose to omit no effort which may be deemed necessary to educate, improve and elevate the colored people, whose interests and happiness have been committed to their charge — but while this duty is thus performed as to large masses who have just emerged from slavery, it is expected that other States not formerly encumbered with slavery, and in which the colored people are few in number and generally intelligent, will promptly, and without a single exception, ratify the proposed amendment, thus fixing the right of full citizenship for all in the Constitution itself, and placing it where no future change or convulsion can destroy it.

I earnestly recommend, gentlemen, that the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States be ratified by your honorable body.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
W. W. HOLDEN.

Mr. French moved to refer the message and accompanying documents to a special committee of five; and to make the subject a special order for 1 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and the Speaker appointed Messrs. Pou, Jarvis, French, Seymour and Moore, of Chowan, said Committee.

At the appointed hour the amendment came up for consideration. Messrs. Hodnett, Jarvis and Argo, Conservatives, advocated its adoption. Mr. Malone, of Caldwell, opposed. The following is the vote upon its passage:

YEAS—Messrs. Speaker, Ames, Argo, Asworth, Barnett, Barnes, Bowman, Candler, Carson, Carey, Cawthorn, Cherry, Crawford, Dixon, Ellington, Forkner, Foster, Franklin, French, Gahagan, Grier, Gunter, Harris of Wake, Hayes, Hendricks, Hilliard, Hinnant, Hodgin, Hodnett, Hoffman, Horney, Humphries, Hudgings, Ingram, Jarvis, Justice, of Rutherford, Kelly, of Davie, Kinney, Leary, Long, of Chatham, Mayo, McCanless, Mendenhall, Moore, of Alamance, Moore, of Chowan, Morrill, Pearson, Pou, Price, Proctor, Ragland, Rea, Robbins, Robinson, Seymour, Siegrist, Simonds, Sweat, Sykes, Vestal, Vest, Welch, Wilkie and Wiswall—64.

NAYS—Messrs Allison, Armstrong, Boddie, Clayton, Ferebee, Gibson, Hawkins, Malone, McMillan, Painter, Profit, Tompson and Williams, of Harnett—13.

The *Standard* gives the following remarks of three colored members in recording their votes:

Mr. Hayes did not look upon this amendment as interfering with any of the rights that are held sacred by the colored people of the reconstructed States, while it secured rights to his brethren in other States; and as he knew none of those could be taken from them he voted yea.

Mr. Leary would have voted for it heart and soul if it had given universal amnesty with universal suffrage. He voted aye.

Mr. Sykes said he was once a slave and now a freeman, and he felt called upon to vote for the amendment giving suffrage to all men in the United States. He desired to see every man have the right to hold office, in New York as well as in North Carolina, and when love of the government came, he would let general amnesty come with it.

In the Senate a most interesting debate took place. Mr. Robbins made a most able speech against the adoption of the Amendment, so also Mr. Graham. It was ratified by the following vote, by which it will be seen two Conservatives, Senators Osborne and Love, voted with the Radicals in the affirmative:

YEAS—Messrs. Barrow, Beasley, Beeman, Bellamy, Brogden, Blythe, Colgrove, Davie, Eaves, Eppes, Forkner, Hayes, Harrington, Hyman, Jones, of Columbus, Jones, of Wake, Lassiter, Long, Love, Osborne, Shoffner, Smith, Stephens, Sweet, Welker and Winstead—26.

NAYS—Messrs. Barnes, Beall, Graham, Melchor, Robbins and Scott—6.

STATE NEWS.

MURDER IN CASWELL.—We have to record the murder of Mrs. Sarah Blackwell, an aged widow lady living near Blackwell's Store in Caswell county. This was a horrible deed perpetrated upon a defenceless old lady for the paltry sum of a few dollars. No clue to the murderer.

