

TERMS:

WEEKLY, 1 year, \$3 00
6 months, 1 50
CASH IN ADVANCE.
RATES OF ADVERTISING:
One Square (space of 12 lines) first insertion, \$1 00
2d, 3d, and 4th insertion, each, 50
for each additional publication, 33

THE PRESIDENT'S LAST SPEECH.

We give to-day the speech of President Johnson to the committee appointed by the Philadelphia Convention, to present him with an authentic copy of their proceedings. The speech is characteristic of the man: fearless and patriotic. He has always professed the utmost confidence that the American people would sustain his policy, and this belief expressed by him in the darkest hours of his struggle with the Radical Congress, he reiterates to the committee which brings him the cordial endorsement of a great national party. President Johnson has always been a democrat in the strictest sense of the term, sometimes inclining to ultraism; hence, the well grounded fears entertained by many that Radicalism would find in him a willing coadjutor if not a pliant tool. Fortunately for us, however, he had the sagacity to discern that these men while they sing paeans to Liberty, aim at nothing less than an entire destruction of the Constitution, its sole guarantee. Hence, we find him to-day, no longer a partisan but a patriot; no longer a politician, but a great far sighted statesman, fighting a great battle in the interest of American liberty. Our hearts and prayers are with him.—Daily Banner.

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

Washington, Aug. 18.—There was a great crowd present to-day to hear the President in response to Reverdy Johnson, who presided the official proceedings of the Convention.

He said, referring with feeling to the scene represented of South Carolina and Massachusetts entering the Convention together, he was overcome, and could not but conclude that an overruling Providence was guiding us aright. He said our brave men have performed their duties in the field, and have won laurels imperishable, but, turning to General Grant, he continued, but there are greater and more important duties to perform, and while we have had their co-operation in the field we now need their efforts to perpetuate peace. [Applause.] The Executive Department had tried to pour oil on the wounds, and restore the Union, but it had not entirely succeeded. We have seen, he said, in one department of the Government every effort to prevent the restoration of peace and harmony of the Union. We have seen hanging upon the verge of the Government, as it were, a body called, or which assumed to be the Congress of the United States, while in fact it is a Congress of only a part of the States. We have seen this Congress assume and pretend to be for the Union when its every step and act tended to perpetuate disunion, and makes a disruption of the States inevitable, instead of promoting reconciliation and harmony. Its legislation has partaken of the character of penalties, retaliation and revenge.—This has been the course and the policy of one portion of your Government. The humble individual who is now addressing you stands the representative of another department of the Government. The manner in which he was called upon to occupy that position, I shall not allude to on this occasion. Suffice it to say, that he is here under the Constitution of the country, and being here by virtue of its provisions, he takes his stand upon that charter of our liberties as the great rampart of civil and religious liberty. [Prolonged cheering.] Having been taught in my early life, to hold it sacred, and having practiced upon it during my whole public career, I shall ever continue to reverence the Constitution of my fathers, and to make it my guide. [Hearty applause.] The President proceeded, and denied the charge that he had ever been tyrannical or a despot, but said such charges were simply intended to deceive and delude the public mind into the belief that there is some one in power, who is usurping and trampling upon the rights of the Constitution. It is done by those who make such charges for the purpose of covering their own acts. [That's so, and applause.] I have felt it my duty, in vindication of the principle and Constitution of my country, to call the attention of my countrymen to these proceedings. When we come to examine, who has been playing the tyrant, by whom do we find despotism exercised? As to myself, the elements of my nature, the pursuits of my life have not made me, either in my feeling or in my practice, oppressive. My nature on the contrary is rather defensive in its character, but I will say that, having taken my stand upon the broad principles of liberty and the Constitution, there is not power enough on earth to drive me from it. [Loud and prolonged applause.] Having placed myself upon that platform, I have not been awed or dismayed, or intimidated by either threats or encroachments, but have stood there in conjunction with patriotic spirits, sounding the tocsin of alarm when I deemed the citadel of liberty in danger. [Great applause.] I said on a previous occasion, and repeat now, that all that is necessary in this great struggle against tyranny and despotism, was that the struggle should be sufficiently audible for the American people to hear and properly understand. They did hear, and looking on and seeing who the contestants were and what the struggle was about, determined that they would settle this question on the side of the Constitution, and of principle. I proclaim here to-day, as I have on previous occasions, that my faith is in the great mass of the people. In the darkest hour of this struggle, when the clouds seemed to be most lowering, my faith, instead of giving way, loomed up through the cloud beyond which I saw that all would be well in the end. My countrymen, we all know that tyranny and despotism in the language of Thomas Jefferson, can be exercised and exerted more effectually by the many than the one. We have seen a Congress gradually encroach, step by step, and violate, day after day, and month after month, the Constitutional rights and the fundamental principles of the Government. We have seen a Congress that seemed to forget that there was a limit to the sphere and scope of legislation. We have seen a Congress in a minority, assume to usurp power which, if allowed to be carried out, would result in despotism, or in monarchy itself. This is truth, and because others as well as myself have seen proper to appeal the patriotism and Republican feeling of the country, we have been denounced in the severest terms. Slander upon slander, vituperation upon vituperation of the most villainous character has made its way through the press. What, gentlemen, has been your and my sin? What has been the cause of our offending? I will tell you. Daring to stand by the Constitution of our fathers. I consider the proceedings of this Convention, Sir, as more important than those of any Convention that ever assembled in the United States. [Great applause.] When I look with my mind's eye upon that collection of citizens coming together voluntarily, and sitting in council with ideas, with principles and views commensurate with all the States, and coextensive with the whole people, and contrast it with the collection of persons who are trying to destroy the country, I regard it as more important than any Convention that has assembled since 1787. [Renewed applause.] I think I may also say, that the declarations that were there made, are equal to the declaration of Independence itself, and I here to-day pronounce them a second Declaration of Independence. [Cries of glorious, and a most enthusiastic and prolonged applause.]

