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Vernon Dorsey

National Union Executive Committee.

THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

National Union Convention

Held at Philadelphia, August 14, 1866.

Compiled and printed by order of the following resolution, offered by the Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON, of Maryland, and passed unanimously:

Resolved, That a full and correct Copy of the Proceedings of this Convention be prepared by E. O. PERAZZINI, Secretary, and certified by the President, for publication by the Resident Executive Committee at Washington.

FIRST DAY.

THE NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION met at 12 o'clock, Tuesday, August 14, 1866, pursuant to call. Hon. A. W. RANDALL, of Wisconsin, at precisely 12, rose and said:

The meeting will now come to order. For the purpose of the temporary organization of this Convention, I propose the name of General JOHN A. DIX, of New York, as chairman. [Cheers.]

The proposition was received with unanimous acclamation. General JOHN A. DIX came forward and said:

SPEECH OF GENERAL DIX.

Gentlemen of the Convention and Fellow-Citizens of the Whole Union—[Applause:]

I return you my sincere thanks for the honor you have done me in choosing me to preside temporarily over your deliberations. I regard it as a distinction of no ordinary character, not only on account of the high personal and political standing of the gentlemen who compose this Convention, but because it is a Convention of the people of all the States of this Union [cheers,] and because we cannot doubt that, if its proceedings are conducted with harmony and good judgment, it will lead to the most important results. It may be truly said that no body of men has met on this continent under circumstances so momentous and so delicate since the year 1787—the year when our ancestors assembled in this city to frame a better government for the States which were parties to the old Confederation—a government which has been confirmed and made more enduring, as we trust, by the fearful trials and perils which it has encountered and overcome. The Constitution which they came here to plan and construct, we are here to vindicate and restore. [Cheers.] We are here to assert the supremacy of representative government over all who are within the confines of the Union—a government which cannot, without a violation of its fundamental principle, be extended over any but those who are represented in it [loud applause]—over those who, by virtue of that representation, are entitled to a voice in the administration of the public affairs. [Renewed applause.] It was such a Government our fathers framed and put in operation. It is the Government which we are bound by every consideration of fidelity, justice, and good faith to defend and maintain. [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, we are not living under such a Government. [Applause and cries of "That is true."] Thirty-six States have for months been governed by twenty-five—eleven States have been wholly without representation in the legislative body of the nation; the numerical proportion of the represented States to the unrepresented has just been changed by the admission of the delegates from Tennessee—a unit taken from the smaller and added to the larger number. Ten States are still denied the representation in Congress to which they are entitled under the Constitution. It is this wrong which we have come here to protest against, and, as far as lies in us, to redress. [Great applause.] When the President of the United States declared that

armed resistance to the authority of the Union was over, all the States had a right to be represented in the national legislature. [Loud cheering.] They had the right under the Constitution. They had the right under resolutions passed by both Houses of Congress in 1861. Those resolutions were not concurrent, but they were substantially identical. Moreover, the States were entitled to be so represented on other grounds of fairness and good faith. The President, not in pursuance of any Constitutional power, had called on the confederated States to accept certain conditions for their admission to the exercise of their legitimate functions as members of the Union—the ratification of the amendments to the Constitution abolishing slavery and the repudiation of the debts contracted to overthrow the Government. These conditions were met and accepted. The exaction of new conditions is unjust, a violation of the faith of the Government, subversive of the principles of our political system, and dangerous to the public prosperity and peace. [Applause.] Each House of Congress may, as the judge of the qualifications of its own members, reject individuals for just cause; but the two bodies, acting conjointly, cannot exclude entire delegations without an unwarrantable assumption of power. [Applause.] Congress has not only done this; it has gone farther. It has incorporated new conditions into amendments to the Constitution, and submitted them for the ratification of the States. There is no probability that these amendments will be ratified by three-fourths of the States. To insist on the conditions they contain is to prolong indefinitely the exclusion of more than one-fourth of the States from representation in Congress. [Applause.] Is this the Government our fathers fought to establish? [Cries of "No, no!"] Is this the Union we have been fighting to preserve? ["No, no!"] The President has done all in his power to correct this wrong [applause,] and to restore the legislative body to its full proportions, by giving all the members of the Union their proper share in the Public Councils. [Cheers.] Legislation without representation—an anomaly under our political system. Under any other form of government it would be but another name for usurpation and misrule. And the President is entitled to the thanks of the country for his firmness in opposing a policy so illiberal, so demoralizing, and so directly at war with every principle of our political organization.

I have referred to the condition of the legislative body under the aspects of right on the one hand and duty on the other—the right of the States to be represented and the duty of Congress to receive their representatives. On the score of policy, nothing can be more unwise than to prolong the present anomalous relation of the States to each other. It is calculated to embitter on both sides animosities and resentments which it is our duty, by all just measures, to soothe and heal. It disturbs the action of the Government; it deranges the application of capital and labor; it impedes the development of our resources; it impairs our credit and our good name at home and abroad; and it retards the march of the country to prosperity and power.

Gentlemen, I trust that in our deliberations here we shall confine ourselves to one main purpose—that of redressing the wrong to which I have referred. There is much in the administration of the Government which needs amendment—some things to be done, and others to be undone. There are commercial and financial reforms which are indispensable to the public welfare. But we shall not have the power to carry them out until we change the political complexion of Congress. [Enthusiastic and long continued applause.] This should be our first, our immediate aim. It is in the Congressional districts that the vital contest is to take place. The control of one branch of Congress will enable us to prevent partial, unjust, and pernicious legislation. The control of both Houses, with the power to introduce and carry out salutary reforms, to "bring the Government back," in the language of Jefferson, "to the republican tack," will come later. [Cheers.] But, with wise, harmonious, and judicious action on our part, and on the part of those we represent, this need not be long delayed. [Applause.] I believe that public opinion is right, and that it is only necessary to present to the people clearly the issues between us and the ultraism which controls the action of Congress. And, gentlemen, is not the object for which we are contending a consummation worthy of our highest and most devoted efforts?—to bring back the Republic, purified and strengthened by the fiery ordeal through which it has passed to its ancient prosperity and power [applause]—to present to the world an example worthy of imitation, not a mere Utopian vision of a good Government, but the grand old reality of the better times [applause] with which the memory of our fathers, the recollections of the past, and all our hopes of the future, are inseparably entwined [cheers]—*one country, one flag, one Union of equal States!* [Long continued applause.]

The remarks of General Dix were received with great enthusiasm. He was frequently interrupted by cheers. At the conclusion of his remarks the cheering was tremendous and long continued.

General Dix then said: It is proposed to open the proceedings of the Convention with

prayer. He then introduced Rev. R. N. McDonald, who made the following prayer, the audience reverently standing :

THE OPENING PRAYER.

O Lord, high and mighty Ruler of the Universe, we, Thy dependent and needy creatures, humbly draw near to Thee in the name of Thy beloved Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Have mercy on us according to Thy loving kindness: according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies blot out our transgressions. We bless Thy most high and holy name for the innumerable mercies Thou hast in Thy loving kindness bestowed on us as a Christian people. We bless Thee for the establishment and maintenance here of religious and civil liberty, and especially, O Lord, do we praise Thee for the interposition of Thy power in our behalf in the late troubles which have been permitted to become upon our beloved country. We bless Thee that Thou hast brought to an end the fearful struggle in which the nation has been engaged, and that the Union has been preserved. Verily Thou art a God that doeth wonders. Thou canst make the wrath of man praise Thee, and Thou canst restrain the power thereof. We thank Thee that Thou hast put it in the hearts of Thy servants here present to assemble from various parts of our land to consult for the public good; and now, O Most Mighty and Most Holy, let Thy blessing rest upon this Convention. May Thy servants meet together as brothers and friends. Help them to lay aside all selfish motives, all unworthy personal and sectional considerations; enlighten their counsels; guide them in all their deliberations, so that the Union of the States may be fully restored and may be rendered perpetual. Restore their prosperity as at the first, and their peace and fraternity as at the beginning. Bless the country in all its interests; in its agriculture, in its commerce, and in the mechanical arts; in its churches, and in its religious and benevolent institutions. Avert from us, we beseech Thee, the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-tide, and all the judgments which our sins deserve. And, O most merciful God, our Heavenly Father, we beseech Thee to manifest Thine especial favor upon Thy servant, the President of the United States. May his health and life be precious in Thy sight. Make him a great and lasting blessing to the country over which, in Thy wonderful and adorable providence, he has been called to bear rule. Bless his constitutional advisers; gird him with wisdom and strength in every emergency. We pray, O Lord, that he may be a just ruler in the fear of God, even as the light of the morning when the sun riseth—a morning without clouds—and as the tender grass springing from the earth after rain; and especially, O Lord, wilt Thou crown the efforts of Thy servant in maintaining the Union of these States inviolate under the Constitution established by our fathers. Bless all nations and their rulers. Let the Gospel be preached abroad. Thy kingdom come everywhere. Let oppression disappear among men. Let righteousness and peace reign over the whole earth. These are our petitions; these are our requests: O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and aid for his sake, our Great Redeemer, who hath taught us to say, Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those that trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for Thine is the kingdom, the power, and glory, forever. Amen.

During the delivery of the prayer the word amen was uttered frequently, with deep reverence, in various parts of the house.

RESOLUTION TO APPOINT A COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

GENERAL STEEDMAN. I have a resolution to offer providing for the appointment of a committee on the credentials of delegates to this Convention.

TEMPORARY SECRETARIES.

HON. A. W. RANDALL. Before that resolution is put I beg leave to propose the following appointments of temporary secretaries to the Convention: E. C. PERRIN, of New York; A. R. POTS, of Pennsylvania; JOHN F. COYLE, of District of Columbia; JAMES B. O'BRIEN, of District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. The call for this Convention will now be read:

THE CALL FOR THE CONVENTION.

A NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION, of at least two delegates from each Congressional District of all the States, two from each Territory, two from the District of Columbia, and four delegates at large from each State, will be held at the city of Philadelphia on the second Tuesday (14th) of August next.

Such delegates will be chosen by the electors of the several States who sustain the

Administration in maintaining unbroken the Union of the States under the Constitution which our fathers established, and who agree in the following propositions, viz :

The Union of the States is, in every case, indissoluble, and is perpetual; and the Constitution of the United States, and the laws passed by Congress in pursuance thereof, supreme, and constant, and universal in their obligation;

The rights, the dignity, and the equality of the States in the Union, including the right of representation in Congress, are solemnly guaranteed by that Constitution, to save which from overthrow so much blood and treasure were expended in the late civil war;

There is no right, anywhere, to dissolve the Union, or to separate States from the Union, either by voluntary withdrawal, by force of arms, or by Congressional action; neither by the secession of the States, nor by the exclusion of their loyal and qualified representatives, nor by the National Government in any other form;

Slavery is abolished, and neither can, nor ought to be re-established in any State or Territory within our jurisdiction;

Each State has the undoubted right to prescribe the qualifications of its own electors, and no external power rightfully can, or ought to, dictate, control, or influence the free and voluntary action of the States in the exercise of that right;

The maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic concerns, according to its own judgment exclusively, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and the overthrow of that system by the usurpation and centralization of power in Congress would be a revolution, dangerous to republican government and destructive of liberty.

Each House of Congress is made, by the Constitution, the sole judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members; but the exclusion of loyal Senators and Representatives, properly chosen and qualified under the Constitution and laws, is unjust and revolutionary.

Every patriot should frown upon all those acts and proceedings everywhere, which can serve no other purpose than to rekindle the animosities of war, and the effect of which upon our moral, social, and material interests at home, and upon our standing abroad, differing only in degree, is injurious like war itself.

The purpose of the war having been to preserve the Union and Constitution by putting down the rebellion, and the rebellion having been suppressed, all resistance to the authority of the General Government being at an end, and the war having ceased, war measures should also cease, and should be followed by measures of peaceful administration, so that union, harmony, and concord may be encouraged, and industry, commerce, and the arts of peace revived and promoted; and the early restoration of all the States to the exercise of their constitutional powers in the National Government is indispensably necessary to the strength and the defence of the Republic, and to the maintenance of the public credit.

All such electors in the thirty-six States and nine Territories of the United States, and in the District of Columbia, who, in a spirit of patriotism and love for the Union, can rise above personal and sectional considerations, and who desire to see a truly National Union Convention, which shall represent all the States and Territories of the Union, assemble, as friends and brothers, under the national flag, to hold counsel together upon the state of the Union, and to take measures to avert possible danger from the same, are specially requested to take part in the choice of such delegates.

But no delegate will take a seat in such Convention who does not loyally accept the national situation and cordially endorse the principles above set forth, and who is not attached, in true allegiance, to the Constitution, the Union, and the Government of the United States.

WASHINGTON, June 25, 1860.

A. W. RANDALL, *President*.
 J. R. DOOLITTLE,
 O. H. BROWNING,
 EDGAR COWAN,
 CHARLES KNAP,
 SAMUEL FOWLER,

Executive Committee National Union Club.

We recommend the holding of the above Convention, and endorse the call therefor.

