The New Orleans Bee.

OFFICE 73 CHARTRES STREET. NEW ORLEANS, SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 20, 1871. [illegible] YEAR.—Vol. XLIV.—Whole—15,492.

NEW ORLEANS DAILY BEE

DUFOUR & LIMET, PUBLISHERS,
No. 73 Chartres street.

TERMS OF THE BEE.

Terms of Subscription—Daily, per annum, in advance, $6; half yearly, $3; quarterly, $1.
Price of the paper—Single copies, 10 cents.
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TERMS—PER YEAR.....$5.

NEW ORLEANS:
SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 20, 1871.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION—DUTY OF THE SOUTH.

We publish below a communication which has been addressed to us by an old-Line Democrat," who seems to be willing to unite with the "New Departure" men of the party. It is not to be understood by our readers that we assent to the propositions laid down by our correspondent or to the inferences which he would draw as to the proper course of the Democrats of the South in the next Presidential campaign. We do not think the Democracy of the South are called upon at this time to give any expression to their opinions regarding Federal affairs. They are under restraint, and are told by Democratic and Republican exponents in the North and West that they have nothing to do with national affairs, and that as the contest must be fought in the North, the people there must make the issues of the campaign. As the policy of the "New Departure" has already been freely discussed in Louisiana, we think the doctrine should either be recognized as sound or shown to be unsound, and this we propose to do, and we shall express our views more at length in a subsequent issue. Meantime there is food for thought in the letter of our correspondent:

COMMUNICATED.

To the Editor of the New Orleans Bee.

Two facts are apparent in the present political condition of the country; one is that the dominant party has become a close corporation of the office holders and of the corrupt rings of the country leagued together, which is headed by Grant, who will doubtless be their candidate for 1872; and who cannot be maintained by the usual appeals to the passions which unfortunately survive the war, and by exciting the fears of the people of reactionary purposes of the Democratic party in case they should succeed; the other fact is that the party in power has become weak from internal dissensions, which is the populist sight on account of many of its measures, and of the disgusting conduct of its chief, and could be easily overthrown and the ring ended, if all the elements opposed to it could be rallied on some feasible plan of opposition in the next Presidential contest.

The practical question of the day, therefore, is, especially for the South, which is the greatest sufferer by far, how is this to be done? And as the main strength of the opposition must be made up of old Democrats the question chiefly addresses itself to the Democratic party. The question is not without its difficulties and embarrassments, and I approach its discussion with that delicacy and deference which its importance demands. It must be admitted that the prospect of success for any party opposed to it is not only fair, but pretty certain. The evidence of it may be seen in what has occurred in the States of Missouri under the lead of Schurz and Brown; in the successful coalition of liberal Republicans and democrats in Virginia two years ago; in the late political revolution in New Hampshire, and strikingly in the success of the citizens' ticket in the more recent municipal election in Charleston, S. C.

While the meaning of all this is transparent, and furnishes irresistible evidence of the existence of abundant material to make up a successful party opposition in the hands of sagacious and practical managers, a sort of political demurrer is put in, and the question is presented, what is to succeed without some principle in view, or what is success at the sacrifice of principles always heretofore maintained by the Democratic party? But that in the face of an enemy weakened by its own dissensions, we find ourselves distracted by the opposing counsels of the men of principle, so-called, in our party, and the men of policy, and as yet nothing has been proposed which promises success fully to harmonize the party much less to unite all elements in opposition. There are men in the Democratic party North and South who argue that the war has settled nothing of principle, and who therefore propose to accept as a result a political nature as final, but who believe it to be the duty of the Democratic party to preserve its old organization and to contend for the long recognized principles of the party until the people shall take a second thought and place that party and its principles again in the ascendant. They say that this is a government of the people, who are capable of reasoning, and disposed to right judgment, and who may, when passion and prejudice shall have yielded, be impressed with the truth of Democratic principles and come to adopt them. These men are not at all insignificant in numbers or standing, but embrace some of the best minds, followed by a large body of the Democratic party. Of course they reject the New Departure, and refuse all affiliation with Republicans. They would insist in the coming campaign, as in all previous ones upon a repetition of the venerable principles of the party, with candidates of approved Democratic record, trusting to time and perseverance for ultimate popular sanction.