Your address and declaration are nothing more nor less than a re-affirmation of the Constitution of the United States—yes, I will go farther and say that the declaration you have made, that the principles you have enunciated in your address are a second Proclamation of Emancipation to the people of the United States—(renewed applause)—for in proclaiming and re-proclaiming these great truths you have laid down a Constitutional platform upon which all can make common cause and stand united together or the restoration of the States and the preservation of the government without reference to party.

The question only is the salvation of the country, for ones country rises above all party considerations or influences. How many are there in the United States that now require to be free? They have the shackles upon their limbs, and are bound as rigidly as though they were in fact in slavery. I repeat, then, that your declaration is the second Proclamation of Emancipation to the people of the United States, and offers common ground upon which all patriots can stand. [Applause.]

Mr Chairman and gentlemen, let me, in this connection, ask what I have to gain more than the advancement of the public welfare? I am as much opposed to the indulgence of egotism as any one, but here, in a conversational manner, while formally receiving the proceedings of this Convention, I may be permitted again to ask, what am I to gain by consulting human ambition, more than I have gained? Except in one thing, my race is nearly run; I have been placed in the high office which I occupy under the Constitution of the country, and I may say that I have held from the lowest to the highest, almost every position which a man may attain in our Government; and surely, gentlemen, this should be enough to gratify a reasonable ambition. If I wanted authority, or if I wished to perpetuate my own power, how easy it would have been to hold and wield that which was placed in my hands by the measure called the Freedmen's Bureau bill? [Laughter and applause.] With an army which I placed at my discretion, I could have remained at the capital of the nation, and with fifty or sixty millions of appropriations at my disposal—with the machinery to be worked by my satraps and dependants in every town and village, and then with the Civil

rights bill following us as an auxiliary—(laughter)—in connection with all the other appliances of the Government, I could have proclaimed myself dictator. But, gentlemen, my pride and my ambition which have been to occupy that position which retains all power in the hands of the people. It is upon that I rely now; and I repeat that neither the taunts nor jeers of Congress, nor of a subsidized calumniating press can drive me from my purpose. [Great applause.] I acknowledge no superior except my God, the author of my existence, and the people of the United States. [Prolonged and enthusiastic cheering.] For the one I try to obey all his commands as best I can, compatible with my poor humanity; for the other in a political and representative sense, the high behests of the people have always been respected and obeyed by me. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have said more than I had intended to say. For the kind allusion to myself contained in your address and in the resolutions, adopted by the Convention, let me remark that in this crisis, and at the present period of my public life, I hold above all price, and shall ever recur with feelings of profound gratification to the last resolution containing the endorsement of a Convention emanating spontaneously from the great mass of the people. I trust and hope that my future actions will be such that you and the Convention you represent may not regret the assurance of confidence you have expressed.

Before separating, my friends, one and all, please accept my sincere thanks for the kind manifestations of regard and respect now have exhibited on this occasion. I repeat that I shall always continue to be guided by a conscientious conviction of duty, and that always gives one courage under the Constitution which I have made my guide.

At the conclusion of the President's remarks three enthusiastic cheers were given for Andrew Johnson, and three more for Gen. Grant.