DANIEL S. NORTON,
 J. W. NESMITH,
 JAMES DIXON,
 T. A. HENDRICKS.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Hon. J. R. DOOLITTLE.—With the leave of the gentleman from Ohio, and before the motion is put on his resolution to appoint a committee on credentials, I ask leave to submit two resolutions, which have reference to the order of business in this Convention. The first resolution which I offer, with his leave, will be this :

Resolved, That, until otherwise ordered, the general rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, so far as applicable, govern the proceedings of this Convention, and, until otherwise ordered, in case any question shall arise to be determined by a division, or by the ayes and noes, the Secretary shall call the roll of all the States and Territories of the United States and the District of Columbia. Each State, as called, shall be entitled to cast double the number of votes to which it is entitled in the electoral college, as its delegation shall direct ; and each Territory, and also the District of Columbia, shall be entitled to cast two votes, as their several delegations shall direct.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Hon. J. R. DOOLITTLE.—I desire also to submit the following resolution :

Resolved, That all resolutions and propositions not relating to the organization of the Convention, be referred by the Chair to the Committee on Resolutions, hereafter to be appointed, without debate ; and that all resolutions, propositions, and questions relating to the right or claim of any person to a seat in the Convention, be referred by the Chair to the Committee of Credentials, hereafter to be appointed, without debate ; and that until the appointment of such committee they do lie upon the table, without debate.

This resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The Secretary then read the resolution offered by General Steedman, as follows :

Resolved, That a committee of thirteen be appointed by the Chair as a committee on credentials.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Hon. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.—I wish to offer the following resolution, providing for the permanent organization of this Convention :

Resolved, That a committee of one from each State be appointed by the Chair to report officers for the permanent organization of the Convention.

Hon. THOMAS B. FLORENCE.—It strikes me, sir, inasmuch as there is great misapprehension as to the character of the delegations to this body, that the Secretary be requested to read the circular issued over the signature of Judge Blair and others, known as the "Blair-Campbell Circular," inviting the coöperation of Democrats, as such, in this body. It seems to me that if there was any significance in reading the original call, the supplementary call is quite as important to remove any misapprehension that may occur as to the position we may occupy. I suggest that it be read.

THE CHAIRMAN.—If there is no objection, it will be read.

It was then read, as follows :

THE CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESS.

To the People of the United States :

Dangers threaten. The Constitution—the citadel of our liberties—is directly assailed. The future is dark, unless the people will come to the rescue.

In this hour of peril National Union should be the watchword of every true man.

As essential to National Union, we must maintain unimpaired the rights, the dignity, and the equality of the States, including the right of representation in Congress, and the exclusive right of each State to control its own domestic concerns, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

After a uniform construction of the Constitution for more than half a century, the assumption of new and arbitrary powers in the Federal Government is subversive of our system and destructive of liberty.

A free interchange of opinion and kind feeling between the citizens of all the States is necessary to the perpetuity of the Union. At present eleven States are excluded from the National Council. For seven long months the present Congress has persistently denied any right of representation to the people of these States. Laws, affecting their highest and dearest interests, have been passed without their consent, and in disregard of the fundamental principle of free Government. This denial of representation has been made to all the members from a State, although the State, in the language

of the President, "presents itself, not only in an attitude of loyalty and harmony, but in the persons of representatives whose loyalty cannot be questioned under any existing constitutional or legal test." The representatives of nearly one-third of the States have not been consulted with reference to the great questions of the day. There has been no nationality surrounding the present Congress. There has been no intercourse between the representatives of the two sections, producing mutual confidence and respect. In the language of the distinguished Lieutenant-General, "It is to be regretted that, at this time, there cannot be a greater commingling between the citizens of the two sections, and particularly those entrusted with the law-making power." This state of things should be removed at once and forever.

Therefore, to preserve the National Union, to vindicate the supremacy of our admirable Constitution, to guard the States from covert attempts to deprive them of their true position in the Union, and bring together those who are unnaturally severed, and for these great national purposes only, we cordially approve the call for a National Union Convention, to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the second Tuesday (14th) of August next, and endorse the principles therein set forth.

We, therefore, respectfully, but earnestly, urge upon our fellow-citizens in each State, and Territory, and Congressional District of the United States, in the interest of Union and in a spirit of harmony, and with direct reference to the principles contained in said call, to act promptly in the selection of wise, moderate, and conservative men to represent them in said Convention, to the end that *all* States shall at once be restored to their practical relations to the Union, the Constitution maintained, and peace bless the whole country.

W. E. Niblack,
 Anthony Thornton,
 Michael C. Kerr,
 G. S. Shanklin,
 Garrett Davis,
 H. Grider,
 Thomas E. Noell,
 Sam'l J. Randall,
 Lewis W. Ross,
 Stephen Tabor,
 J. M. Humphreys,
 John Hogan,
 B. M. Boyer,
 Tennis G. Bergen,
 Chas. Goodyear,
 Chas. H. Winfield,
 A. H. Coffroth,
 Lovell H. Rousseau,
 Philip Johnson,
 Chas. A. Eldridge,
 John L. Dawson,

Reverdy Johnson,
 Thomas A. Hendricks,
 Wm. Wright,
 James Guthrie,
 J. A. McDougall,
 Wm. Radford,
 S. S. Marshall,
 Myer Strouse,
 Chas. Sitgreaves,
 S. E. Ancona,
 E. N. Hubbell,
 B. C. Ritter,
 A. Harding,
 A. J. Glossbrenner,
 E. R. V. Wright,
 A. J. Rogers,
 H. McCullough,
 F. C. Le Blond,
 W. E. Finck,
 L. S. Trimble.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1866.

Col. THOMAS B. FLORENCE. I have no objection to that, but it is not the one I referred to. I mean the circular issued over the signatures of Governor Randal and Judge Blair.

THE CHAIRMAN. It is not in the possession of the Secretary.

Mr. FLORENCE, (handing a paper to the Secretary.) That is the paper to which I allude. That is a very patriotic paper, and there can be no earthly objection to reading it: and I ask, that after reading the other, the Secretary may also read this which I have presented. A paper which has met the response of so many persons here, and has met with such universal approval, cannot do any harm to this Convention.

The circular presented by Mr. Florence was then read by the Secretary as follows:

SUPPLEMENTARY CIRCULAR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1866.

Your immediate and earnest attention is invited to the annexed call for a National Convention, issued by the National Union Executive Committee, and the accompanying endorsement thereof by prominent gentlemen who are well known to the country.

The undersigned have been duly appointed a committee to facilitate and expedite, by correspondence and otherwise, such action as may seem necessary to bring together at Philadelphia a convention of the ablest men of the nation, without regard to their party antecedents, who favor, generally, the restoration policy President Johnson has advocated against the dangerous course pursued by the majority of Congress.

We deem it proper to suggest that it is desirable that there be sent from each State four delegates at large and two from each Congressional district who favor the principles set forth in the call, to be taken from the supporters of Lincoln and Johnson in 1864, and a like number from their opponents. Also, four delegates from each Territory, and four from the District of Columbia. In those States whereof a portion of the people were lately in rebellion, a corresponding number of delegates may be chosen by the people generally, who accept the principles stated in the call. It is not intended, however, that these suggestions shall interfere with any arrangements already made for the selection of delegates. It is left entirely to the political organizations in the different States and districts that occur in the principles of the call to decide whether they will choose their delegates by joint or separate meetings, or by their executive committees.

We have been authorized to appoint temporary executive committees in the States where the same are presumed to be necessary. You are, therefore, requested to act as such committee, and to adopt immediate measures to secure a full delegation to the proposed Convention, not interfering, however, with the action which existing organizations may have taken for the same object. Your action will be such as to aid such movements—the purpose of your appointment being to provide for the selection of delegates if no adequate preliminary arrangements have yet been made.

The day fixed for the National Convention is near, and we desire to impress on you and all friends of this cause, that it is of the first importance that District or State Conventions, or State Executive Committees, immediately appoint delegates. And it is particularly requested that a list of delegates and committees appointed be speedily forwarded to the Chairman of this Committee.

In conclusion, we have to add that the paramount object of this movement is to bring into a great National Conference from all parts of our distracted country wise and patriotic men, who may devise a plan of political action calculated to restore national unity, fraternity, and harmony, and secure to an afflicted people that which is so sincerely desired by all good men—the practical blessings of an enduring peace.

ALEX. W. RANDALL,
LEWIS D. CAMPBELL,
MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

The Secretary then read the appointments made on the Committees on Credentials and on Organization. They are as follows :

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

JAMES B. STREEDMAN, Ohio, Chairman ; N. D. Coleman, Louisiana ; Thomas Hoynes, Illinois ; Charles P. Daly, New York ; David Kilgore, Indiana ; J. B. Campbell, South Carolina ; A. Hyatt Smith, Wisconsin ; Geo. M. Ives, Connecticut ; B. H. Epperson, Texas ; E. W. Pierce, Massachusetts ; Ashbel Green, New Jersey ; James McFerran, Missouri ; John R. Franklin, Maryland.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Hon. MONTGOMERY BLAIR, Maryland, Chairman ; Nathaniel S. Little, Maine ; E. A. Hibbard, New Hampshire ; J. J. Deavitt, Vermont ; E. A. Alger, Massachusetts ; A. Ballou, Rhode Island ; Loren P. Waldo, Connecticut ; Hon. W. H. Ludlow, New York ; Hon. Joel Parker, New Jersey ; Hon. H. W. Tracy, Pennsylvania ; Joseph M. Barr, Delaware ; Thomas S. Flournoy, Virginia ; John J. Thompson, West Virginia ; W. A. Wright, North Carolina ; T. N. Dawkins, South Carolina ; Porter Ingram, Florida ; James B. Dawkins, Georgia ; Hon. J. F. Bailey, Mississippi ; J. G. Parham, Louisiana ; J. B. Luce, Arkansas ; B. H. Epperson, Texas ; Jos. Ramsay, Tennessee ; Alexander White, Alabama ; Hon. E. A. Graves, Kentucky ; George Fries, Ohio ; Colonel D. G. Rose, Indiana ; Hon. Thomas J. Turner, Illinois ; General A. A. Stephens, Michigan ; Robert Wilson, Missouri ; H. M. Rice, Minnesota ; L. B. Vilas, Wisconsin ; J. H. Murphy, Iowa ; Nicholas Smith, Kansas ; Hon. Samuel Purdy, California ; G. M. Beebe, Nevada ; W. H. Farrar, Oregon ; Owen Thorn, District of Columbia ; _____, Arizona ; A. J. Faulk, Dakota ; Thomas W. Betts, Idaho, _____, Montana ; Hon. J. Sterling Morton, Nebraska ; Geo. P. Este, New Mexico ; _____, Utah ; _____, Colorado ; Elwood Evans, Washington Territory.

THE CHAIRMAN. The list of the members of this Committee has been read by States.

It is understood that Mr. Blair, of Maryland, is Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

ADJOURNMENT.

Hon. MONTGOMERY BLAIR. I move that this Convention now adjourn till to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

The Convention thereupon was adjourned.

SECOND DAY.

The Convention met at 12 o'clock M., pursuant to adjournment.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Convention will come to order, and gentlemen will please take their seats.

The Rev. John P. Haltzinger, of Greenville, Tennessee, then offered the opening prayer:

THE PRAYER.

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, "Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations, before ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting. Thou art God." We desire to approach Thee in the name of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and ask Thee for His sake to pardon all our sins, and forgive all our iniquities. In Thy Providence we have been brought together at this place for a special purpose; and we ask Thee, Almighty Father, to give us a suitable spirit for the present occasion, and help us to feel the responsibility resting upon us. As millions are to be affected by this great meeting, for weal or woe, please guide this Convention in wisdom, that good may result from all its counsels. We would most devoutly thank Thee for all Thy mercies; and as the storms of war are past, grant us peace and unity in all the borders of our beloved country, that there may be perfect harmony in the great arch of States represented on this occasion; that the constellation of thirty-six stars seen in the blue field of our national emblem may never be diminished. May our Union be permanent; may it last through all time. We ask that it may still be the *Union of our Fathers*; and may their mantle fall upon us, and may we who are here have the spirit of '76. We ask Thee for temporal blessings. May our fields produce, and may our flocks increase, and our substance multiply; and may all be spent to Thy glory. We pray for our rulers, and ask that they may be men fearing God, and hating covetousness. And most especially do we pray Thy blessing upon the President of the United States. Grant him the head, the heart, and the hands competent to his great task; and may the nation prosper under his administration. In a very few years we will be called to sleep the long sleep of death—to render an account of all our acts. May we so live that our conduct in life will be for the glory of God and good of our race; and when a dying hour comes, may we be at peace with all our fellow-men, and in favor with God. And, finally, through the blood of our blessed Redeemer, we hope to praise the name of God, the Father, Son, and Spirit, in a world without end. Amen.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

THE CHAIRMAN. The first business before the Convention is the report of committees.

Hon. MONTGOMERY BLAIR. I am instructed by the Committee on Organization to make the following report of the officers of the Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Secretary will read the report from the Committee on Organization.

THE SECRETARY. The report of the Committee on Organization is as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

For President.—Hon. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE, of Wisconsin.

