

FOR GOVERNOR, JONATHAN WORTH, OF RANDOLPH.

The Philadelphia Convention.

This body, to the action of which our people have looked with intense anxiety for some time past has adjourned after a most harmonious session of three days.— We publish to-day the third day's proceedings, including the declaration of principles and the address to the people of the United States. Any extended comment upon them from us would be unnecessary, as our readers will judge of them for themselves. It is sufficient for us to say that they meet with our approval. Ours was the first paper in the State, if not in the South to advocate the movement, and we were expected much from its deliberations.

So far as the action of the body is concerned, it has come fully up to, if it has not surpassed our most sanguine hopes.

As to the results we cannot, of course, say at this time what they will be, but we are very sanguine that they will be glorious beyond any preconceived opinion by its friends. We think a party will speedily rally upon the platform of principles laid down which will sweep radicalism from power, and restore the Union upon the basis of the Constitution as it is.

If some of our Southern people are not entirely satisfied with the address and the declaration of principles, they should remember the difficulties by which our Northern friends are surrounded, and that it is to them that we must look for deliverance. The people of the South are united, but the people of the North are divided. The great object of the Convention was to unite the people of the North as far as possible in support of the President's policy, with a view to the defeat of the radicals in the approaching election. If the declaration of principles is such as to accomplish this object we should be content. In times like the present, diplomacy in politics is often indispensable.

On the subject of the Test Oath the declaration of principles and the address is silent. Those who framed them, doubtless were silent on the subject for prudential reasons. But while they do not condemn the Test Oath in terms, they yet lay down broad and general principles with which the oath is totally inconsistent, and we are certainly at liberty to infer that the sense of the Convention was decidedly in favor of its repeal. They boldly proclaimed the right of the Southern States to representation, when they knew they could never be truly represented as long as the Test Oath remained on the statute book. They admit the right of both houses of Congress to judge of the election and qualification of its members. This right they derive from the Constitution which fixes the qualifications, and the two Houses can only judge of the qualifications of its members under the Constitution—in other words, they are to judge whether the members elect are possessed of the qualifications prescribed in that instrument. Any other test is unconstitutional. This, we think, is the position of the Convention on this subject.

The National Convention. Third Days Proceedings. An Enthusiastic Assemblage. Report of the Committee on Resolutions. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. A National Platform. ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. Its Unanimous Adoption. The Closing Scenes. Adjournment Sine Die. &c., &c., &c.

PHILADELPHIA, August 16.—The National Union Convention reassembled at ten o'clock this morning, pursuant to adjournment. Every seat in the auditorium was filled. The attendance of ladies was much larger than at any previous session. After prayer by R. M. Snyder, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Doolittle rose and said: Before proceeding to any further business, the Chair begs leave to announce, as the first response to the call for this convention in political action the result of the Colorado election. [Applause.]

Denver, Colorado Territory, August 15, 1866.—Returns from all parts of the Territory render certain the election of A. C. Hunt, administration candidate for delegate to Congress, over Chlicote, the Radical. [Great applause.]

RESOLUTIONS OFFERED. Mr. Crowell, of N. J.—I offer the following resolution: Resolved, That a Union National Executive Committee be appointed, to be composed of two delegates from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia. Adopted.

Hon. Rev. Johnson, of Md., who on rising was greeted with loud applause, said: I offer the following resolution: Resolved, That a committee, consisting of two delegates from each State and one from each Territory and the District of Columbia be appointed by the chair to wait upon the President of the United States, and present him with an authentic copy of the proceedings of this Convention. Carried.

Mr. Charles Knapp, of the District of Columbia—I offer the following resolution: Resolved, That a committee of finance be appointed, to consist of two delegates from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia. Carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS. Mr. Cowan, on behalf of the committee appointed to prepare resolutions and an address said: After a very careful and elaborate consideration of the same, lasting all day and a good part of the night, I beg leave to report the following declaration of principles, adopted unanimously by the committee, which the secretary of this Convention will read; and also, an address to the people of the country, which will be read by the Hon. Mr. Raymond, of New York. [Applause.]

The Secretary then proceeded to read the declaration of principles, each one of which was loudly applauded. The last one, which endorses the President, was greeted with prolonged cheers, in which both audience and delegates united.

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, admitted by the solemn lessons which for the past five years it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to give to the American people, profoundly grateful for the return of peace, desirous as are a large 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 to the future as of instant and continuing trial, hereby issue a solemn and unanimous declaration of principles and purposes on which they have with perfect unanimity agreed:

1st. We hail with gratitude to the Almighty God the end of war and the return of peace to an afflicted and beloved land.

2d. 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, unbridled and unaltered, and it has preserved the Union with the equal rights, dignity and authority of the States perfect and unimpaired.