The President then took a position near the door, opening into the Hall, with Gen. Grant by his side, where, as the gentlemen of the committee and members of the Convention passed out, he grasped each one by the hand, and had a smile or a cheering word for all. After which, they passed on to take Gen. Grant by the hand.

THE NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The National Union Convention, now assembled in the City of Philadelphia, composed of delegates from every State and Territory in the Union, admonished by the solemn lessons which for the last five years it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to give the American people, profoundly grateful for the return of peace, desirous as are a great majority of their countrymen in all sincerity to forget and forgive the past, revering the constitution as it comes to us from our ancestors, regarding the Union in its restoration as more sacred than ever, looking with deep anxiety into the future as of instant and continuing trial, hereby issues and proclaims the following declaration of principles and purposes on which they have, with perfect unanimity, agreed:

First: We hail with gratitude to Almighty God the end of a war and the return of peace to an afflicted and beloved land.

Second: The war just closed has maintained the authority of the Constitution, with all the powers which it confers, and all the restrictions which it imposes upon the General Government, unaltered and unimpaired, and it has preserved the Union, with the equal rights, dignity and authority of the States perfect and unimpaired.

Third: Representation in the Congress of the United States and in the Electoral College is a right recognized by the Constitution as abiding in every State, and as a duty imposed upon its people—fundamental in its nature and essential to the existence of our republican institutions; and neither Congress nor the General Government has any authority or power to deny this right to any State, or to withhold its enjoyment under the Constitution from the people thereof.

Fourth: We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress, as members thereof, none but men who admit this fundamental right of representation, and who will receive to seats therein loyal representatives from every State in allegiance to the United States, subject to the constitutional right of each House to judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members.

Fifth: The Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are "the supreme law of the land," anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." All the powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the General Government, nor prohibited by it to the States, are "reserved to the States, or to the people thereof;" and among the rights thus reserved to the States is the right to prescribe qualifications for the elective franchise therein, with which

right Congress cannot interfere. No State or combination of States has the right to withdraw from the Union, or to exclude, through their action in Congress or otherwise, any other State or States from the Union. The Union of these States is perpetual.

Sixth: Such amendments to the Constitution of the United States may be made by the people thereof as they may deem expedient, but only in the mode pointed out by its provisions; and in proposing such amendments, whether by Congress or by a convention, and ratifying the same, all the States of the Union have an equal and inalienable right to a voice and a vote therein.

Seventh: Slavery is abolished and forever prohibited, and there is neither desire nor purpose on the part of the Southern States that it should ever be re-established upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the enfranchised slaves in all the States of the Union should receive in common with all their inhabitants equal protection in every right of person and property.

Eighth: While we regard as utterly invalid and never to be assumed or made of binding force any obligation incurred or undertaken in making war against the United States, we hold the debt of the nation to be sacred and inviolable; and we proclaim our purpose, in discharging this, and in performing all other national obligations, to maintain, unimpaired and unimpeded, the honor and the faith of the Republic.

Ninth: It is the duty of the National Government to recognize the services of the Federal soldiers and sailors in the contest just closed, by meeting promptly and fully their just and rightful claims for the services they have rendered the nation, and by extending to those of them who have survived, and to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen, the most generous and considerate care.

Tenth: In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, who, in his great office, has proved steadfast in his devotion to the Constitution, the laws and interests of his country, unmoved by persecution and undeserved reproach—having faith unassailable in the people and in the principle of free government—we recognize a Chief Magistrate worthy of the nation and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast, and we tender to him, in the discharge of his high and responsible duties, our profound respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support.

When the secretary read that section declaring that the war left all the rights of the States "perfect and unimpaired," the entire convention rose to its feet and spent time in cheering the sentiment. The address to President Johnson was also received with loud and long continued applause.

The vote was then taken on the adoption of the resolutions as read, and they were unanimously adopted.

The President: The secretary in the hurry of reading the resolutions omitted one of them—the seventh; it will now, therefore, be read.

Mr. Perrine then read the seventh resolution (inserted above) when the question was taken on its adoption, and it was unanimously adopted.

A delegate from Pennsylvania; Mr. President: The delegation from Pennsylvania proposes three cheers for the Hon. Edgar A. Cowan (author of the above declaration).

The cheers were given with a will.—Here there were loud cries for Senator Cowan, who had a seat on the platform, when that gentleman arose and said:

I claim to be the host of this convention. One of my guests will now address you, and address you by authority of the Committee on Resolutions and Address, I refer to the Hon. Mr. Raymond of New York.