Greensboro' *Topic.*

HORRIBLE OUTRAGE.—We learn from the Fayetteville *Eagle*, of a most horrid outrage in Moore County on the 19th ult. A negro by the name of Edward Blue, living on the land of one Graham with his family, was attacked by disguised persons. He was wounded but escaped. Two or three of his children escaped, but his wife and one child was killed. The cabin was fired; and the skeletons of the murdered wife and child were found among the ruins. Blue bore a bad character and was very unpopular. A meeting of citizens has been held to take steps looking to the bringing to punishment the guilty parties. Graham and one Riddle have been arrested and lodged in jail. A low demagogue, W. B. Richardson, is trying to give a political turn to the affair, but all the neighbors of Blue are Radicals and have sworn that no negroes shall live among them. Graham is a leading Radical. This matter should be ferreted out, and the guilty brought to punishment.

FATAL AFFRAY.—We learn that a difficulty occurred in the neighborhood of Steele Creek, about 14 miles from this city, on Tuesday last, which resulted in the death of Mr. Robert Lowrie, at the hands of Mr. Richard Kendrick.

We forbear giving the particulars of this sad affair, as an inquest has not yet been held, but we understand the killing was in self defence, and suppose the report true, as Mr. Kendrick has not been arrested.—He was in the city last evening, and returned home to await the result of a jury of inquest.—Charlotte *Observer.*

AMONG the recent graduates in the Medical department of the University of New York, were the following North Carolinians: L. L. Alexander, J. E. Caldwell, R. Kenneday, W. M. Phillips, L. L. Stanton and C. Watts. The last mentioned gentleman received a certificate of honor.

Raleigh *Sentinel.*

From the National Intelligencer.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the People of the United States:

The robe of office, by constitutional limitation, this day falls from my shoulders, to be immediately assumed by my successor. For him the forbearance and co-operation of the American people, in all his efforts to administer the Government within the pale of the Federal Constitution, are sincerely invoked. Without ambition to gratify, party ends to subserve, or personal quarrels to avenge at the sacrifice of the peace and welfare of the country, my earnest desire is to see the Constitution, as defined and limited by the fathers of the Republic, again recognized and obeyed as the supreme law of the land, and the whole people—North, South, East and West—prosperous and happy under its wise provisions.

In surrendering the high office to which I was called four years ago, at a memorable and terrible crisis, it is my privilege, I trust, to say to the people of the United States a few parting words, in vindication of an official course so ceaselessly assailed and aspersed by political leaders, to whose plans and wishes my policy to restore the Union has been obnoxious. In a period of difficulty and turmoil almost without precedent in the history of any people, consequent upon the closing scenes of a great rebellion and the assassination of the then President, it was, perhaps, too much, on my part, to expect of devoted partisans, who rode on the waves of excitement which at that time swept all before them, that degree of toleration and magnanimity which I sought to recommend and enforce, and which I believe in good time would have advanced us infinitely further on the road to permanent peace and prosperity than we have thus far attained. Doubtless had I at the commencement of my term of office unhesitatingly lent its powers or perverted them to purposes and plans "outside of the Constitution," and become an instrument to schemes of confiscation and of general and oppressive disqualifications, I would have been hailed as all that was true, loyal, and discerning; as the reliable head of a party, whatever I might have been as the Executive of the nation. Unwilling, however, to accede to propositions of extremists, and bound to adhere, at every personal hazard, to my oath to defend the Constitution, I need not, perhaps, be surprised at having met the fate of others whose only rewards for upholding constitutional right and law have been the consciousness of having attempted to do their duty, and the calm and unprejudiced judgment of history.

At the time a mysterious Providence assigned to me the office of President, I was, by the terms of the Constitution, the Commander-in-chief of nearly a million of men under arms. One of my first acts was to disband and restore to the vocations of civil life this immense host, and to divest myself, so far as I could, of the unparalleled powers then incident to the office and the times. Whether or not, in this step, I was right, and how far deserving the approbation of the people, all can now on reflection judge, when reminded of the ruinous condition of public affairs that must have resulted from the continuance in the military service of such a vast number of men.