3d. Representation in the Congress of the United States, and in the Electoral Colleges, 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.

4th. We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress as members thereof none but men who admit the 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 elections, returns and qualifications of its own members.

5th. The Constitution of the United States, and 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 convention 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.

6th. 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 in ratifying the same, all the States of the Union have an equal and indefeasible right to a voice and vote thereon.

7th. 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 of property.

8th. 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, as in performing all other national obligations, to maintain unimpaired and unimpeached the honor and the faith of the Republic.

9th. 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 all 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 most generous and considerate care.

10th. 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 undesired reproach, and having faith unshakable 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 honorable duties, our profound respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support.

After the resolutions were read and adapted, three cheers for Senator Cowan, of Pa., were given. Senator Cowan acknowledged the compliment, but said that as he considered himself the host of the convention, one of his distinguished guests would address it, by virtue of authority unanimously derived from the committee on resolutions and address, namely the Hon. Mr. Raymond of New York.

THE ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Hon. Henry J. Raymond thereupon proceeded to read the address, which had been written by himself, as had also been the declaration of principles. He was occasionally interrupted by applause, until the chairman appealed to the convention to restrain such manifestations until the reading should be concluded. Nevertheless, at the close of one sentence declaring that "no people subjected to such treatment as that to which the South was now subjected could long remain loyal," cheers came up from all parts of the hall.

Senator Johnson, of Maryland, asked that the sentence be repeated, and it was again read, as follows:

"No people has ever existed whose loyalty and faith such treatment, long continued, would not alienate and impair. And the ten millions of Americans who lived in the South would be unworthy citizens of a free country—degenerated sons of an heroic ancestry, unfit ever to become the guardians of the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by the fathers and founders of this republic—if they could accept with uncomplaining submission, the humiliation thus sought to be imposed upon them."

This sentiment was cheered with great enthusiasm, and at the close of the reading ex-Governor Perry, of South Carolina, rose and moved the adoption of the address.

The motion was declared carried unanimously.

Mr. Saml. J. Tilden, of New York, then rose and proposed, on behalf of the New York delegation, three cheers for Henry J. Raymond, who had prepared the address just read.

Mr. Patton, of Pa., on behalf of the Pennsylvania delegation, seconded the call, and the cheers were given accordingly.

ADDRESS. To the People of the United States:

Having met in convention at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 15th day of Aug., 1866, as the representatives of the people of all sections, and all the States and Territories of the Union, to consult upon the condition and the wants of the 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 1860, vast changes have occurred which have changed the character of our internal politics and given the U. 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 indelible upon all the interests, sentiments and the destiny of the public. 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 they have ordained, and to the principles of liberty which they have ordained, and to the principles of liberty which they have ordained, and to the principles of liberty which they have ordained.

This position is vindicated not only by the essential nature of our government, and the language and spirit of the 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 proclamation of the Executive, it was explicitly declared that the sole object and purpose of the war was to maintain the authority of the constitution and 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 right of conquest and of confiscation; the right to abrogate all existing governments, institutions and laws, and to subject the territory conquered and its inhabitants to such laws, regulations and deprivations as the legislative departments of the govern-

ments 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 United 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 all share in making their own laws, 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 effected at the present time.— No doubt it may support in the theory that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the Government, and therefore precluded from sharing the authority. They are not thus in rebellion. They are one and all in an attitude of loyalty towards the government and of sworn allegiance to the constitution of the United States. In none 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 deprived representation in Congress and the electoral college, the States once in rebellion are now recognized as holding 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 on 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 the 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 change 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.— Neither slavery nor any other Southern States from one Congress. The assembly of both a Western or of Southern States, or of both combined, may exclude the Northern or the Eastern States from the next Congress.

Improbable as such usurpations may seem, the establishment of the principle now asserted and acted upon by Congress will render by no means usurpation which we condemn, that the condition of the Southern States and people is not such as renders safe their re-admission to a share in the government of the country; that they are still disloyal in sentiment and that neither the honor, credit, nor interest of the nation would be safe if they were re-admitted to a share in its councils. We might reply to this: First—That we have no right for such reasons to deny any portion of the States or people rights expressly conferred upon them by the constitution of the United States.

Second. That so long as their acts are those of loyalty; so long as they conform in all their public conduct to the requirements of the constitution and laws we have no right to exact from them conformity in their sentiments and opinions to our own.

Third. That we have no right to distrust the purpose or the ability of the people of the Union to protect and defend, under all contingencies and by whatever means may be required, its honor and its welfare. These would, in our judgment, be full and conclusive answers to the plea thus advanced for the exclusion of these States from the Union. But we say further, that this plea rests upon a complete misapprehension or an unjust perversion of existing facts. We do not hesitate to affirm that there is no section of the country where the constitution and laws of the U. States find a more prompt and entire obedience than in those States and among those people who were lately in arms against them, or where there is less purpose or danger of any future attempt to overthrow their authority.