For Vice Presidents.—Leonard Wood, LL.D., Maine; Daniel Marcy, New Hampshire; Myron Clark, Vermont; Hon. K. B. Hall, Massachusetts; Alfred Anthony, Rhode Island; Hon. O. F. Winchester, Connecticut; Hon. Theodore S. Faxton, New York; Gen. Gershom Mott, New Jersey; Asa Packer, Pennsylvania; Ayres Stockley, Delaware; Gen. George Vickers, Maryland; Hon. John W. Brockenborough, Virginia; Thomas Sweeney, West Virginia; Hon. John A. Gilmer, North Carolina; Judge David Lewis Wardlaw, South Carolina; Richard S. Lyons, Georgia; Judge Thomas Randall, Florida; G. A. Sykes, Mississippi; Cuthbert Bullitt, Louisiana; J. M. Tebbetts, Arkansas; P. J. Burnett, Texas; Thomas A. R. Nelson, Tennessee; George S. Houston, Alabama; Hon. J. W. Ritter, Kentucky; Hon. P. Ranney, Ohio; Hon. W. S. Smith, Indiana; D. K. Groen, Illinois; Hon. O. B. Clark, Michigan; Hon. John Hogan, Missouri; Franklin Steele, Minnesota; Gen. Milton Montgomery, Wisconsin; Edward Johnston, Iowa; J. L. Pendery, Kansas; William T. Coleman, California; Frank Hereford, Nevada; Hon. George L. Curry, Oregon; Joseph H. Bradley, Sr., District of Columbia; ———, Arizona; J. W. Turner, Dakota; Charles P. Powell, Idaho; George L. Miller, Nebraska; ———, New Mexico; ———, Utah; Hon. B. F. Hall, Colorado; Elwood Ryans, Washington Territory.

For Secretaries.—James Mann, Maine; B. S. Cutter, New Hampshire; George H. Simmons, Vermont; Charles Wright, Massachusetts; James H. Parsons, Rhode Island; James A. Hovey, Connecticut; E. O. Perrin, New York; Col. Thomas S. Allison, New Jersey; Harry A. Weaver, Pennsylvania; J. F. Tharp, Delaware; Dr. W. W. Wat-

kins, Maryland; Thomas Wallace, Virginia; Henry S. Walker, West Virginia; S. F. Patterson, North Carolina; Thomas Y. Simmons, South Carolina; J. H. Christie, Georgia; Judge B. D. Wright, Florida; A. G. Mayer, Mississippi; A. W. Walker, Louisiana; Elias C. Boudinot, Arkansas; J. M. Daniel, Texas; John Lelleyet, Tennessee; C. S. G. Doster, Alabama; M. H. Owsley, Kentucky; E. B. Eshelman, Ohio; Col. C. C. Matson, Indiana; John McGinnis, Jr., Illinois; Gen. John G. Parkhurst, Michigan; Col. C. B. Wilkinson, Missouri; Richard Price, Minnesota; George C. Ginty, Wisconsin; J. M. Walker, Iowa; W. A. Tipton, Kansas; Jackson Temple, California; Col. Jesse Williams, Nevada; A. D. Fitch, Oregon; James R. O'Beirne, District of Columbia; D. T. Bramble, Dakota; Major L. Lowrie, Nebraska; Charles P. Egan, Washington.

The Chairman, GENERAL DIX, at this point introduced the Senator from Wisconsin, who, upon stepping to the front of the platform, was received with immense cheers—the whole assemblage rising as one man, and the applause continued until order was called. Senator DOOLITTLE then said:

MR. DOOLITTLE'S SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the Convention and Fellow-Citizens of the United States: [Cheers.] For the distinguished honor of being called upon to preside over the deliberations of this Convention, I sincerely thank you. I could have wished that its responsibilities had fallen upon another, but relying upon that courtesy and generous confidence which has called me to the chair, I enter at once upon its duties with an earnest desire for the success of the great cause in which we are now engaged. Among the great events of our own day this Convention, in my opinion, will prove to be one of the greatest, for "peace hath her victories not less renowned than war." [Applause.] And this Convention is one of her victories—may I not say a crowning victory? [Applause.] For the first time in six years a National Convention representing all the States is now assembled. [Applause.] Six long, weary years! As we look back, oh! what an interval of blood, and agony, and tears! During that period we have been engaged in the most gigantic civil war the world has ever seen, wasting our resources, drenching a thousand battle-fields with fraternal blood, and carrying to a premature grave our fathers, our sons, and our brothers by hundreds of thousands.

But, thanks be to Almighty God, the war is over, [enthusiastic cheering and applause,] and what we here witness assures us that peace has come, and come to stay. [Applause.] Fellow-citizens, if the people of the United States could at this moment look in upon this Convention, if they could see what we now witness, the North and the South, the East and the West, joining together in fraternal association as friends and fellow-citizens, our work would be already done. [Cheering and applause.] If they could have seen—as we saw—Massachusetts and South Carolina, [applause,] by their full delegations, coming arm in arm [applause] into this great Convention, [applause,] if they could have seen this body, greater in numbers, and in weight of character and brain, than ever yet assembled on this Continent under one roof, [applause,] melting to tears of joy and gratitude to witness this commingling, there could be no struggle at the polls in the coming elections. [Applause.]

When I remember that it was Massachusetts and South Carolina that, in the Convention which framed the Constitution, voted against the abolition of the slave trade; that it was Massachusetts in 1812 which, through some of her men, taught the heresy of nullification, which South Carolina reasserted in 1832, and in the form of secession again in 1860; when I call to mind that South Carolina fired the first gun, and that the veins of Massachusetts poured out the first blood in the recent struggle; and when I call to mind all these memories, and at the same time see these two old States of the Union coming here in fraternal embrace, approaching a common altar of a common country, ready to make sacrifices for the good of the whole—I say again, could the whole people of the United States witness all this, there would remain no further work for us to restore the Union. [Applause.] If the people of Massachusetts herself could have witnessed it, not a single member could be returned to Congress [enthusiastic cheering and applause] from that State until he had given the most sacred pledge that he would do all in his power in Congress to recognize the equality and dignity of all States under the Constitution, [applause and cheering,] including the sacred, inalienable right of every State under the Constitution to representation in both Houses. [Cheering and applause.] Gentlemen of the Convention, I shall go into no argument on this occasion. [A voice, "Go on, go on."] The distinguished gentleman who preceded me said all that I now desire to say, and much better than I could say it. [Voice, "Go on."] I endorse, and take great pleasure in fully endorsing, all that he said—sentence by sentence and word by word. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, unfortunately the whole people of the Northern States do not witness what is now transpiring here; therefore, the greater work still rests upon

us from this time until the election of the next Congress. We should be untiring in our exertions to see to it that if this Congress shall continue to refuse this sacred right of representation to equal States, that the next Congress shall recognize them. [Cheers and applause.] When that is done, the Union is restored. [Applause.] And when the Union is restored, we shall be prepared, in my judgment, to enter upon a higher and nobler career among the nations of the earth than has yet been occupied by any Government upon which the sun of Heaven ever shone. [Applause.] We shall stand in the vanguard of civilization, of liberty; we shall lead by the light of our example all other nations of the earth.

Gentlemen, without detaining you longer, I shall enter at once upon the duties of the chair. [Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering and applause.]

The band here struck up the inspiring notes of the Star-Spangled Banner.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentlemen who have been chosen as vice presidents of the Convention will now please to come forward and take their seats upon the platform to the right and to the left of the Chair, and while they are so doing the music will continue.

Here the band struck up the popular air "Tramp, Tramp," until the vice presidents and secretaries had assumed their places.

THE PRESIDENT. The Convention will now be in order.

GENERAL STEEDMAN. I have leave to present the report of the Committee on Credentials, which I now hand to the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio offers the following report from the Committee on Credentials. The Secretary will read the report.

THE SECRETARY. The following report is made by the chairman of the Committee on Credentials:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The Committee on Credentials report that they have considered the credentials of all the delegates presented to them, and that in no State has any contest occurred except in Maine, Delaware, and New York, and in these cases they have made the following disposition:

The delegation elected by the meeting held at Rutland, headed by Governor Crosby, in the opinion of the Committee, are entitled to admission as delegates from the State of Maine.

The Committee recommend that the delegation from Delaware, elected by the meeting held at Dover, on the 26th of July, be admitted as delegates from that State. The Committee recommend that the persons chosen by the meeting held at Wilmington, on the 2d of August, be admitted to honorary seats in this Convention.

They also recommend that the gentlemen attending from the New York Service Society of Soldiers and Sailors, and the gentlemen recommended by the chairman of the New York delegation, be admitted to seats as honorary members, and that, inasmuch as the reading of the list of the delegates must occupy much time, the Committee recommend the reading be dispensed with, and that the list be published with the proceedings of the Convention.

GENERAL STEEDMAN. For the information of the Convention I will state that room 44 at the Continental Hotel is the headquarters of the Committee on Credentials. A book containing the names of all the delegates is on the table of the Secretary of this Convention, and will be taken to that room when the Convention adjourns, for the purpose of adding the names of such delegates as have reported since this report was made up. To enable the Convention to proceed to the consideration of business for which it has been assembled, I now move the previous question on the adoption of the report of the Committee.

THE PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the report of the committee. Those who are in favor of its adoption will signify the same by saying "aye."

The report was unanimously adopted.

VALLANDIGHAM'S WITHDRAWAL.

Hon. W. S. GROSEBECK, of Ohio. I desire to present a letter from a gentleman who was elected a delegate to this Convention, but who has declined to take his place as such. The letter is from the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham. I would further state that I present this as the organ of the united delegations of the State of Ohio, and it being addressed to the Convention, I desire it may be read.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman presents a letter from the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, and desires the same shall be read. [Cheers from portions of the hall.] It requires the unanimous consent of the Convention.

Mr. HUGH L. GARDNER, of New York, and others. I object.

Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON, of Maryland. If it be a fact that it requires the unanimous consent of the Convention, I move the rules be suspended.

Hon. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL, of Ohio. I second the motion.

The question was then put on the suspension of the rules, and the motion to suspend was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will now read the letter from the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham. [Cheering.]

THE SECRETARY. The letter is as follows :

VALLANDIGHAM'S LETTER.

GIRARD HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, August 14, 1866.

To the Chairman of the National Union Convention :

SIR: I have this day received from the National Union Committee, through the Hon. William S. Groesbeck, chairman of the joint Ohio delegation to your Convention, a ticket of admission as a delegate from that State.

Hon. George W. McCook, chairman of the Democratic delegation from Ohio, has also communicated to me the following resolution, adopted this morning by the delegation :

Resolved unanimously by the Ohio delegation, That we recognize the right of Clement L. Vallandigham, a duly elected delegate from the Third Congressional District of Ohio, to hold a seat in that Convention. That we should regard his exclusion from such seat as an unjust and unreasonable infringement of the rights of the Democracy of said district, and are ready to stand by him in the assertion of his rights and the rights of his constituents; and that we endorse cordially the purity and patriotism of his motives and his fitness every way to sit in said Convention. Yet, for the sake of harmony and good feeling in the same, and in order to secure the great ends for which it is called, we consent to his withdrawal from this delegation and from a seat in this Convention, if, in his judgment, his duty to his constituents shall justify such withdrawal.

Yielding my own deliberate convictions of duty and right to the almost unanimous opinion and desire of friends, whose wisdom, soundness of judgment, and sincerity and purity of motives I may not question, to the end that there shall be no pretext even from any quarter for any controverted question or disturbing element in the Convention to mar its harmony, or to hinder in any way the good results to the cause of the Convention, the Union, and the public liberty, which shall follow from its deliberations and its actions, I hereby withdraw from the Ohio Democratic delegation, and decline taking my seat in the Convention. I am profoundly conscious that the sanctity and magnitude of the interests involved in the present political canvass in the United States are too immense not to demand a sacrifice of every personal consideration in a struggle upon the issue of which depends, as I solemnly believe, the present peace, and ultimately the existence of free republican government on this continent.

Trusting that your deliberations may be harmonious, your proceedings full of the spirit of wisdom and patriotism, and its results crowned with a glorious and saving triumph in the end to the great cause in which every sympathy of my heart is enlisted, am, very respectfully, &c.,

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION OF HON. EDGAR COWAN.

Hon. EDGAR COWAN. You—[The cheering that arose when the Senator was seen standing continued for some minutes. The ladies joined in it, and hats and handkerchiefs were waved, till the whole large mass seemed like one huge wave agitated by a passing wind. The tall form of the Senator turned towards them, and he seemed perfectly overwhelmed at this spontaneous exhibition of his national popularity. The cheering subsided once or twice, and was renewed again and again. At last he said:]

You will excuse me for this time; I only beg leave to offer the following resolution, which I will send to the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

THE SECRETARY. The resolution is as follows :

RESOLUTION FOR A COMMITTEE ON ADDRESS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That a committee of two from each State and Territory be appointed to prepare resolutions and an address for the Convention.

The resolution passed unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT. The following despatch has just been received from the President of the United States: [Long and enthusiastic cheering.]

THE SECRETARY. I will now read the despatch :

DESPATCH FROM THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1866.

To the Hon. O. H. Browning and A. W. Randall, Convention at Philadelphia :

I thank you for your cheering and encouraging despatch. The finger of Providence is unerring, and will guide you safely through. The people must be trusted, and the country will be restored. My faith is unshaken as to the ultimate success.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

[Great cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair will now announce the names of the Committee on Resolutions and Address. There are some States for which names have not been presented to the Chair, and when the names have been read of those who have been appointed the Chair will have the names of those States called in order, and the delegations from those States can send the names of two persons from each State to the Committee on Resolutions, and their names will be inserted. The Secretary will now read the names of the committee.