The close of our domestic conflict found the army eager to distinguish itself in a new field, by an effort to punish European intervention in Mexico. By many it was believed and urged that, aside from the assumed justice of the proceeding, a foreign war in which both sides would cheerfully unite to vindicate the honor of the national flag, and further illustrate the national prowess, would be the surest and speediest way of awakening national enthusiasm, reviving devotion to the Union, and occupying a force concerning which grave doubts existed as to its willingness, after four years of active campaigning, at once to return to the pursuits of peace. Whether these speculations were true or false, it will be conceded that they existed, and that the predilections of the army were, for the time being, in the direction indicated. Taking advantage of this feeling, it would have been easy, as the Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and with all the power and patronage of the Presidential office at my disposal, to turn the concentrated military strength of the nation against French interference in Mexico, and to inaugurate a movement which would have been received with favor by the military and a large portion of the people.

It is proper, in this connection, that I should refer to the almost unlimited additional powers tendered to the Executive by the measures relating to civil rights and the Freedmen's Bureau. Contrary to most precedents in the experiences of public men, the powers thus placed within my grasp were declined, as in violation of the Constitution, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and tending to aggravate, rather than lessen, the discords naturally resulting from our civil war. With a large army and augmented authority, it would have been no difficult task to direct at pleasure the destinies of the Republic, and to make secure my continuance in the highest office known to our laws.

Let the people whom I am addressing from the Presidential chair during the closing hours of a laborious term consider how different would have been their present condition had I yielded to the dazzling temptation of foreign conquest, of personal aggrandizement, and the desire to wield additional power. Let them with justice consider that, if I have not unduly "magnified mine office," the public burdens have not been increased by my acts, and other and perhaps thousands or tens of thousands of lives sacrificed to visions of false glory.

It cannot, therefore, be charged that my ambition has been of that ordinary or criminal kind which to the detriment of the people's rights and liberties, ever seeks to grasp more and unwarranted powers, and, to accomplish its purposes, panders too often to popular prejudices and party aims.

What, then, have been the aspirations which guided me in my official acts?—Those acts need not, at this time, an elaborate explanation. They have been elsewhere comprehensively stated and fully discussed, and become a part of the nation's history. By them I am willing to be judged, knowing that, however imperfect, they at least show to the impartial mind that my sole ambition has been to restore the Union of the States, faithfully to execute the office of President, and, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution. I cannot be censured if my efforts have been impeded in the interests of party faction; and if a policy which was intended to reassure and conciliate the people of both sections of the country was made the occasion of inflaming and dividing still farther those who, only recently in arms against each other, yet as individuals and citizens, were sincerely desirous, as I shall ever believe, of burying all hostile feelings in the grave of the past. The bitter war was waged on the part of the Government to vindicate the Constitution and save the Union; and if I have erred in trying to bring about a more speedy and lasting peace, to extinguish heartburnings and enmities, and to prevent troubles in the South which, retarding material prosperity in that region, injuriously affected the whole country, I am quite content to rest my case with the more deliberate judgment of the people, and, as I have already intimated, with the distant future.

The war, all must remember, was a stupendous and deplorable mistake. Neither side understood the other; and had this simple fact and its conclusions been kept in view, all that was needed was accomplished by the acknowledgment of the terrible wrong, and the expressed better feeling and earnest endeavor at atonement shown and felt in the prompt ratification of constitutional amendments by the Southern States at the close of the war. Not accepting the war as a confessed false step on the part of those who inaugurated it, was an error which now only time can cure, and which even at this late date we should endeavor to palliate. Experiencing, moreover, as all have done, the frightful cost of the arbitrament of the sword, let us, in the future, cling closer than ever to the Constitution as our only safeguard. It is to be hoped that not until the burdens now pressing upon us with such fearful weight are removed will our people forget the lessons of the war; and that, remembering them from whatever cause, peace between sections and States may be perpetual.