THE ADDRESS. The Hon. Henry J. Raymond of New York was then announced, to the Convention by the President, and was received with loud cheering. Silence having been restored Mr. Raymond proceeded to read the address which had been agreed upon by the committee:

To the People of the United States: Having met in convention at this City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania this 16th day of August, 1866, the representatives of the people in all sections, and all the States and Territories of the Union, to consult upon the condition and the wants of our common country, we address to you this declaration of our principles, and of the political purposes we seek to promote.

Since the meeting of the last National Convention, in the year 1860, events have occurred which have changed the character of her internal politics and given the United States a new place among the nations of the earth. Our Government has passed through the vicissitudes and the perils of civil war—a war which though mainly sectional in its character, has nevertheless decided political differences that from the very beginning of the Government had threatened the unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and inefface upon all interests, the sentiments, and the destiny of the republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country severe losses in life and property, and has imposed burdens which must weigh on its resources for generations to come, it has developed a degree of national courage in the presence of national dangers—a capacity for military organization and achievement, and

a devotion on the part of the people to the form of government which they have ordained, and to the principles of liberty which that Government was designed to promote, which confirm the confidence of the nation in the perpetuity of its republican institutions, and command the respect of the civilized world.

Like all great contests which rouse the passions and test the endurance of nations, this war has given new scope to the ambition of political parties, and fresh impetus to plans of innovation and reform. Amid the chaos of conflicting sentiments inseparable from such an era, while the public heart is keenly alive to all the passions that can sway the public judgment, and affect the public action; while the wounds of war are still fresh and bleeding on either side, and fears for the future take unjust proportions from the memories and resentments of the past, it is a difficult but an imperative duty which on your behalf we, who are here assembled, have undertaken to perform.

For the first time after six long years of alienation and of conflict, we have come together from every State and every section of our land, as citizens of a common country, under that flag, the symbol again of a common glory, to consult together how best to cement and perpetuate that Union which is again the object of our common love, and thus secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

In the first place we invoke you to remember, always and everywhere, that the war is ended and the nation is again at peace. The stock of wounding arms no longer assails the shrill heart of the Republic. The insurrection against the supreme authority of the nation has been suppressed, and that authority has been again acknowledged, by word and act, in every State and by every citizen within its jurisdiction. We are no longer required or permitted to regard or treat each other as enemies. Not only have the acts of war been discontinued, and the weapons of war laid aside, but the state of war no longer exists, and the sentiments, the passions, the relations of war have no longer lawful or rightful place anywhere throughout our broad domain. We are again people of the United States, fellow-citizens of one country, bound by the duties and obligations of a common patriotism, and having neither rights nor interests apart from a common destiny. The duties that devolve upon us now are those of peace, and no longer the duties of war. We have assembled here to take counsel concerning the interests of peace; to decide how we may most wisely and effectually heal the wounds the war has made, and perfect and perpetuate the benefits it has secured, and the blessings which under a wise and benign Providence, have sprung up in its fiery track. This is the work, not of passion, but of calm and sober judgment, not of resentment for past offenses prolonged beyond the limits which justice and reason prescribe, but of a liberal statesmanship which tolerates what it cannot prevent, and builds its plans and its hopes for the future rather upon a community of interest and ambition than upon distrust and the weapons of force.

In the next place, we call upon you to recognize in their full significance, and to accept with all their legitimate consequences, the political results of the war just closed. In two most important particulars the victory achieved by the National Government has been final and decisive. First, it has established beyond all further controversy, and by the highest of all human sanctions, the absolute supremacy of the National Government, as defined and limited by the Constitution of the United States, and the permanent integrity and indissolubility of the Federal Union as a necessary consequence; and, second, it has put an end finally and forever to the existence of slavery upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. Both these points became directly involved in the contest, and controversy upon both was ended absolutely and finally by the result.

In the third place, we deem it of the utmost importance that the real character of the war and the victory by which it was closed should be accurately understood. The war was carried on by the Government of the United States in maintenance of its own authority, and in defense of its own existence, both of which were menaced by the insurrection which it sought to suppress. The suppression of that insurrection accomplished that result. The Government of the United States maintained by force of arms the supreme authority over all the territory, and over all the States and people within its jurisdiction which the Constitution confers upon it; but it acquired thereby no new power, no enlarged jurisdiction, no rights of territorial possession or of civil authority which it did not possess before the rebellion broke out. All the right power it can ever possess is that which is conferred upon it, either in express terms or by fair and necessary implication, by the Constitution of the United States. It was that power and that authority which the rebellion sought to overthrow, and the victory of the Federal arms was simply the defeat of that attempt. The Government of the United States acted throughout the war on the defensive. It sought only to hold possession of what was its own. Neither the war, nor the victory by which it was closed, changed in any way the Constitution of the United States. The war was carried on by virtue of its provisions, and under the limitation which they prescribe, and the result of the war did not either enlarge or in any way change or affect the powers it confers upon the Federal Government, or release that Government from the restrictions which it has imposed.