THE SECRETARY. The names are as follows :

[The Secretary then read the list of names.]

Hon. O. H. BROWNING, of Illinois. Mr. President, the names as announced contain that of Charles L. Woodbury in lieu of that of S. S. Marvin. I ask to have the latter inserted.

THE PRESIDENT. It will be inserted.

MR. LAWRENCE. The name of Thomas Steers is omitted. I ask that it be inserted.

THE PRESIDENT. It will be inserted.

MR. B. ABLE, of Missouri. The names from Missouri were omitted. I ask that those of Governor Austin A. King and James O. Broadhead be inserted from Missouri.

THE PRESIDENT. Those names will be inserted. The corrected list will now be read.

THE SECRETARY. The corrected list is as follows :

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS.

Hon. EDGAR COWAN, Chairman ; Maine, R. D. Rice, George M. Weston ; New Hampshire, C. B. Bowers. H. Bingham ; Vermont, C. N. Davenport, J. H. Williams ; Massachusetts, General D. N. Couch, C. L. Woodbury ; Rhode Island, William Beach Lawrence, Thomas Steere ; Connecticut, James Dixon, Origen S. Seymour ; New York, Hon. Henry J. Raymond, Hon. Sanford E. Church ; New Jersey, Colonel Ingham Coriell, Abraham Browning ; Pennsylvania, Hon. Edgar Cowan, Hon. William Bigler ; Delaware, Joseph P. Comeys, Ayres Stockley ; Maryland, Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Hon. John W. Crisfield ; West Virginia, General John J. Jackson, Daniel Lamb ; Virginia, Hon. Richard H. Parker, John L. Marye ; North Carolina, Hon. William A. Graham, Hon. Nathaniel Boyden ; South Carolina, S. McGowan, B. F. Perry ; Georgia, P. W. Alexander, A. R. Wright ; Florida, Hon. William Marvin, Hon. Wilkinson Call ; Alabama, C. C. Langdon, T. J. Foster ; Mississippi, William Yergeer, Hon. A. Murdoch ; Louisiana, Hon. John Ray, Joshua Baker ; Texas, B. H. Epperson, L. D. Evans ; Tennessee, Hon. John S. Brien, Hon. John Baxter ; Arkansas, William Byers, M. L. Bell ; Kentucky, Hon. E. Hise, Hon. Garrett Davis ; Ohio, Solomon Hinkle, General George W. McCook ; Indiana, John S. Davis, Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks ; Illinois, Hon. O. H. Browning, Hon. S. S. Marshall ; Michigan, William B. McCreary, Hon. Charles E. Stewart ; Missouri, Austin A. King, James O. Broadhead ; Minnesota, Henry M. Rice, Daniel S. Norton ; Wisconsin, C. A. Eldridge, J. J. R. Pease ; Iowa, Charles Mason, Thomas H. Benton, jr. ; Kansas, General Charles W. Blair, W. C. McDowell ; California, R. J. Walker, J. A. McDougall ; Nevada, Governor G. M. Beebe, Frank. Hereford ; Oregon, G. L. Curry, E. M. Barnum ; District of Columbia, Richard T. Merrick, Dr. Charles Allen ; Arizona, ——— ; Dakota, A. J. Faulk ; Idaho, C. F. Powell, Henry W. Pugh ; Montana, ——— ; Nebraska, General H. H. Heath ; New Mexico, George P. Este ; Utah, ——— ; Washington, Edward Lauder ; Colorado, Milo Lee.

THE PRESIDENT. The committee will now retire for purposes of consultation into the committee room, on the left of the Chair.

GENERAL CARROLL, of New York. I offer the following resolution :

REVISION OF OUR NEUTRALITY LAWS.

Resolved, That there is demanded a revision of our national neutrality laws, in consequence of the spirit of the age, and that it was the duty of Congress to comply with the public demand for the revision of the same.

This resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

MR. S. S. HAYES, of Illinois. I move the adoption of the following resolution upon the order of business—

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman will wait a moment until the Committee on Resolutions have an opportunity to retire.

MR. S. S. HAYES, of Illinois, offers the following resolution, which will be read.

The Secretary then read the resolution, as follows :

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions be authorized and directed to report in print, and to supply each member of the Convention with a copy of the resolutions reported, at the time of their presentation.

Mr. APGAR, of New York. Do I understand that it is expected that the Chairman of the Committee will not report directly to the Convention?

THE PRESIDENT. The resolution will again be read.

The Secretary re-read the resolution.

Mr. APGAR, of New York. I apprehend that under the resolution adopted for your Convention as a rule of its proceedings, this resolution must go to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

THE PRESIDENT. I think the point taken by the gentleman from New York is correct. This resolution will go to the Committee on Resolutions under the rule already adopted. [Slight applause.]

REMARKS OF MR. HAYES, OF ILLINOIS.

Mr. HAYES, of Illinois. I rise to a point of order. I understand by the remarks of the gentleman from New York that the resolutions, under the rule, must go to the Committee on Resolutions without the action of this Convention, and upon that motion or suggestion I am prepared to say one single word.

I was asked the object of the resolution, and in answer would say, that I understand by the rule of proceedings adopted by the Convention that all resolutions containing a declaration of principle, or having reference to the platform adopted by this Convention, shall go before the Convention through a committee appointed to consider the effect of those resolutions. But the resolution proposed by me is not a resolution in relation to principle, or in relation to the general action of this Convention. It is simply a direction to the Committee on Resolutions to make a report in such a manner that this Convention may be fully posted on the subject of the resolutions before it acts upon them. Sir, I came to this Convention with a sincere, a disinterested purpose. I came here with no personal object to attain, so far as I know, so help me God. Sir, I am a member of what is called the Democratic party of this country, [applause.] and, sir, I came here with the utmost enthusiasm for the great cause in which we are all united. Sir, I expect that this Convention will do or say nothing in the platform to which I, as a consistent and Union-loving Democrat, cannot heartily subscribe. [Applause.] I know the Democratic party of this country. I, sir, am proud to be a member of that party, and I believe that if there ever was a patriotic party in the world it is the Democratic party of this country. [Applause.] I desire to say—[Voices, "Question," "question." "question."]

Mr. APGAR, of New York. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. HAYES, of Illinois. One word more.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois will allow the Chair to state that there is a gentleman rising on the left to a point of order. It may have escaped his attention. There is no question before the Convention, as no appeal was taken from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. HAYES, of Illinois. I don't propose to dissent from the action of the Convention, although it was taken without argument, on the decision of the Chair. I had merely one word of explanation. I believe that that resolution, in the form in which it appears to the committee, will meet with their careful consideration; but I wish to add, as a reason for introducing it now, that the resolutions shall be carefully considered by the delegations, and be in print, so that each delegation shall meet together and unanimously adopt them. [Applause.]

Mr. APGAR, of New York. The gentleman is out of order.

THE PRESIDENT. There is no question before the House, and the gentleman has taken his seat.

Mr. HOGAN, of Missouri. I move that this Convention take a recess for an hour or two, to allow the committee to deliberate upon the resolutions.

[Voices, "No," "no," "no."]

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri suggests that the Convention take a recess of two hours.

[The name of Milo Lee was here inserted on the Committee on Resolutions and adopted.]

Mr. COWAN, of Pennsylvania. I beg leave to report that the committee have not organized, and will not be able to report finally to the Convention before to-morrow at ten o'clock, and therefore ask leave to sit until that time.

THE PRESIDENT. It is moved that when this Convention adjourns it adjourn to meet again to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

A motion was then made as an amendment to the previous motion, that when the Convention adjourns it adjourn to meet to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

THE PRESIDENT. It is moved and seconded that when this Convention adjourns it adjourn to meet to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

A vote was taken, but the Chair did not decide.

[Voices, "Ten o'clock," "ten o'clock."]

Mr. KALEPLEISCH, of New York, moved, as an amendment to the amendment, that eleven o'clock be inserted in the place of twelve.

Mr. BAILEY, of Massachusetts. I trust that the original motion will prevail, for the reason that there are a large number of people here who are desirous of getting through as soon as possible with the work of the Convention. Therefore, I hope that the hour of ten o'clock will prevail. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment is first in order.

The ayes and noes were taken, and the amendment to the amendment (fixing the hour at eleven o'clock) was lost.

THE PRESIDENT. Now the motion is upon the amendment fixing the hour at twelve o'clock.

The ayes and noes were taken and the amendment was lost.

The original motion was then put and carried.

Mr. FIRSCHING, of Pennsylvania. I have a memorial prepared by gentlemen in my Congressional district, which I wish to have referred to the Committee on Resolutions. I wish to have it referred without a reading.

The memorial was referred to that committee under the rule.

Mr. BABCOCK, of Connecticut. I beg leave to refer to the Committee on Resolutions the resolution which I hold in my hand. Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. BABCOCK, of Connecticut. I have a brief statement to make to the Convention.

ADDRESS OF SOUTHERN DELEGATES, NATIVES OF NEW ENGLAND, TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW ENGLAND.

The members of the Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri delegations, who were born in New England, have prepared an address to the people of New England and to the people of the whole North, with the consent of this Convention. That address, beautiful in its expression, eloquent in its appeal, and full of patriotism, and of the earnest purpose that animates all our hearts, has been read to us of this Connecticut delegation, and by unanimous vote I have been requested to move that that address may be made a part of the proceedings of this Convention. I therefore move you, sir, that the address be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and Address, and be read to this Convention, and form a part of these proceedings. [Voices, "Good," "good."] It was referred to the committee.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. ORR, of South Carolina. I move that the Convention do now adjourn.

A vote was taken and the motion carried. The Convention then adjourned to meet again to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

THIRD DAY.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment. At ten A. M. the Convention was called to order.

THE PRESIDENT. The Convention will please come to order, and the Rev. M. J. S. Reimensnyder, of Lewistown, Pennsylvania, will open the proceedings with prayer.

THE PRAYER.

Lord God, Jehovah, King of Kings! We adore Thee as the first, the greatest, and the best of beings. Thou art the Author of this creation, both physical and spiritual. Thou art the Ruler of all the earth; the Sovereign of all things that are in Heaven above and on the earth beneath, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, and principalities or powers; Thou art from everlasting to everlasting. Of old didst Thou lay the foundations of this earth, and give to the sea her depth, and stretch over our heads the glorious firmament rejoicing in its stars. Thou fillest the heavens with Thy presence, and immensity is Thy realm, and the eternal years the servants of Thy sceptre. How, then, can we, creatures of the dust and of a day, aspire to cast up our eyes, after our rebellion, unto Thee, save through the promises of Thy Son Jesus Christ, through that love and forbearance which knew no limits? For to save the chiefest of sinners Thou didst give the precious blood of Thine only beloved Son. We come trusting in and pleading this blood, asking that Thou wilt freely receive us, and not cast us, Thy children, off forever. We thank Thee that Thou didst make our pathway easier than before, and that Thou didst change the covenant of works to that of grace; so that we have gained, through Christ, more than lost through Adam. And yet, O Father, in the weakness of human wisdom, and the folly of human guilt, we have been in a great and fearful conflict against each other. Brother has striven against brother for the mastery, till the very heavens were shaken with the roar of our arms; fields are laid waste, and the battle's din raged for six years—six years of hardships and suffering in the tented field, upon the weary march, upon the field of battle. But we thank Thee that they come up now from the North and from the

South, from the East and from the West, to meet beneath the ægis of the American eagle; that they meet each other again with the loving, true hands of friends and of brethren. We adore and thank Thee for this great spectacle, and we confidently invoke Thy presence and Thy sanction to rest upon the great work now imposed upon this, the most august of American assemblies. Crown its deliberations with holy wisdom; sanctify them with Thy love; harmonize them for peace; make them fit to right the woes of this great people. Let Thy blessings especially rest upon the President of the United States, in his efforts to vindicate the Constitution and render this great American nation imperishable throughout future generations. And do Thou grant, O Lord, that its future may ever, as now, be decided on the fields of talent, and not on the contested grounds of the sword. And now we commit humbly, and yet trustingly, our great country, our great people, and our common destiny into the keeping of the adorable Trinity of Heaven—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—world without end. Amen.

THE PRESIDENT. Gentlemen will now resume their seats and the Convention be in order. Before proceeding to any further business, the Chair begs leave to announce, as the first response to our action, the result of the Colorado election. [Great cheers.] Returns read:

COLOREADO, August 15.—Returns from all parts of the Territory render certain the election of A. C. Hunt, Administration candidate, for Delegate to Congress, over Chillcot, the Radical candidate.

[Enthusiastic applause.]

Mr. SMITH, of New Jersey. I beg to offer the following resolution:

THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The Secretary then read the following:

NATIONAL UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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.

The resolution was unanimously adopted:

Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON. I wish to offer this resolution to the Convention.

THE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the following:

COMMITTEE TO PRESENT THE PROCEEDINGS TO THE PRESIDENT.

Resolved, That a committee of two from each State and one from each Territory of the United States; and one from 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.

[Cheers.]

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

CHARLES KNAP, Esq. I offer the following resolution.

[Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution. The Convention will come to order.