The history of late events in our country, as well as of the greatest Governments of ancient and modern times, teaches that we have everything to fear from a departure from the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and the undue ascendency of men allowed to assume power in what are considered desperate emergencies. Sylla, on becoming master of Rome, at once adopted measures to crush his enemies, and to consolidate the power of his party. He established military colonies throughout Italy; deprived of the full Roman franchise the inhabitants of the Italian towns who had opposed his usurpations; confiscated their lands, and gave them to his soldiers; and conferred citizenship upon a great number of slaves belonging to those who had proscribed him, thus creating at Rome a kind of body guard for his protection. After having given Rome over to slaughter, and tyrannized beyond all example over those opposed to him and the legions, his terrible instruments of wrong, Sylla could yet feel safe in laying down the ensigns of power so dreadfully abused, and in mingling freely with the families and friends of myriad victims.—The fear which he had inspired continued after his voluntary abdication, and even in retirement his will was law to a people who had permitted themselves to be enslaved. What but a subtle knowledge and conviction that the Roman people had become changed, discouraged, and utterly broken in spirit could have induced this daring assumption? What but public indifference to consequences so terrible as to leave Rome open to every calamity which subsequently befell her, could have justified the conclusions of the dictator and tyrant in his startling experiment.

We find that in the time which has since elapsed human nature and exigencies in government have not greatly changed.—Who, a few years past, in contemplating our future, could have supposed that in a brief period of bitter experience everything demanded in the name of military emergency, or dictated by caprice, would come to be considered as mere matters of course; that conscription, confiscation, loss of personal liberty, the subjection of States to military rule, and disfranchisement, with the extension of the right of suffrage merely to accomplish party ends, would receive the passive submission, if not acquiescence, of the people of the Republic?

It has been clearly demonstrated, by recent occurrences, that encroachments upon the Constitution cannot be prevented by the President alone, however devoted or determined he may be, and that unless the people interpose there is no power under the Constitution to check a dominant majority of two-thirds in the Congress of the United States. An appeal to the nation, however, is attended with too much delay to meet an emergency. While, if left free to act, the people would correct, in time, such evils as might follow legislative usurpation, there is danger that the same power which disregards the Constitution will deprive them of the right to change their rulers, except by revolution. We have already seen the jurisdiction of the judiciary circumscribed when it was apprehended that the courts would decide against laws having for their sole object the supremacy of party, while the veto power, lodged in the Executive by the Constitution for the interest and protection of the people, and exercised by Washington and his successors, has been rendered nugatory by a partisan majority of two-thirds in each branch of the National Legislature. The Constitution evidently contemplates that when a bill is returned with the President's objections it will be calmly reconsidered by Congress. Such, however, has not been the practice under present party rule. It has become evident that men who pass a bill under partisan influences are not likely, through patriotic motives, to admit their error, and thereby weaken their own organizations by solemnly confessing it under an official oath. Pride of opinion, if nothing else, has intervened, and prevented a calm and dispassionate reconsideration of a bill disapproved by the Executive.

Much as I venerate the Constitution, it must be admitted that this condition of affairs has developed a defect which, under the aggressive tendency of the legislative department of the Government, may readily work its overthrow. It may, however, be remedied, without disturbing the harmony of the instrument.

The veto power is generally exercised upon constitutional grounds, and whenever it is so applied, and the bill returned with the Executive's reasons for withholding his signature, it ought to be immediately certified to the Supreme Court of the United States for its decision. If its constitutionality shall be declared by that tribunal, it should then become a law; but if the decision is otherwise, it should fail, without power in Congress to re-enact and make it valid.

In cases in which the veto rests upon hasty and inconsiderate legislation, and in which no constitutional question is involved, I would not change the fundamental law; for in such cases no permanent evil can be incorporated into the Federal system.