The Constitution of the United States is today precisely as it was before the war, the "supreme law of the land, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary, notwithstanding," and, to-day, also, precisely as before the war, all the powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the General Government, nor prohibited by it to the States, are "reserved to the several States, or to the people thereof."

This position is vindicated not only by the essential nature of our Government, and the language and spirit of our Constitution, but by all the acts and the language of our Government in all its departments, and at all times from the outbreak of the rebellion to its final overthrow. In every message and procla-

mation of the Executive it was explicitly declared that the sole purpose and object of the War was to maintain the authority of the Constitution and to preserve the integrity of the Union; and Congress more than once reiterated this solemn declaration, and added the assurance that whenever this object should be attained, the war should cease, and all the States should retain their equal rights and dignity unimpaired. It is only since the war was closed that other rights have been asserted on behalf of one department of the General Government. It has been proclaimed by Congress that, in addition to the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, the Federal Government may now claim over the States, the territory and the people involved in the insurrection, the rights of war, the right of conquest and of confiscation, the right to abrogate all existing government institutions and laws, and to subject the territory conquered and its inhabitants, to such laws, regulations and deprivations as the legislative departments of the Government may see fit to impose. Under this broad and sweeping claim, that clause of the Constitution which provides that "no State shall without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate of the U. States," has been annulled, and ten States have been refused, and are still refused, representation altogether in both branches of the Federal Congress. And the Congress in which only a part of the States and of the people of the Union are represented has asserted the right thus to exclude the rest from representation, and from all share in making their own laws or choosing their own rulers until they shall comply with such conditions and perform such acts as this Congress thus composed may itself prescribe. That right has not only been asserted, but it has been exercised, and is practically enforced at the present time. Nor does it find any support in the theory that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the Government, and are, therefore, precluded from sharing its authority. They are one and all in an attitude of loyalty toward the Government, and of sworn allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. In no one of them is there the slightest indication of resistance to this authority, or the slightest protest against its just and binding obligation. This condition of renewed loyalty has been officially recognized by solemn proclamation of the Executive department. The laws of the United States have been extended by Congress over all these States and the people thereof. Federal Courts have been reopened, and Federal taxes imposed and levied, and in every respect, except that they are denied representation in Congress and the Electoral College, the States once in rebellion are recognized as holding the same position, as owing the same obligations, and subject to the same duties as the other States of our common Union.

It seems to us, in the exercise of the calmest and most candid judgment we can bring to the subject, that such a claim, so enforced, involves as fatal an overthrow of the authority of the Constitution, and as complete a destruction of the Government and Union, as that which was sought to be effected by the States and people in armed insurrection against them both. It cannot escape observation that the power thus asserted to exclude certain States from representation is made to rest wholly in the will and discretion of the Congress that asserts it, it is not made to depend upon any specified conditions or circumstances, nor to be subject to any rules or regulations whatever. The right asserted and exercised is absolute, without qualification or restriction, not confined to States in rebellion, nor to States that have rebelled; it is the right of any congress in formal possession of legislative authority, to exclude any State or States, and any portion of the people thereof, at any time, from representation in Congress and in the Electoral College, at its own discretion and until they shall perform such acts and comply with such conditions as it may dictate. Obviously, the reasons for such exclusion, being wholly within the discretion of Congress, may change as the Congress itself shall change. One Congress may exclude a State from all share in the Government for one reason; and that reason removed, the next Congress may exclude it for another. One State may be excluded on one ground to-day, and another may be excluded on the opposite ground to-morrow. Northern ascendancy may exclude Southern States from one Congress; the ascendancy of Western or Southern interests, or of both combined, may exclude the Northern or Eastern States from the next. Improbable as such usurpations may seem, the establishment of the principle now asserted and acted upon by Congress will render them by no means impossible. The character, indeed the very existence, of Congress and the Union is thus made dependent solely and entirely upon the party and sectional exigencies or forbearance of the hour.

We need not stop to show that such action not only finds no warrant in the Constitution, but is at war with every principle of our Government, and with the very existence of free institutions. It is, indeed, the identical practice which