For these reasons the Democratic party I entertain the highest respect, having always been one of them, and I would defer largely to men with whom I have been in the habit of taking counsel in the present emergency of the country I do not think their advice ought to be followed.

It has indeed seemed to me surprising that men of such distinguished ability and learning should have failed to appreciate in its full significance the effect of the late war in this country.

It is a very superficial view of it to say that it was the suppression of a rebellion and the dispersion of armed insurgents who sought to resist the laws of the Union; and when they have been suppressed, the States remained in their former relation to the Union, as interpreted by State rights Democrats, with all their former powers unimpaired. It was not a rebellion or insurrection, but the withdrawals of sovereign States from a Union which they had voluntarily entered, acting as organized political communities in their sovereign capacity, and claiming the right as resulting from the nature of the compact, as freely to be used in secession as in accession.

The country had always been divided into two schools of interpretation; the school of Jefferson, who maintained the theory of confederation or State rights, with the remedies of nullification and secession for State wrongs; and the school of Hamilton or federalism, which insisted upon the broad and general sentiment among all the American people as a single political community, divided into States only as States are divided into counties, constituting a part of government of the Union in which the majority has the right to rule, and that if the minority could not submit to the right of nullification of secession by States, but must seek redress in the courts or be driven into revolution. The irreconcilable antagonism between these opposing schools of construction of the Constitution of the United States was really the bottom of the late conflict. The argument had been exhausted, and their respective followers stood to their arms, to determine which should prevail.

It was to determine what had always been a matter of dispute, Are we a nation, or a confederation of distinct sovereignties? After the adoption of the Constitution, the apprehension were that the Federal Government would encroach upon the reserved rights of the States; hence the amendments of 1791. The 9th that the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to disparage or deny others retained by the people" of the States; and the 10th, that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people of the States. These were the brief expression of the creed of State rights, placed textually in the old Constitution. At the close of the late war the design was to put at rest the vexed question, and establish fundamentally in the Constitution the opposite theory of consolidation. Hence the XIII and XIV Amendments, which are the synonyms of that political theory which was now regarded as victorious, and so placed in the fundamental law. These amendments make the citizens of the several States citizens of the United States, or members of a single body politic, and bring them directly under the paramount authority of the National Union for all the purposes of government. Nothing now remains in the wide range of legislation which Congress may deem appropriate to itself and deny to the States, if it so will. Congress probably will not assume the entire province of legislation, but will defer to the States and all exercise of powers as they have heretofore possessed, for convenience, so that no great change will practically take place in our institutions, but the right to do so, including suffrage, or other police regulations, such as Ku-Klux, etc., cannot be questioned under these amendments.

Nor is it correct and logical to say that it was a war for the Union. It is from this standpoint that some of the confusion has arisen about the city. It was supposed that when the war ended the Union was restored, and everything was as about before, and those who suffered disappointment in not being received with open arms by the people of the South on their return to their allegiance to the Union, that they had failed in a war for the Union, that they had to recognize secession as an accomplished and practical fact, or else lose all the fruits of victory, and find themselves where they had begun. Hence the resort to reconstruction and the appointment of military of provisional governors for the exercise of the power of the conquerer. And hence the senseless jargon of Democrats, "in the Union for some purpose or out of it for others," and the idle clamor for the Constitution to be applied to the "States in rebellion," so-called.

It was not a war for the Union, as decided it could not be. A voluntary Union of sovereign co-equal States can not be preserved by force. A combination of the stronger States may overrun and conquer the weaker, but to say this is preserving a union between them is a confusion of terms. The war was what it turned out to be, a war of the stronger against the weaker, a war of subjugation, and the successful party has been driven by force to regard it as such, whether they had a very clear conception of it in the beginning or not. And if Democrats now complain of any of the consequences of the war, they should have thought of them before going into it.

It was a war of opposing systems of construction and of rival institutions in which one or the other had to go to the wall. In appearance only was it a struggle to enforce the authority of the Federal Government; really it has accomplished a great revolution social and political, and like all revolutions it must be accepted as final, unless it is proposed to reverse it by a counter-revolution. This is not proposed by any large number at least, but it is said that the amendments were not regularly adopted, and therefore may be treated as nullities; that the Democratic party should disregard them, and insist upon the Constitution and the Union as they stood before the war, save, perhaps the abolition of slavery. This is a delusion. The Union is not what it was, nor is the Constitution. The means adopted to make them changes were of course revolutionary, like the ends proposed, but they have been no less successful; the Supreme Court will not disturb them, because they are political questions; three-fourths of all the States will never agree to erase them, and the idea of counter-revolution is idle.