It is obvious that without such an amendment, the Government, as it existed under the Constitution prior to the rebellion, may be wholly subverted and overthrown by a two-thirds majority in Congress. It is not, therefore, difficult to see how easily and how rapidly the people may lose—shall I say, have lost?—their liberties by an unchecked and uncontrollable majority in the law-making power; and, when once deprived of their rights, how powerless they are to regain them.

Let us turn for a moment to the history of the majority in Congress, which has acted in such utter disregard of the Constitution. While public attention has been carefully and constantly turned to the past and expiated sins of the South, the servants of the people, in high places, have boldly betrayed their trust, broken their oaths of obedience to the Constitution, and undermined the very foundations of liberty, justice, and good government. When the rebellion was being suppressed by the volunteered services of patriot soldiers amid the dangers of the battle-field, these men crept, without question, into place and power in the national councils. After all dangers had passed, when no armed foe remained, when a punished and repentent people bowed their heads to the flag and renewed their allegiance to the Government of the United States, then it was that pretended patriots appeared before the nation and began to prate about the thousands of lives and millions of treasure sacrificed in the suppression of the rebellion. They have since persistently sought to inflame the prejudices engendered between the sections, to retard the restoration of peace and harmony, and by every means to keep open and exposed to the poisonous breath of party passion the terrible wounds of a four-years' war. They have prevented the return of peace and the restoration of the Union, in every way rendered delusive the purposes, promises, and pledges by which the army was marshalled, treason rebuked, and rebellion crushed, and made the liberties of the people and the rights and powers of the President objects of constant attack. They have wrested from the President his constitutional power of supreme command of the army and navy. They have destroyed the strength and efficiency of the Executive Department by making subordinate officers independent of and able to defy their chief. They have attempted to place the President under the power of a bold, defiant, and treacherous Cabinet officer. They have robbed the Executive of the prerogative of pardon, rendered null and void acts of clemency granted to thousands of persons under the provisions of the Constitution, and committed gross usurpation by legislative attempts to exercise this power in favor of party adherents. They have conspired to change the system of our Government by preferring charges against the President in the form of articles of impeachment, and contemplating, before hearing or trial, that he should be placed in arrest, held in durance, and, when it became their pleasure to pronounce his sentence, driven from place and power in disgrace. They have in time of peace increased the national debt by a reckless expenditure of the public moneys, and thus added to the burdens which already weigh upon the people. They have permitted the nation to suffer the evils of a deranged currency, to the enhancement in price of all the necessaries of life. They have maintained a large standing army for the enforcement of their measures of oppression. They have engaged in class legislation, and built up and encouraged monopolies, that the few might be enriched at the expense of the many. They have failed to act upon important treaties, thereby endangering our present peaceful relations with foreign powers.

Their course of usurpation has not been limited to inroads upon the Executive Department.

By unconstitutional and oppressive enactments, the people of ten States of the Union have been reduced to a condition more intolerable than that from which the patriots of the revolution rebelled. Millions of American citizens can now say of their oppressors, with more truth than our fathers did of British tyrants, that they have "forbidden the governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance unless suspended until their assent should be obtained;" that they have "refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only;" that they have "made judges dependent upon their will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries;" that they have "erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people and eat out their substance;" that they have "affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power," "combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws," "quartered large bodies of armed troops among us," "protected them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States," imposed "taxes upon us without our consent," "deprived us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury," "taken away our charters, excited domestic insurrection amongst us, abolished our most valuable laws, altered fundamentally the forms of our Government, suspended our own Legislatures, and declared themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever."