The Secretary read the following:

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Resolved, That a committee on finance be appointed, to consist of two delegates from each State and Territory and from the District of Columbia.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

GENERAL PATTERSON, of Pennsylvania. I have been informed that my name has been added to the list of delegates, and as I understand there was a contestant for the seat, I beg to offer the following resolution, and ask that it be read:

THE PRESIDENT. It must be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Hon. EDGAR COWAN. I beg to offer the following resolution:

THE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the following:

THANKS TO THE MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due, and are hereby tendered, Morton McMichael, Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, for his admirable police arrangements for the preservation of peace and good order during the session of this Convention.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS.

HON. EDGAR COWAN. On behalf of the committee appointed to prepare resolutions and an address, after a very careful and elaborate consideration of the subject, lasting all the day and a good part of the night, I beg leave to report the following declaration of principles, adopted unanimously by the committee, which will be read to the Convention; and also the address to the people of the country, which will be read by the Hon. Mr. Raymond, of New York.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania offers the following declaration of principles and accompanying resolutions, which will now be read:

The Secretary then read as follows:

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 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 into the future, as of instant and continuing trials, hereby issues and proclaims the following declaration of principles and purposes, on which they have, with perfect unanimity, agreed:

1st. We hail with gratitude to Almighty God the end of the war and the return of peace to our 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, unabridged 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 College is a right recognized by the Constitution as abiding in every State, and as a duty imposed upon the 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 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 elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

5th. 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.

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 an inalienable right to a voice and a 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 property.

8th. While we regard as utterly invalid, and never to be assumed or made of binding force, any obligations 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 and fully 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, the 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 undeserved reproach, having faith unassailable in the people and in the principles 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.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

A DELEGATE from Pennsylvania. I propose three cheers for the Hon. Edgar Cowan.

ENTHUSIASTIC CHEERS FOR HON. EDGAR COWAN.

Three hearty cheers were here given, the whole audience rising to their feet and heartily responding.

GENERAL W. PATTEN, of Pennsylvania. I propose three more for Mr. Cowan.

This was responded to in like manner.

MR. COWAN'S RESPONSE.

MR. COWAN, of Pennsylvania.—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I claim to be the host of the Convention, and one of my distinguished guests will now address you, and address you by virtue of authority unanimously derived from the Committee on Resolutions and Address—the Hon. Mr. Raymond. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT. The Hon. Mr. Raymond, from the State of New York, will now read the address, which has received the unanimous approval of the Committee on Resolutions and Address. [Applause.]

MR. RAYMOND then stepped forward, amid deafening cheers, which, having somewhat subsided, he read as follows:

THE PRESIDENT. The Hon. H. J. Raymond will now read the address.

The Hon. H. J. RAYMOND then read as follows:

THE ADDRESS.

To the People of the United States:

Having met in Convention at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 16th day of August, 1866, as 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 our internal policy, 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 ineffaceable, upon all the interests, the sentiments, and the destiny of the Republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country severe losses in life and in property, and has imposed burdens which must weigh on its resources for generations to come, it has developed a degree of noble courage in the presence of national dangers, a capacity for military organization and achievement, and 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 must 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 impulse to plans of innovation and reform. Amidst the chorus 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, in 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 secure 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 shock of contending arms no longer assails the shuddering 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 dominion. We are again people of the United States, fellow-citizens of one country, bound by the duties and obligations of a common nation, and having neither rights nor interests apart from a common destiny. The duties that devolve upon us now are again the duties 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, sprung up in its fiery track. This is the work not of passion, but of calm and sober judgment; not of resentment for past offences, 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 sanction, the absolute supremacy of the National Government, as defined and directed by the Constitution of the United States, and the permanent integrity and indissolubility of the Federal Union is a necessary consequence; and secondly, 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 has 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 defence 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, either of territorial possession or of civil authority, which it did not possess before the rebellion broke out. All the rightful power it can ever possess is that which is conferred upon it 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 already its own. Neither the war, nor the victory by which it was ended, changed in any way the Constitution of the United States. The war was carried on by virtue of its provisions and under the limitations which they prescribed, and the result of the war did not either enlarge, abridge, 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 to-day precisely as it was before the war—the supreme law of the land, anything 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 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 the messages and proclamations 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 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 re-

tain their equal rights and dignity unimpaired. It is only since the war has 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 and the territory, and the people involved in the insurrection, the rights of war—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 terms and regulations as the legislative department of the Government may see fit to impose, under the broad and sweeping claim that the 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 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 to exclude others from representation and from all share in making their own laws and choosing their own rulers, unless 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 cry that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the Government, and are therefore precluded from sharing its 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 obligations. 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 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, 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. 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 specified conditions or circumstances, not 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 Congress—the ascendancy of Western or Southern interests, or of both combined, may exclude the Northern or the Eastern States from the next.

Improbable as such usurpations may seem, the establishment of the principles 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 has rendered fruitless all attempts hitherto to establish and maintain free governments in Mexico and the States of South America. Party necessities assert themselves as superior to fundamental law, which is set aside in reckless obedience to their behests. Stability, whether in the exercise of power in the administration of government or in the enjoyment of rights, becomes impossible, and the conflicts of party, which under constitutional government are the conditions and means of political progress, are merged in the conflicts of arms, to which they directly and inevitably tend.

It was against this peril, so conspicuous, and so fatal to all free governments, that our Constitution was intended especially to provide. Not only the stability, but the very existence of the Government is made by its provisions to depend upon the right and the fact of representation. The Congress, upon which is conferred all the legislative power of National Government, consists of two branches—the Senate and House of Representatives—whose joint concurrence or assent is essential to the validity of any law. Of these the House of Representatives, says the Constitution, (Article 1st, section 2d,) shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States. Not only is the right of representation thus recognized as possessed by all the States and by every State, without restriction, qualification, or condition of any kind, but the duty of choosing Representatives is imposed upon the people of each and every State alike, without distinction or the authority to make distinction among them for any reason or upon any grounds whatever. And in the Senate, so careful is the Constitution to secure to every State this right of representation, it is expressly provided that no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage in that body, even by amendment to the Constitution itself. When, therefore, any State is excluded from such representation, not only is the right of the State denied, but the constitutional integrity of the Senate is impaired, and the validity of the Government itself is brought in question. But Congress at the present moment thus excludes from representation in both branches of Congress ten States of the Union, denying them all share in the enactment of laws by which they are to be governed, and all participation in the election of the rulers by which those laws are to be enforced. In other words, a Congress in which only twenty-six States are represented asserts the right to govern, absolutely and in its own discretion, all the thirty-six States which compose the Union; to make their laws and choose their rulers, and to exclude the other ten from all share in their own government, until it sees fit to admit them thereto. What is there to distinguish the power thus asserted and exercised from the most absolute and intolerant tyranny? Nor do these extravagant and unjust claims on the part of Congress to powers and authority never conferred upon the Government by the Constitution, find any warrant in the arguments or excuses urged on their behalf. It is alleged—

First. That these States, by the act of rebellion and by voluntarily withdrawing their members from Congress, forfeited their right of representation, and that they can only receive it again at the hands of the supreme legislative authority of the Government, on its own terms and at its own discretion. If representation in Congress, and participation in the Government, were simply privileges conferred and held by favor, this statement might have the merit of plausibility. But representation is, under the Constitution, not only expressly recognized as a right, but it is imposed as a duty, and it is essential in both aspects to the existence of the Government and to the maintenance of its authority. In free Governments fundamental and essential rights cannot be forfeited, except against individuals by due process of law; nor can constitutional duties and obligations be discarded or laid aside. The enjoyment of rights may be for a time suspended by the failure to claim them, and duties may be evaded by the refusal to perform them. The withdrawal of their members from Congress by the States which resisted the General Government was among their acts of insurrection—was one of the means and agencies by which they sought to impair the authority and defeat the action of the Government; and that act was annulled and rendered void when the insurrection itself was suppressed. Neither the right of representation nor the duty to be represented was in the least impaired by the fact of insurrection; but it may have been that, by reason of the insurrection, the conditions on which the enjoyment of that right and the permanence of that duty for the time depended could not be fulfilled. This was, in fact, the case. An insurgent power, in the exercise of usurped and unlawful authority in the territory under its control, had prohibited that allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States which is made by that fundamental law the essential condition of representation in Government. No man within the insurgent States was allowed to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and, as a necessary consequence, no man could lawfully represent those States in the councils of the Union. But this was only an obstacle to the enjoyment of the right and to the discharge of a duty; it did not annul the one nor abrogate the other, and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been overthrown, and the States had again resumed their allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Second. But it is asserted in support of the authority claimed by the Congress now in possession of power, that it flows directly from the laws of war; that it is among the rights which victorious war always confers upon the conquerors, and which the conqueror may exercise or waive, in his own discretion. To this we reply, that the

laws in question relate solely, so far as the rights they confer are concerned, to wars waged between alien and independent nations, and can have no place or force in this regard in a war waged by a government to suppress an insurrection of its own people, upon its own soil, against its authority. If we had carried on successful war against any foreign nation, we might thereby have acquired possession and jurisdiction of their soil, with the right to enforce our laws upon their people, and to impose upon them such laws and such obligations as we might choose. But we had, before the war, complete jurisdiction over the soil of the Southern States, limited only by our own Constitution. Our laws were the only national laws in force upon it. The Government of the United States was the only Government through which those States and their people had relations with foreign nations, and its flag was the only flag by which they were recognized or known anywhere on the face of the earth. In all these respects, and in all other respects involving national interests and rights, our possession was perfect and complete. It did not need to be acquired, but only to be maintained; and victorious war against the rebellion could do nothing more than maintain it. It could only vindicate and reestablish the disputed supremacy of the Constitution. It could neither enlarge nor diminish the authority which that Constitution confers upon the Government by which it was achieved. Such an enlargement or abridgment of constitutional power can be effected only by amendment of the Constitution itself, and such amendment can be made only in the modes which the Constitution itself prescribes.

The claim that the suppression of an insurrection against the Government gives additional authority and power to that Government, especially that it enlarges the jurisdiction of Congress and gives that body the right to exclude States from representation in the National Councils, without which the nation itself can have no authority and no existence, seems to us at variance alike with the principles of the Constitution and with the public safety.

Third. But it is alleged that in certain particulars the Constitution of the United States fails to secure the absolute justice and impartial equality which the principles of our Government require; that it was in these respects the result of compromises and concessions to which, however necessary when the Constitution was formed, we are no longer compelled to submit; and that now, having the power through successful war, and just warrant for its exercise in the hostile conduct of the insurgent section, the actual Government of the United States may impose its own conditions and make the Constitution conform in all its provisions to its own ideas of equality and the rights of war. Congress, at its last session, proposed amendments to the Constitution, enlarging, in some very important particulars, the authority of the General Government over that of the several States, and reducing, by indirect disfranchisement, the representative power of the States in which slavery formerly existed; and it is claimed that these amendments may be made valid as parts of the original Constitution without the concurrence of the States to be most seriously affected by them, or may be imposed upon those States by three-fourths of the remaining States, as conditions of their readmission to representation in Congress and in the Electoral College.

It is the unquestionable right of the people of the United States to make such changes in the Constitution as they upon due deliberation may deem expedient. But we insist that they shall be made in the mode which the Constitution itself points out, in conformity with the letter and spirit of that instrument, and with the principles of self-government and of equal rights which lie at the basis of our republican institutions. We deny the right of Congress to make these changes in the fundamental law without the concurrence of three-fourths of all the States, including especially those to be most seriously affected by them, or to impose them upon States or people as conditions of representation or of admission to any of the rights, duties, or obligations which belong, under the Constitution, to all the States alike; and with still greater emphasis do we deny the right of any portion of the States, excluding the rest of the States from any share in their councils, to propose or sanction changes in the Constitution which are to affect permanently their political relations, and control or coerce the legitimate action of the several members of the common Union. Such an exercise of power is simply a usurpation, just as unwarrantable when exercised by Northern States as it would be if exercised by Southern, and not to be fortified or palliated by anything in the past history either of those by whom it is attempted or of those upon whose rights and liberties it is to take effect. It finds no warrant in the Constitution. It is at war with the fundamental principles of our form of government. If tolerated in one instance it becomes the precedent for future invasions of liberty and constitutional right, and dependent solely upon the will of the party in possession of power, and thus leads by direct and necessary sequence to the most fatal and intolerable of all tyrannies, the tyranny of shifting and irresponsible political factions. It is against this, the most formidable of all

the dangers which menace the stability of free government, that the Constitution of the United States was intended most carefully to provide. We demand a strict and steadfast adherence to its provisions. In this, and in this alone, can we find a basis of permanent union and peace.