It would seem to be both natural and inevitable that in States and sections so recently swept by the whirlwind of war, where all the ordinary modes and methods of organized industry have been broken up, and the bonds and influences that guarantee social order have been destroyed, where thousands and tens of thousands of turbulent spirits have been suddenly loosed from the discipline of war and thrown, without resources or restraint, upon a disorganized and chaotic society, and where the keen sense of defeat is added to the

overthrow of ambition and hope, scenes of violence should defer, for a time, the imposition of law, and excite anew the forebodings of the patriotic and well disposed. It is a questionably true that local disturbances of this kind, accompanied by more or less of violence, do still occur, but they are confined entirely to the cities and larger towns of the Southern States, where different races and interests are brought most closely in contact, and where passions and resentments are always most easily fed and fanned into outbreak. And even these are quite as much the fruit of untimely and hurtful agitation as of any hostility on the part of the people to the authority of the national government.

But the concurrent testimony of those best acquainted with the condition of society and the state of public sentiment in the South, including that of its representatives in this convention, establishes the fact that the great mass of the Southern people accept, with as full and sincere submission as do the people of the other States, the re-established supremacy of the national authority, and are prepared, in the most loyal spirit and with a zeal quickened alike by their interest and their pride, to cooperate with other States and sections in whatever may be necessary to defend the rights, maintain the honor and promote the welfare of our common country.

History affords no instance where a people so powerful in numbers, in resources and in public spirit, after a war so long in its duration, so destructive in its progress, and so averse in its issue, have accepted defeat and its consequences with so much of good faith as has marked the conduct of the people lately in insurrection against the United States. Beyond all question, this has been largely due to the wise generosity with which their engaged commander was accepted by the President of the United States and the generals in immediate command of their armies, and to the liberal measures which were afterwards taken to restore order, tranquility and law to the States, where all had for the time been overthrown. No steps could have been better calculated to command the respect, win the confidence, revive the patriotism, and secure the permanent and affectionate allegiance of the people of the South to the constitution and laws of the Union than those which have been so firmly taken and so steadfastly pursued by the President of the United States.

And if that confidence and loyalty have been since impaired—if the people of the South are to-day less cordial in their allegiance than they were immediately upon the close of the war—we believe it is due to the changed tone of the legislative department of the general government towards them; to the action by which Congress has endeavored to supplant and defeat the President's wise and beneficent policy of restoration; to their exclusion from all participation in our common government; to the withdrawal from them of rights conferred and guaranteed by the Constitution, and to the evident purpose of Congress, in the exercise of a usurped and unlawful authority, to reduce them from the rank of free and equal members of a republic of States, to that of a condition of conquered provinces and to that of a people. In all things subjected and subject to the will of their conquerors—free only to obey laws, in nothing which they are not allowed to share.

No people has ever yet existed whose loyalty and faith such treatment, long continued, would not alienate and impair, and the ten millions of Americans who live in the South would be unworthy citizens of a free country, degenerated sons of an heroic ancestry, unfit ever to become guardians of the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by the fathers and founders of this republic, if they could accept, with uncomplaining submission, the humiliations thus sought to be impressed upon them. Resentment or injustice is always, and everywhere essential to freedom; and the spirit which prompts the States and people lately in insurrection, but insurgent now no longer, to protest against the imposition of unjust and degrading conditions, makes them all the more worthy to share in the government of a free commonwealth, and gives still firmer assurance of the future power and freedom of the republic.

For whatever responsibility the Southern people may have incurred in resisting the authority of the national government, and in taking up arms for its overthrow, they may be held to answer as individuals before the judicial tribunals of the land, and for that conduct, as societies and organized communities they have already paid the most fearful penalties that can fall on offending States, in the losses, the sufferings and humiliations of unsuccessful war. But, whatever may be the guilt or the punishment of the conscious authors of the insurrection, candor and common justice demand the concession that the great mass of those who became involved in its responsibility acted upon what they believed to be their duty, in defence of what they had been taught to believe to be their rights under a compulsion, physical and moral, which they were powerless to resist. Nor can it be amiss to remember that, terrible as have been the bereavements and the losses of this war, they have fallen exclusively upon their section, and upon neither party; that they have fallen, indeed, with a far greater weight upon those with whom the war began. That in the death of relatives and friends, the dispersion of families, the disruption of social systems and socialities; overthrow of governments, of law and order; the destruction of property, and of forms and modes and means of industry; the loss of political, commercial and moral influence, in every shape and form which great calamities can assume, the States and people which engaged in the war against the government of the United States have suffered ten-fold more than those who remained in allegiance to its constitution and laws. These considerations may not, as they