This catalogue of crimes, long as it is, is not yet complete. The Constitution vests the judicial power of the United States "in one Supreme Court," whose jurisdiction "shall extend to all cases arising under this Constitution" and "the laws of the United States." Encouraged by this promise of a refuge from tyranny, a citizen of the United States who, by the order of a military commander, given under the sanction of a cruel and deliberate edict of Congress, had been denied the constitutional rights of liberty of conscience, freedom of the press and of speech, personal freedom from military arrest, of being held to answer for crime only upon presentment and indictment, of trial by jury, of the writ of habeas corpus, and the protection of civil and constitutional government—a citizen, thus deeply wronged, appeals to the Supreme Court for the protection guaranteed to him by the organic law of the land. At once a fierce and excited majority, by the ruthless hand of legislative power, stripped the ermine from the judges, transferred the sword of justice to the General, and remanded the oppressed citizen to a degradation and bondage worse than death.

It will also be recorded as one of the marvels of the times, that a party claiming for itself a monopoly of consistency and patriotism, and boasting, too, of its unlimited sway, endeavored, by a costly and deliberate trial, to impeach one who defended the Constitution and the Union not only throughout the war of the rebellion, but during his whole term of office as Chief Magistrate; but at the same time could find no warrant or means at their command to bring to trial even the chief of the rebellion. Indeed, the remarkable failures in his case were so often repeated that for propriety's sake, if for no other reason, it became at last necessary to extend to him an unconditionaal pardon. What more plainly than this illustrates the extremity of party management and inconsistency on the one hand, and of faction, vindictiveness, and intolerance on the other? Patriotism will hardly be encouraged when, in such a record, it sees that its instant reward may be the most virulent party abuse and obloquy, if not attempted disgrace.—Instead of seeking to "make treason odious,", it would in truth seem to have been their purpose rather to make the defense of the Constitution and the Union a crime, and to punish fidelity to an oath of office, if counter to party dictation, by all the means at their command.

Happily for the peace of the country, the war has determined against the assumed power of the States to withdraw at pleasure from the Union. The institution of slavery also found its destruction in a rebellion commenced in its interest. It should be borne in mind, however, that the war neither impaired nor destroyed the Constitution, but, on the contrary, preserved its existence, and made apparent its real power and enduring strength. All the rights granted to the States, or reserved to the people thereof, remain therefore intact. Among those rights is that of the people of each State to declare the qualifications of their own State electors. It is now assumed that Congress can control this vital right, which can never be taken away from the States without impairing the fundamental principles of the Government itself. It is necessary to the existence of the States, as well as to the protection of the liberties of the people; for the right to select the elector in whom the political power of a State shall be lodged involves the right of the State to govern itself. When deprived of this prerogative, the States will have no power worth retaining; all will be gone, and they will be subjected to the arbitrary will of Congress. The Government will then be centralized, if not by the passage of laws, then by the adoption, through partisan influence, of an amendment directly in conflict with the original design of the Constitution. This proves how necessary it is that the people should require the administration of the three great departments of the Government strictly within the limitations of the Constitution. Their boundaries have been accurately defined, and neither should be allowed to tresspass upon the other, nor, above all, to encroach upon the reserved rights of the people and the States. The troubles of the past four years will prove to the nation blessings if they produce so desirable a result.

Upon those who became young men amid the sound of cannon and the din of arms, and quietly returned to the farms, the factories, and the schools of the land, will principally devolve the solemn duty of perpetuating the Union of the States, in defence of which hundreds of thousands of their comrades expired, and hundreds of millions of national obligations were incurred. A manly people will not neglect the training necessary to resist aggression, but they should be jealous lest the civil be made subordinate to the military element. We need to encourage, in every legitimate way, a study of the Constitution for which the war was waged, a knowledge of and reverence for whose wise checks by those so soon to occupy the places filled by their seniors will be the only hope of preserving the Republic. The young men of the nation, not yet under the control of party, must resist the tendency to centralization—an outgrowth of the great rebellion—and be familiar with the fact that the country consists of united States, and that when the States surrendered certain great rights for the sake of a more perfect union, they retained rights as valuable and important as those which they relinquished for the common weal.