Fourth. But it is alleged, in justification of the 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 purpose, and that neither the honor, the credit, nor the interests of the Nation would be safe if they were re-admitted to share in its councils. We might reply to this—

First. That we have no right for such reasons to deny to 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 to 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 United 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 rational 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 influence 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 when the keen sense of defeat is added to the overthrow of ambition and hope, scenes of violence should defy for a time the imperfect discipline of law and excite anew the fears and forebodings of the patriotic and well disposed. It is unquestionably 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 resentment are always most easily fed and fanned into outbreak; and even that they are quite as much the fruit of untimely and hurtful political 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, and co-operate 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 adverse 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 enforced surrender was accepted by the President of the United States, and the generals in immediate command of our armies, and to the liberal measures which were afterwards taken to restore order, tranquillity, and law, to the States where all had for the time been overthrown. No step 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 has been since impaired, if the people South are to-day less candid in that 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 suppress and defeat the President's wise and beneficial policy of restoration; to their exclusion from all participation in our common Government; to the withdrawal from them of the rights conferred and guaranteed by the Constitution, and to the evident purpose of Congress, in the exercise of an usurped and unlawful authority, to reduce them from the ranks of free and equal members of a republic of States, with rights and dignities unimpaired, to the condition of conquered provinces and a conquered people, in all things subservient and subject to the will of their conquerors, free only to obey laws in making 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, degenerate 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 submissiveness, the humiliations thus sought to be imposed upon them. Resentment of injustice is always and everywhere essential to freedom, and the spirit which prompts the States and people lately in insurrection—insurgents 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 for as individuals before the judicial tribunals of the land, and for their conduct as societies and organized communities they have already paid the most fearful penalty 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 concession to the great mass of those who became involved in its risks, and acted upon what they deemed to be their duty, and in defence of what they had been taught to believe were their rights, or 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 neither section and upon neither party; that they have fallen, indeed, with 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 social ties, the overthrow of governments, of law and of order, the destruction of property and of forms and modes and means of industry, the loss of political, commercial, and moral influence in any shape and form—which great calamities we are sure the States and people which engaged in the war against the Government of the United States have suffered tenfold more than those who remained in allegiance to its Constitution and laws. These considerations may not, as they certainly do not, justify the action of the people of the insurgent States; but no humane, generous mind will refuse to them very considerable weight in determining the line of conduct which the Government of the United States should pursue towards them. They accept, if not with alacrity, certainly without sullen resentment, the defeat and overthrow they have sustained. They acknowledge and acquiesce in the results to themselves and the country which that defeat involves; they no longer claim for any State the right to secede from the Union; they no longer assert for any State an allegiance paramount to that which is due to the General Government. They have accepted the destruction of slavery—abolished it by their State constitutions—and concurred with the States and people of the whole Union in prohibiting its existence forever upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. They indicate and evince their purpose, just so fast as may be possible and safe, to adapt their domestic laws to the changed condition of their society, and to secure by the law and its tribunals equal and impartial justice to all classes of their inhabitants. They admit the invalidity of all acts of resistance to the national authority and of all debts incurred in attempting its overthrow. They avow their willingness to share the burdens and discharge all the duties and obligations which rest upon them in common with other States and other sections of the Union; and they renew, through their representatives in this Convention, by all their public conduct in every way, and by the more solemn acts by which States and societies can pledge their faith and allegiance, through all time to come, to the Constitution of the United States, and to all laws which may be made in pursuance thereof.

Fellow-countrymen, we call upon you, in full reliance upon your intelligence and your patriotism, to accept with generous and ungrudging confidence the full surrender on the part of those lately in arms against your authority, and to share with them the honor and renown that await those who bring back peace and concord to jarring States. The war just closed, with its sorrows and disasters, has opened a new career of glory

to the nation it has saved. It has swept away the hostilities of sentiment and of interest which were a standing menace to its peace. It has destroyed the institution of slavery, always a cause of sectional agitation and strife, and has opened for our country the way to unity of interest, of principle, and of action through all time to come. It has developed in both sections a military capacity and aptitude for achievements of war, both by sea and by land, before unknown even to ourselves, and destined to exercise hereafter, under united councils, an important influence upon the character and destiny of the continent and the world. And while it has thus revealed, disciplined, compacted our power, it has proven to us, beyond controversy or doubt, by the course pursued towards both contending sections by foreign powers, that we must be the guardians of our own independence, and that the principles of republican freedom we represent can find among the nations of the earth no friends or defenders but ourselves.

We call upon you, therefore, by every consideration of your own dignity and safety, and in the name of liberty throughout the world, to complete the work of restoration and peace which the President of the United States has so well begun, and by which the policy adopted and the principles asserted by the present Congress alone obstruct.

The time is close at hand when the members of a new Congress are to be elected. If that Congress shall perpetuate this policy, and by excluding loyal States and people from representation in its halls shall continue the usurpation by which the legislative powers of the Government are now exercised, common prudence compels us to anticipate augmented discontent, a sullen withdrawal from the duties and obligations of the Federal Government, internal dissension, and a general collision of sentiments and pretensions which may renew in a still more fearful shape the civil war from which we have just emerged. We call upon you to interpose your power to prevent the recurrence of so transcendent a calamity. We call upon you in every Congressional district of every State to secure the election of members who, whatever other difference may characterize their political action, will unite in recognizing the right of every State of the Union to representation in Congress, and who will admit to seats in either branch of every loyal Representative from every State in allegiance to the Government who may be found by each House, in the exercise of the power conferred upon it by the Constitution, to have been duly elected, returned, and qualified for a seat therein.

When this shall have been done, the Government will have been restored to its integrity, the Constitution of the United States will have been re-established in its full supremacy, and the American Union will have again become what it was designed to be by those who formed it—a sovereign nation, composed of separate States, like itself moving in a distinct and independent sphere, exercising powers defined and reserved by a common Constitution, and resting upon the assent, the confidence, and co-operation of all the States and all the people subject to its authority. Thus reorganized and restored to their constitutional relations, the States and the General Government can enter in a fraternal spirit, with a common purpose and a common interest, upon whatever reforms the security of personal rights, the enlargement of personal liberty, and the perfection of our republican institutions may demand.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

The Chair here announced the following names as constituting the National Union Executive Committee, the resident Executive Committee at Washington, the Committee to Wait on the President, and the Financial Committee :

COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON, Chairman ; Maine, W. G. Crosby, Calvin Record ; New Hampshire, J. Hosley, J. H. Smith ; Vermont, L. Robinson, General Isaac McDaniel ; Massachusetts, E. C. Bailey, Edward Avery ; Rhode Island, Amasa Sprague, Gideon Bradford ; Connecticut, Jas. E. English, G. H. Hollister ; New York, Vivus W. Smith, S. E. Church ; New Jersey, T. H. Herring, General Theodore Runyon ; Pennsylvania, J. R. Flanigan, George W. Cass ; Delaware, Saxe-Gotha Laws, C. H. B. Day ; Maryland, J. Morrison Harris, Isaac D. Jones ; Virginia, Hon. James Barbour, G. W. Bolling ; West Virginia, John J. Thompson, Daniel Lamb ; North Carolina, D. M. Barringer, G. Howard ; South Carolina, J. L. Manning, James Farrow ; Georgia, S. J. Smith, J. L. Wimberly ; Florida, J. P. Sanderson, J. C. McKibben ; Mississippi, Giles M. Hillyer, H. F. Simrall ; Louisiana, T. P. May, William H. C. King ; Texas, D. J. Burnett, B. H. Epperson ; Tennessee, A. A. Kyle, D. B. Thomas ; Arkansas, John B. Luce, E. C. Boudinot ; Alabama, Lewis E. Parsons, John Gill Shorter ; Kentucky, J. W. Stephenson, A. Harding ; Ohio, Henry B. Paine, General A. McD. McCook ; Indiana, General Sol. Meredith, David S. Gooding ; Illinois, General George C. Bates, Hon. W. R. Morrison ; Michigan, General C. O.

Loomis, General G. A. Custer; Wisconsin, A. W. Curtis, Robert Flint; Iowa, Colonel Cyrus H. Mackey, B. B. Richards; Kansas, General H. S. Sleeper, Orlin Thurston; California, J. A. McDougall, Colonel Jacob P. Leese; Nevada, Gideon J. Tucker, John Carmichael; Oregon, W. H. Farrar, E. M. Barnum; District of Columbia, Thomas B. Florence, B. T. Swart; Idaho, Hon. H. H. DePay, S. Cummins; Nebraska, George L. Miller, L. Lowrie; Washington, George D. Cole, C. P. Egan; Minnesota, H. M. Rice, D. S. Norton; Missouri, E. A. Lewis, John M. Richardson; Dakota, D. T. Bramble, L. D. Parmer.

NATIONAL UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

JOSEPH T. CROWELL, Chairman; Maine, James Mann, A. P. Gould; New Hampshire, Edmund Burke, E. S. Cutter; Vermont, B. D. Smalley, Colonel H. N. Worthan; Massachusetts, Josiah Dunham, R. S. Spofford; Rhode Island, Alfred Anthony, James H. Parsons; Connecticut, James T. Babeock, D. C. Scranton; New York, Robert H. Pruyn, Samuel J. Tilden; Pennsylvania, S. M. Zulick, J. S. Black; Delaware, J. P. Comegys, E. L. Martin; Maryland, T. Swann, T. D. Pratt; Virginia, J. F. Johnson, E. C. Robinson; West Virginia, Daniel Lamb, John J. Jackson; North Carolina, T. S. Ashe, Joseph H. Wilson; South Carolina, J. L. Orr, B. F. Perry; Georgia, J. H. Christie, T. Harde-man jr.; Florida, Hon. William Marvin, Hon. Wilkinson Call; Alabama, M. H. Cruikshank, C. C. Huckabee; Mississippi, William L. Sharkey, G. L. Potter; Louisiana, Randall Hunt, Alfred Hennen; Arkansas, Lorenzo Gibson, E. H. English; Texas, B. H. Epperson, John Hancock; Tennessee, Hon. David T. Patterson, W. D. Campbell; Kentucky, R. H. Stanton, Hamilton Pope; Ohio, Lewis D. Campbell, George B. Smythe; Indiana, Hon. David S. Gooding, T. Dowling; Illinois, General J. A. McClernand, J. O. Norton; Michigan, Alfred Russell, Byron G. Stout; Missouri, Barton Able, James S. Rollins; Minnesota, H. M. Rice, D. S. Norton; Wisconsin, S. A. Pease, J. A. Noonan; Iowa, George H. Parker, William A. Chase; Kansas, James L. McDowell, W. A. Tipton; New Jersey, Joseph T. Crowell, Theo. F. Randolph; Nevada, John Carmichael, G. B. Hall; District of Columbia, J. D. Hoover, J. B. Blake; Nebraska, H. H. Heath, J. S. Morton; Washington Territory, R. Willard, Elwood Evans; California, Samuel Purdy, Joseph P. Hoge; Oregon, J. W. Nesmith, B. F. Bonham; Dakota, W. K. Armstrong, N. W. Miner; Idaho, William H. Wallace, Henry Cummins.

RESIDENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT WASHINGTON.

CHARLES KNAP, Chairman; Hon. Montgomery Blair, Hon. Charles Mason, Ward H. Lamson, John F. Coyle, A. E. Perry, Samuel Fowler, Colonel James R. O'Beirne, Cornelius Wendell.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

CHARLES KNAP, Chairman; Maine, A. W. Johnson, John Burleigh; New Hampshire, Daniel Marcy, W. N. Blair; Vermont, R. W. Chase, C. L. Davenport; Massachusetts, F. O. Prince, George M. Bentley; Rhode Island, Amasa Sprague, James Waterhouse; Connecticut, J. H. Ashmead, Freeman M. Brown; New York, Abraham Wake-man, Richard Schell; New Jersey, J. L. McKnight, Francis S. Lathrop; Pennsylvania, R. L. Martin, Henry M. Phillips; Delaware, Charles Wright, T. F. Crawford; Maryland, R. Fowler, W. P. Maulsby; Virginia, Edmund W. Hubbard, George Blow, Jr.; West Virginia, Charles T. Beale, Thomas Sweeney; North Carolina, A. H. Arrington, A. McLean; South Carolina, F. J. Moses, W. Piukney Schlinger; Georgia, Lewis Tunlin, William M. Lowry; Florida, George Scott, W. C. Maloney; Alabama, Lewis Owen, J. S. Kennedy; Mississippi, E. Pegues, J. A. Bingford; Louisiana, A. M. Holbrook; Arkansas, M. L. Bell, John R. Fellowes; Texas, M. B. Ochiltree, J. Hancock; Tennessee, W. B. Ferguson, J. Williams; Kentucky, M. J. Durham, W. W. Baldwin; Ohio, T. E. Cunningham, J. H. James; Indiana, Levi Sparks, Moses Drake; Illinois, William B. Ogden, Isaac Underhill; Michigan, G. C. Monroe, William B. McCreery; Missouri, Thomas L. Price, Charles M. Elihard; Minnesota, C. F. Buck, Charles F. Gilman; Wisconsin, J. B. Doe, C. L. Sholes; Iowa, W. D. McHenry, S. O. Butler; Kansas, T. P. Fitzwilliam, G. A. Colton; California, John H. Baird, Henry F. Williams; Nevada, Frank Hereford, L. H. Newton; District of Columbia, Charles Knap, Esau Pickard; Dakota, J. B. S. Todd, F. C. Dewitt; Idaho, C. F. Powell, T. W. Betts; Nebraska, James R. Porter, P. B. Becker; Washington, Edward Lander, Elwood Evans; Oregon, J. C. Ainsworth, O. Mummason.

The Secretary having read the above list of committees—

Hon. JOHN HOAN, of Missouri, said: Mr. President, this Convention, so glorious a

success, has now accomplished the purpose for which it met, and I move, you, sir, in view of its harmonious action, that the Convention now adjourn. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT. Before putting that motion, the Chair desires to announce two or three things connected with what has transpired.