Appreciating this view of the situation, the Democratic leaders of the Northern States are resolving to take a "New Departure." Now, the leaders in this new departure movement are either sincere, or they are not sincere. If they are sincere, they accept the cardinal principles of the Republican party as a part of their own faith, and differ only in some questions of administrative policy. A democrat, therefore, may as consistently vote for a Republican who agrees with him in questions of public policy, as for one of his own number. If they are not sincere, then the purpose is to obtain power through deception, and proceed to carry out the principles proclaimed by the straight out democracy. That is, they will inaugurate such reactionary legislation as will again array the suspicions and indignation of the whole North, and bring down upon the South the evils of renewed agitation of all the old questions, invite more ruinous interference in her local affairs, and perhaps lead to her reduction as permanent military territories, if she does not precipitate us again into the horrors of another war. The Northern leaders may enjoy the spoils of success, but the South will be left with a hold on the hot end of the poker. For it may be set down as a fixed fact that this North understands the question as well as the South, and at the first appearance of reaction or counter-revolution, in the results of the war, she will spring forth to resist it in whatever shape it comes.

But the effect of the New Departure will not be to increase the chances of the Democratic party for success, but rather to reduce them. It will dishearten and demoralize the old ranks of the Democracy, while the second class of recruits, or doubtful Republicans and add to their ranks fresh recruits.

It can only be steadily deduced then from what I have endeavored to show, that the old Democratic party has survived its day, and the sooner it recognizes this fact and acts upon it the better. It should disband at once. It can never again come into power in this country. If the South continues to rely upon it for the solution of her present difficulties, its hands will be pierced. The soul, and most of the brains were knocked out of it by the war. And since that fatal day when the argument was transferred from the Council Chamber to the battle field, the mission of the old Democratic party was ended.

It was the pro-slavery party, it was a secession party, or at least held to that consequence, and its logical result was secession, and these facts will remain indelibly fixed in the minds of the American people, white and black. Every Confederate soldier can have been a Democrat, but every Democrat of prominence in the South was a Confederate, while the soul of the Northern Democracy was never in the war, but took its stand directly or indirectly in opposition to it. These are facts which it is useless to attempt to history, and no measures it may now propose, as well calculated as they may be to remove the public odium into which it has fallen. For it may be said of the old Democratic party, as has been said of the Orleans Princes: "Providence attaches a mysterious fatality to their persons."

Southerners need not apologize for or deny the position they occupied in the war, but as sensible men they must admit that the Democratic party, and recognize the facts as they find them. It is the fate of the defeated party in all revolutions, whether it is a struggle for the succession to a crown, or when conflicting opinions are left to the arbitrament of the sword. For myself I am in Algiers, where he leaves a widow and four children. The flags on the steamboats and public buildings were at half-mast yesterday in respect to his memory.

At a little before one o'clock yesterday morning a two-story brick building, in the rear of Robin and Peters' store, owned by Mr. Geo. A. Brannon and occupied by John Selvar, as a coffee-house and restaurant, and the North was crazed, and the South precipitate and self-confident, and such was the temper of both sections that the conflict was only a question of time.

Experience, under the change of system, may demonstrate that liberty is possible, but if will only be by a union of the wise and good of both sections to arrest the tendency to Empire and personal government, and to limit, if not prevent, the interference of Congress, or of national majorities, with the local concerns of the States. This indeed is no unsurprising that men of such distinguished ability and learning should have failed to appreciate in its full significance the effect of the late war in this country.

It is a very superficial view of it to say that it was the suppression of a rebellion and the dispersion of armed insurgents who sought to resist the laws of the Union; and when they have been suppressed, the States remained in their former relation to the Union, as interpreted by State rights Democrats, with all their former powers unimpaired. It was not a rebellion or insurrection, but the withdrawals of sovereign States from a Union which they had voluntarily entered, acting as organized political communities in their sovereign capacity, and claiming the right as resulting from the nature of the compact, as freely to be used in secession as in accession.

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BY TELEGRAPH.

(To the New Orleans Bee.)

FOREIGN NEWS.

German Soldiers Withdrawing from East and North of Paris.