This sound old doctrine, far different from the teachings that led to the attempt to secede, and a kindred theory that States were taken out of the Union by the rash acts of conspirators that happened to dwell within their borders, must be received and advocated with the enthusiasm of early manhood, or the people will be ruled by corrupt combinations of the commercial centres, who, plethoric from wealth, annually migrate to the capital of the nation to purchase special legislation. Until the representatives of the people in Congress more fully exhibit the diverse views and interests of the whole nation, and laws cease to be made without full discussion at the behest of some party leader, there will never be a proper respect shown by the law-making power either to the judicial or executive branch of the Government. The generation just beginning to use the ballot box, it is believed, only need that their attention should be called to these considerations to indicate, by their votes, that they wish their representatives to observe all the restraints which the people, in adopting the Constitution, intended to impose upon party excess.

Calmly reviewing my administration of the Government, I feel that, with a sense of accountability to God, having conscientiously endeavored to discharge my whole duty, I have nothing to regret. Events have proved the correctness of the policy set forth in my first and subsequent messages; the woes which have followed the rejection of forbearance, magnanimity, and constitutional rule are known and deplored by the nation.

It is a matter of pride and gratification, in retiring from the most exalted position in the gift of a free people, to feel and know that in a long, arduous, and eventful public life, my action has never been influenced by desire for gain, and that I can in all sincerity inquire, "Whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or off whose hand have I received any bribe to blind my eyes therewith?" No responsibility for wars that have been waged or blood that has been shed rests upon me. My thoughts have been those of peace, and my effort has ever been to allay contentions among my countrymen.

Forgetting the past, let us return to the first principles of the Government, and, unfurling the banner of our country, inscribe upon it, in ineffaceable characters, "The Constitution and the Union, one and inseparable."

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Washington, D. C., March 4, 1869.

The Alabama Treaty.

The language that has been used in this country against the Alabama treaty with England points not to a different form of treaty, but directly to war; and on this question the Saturday Review (London) says:

"Yet it is incredible that any serious politician in the United States should contemplate, after years of negotiation ending in the concession of almost every American demand, an utterly unprovoked resort to arms. It is, indeed, by latent menaces that American diplomacy has succeeded in alarming the timid portion of the English community, including, perhaps, more than one statesman high in office; but there is a limit to the concessions which might be preferable to a rupture. If the treaty is not ratified, there ought to be no hurry in recommencing negotiations. After approaching to the verge of humiliation in its anxiety for justice and conciliation, the English Government has thrown upon the United States the responsibility of deliberately keeping the quarrel open. No great importance should be attached to the willful retention of a pretext for war.—Grave as the evils of war would be, it would be better for England to face it at once than to submit to intolerable degradation. A war gratuitously commenced for the purpose of avenging on England the recognition of belligerency which was simultaneously accorded by France, and two or three weeks later by every European Power, including Russia, would be an outrage revolting to the moral sense of mankind, and ultimately it would not go unpunished.

The Wise-Pollard Case.

The case of the State *vs.* George D. Wise and John S. Wise, indicted for assaulting Edward A. Pollard, removed from the Criminal Court of Baltimore, was yesterday settled in the Circuit Court for Baltimore county, at Towsontown, by the State's attorney, William S. Keech, Esq., on payment of costs by the defendants. The State's attorney stated to the Court that he had received from Mr. Pollard a letter, which he showed the Court, in which Mr. P. stated that he did not desire to prosecute, and hoped that the Messrs. Wise would not be prosecuted, and that all difficulties between him and them had been amicably arranged.—Baltimore *Sun*, 2*d.*

Retirement of Members of Congress.

With the termination of the Fortieth Congress the Senate loses its ablest men. Hendricks, Buckalew, Dixon, Whyte, Doolittle, Bayard, and Henderson cannot be matched in ability by any seven who remain in that body. Mr. Boyer retires after a very brilliant term of service in the House, and it also loses one of its soundest and most assiduous members in Mr. Glossbrenner.—*Philadelphia Age.*