[At that point a slight confusion ensued, many members seeking to obtain a hearing.]

THE PRESIDENT. Let the Convention be in order.

THANKS TO THE OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

Mr. SCHELL, of New York. I move that the thanks of this Convention be now tendered the President and the officers of this Convention, for the able and impartial manner in which they have discharged their duties. This motion was put by the Secretary and carried unanimously. [Applause.]

THANKS TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESS.

Mr. HOLMES, of New York. I think it eminently due to the representatives of the press who are present that the thanks of this Convention should be given them. A remarkable feature with their reportorial duties has been that each of them, of whatever complexion, whether for or against us, has manfully, correctly, and honestly performed his duty. [Applause.]

The consent of the Convention was obtained to the consideration of this motion, and it was unanimously carried.

PRESENT FROM THE PHILADELPHIA JOHNSON CLUB.

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair has received from the president, Geo. Martin, and C. W. Alexander, secretary, in behalf of the National Union Johnson Club of the city of Philadelphia, a gavel made of the wood of the frigate Constitution. [Applause.]

HONORARY MEMBERS FROM THE GERMAN JOHNSON CLUB OF NEW YORK.

The Chair is also requested to announce, that it may be entered in the proceedings, that the chairman of the German Johnson Central Club of the city of New York has presented several names as honorary members of the Convention, which will also take place in the proceedings and be published.

MEETING OF SOLDIER AND SAILOR DELEGATES.

I am requested to announce, in behalf of certain gentlemen, that there will be a number of the soldiers and sailors in attendance upon this Convention, in this place, at eight o'clock this evening. [Applause.]

THANKS TO THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Hon. O. H. BROWNING, of Illinois. Mr. President, I move you, sir, that the thanks of this Convention be extended to the citizens of Philadelphia for their hospitality and kindness to its members during its deliberations.

A voice, "Good, I second the motion." [Applause.]

A vote was taken upon this motion, and it was unanimously carried.

THE SECRETARY. I am requested to announce by the chairman of the committee appointed to wait upon the President, that the committee will meet at parlor C at the Continental Hotel at 3 o'clock this afternoon, and that the National Executive Committee will meet at room No. 17 at the Continental Hotel shortly after the adjournment.

Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON, of Maryland, offered the following resolution, which was read by the Secretary and unanimously passed by the Convention.

PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDINGS. ¶

Resolved, That a correct copy of the proceedings of this Convention be prepared by the Secretary, E. O. Perrin, and certified to by the President of this Convention, for publication by the resident committee at Washington City.

A delegate from Massachusetts. I rise to make an amendment to the motion of adjournment. It is, that when this Convention adjourns it shall adjourn with three cheers for the Constitution and the Union of our fathers, three cheers for the President of the United States, and three cheers for this Convention, that signalizes a permanent and enduring Union for all time. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT. Before putting that motion the Chair desires to announce that a note

has been received from Hon. Mr. Dix, Major General, who presided in the preliminary proceedings of this Convention, which will be read. [Enthusiastic applause.] The Secretary then read the note, as follows:

NOTE FROM GENERAL DIX.

WIGWAM, August 15, 1866.

To Saml. J. Tilden, Esq., Chairman of the New York Delegation:

DEAR SIR: I am obliged to return to New York this afternoon on urgent business. The admirable spirit of harmony and conciliation which pervades the Convention renders my presence unnecessary, and leaves me no other regret than that of being unable to witness the close of the proceedings so auspiciously commenced and so full of promise for future good.

Very truly yours,

J. A. DIX.

[Loud cheering and applause.]

THANKS TO THE CONVENTION BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Convention: For the kindness and courtesy with which you have sustained the Chair, and to which, by your resolution, you have been pleased to allude, I return you my sincere thanks. Before putting that motion, which shall terminate the proceeding of this Convention, I shall ask you once more to join with the Rev. Mr. Elliott in invoking the benedictions of Almighty God, by whose support we are sure of success, but without which we shall inevitably fail.

Rev. Mr. Elliott then advanced to the front of the stage and delivered the following prayer:

THE CLOSING PRAYER.

O Thou Great Ruler of the Universe and Author of all peace, and order, and harmony, and law in earth and Heaven, it is meet and right that we should bow our hearts before Thee on this deeply interesting occasion, and offer thanks to Thee, the Great Preserver of men and of nations, that we have been permitted to meet together after the confusion of years, under such favorable auspices, surrounded and protected by that Providence and by that disposition of order and law that is now about us. We recognize Thy gracious Providence, and offer thanks to Thee, the Author of all our mercies. We thank Thee that Thou hast put it into the hearts of these Thy servants to come together and to organize themselves into harmony from the various parts of this Union, and once more to take the friendly hand and pass the friendly greeting with each other in Thy presence, and to renew with hearty sincerity their friendships here on earth. O Lord God of our fathers, who planted us, who built us up, who made us great, and kept us united, and by whose gracious will and providence we are again one people, we offer thanks to Thee for the harmony of this body, for the union of hearts that has been manifested throughout this Convention; for that conciliation of spirit that has been seen in all its members and all its proceedings. We thank God for the blessings that now crown our nation, and especially for the President of the United States, who is so worthy of his situation and position. O Lord God Almighty, who raiseth and sustaineth those that are in authority, let Thy blessings come upon him, and sustain him in his difficult and arduous task, that he may carry out to complete success the plan by which we may become one united and great people now and perpetually. May the blessing of God rest upon all the committees and upon all the resolutions and addresses, and upon all the arrangements by which these Thy servants propose to carry out the principles of the Union. O Lord God, do Thou go with them to their several States and direct them in all their work. Be with us and remain with us through life, and when life is done, may we meet in that place above, where union is the law that pervades the society, and where, united, we shall reign immortal. These, with all other blessings, grant us, for the sake of Him that lived and died to save us, and to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost we will ascribe praise due now and forever. And may the blessings of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, rest upon this Convention, upon this nation, upon its rulers, now and forever. Amen.

THE SECRETARY. I have to announce to the Convention that, as many of the names given to the various committees have not been distinctly heard, we will hold a session at room 44, at the Continental Hotel, for the purpose of obtaining all names corrected upon the proper committees before they receive the official signature of the President of this Convention. We will be in session all the afternoon and to-night there.

THE FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

THE PRESIDENT. The motion is that this Convention do now adjourn without day. Those in favor of that motion say Aye—unanimous. Those opposed No—none. It is carried, and the Chair does now pronounce this Convention adjourned without day.

The wildest enthusiasm ensued, hearty and prolonged cheering being given for the Union, for President Johnson, and for the triumphant success of the Convention.

A correct copy of abridged edition.

J. R. DOOLITTLE, *President.*

E. O. PERRIN, *Secretary.*

The Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON, Chairman of the Committee appointed to wait on the President of the United States to present him with an authentic copy of the Proceedings of the National Union Convention, made the following remarks previous to presenting the same :

SPEECH OF THE HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

MR. PRESIDENT: We are before you as a Committee of the National Union Convention, which met in Philadelphia on Tuesday, the 14th instant, charged with the duty of presenting you with an authenticated copy of its proceedings.

Before placing it in your hands, will you permit us to congratulate you that, in the object for which the Convention was called, in the enthusiasm with which in every State and Territory, the call was responded to, in the unbroken harmony of its deliberations, in the unanimity with which the principles it has declared were adopted, and more especially in the patriotic and constitutional character of the principles themselves, we are confident that you and the country will find gratifying and cheering evidence that there exists among the people a public sentiment which renders an early and complete restoration of the Union, as established by the Constitution, certain and inevitable.

Party faction, seeking the continuance of its misrule, may momentarily delay it, but the principles of political liberty, for which our forefathers successfully contended, and to secure which they adopted the Constitution, are so glaringly inconsistent with the condition in which the country has been placed by such misrule, that it will not be permitted a much longer duration.

We wish, Mr. President, you could have personally witnessed the spirit of concord and brotherly affection which animated every member of the Convention. Great as your confidence ever has been in the intelligence and patriotism of your fellow-citizens, in their deep devotion to the Union, and in their present determination to reinstate and maintain it, that confidence would have become a positive conviction if you could have seen and heard all that was done and said upon the occasion. Every heart was evidently full of joy; every eye beamed with patriotic animation. Despondency gave place to assurance that our late dreadful civil strife, ended, the blissful reign of peace, under the protection, not of arms, but of the Constitution and Laws, would have sway, and be in every part of our land cheerfully acknowledged, and in perfect good faith obeyed, you would not have doubted that the recurrence of dangerous domestic insurrection in the future is not to be apprehended. If you could have seen, sir, the men of Massachusetts and South Carolina coming into the Convention on the first day of its meeting, hand in hand, amidst the rapturous applause of the whole body, awakened by heartfelt gratification at the event, filling the eyes of thousands with tears of joy, which they neither could nor desired to suppress, you would have felt as every person present felt, that the time had arrived when all sectional or other perilous dissension had ceased, and that nothing would be heard in the future but the voice of harmony, proclaiming devotion to a common country, pride in being bound together by a common Union, established and protected by forms of government proved by experience to be eminently fitting for the exigencies of either war or peace.

In the principles announced by the Convention, and in the feeling there manifested, we have every assurance that harmony throughout our entire land will soon prevail. We know that, as in former days, as was eloquently said by Webster, the nation's most gifted orator and statesman, Massachusetts and South Carolina went "shoulder to shoulder through the Revolution," and stood hand in hand "round the Administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean on them for support," so will they again, with like

unanimity, devotion, and power, stand round your Administration, and cause you to feel that you may also lean on them for support. In the proceedings, Mr. President, which we are to place in your hands, you will find that the Convention performed the grateful duty imposed upon them by their knowledge of your "devotion to the Constitution, the laws, and interest of your country," as illustrated by your entire Presidential career, of declaring that in you they "recognize a Chief Magistrate worthy of the nation, and equal to the great crisis upon which your lot is cast." And in this declaration it gives us unmixed pleasure to add, we are confident that the Convention have but spoken the intelligent and patriotic opinion of the country. Ever inaccessible to the low influences which often control the mere partizan, governed alone by an honest opinion of Constitutional obligations and rights, and of the duty of looking solely to the true interest, safety, and honor of the nation, such a class is incapable of resorting to any stale bait for popularity at the expense of the public good.

In the measures which you have adopted for the restoration of the Union, the Convention saw only a continuance of the policy which, for the same purpose, was inaugurated by your immediate predecessor. In his re-election by the people, after that policy had been fully indicated and had been made one of the issues of the contest, those of his political friends who are now assailing you for strictly pursuing it are forgetful or regardless of the opinions which their support of his re-election necessarily involved. Being upon the same ticket with that much-lamented public servant, whose foul assassination touched the heart of the civilized world with grief and horror, you would have been false to obvious duty if you had not endeavored to carry out the same policy. And, judging now by the opposite one which Congress has pursued, its wisdom and patriotism are vindicated by the fact that that of Congress has but continued a broken Union by keeping ten of the States in which at one time the insurrection existed, as far as they could accomplish it, in the condition of subjugated provinces, denying to them the right to be represented whilst subjecting their people to every species of legislation, including taxation. That such a state of things is at war with the very genius of our Government, inconsistent with every idea of political freedom, and most perilous to the peace and safety of the country, no reflecting man can fail to believe. We hope, sir, that the proceedings of the Convention will cause you to adhere, if possible, with even greater firmness to the cause which you are pursuing by satisfying you that the people are with you, and that the wish which lies nearest to their heart is that a perfect restoration of our Union at the earliest moment be attained, and a conviction that that result can only be accomplished by the measures which you are pursuing; and, in the discharge of the duties which these impose upon you, we, as did every member of the Convention; again, for ourselves, individually tender you "our profound respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support."

With a reunited Union, with no foot but that of a freeman treading, or permitted to tread our soil, with industry renewed, with a Nation's faith pledged forever to a strict observance of all its obligations, with kindness and fraternal love everywhere prevailing, the desolations of war will soon be removed, its sacrifices of life, sad as they have been, will, with a Christian resignation, be referred to a Providential purpose of fixing our beloved country on a firm and enduring basis, which will forever place our liberty and happiness beyond the reach of human peril.

Then, too, and forever will our Government challenge the admiration and receive the respect of the Nations of the World, and be in no danger of any effort to impair our rights, or to impeach our honor; and permit me, sir, in conclusion, to add that, great as is your solicitude for the restoration of our domestic peace, and engrossing as are your labors to that end, we rejoice to see that you keep also a watchful eye upon the rights of the Nation; and that, as far as depends upon you, any attempt by an assumed or actual foreign power to enforce an illegal blockade "against the Government or citizens of the United States" (to use your own mild but expressive words) "will be disallowed."

In this determination I am sure I speak but the voice of the Nation when I say that you will receive the unanimous approval of your fellow-citizens. Now, sir, as the Chairman of this Committee, and in behalf of the Convention, I have the honor to present you with an authenticated copy of its proceedings.

The PRESIDENT replied as follows:

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

Language is inadequate to express the emotions and feelings produced by this occasion. Perhaps I could express more by permitting silence to speak and you to infer what I ought to say. I confess that, notwithstanding the experience I have had in

public life, and the audiences I have addressed, this occasion and this assemblage are calculated to, and do, overwhelm me. As I have said, I have not language to convey adequately my present feelings and emotions.