The Committee Recommends the Passage of the Army Bill.

Military Service to be Compulsory.

National Guards to be Dissolved.

The American 6 Per Cent Loan in the European Market.

HOME NEWS.

Continued Capture of the Escaped Convicts.

A Murderer Arrested in Arkansas.

Indians on the Reservations All Reported Peaceable.

Miscellaneous Matters.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, Aug. 19.—The German forces are withdrawing from the neighborhood of the fortifications North and East of Paris.

Versailles, Aug. 19.—In the Assembly today the committee on the Army bill reported favorably upon the measure. The bill as returned to the Chamber makes military service compulsory, allows no substitutes, no pecuniary exemptions. Provides for soldiers from voting at political elections and dissolves the National Guard throughout the country.

London, Aug. 19.—The Overend, Gurney Syndicate to-day announces through the press in London, Paris, Frankfort, Berlin and Amsterdam the beginning of the subscription for the 5 per cent. American loan on Tuesday next, the books to be kept open to and including Thursday.

The feeling here on the loan are very favorable, and already a large number of applications have been filed in advance of the opening of the books.

A despatch from Constantin, East Prussia, of the 15th says that Count Von Moltke will leave that city to-day for Carlsbad, where he will remain for the benefit of his health. It is reported that a handful of detectives is employed in hunting the freedmen can continue to rule over the intelligence of the South. A few may be disqualified from going to Congress, but now all Southern citizens are voters and eligible to office in their own States, where the most of the evils are to be corrected.

The principal evil of negro suffrage has been that a few men under cover of the grand military government were enabled to organize and consolidate the freedmen against the native population, for political and personal ends. But this alliance is fast breaking up by the discovery of the freedmen that they have only been used as instruments, and that their true interests will hereafter indemnify them with the Southern people. And they will either be absorbed in the legitimate parties of the country, or suffrage will shortly fall into disuse. In other words, either conferring suffrage upon a people as the prepared for it, can be resumed when deemed necessary to do so, by inspiring the spend and employed in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which may be done consistently with the amendments. All these evils can never be corrected by opposing negro suffrage, but by accepting and controlling it.

The Southern people no longer look for relief from either of the old political parties under the delusion that the people will be lead to reverse their judgment and decision on any of the old issues, for they never will reverse them. She must rest only on any division between the Northern people on any of the mooted grounds of controversy between the two sections, or between the East and West on any question that may divide them in interest, which may enable her to revive her ancient principles, or restore her anterior condition. These divisions will never come. But accepting rather and building upon the results of an accomplished revolution, let her go forward in the new career which has been opened for her to achieve a higher prosperity and glory than any which she has enjoyed in the past.

AN OLD LINE DEMOCRAT.

PHOTOGRAPHIC PICTURES.—The attention of our readers is called to the advertisement on the French of this paper, in which the public are invited to patronize Fetty's Photograph Gallery, No. 138 Canal street, between Bourbon and Dauphine streets. This establishment is conducted on the principle of making quick sales and small profits. Four genuine pictures are furnished at the low price of one dollar, which is certainly a reasonable figure.

In the caption of our editorial article of yesterday, touching the speculation of Messrs. Warmoth and company in the property purchased by Mr. Sloomer from Foucher estate, we had no thought of casting any imputation of blame upon the owners or agents of the estate, the name of Foucher was employed merely to attract attention to the article and its contents.

CITY INTELLIGENCE.

At the instances of Mr. Baldereno Carreras, No. 330 Old Levee street, Mr. George Foster, proprietor of the restaurant No. 19 Toulouse street, has been arrested for having in his possession a quantity of cigars, valued at $37, which Mr. Carreras avers were stolen from him.

Yesterday, Thomas Saunders, convicted of the larceny of $3500 from Dr. Axon's house, and sentenced to eighteen months in the Penitentiary, and Robert Campbell, colored, convicted of stealing both of whom escaped from the prison, having been arrested in the city were sent back to Baton Rouge last evening.

Coroner Jackson has held an inquest upon the body of Frederick Dacins, aged 25 years, who was accidentally drowned in the Marigny Canal.

The police report that a Mr. Lacey had a difficulty in a grocery at the corner of Canal and Priest streets, with the proprietor, Mr. Heft, and fired a pistol shot at him, on Friday night. The shot missed fire, which is passed in his favor. The affair occurred again him being a breach of the peace.

An innocupied cottage house, on Common street, between Dryades and Saratoga streets, the property of Mr. Burk, was destroyed by fire, between two and three o'clock yesterday morning. Loss estimated at $1500.

A young man whose name is not yet known, and who had been seen previously in the neighborhood suffering from fits, fell into the Bayou St. John and was drowned on Friday night. His body was recovered and an inquest held by Coroner Jackson.

Mr. Henry Carter, mate of the steamboat Sarah Able, died Friday night from the effects of an injury received by the boom falling on him at the Red Church wharf on the evening of the 9th. Deceased was a native of Virginia, and leaves a widow and four children. The flags on the steamboats and public buildings were at half-mast yesterday in respect to his memory.

At a little before one o'clock yesterday morning a two-story brick building, in the rear of Robin and Peters' store, owned by Mr. Geo. A. Brannon and occupied by John Selvar, as a coffee-house and restaurant, and the North was crazed, and the South precipitate and self-confident, and such was the temper of both sections that the conflict was only a question of time.

The Coming Season at the Academy of Music.—Subjoined is a list of the stars and troupes that have been engaged for the coming season by the proprietors of the Academy of Music. Brilliant as the array is, Mr. Bidwell is still in New York, negotiating for additional attractions, and will not leave for this city until the middle of this week. The services of Mr. Frank Keller, represented to be one of the best managers in the country, has been engaged. Lydia Thompson's New Company; Mrs. D. P. Bowers; Jos. Jefferson; Miss A. Custer; Miss Lillie Eldridge; McKee Rankin, English Comedy and Operatic Company; Mrs. Chanfrau; Dominick Murry; John E. McDonough's Transatlantic Combination; Great Southern and Lingard Troupe; Aubett's Pantomime Company; E. Bandmann and wife.

The Sinking Lover.—The levee at the Hazar Market, which commenced sinking several weeks ago as far in above as the tracks of the Pontchartrain and Chatterboga Railroad Companies, is still sinking, and it is feared that the whole of the original plans. The City Surveyor has been busy for a foundation to hold piles, which will be sought when it will cause men to range themselves into opposing parties, under different names, it may be at different times, but always preserving their respective forms of government. And perhaps this constituted will continue to exist in all the mutations of our institutions.

No National Democratic convention ought to be called for 1872. It were better for each State to make its own local issues upon matters most directly affecting it, and agree by mutual concerted action upon the candidates for whom the electoral vote should be cast in opposition to the radical ticket. Or if a convention is called it should be called as a People's or Independent Citizens' Convention. It would be still better for some man who will command the confidence of the country to announce himself as an independent candidate for President, briefly announcing the principles and measures of his administration, and let him run by common consent. The only way to avoid schism, and prevent the fatal errors of the past is for it not to meet in convention at all, and the only way to establish harmony in the opposition is to attempt unity, but to recognize differences and build up a party, not on the corrupt machinery and organizations of the past as irresistible conviction, but on the solid basis of the rights and interests of the people of the States separately. The true source of political power. Remember that no parchment to Louisiana and South Carolina, while their various local complications, do not have an application to Ohio or New York, and yet each one might vote for the same candidate against Grant. This would perhaps be better for a change from the old system to which parties have been accustomed, and, therefore it would be well enough for an Independent Convention to assemble to consider the situation and declare a few general measures for the reform of abuses in the National Government.

To determine who should be the candidate of such a party for 1872 is not as easy as to declare what he should not be. He should not be Horace Greeley, nor Wendell Phillips, nor Governor Fenton, nor Governor Hoffman, nor Governor Parker, for defeat is inevitable. The object should be a Republican in politics, in order that no suspicion of sectional prejudice or of a reopen settled questions of a reconstructionary legislation, or give countenance to any measure of retaliation which should be opposed to the present Administration in all those features in which it has become justly odious, and in favor of civil rights, and of a general amnesty, and an general cause to the Southern people, and to the Democratic party assembled. He should be in favor of general amnesty and of remaining to the people of the South the control of their local affairs, and should be known to be opposed to the continuance of the military rule of the "shieving contraband leaders."

The blunder of the South in the New York Convention was in deciding to take no active part, to urge no policy or candidate, but leave all to be determined by Northern Democracy, who should have control of the party, of course, in the State elections last year, which the public are invited to patronize.