In listening to the address which your eloquent and distinguished chairman has just delivered, the proceedings of the Convention, as they transpired, recurred to my mind. Seemingly, I partook of the inspiration that prevailed in the Convention when I received a despatch, sent by two of its distinguished members, conveying in terms the scene which has just been described, of South Carolina and Massachusetts, arm in arm, marching into that vast assemblage, and thus giving evidence that the two extremes had come together again, and that for the future they were united, as they had been in the past, for the preservation of the Union. When I was thus informed that in that vast body of men, distinguished for intellect and wisdom, every eye was suffused with tears on beholding the scene, I could not finish reading the despatch to be associated with me in the office, for my own feelings overcame me. [Applause.] I think we may justly conclude that we are acting under a proper inspiration, and that we need not be mistaken that the finger of an overruling and unerring Providence is in this great movement.

The nation is in peril. We have just passed through a mighty, a bloody, a momentous ordeal, and yet do not find ourselves free from the difficulties and dangers that are still surrounded us. While our brave soldiers, both officers and men, [turning to General Grant, who stood on the right,] have by their heroism won laurels imperishable, there are still greater and more important duties to perform; and while we have had their cooperation in the field, now that they have returned to civil pursuits, we need their support in our efforts to restore the Government and perpetuate peace. [Applause.] So far as the Executive Department of the Government is concerned, the effort has been made to restore the Union, to heal the breach, to pour oil into the wounds which were consequent upon the struggle, and (to speak in common phrase) to prepare, as the learned and wise physician would a plaster, healing in character and coextensive with the wound. [Applause.] We thought, and we think, that we had partially succeeded: but as the work progresses, as reconciliation seemed to be taking place, and the country was becoming reunited, we found a disturbing and marinating element opposing us. In alluding to that element, I shall go no further than your Convention and the distinguished gentleman who has delivered to me the report of its proceedings. I shall make no reference to it that I do not believe the time and the occasion justify.

We have witnessed in one department of the Government every endeavor to prevent the restoration of peace, harmony, and Union. We have seen hanging upon the verge of the Government, as it were, a body called, or which assumes 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 pretend to be for the Union, when its every step and act tended to perpetuate disunion and make 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 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 done so during my whole public career, I shall ever continue to reverence the Constitution of my fathers, and to make it my guide. [Hearty applause.]

I know it has been said (and I must be permitted to indulge in the remark) that the Executive Department of the Government has been despotic and tyrannical. Let me ask this audience of distinguished gentlemen to point to a vote I ever gave, to a speech I ever made, to a single act of my whole public life that has not been against tyranny and despotism. What position have I ever occupied—what ground have I ever assumed where it can be truthfully charged that I failed to advocate the amelioration and elevation of the great masses of my countrymen? [Cries of "Never," and great applause.]

So far as charges of this kind are concerned, they are simply intended to delude the public mind into the belief that it is not the designing men who make such accusations, but some one else in power who is usurping and trampling upon the rights and perverting the principles of the Constitution. It is done by them for the purpose of covering their own acts. ["That's so," and applause:] and I have felt it my duty, in vindication

of principle, to call the attention of my countrymen to their proceedings. When we come to examine who has been playing the part of 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 feelings or in my practice aggressive. My nature, on the contrary, is rather defensive in its character; but 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 broad 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 was necessary in this great contest against tyranny and despotism was that the struggle should be sufficiently audible for the American people to hear and properly understand the issues it involved. 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. [Cries of "That's so," and applause.] 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 moment of this struggle, when the clouds seemed to be most lowering, my faith, instead of giving way, loomed up through their gloom; for, beyond, I saw that all would be well in the end. My countrymen, we all know that, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, tyranny and despotism can be exercised and exerted more effectually by the many than the one. We have seen Congress gradually encroach step by step upon constitutional rights, and violate, day after day and month after month, fundamental principles of the Government. [Cries of "That's so," and applause.] 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 exercise power which, if allowed to be consummated, would result in despotism or monarchy itself. [Enthusiastic applause.] This is truth, and because others, as well as myself, have seen proper to appeal to 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 virulent 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.

Mr. Chairman, I consider the proceedings of this Convention equal to, if not more important than those of any convention that ever assembled in the United States. [Great applause.] When I look upon that collection of citizens coming together voluntarily, and sitting in council with ideas, with principles and views commensurate with all the States, and co-extensive with the whole people, and contrast it with a Congress whose policy, if persisted in; will destroy the country. I regard it as more important than any Convention that has sat—at least since 1787. [Renewed applause.] I think I may also say that the declarations that were there made are equal to those contained in the Declaration of Independence itself, and I here to-day pronounce them a second Declaration of Independence. [Cries of "Glorious," and most enthusiastic and prolonged applause.] Your address and declarations are nothing more nor less than a reaffirmation of the Constitution of the United States. [Cries of "Good," and applause.]

Yes, I will go farther, and say that the declarations 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 on which all, without reference to party, can make common cause, engage in a common effort to break the tyranny which the dominant party in Congress has so relentlessly exercised, and stand united together for the restoration of the States and the preservation of the Government. The question only is the salvation of the country; for our country rises above all party consideration or influences. [Cries of "Good," and applause.] 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 by the behests of party leaders in the National Congress 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 a common ground upon which all patriots can stand. [Applause.]

In this connexion, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, let me ask what have I 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 inquire what I have gained, except one thing—the consummation of the great work of resto-

ration? My race is nearly run. I have been placed in the high office which I occupy by the Constitution of the country, and I may say that I have held, from lowest to highest, almost every station to which a man may attain in our Government. I have passed through every position, from Alderman of a village to the Presidency of the United States. And surely, gentlemen, this should be enough to gratify a reasonable ambition.

If I had wanted authority, or if I had wished to perpetuate my own power, how easily could I have held and wielded that which was placed in my hands by the measure called the Freedmen's Bureau Bill! [Laughter and applause.] With an army which it 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 unlocked by my own hands, with my satraps and dependents in every town and village, with the Civil Rights Bill following as an auxiliary, [laughter,] and with the patronage and other appliances of the Government, I could have proclaimed myself Dictator. ["That's true!" and applause.]

But, gentlemen, my pride and my ambition have been to occupy that position which retains all power in the hands of the people. [Great cheering.] It is upon them I have always relied: it is upon them I rely now. [A voice: "And the people will not disappoint you."] 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.] The commands of the one I try to obey as best I can, compatible with poor humanity. As to the other, in a political and representative sense, the high behests of the people have always been, and ever will be, respected and obeyed by me. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have said more than I intended to say. For the kind allusion to myself, contained in your address, I thank you. 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 resolution containing the endorsement of a convention emanating spontaneously from the great mass of the people. With conscientious conviction as my courage, the Constitution as my guide, and my faith in the people, I trust and hope that my future action may be such that you and the Convention you represent may not regret the assurance of confidence you have so generously expressed. ["We are sure of it."]

Before separating, my friends, one and all, please accept my heartfelt thanks for the kind manifestations of regard and respect you have exhibited on this occasion.

NATIONAL UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, August 22, 1866.

The Chairman of the National Union Executive Committee, in conformity with a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Committee, held at Philadelphia, August 16, 1866, appoints the following members of the Committee to constitute a Sub-Committee, with power to act in matters relating to the pending campaign:

COL. JAMES P. BARCOCK, New Haven, Conn.
 HON. ROBERT H. PRUYN, Albany, N. Y.
 GEN. SAMUEL M. ZULICK, Philadelphia, Pa.
 HON. THOS. G. PRATT, Baltimore, Md.
 HON. JESSE O. NORTON, Chicago, Ill.
 BARTON ABLE, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.
 HON. WM. L. SHARKEY, Jackson, Miss.

JOSEPH T. CROWELL,
 Chairman National Union Executive Committee,
 RAHWAY, N. J.

NOTE.—On account of the urgent demand for the Proceedings of the Convention, an abridged edition can only be published at this time.

The full Proceedings, containing a list of Delegates, with letters of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Thomas Ewing, William C. Rives, and others, will be issued in pamphlet form at as early a date as practicable.

E. O. PERRIN,
 Secretary National Union Convention.

Lemuel Dorsey

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LIST OF DELEGATES
TO THE
NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA.

1866.

MAINE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Judge R. D. Rice, Colonel A. W. Johnson, Leonard Woods, L.L.D., Governor William G. Crosby, Colonel James Mann, Hon. John H. Burleigh, Hon. T. J. Southard, Bion Bradbury.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Governor H. Knight, Captain H. H. Burbank, Hon. N. S. Littlefield, Hon. Ichabod G. Jordan.

Second District.—Hon. Solon Chase, Colonel Z. Robinson, William D. Sewall, Calvin Ricord.

Third District.—A. G. Gould, George C. Getchel, Hon. Solyman Heath, W. M. E. Brown, Wyman B. S. Moore, Geo. S. C. Dow.

Fourth District.—Paul S. Merrill, Dr. George W. Ladd, George M. Weston, Lemuel Bursley.

Fifth District.—Hon. Charles J. Abbott, General Thomas Staples, Hon. John C. Talbot, William H. Simpson.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Caleb B. Bowers, Edward S. Cutter, Nathaniel H. Clement, Edmund Burke, Harry Bingham, Daniel Marcy, Joseph Q. Roles, Edmund M. Webber.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Joseph H. Smith, E. A. Hibbard, James M. Lavering, William N. Blair.

Second District.—John Hosley, Henry P. Rolfe, Asa P. Cate, Edward W. Harrington.

Third District.—Joshua D. Colony, William Burns, Charles J. Amidon, Russel Jarvis.

HONORARY DELEGATES.

Alex. F. Tilton, J. M. Hill, S. W. Clark, W. P. Wheeler, J. C. Sinclair, J. W. Scranton.

VERMONT.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

T. P. Redfield, Henry Keyes, E. J. Phelps, Giles Harrington, H. R. Beardsley, Andrew Tracy, Lucius B. Peck, J. H. Williams.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Isaac McDaniels, George M. Fisk, Dr. J. M. Comegys, Dr. Z. Bass, George H. Simmond.

Second District.—Charles N. Davenport, Colonel H. N. Worthen, T. J. Cree, Major S. J. Allen.

Third District.—Daniel C. Linsley, J. J. Deavitt, L. Robinson, J. L. Edwards.

1866

ALTERNATES.

Hiram Atkins, Henry Chase, B. B. Smalley, E. F. Perkins, A. S. Hyde, Daniel Tilden, Colonel A. R. Andross, Colonel F. G. Butterfield, George W. Farwell, L. L. Wright, John Welch, Edward Vilette, S. C. Harvey, J. W. French, Dudley P. Hall, Captain J. O. Livingston, R. W. Chase, N. H. Armington, Waldo Bingham, Dr. L. Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

R. S. Spofford, J. G. Abbott, Isaac Davis, General D. W. Couch, General William Sutton, M. D. Field, Farley Hammond, E. C. Bailey.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—E. W. Pierce, J. D. Finney, Mathias Ellis, Robert B. Hall.

Second District.—A. M. Ide, Edward Avery, Charles Albro, Moses Bates.

Third District.—General John L. Swift, Charles L. Woodbury, Josiah Dunhan, William Aspinwall.

Fourth District.—J. R. Spinney, Seth Adams, Joseph M. Wightman, G. W. A. Norris.

Fifth District.—George T. L. Colby, William C. Binny, William D. Northend, Timothy Davis.

Sixth District.—Colonel B. F. Watson, James H. Carlton, Charles Thompson, F. O. Prince.

Seventh District.—S. P. Hanscom, E. A. Alger, Daniel Witherbee, W. S. Messervay.

Eighth District.—Daniel W. Lincoln, George G. Parker, C. W. Wilder, George W. Bentley.

Ninth District.—W. H. Fuller, James Esterbrook, J. Otis Hale, Philander Cobb.

Tenth District.—Thomas Allen, Charles Wright, Charles T. Stevens, L. F. Cushing.

ALTERNATES.

Colonel Albert Fearing, H. H. Stevens, N. Starbuck, J. F. Redfield, Colonel Charles Kimball, Waldo Colburn, A. Mason, T. Ingraham, N. Perkins, J. R. Brackett, S. B. Thaxter, J. S. Burrell, G. W. Howard, Samuel R. Spinney, A. M. Giles, J. G. Chase, A. S. Waitt, T. J. Clark, J. J. Ladd, G. S. Chesboro, Joseph R. Hayes, A. B. Farr, F. Tuttle, J. Fuller, H. A. Aldrich, P. Hammond, Charles W. Chase, Ira Johnson, Charles E. Sweeny, Stephen Dow, S. O. Lamb, E. Dickenson, L. Heywood, L. Jaquith, A. C. Russell, J. L. Colby, E. Gaylord, C. W. Knox.

RHODE ISLAND.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William Beach Lawrence, Anasa Sprague, Alfred Anthony, Ariel Ballou.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Thomas Steere, James H. Parsons.

Second District.—James Waterhouse, Gideon Bradford.

CONNECTICUT.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

James Dixon, James F. Babcock, Edward Prentiss, Lyman W. Coe, James E. English, Lorenzo P. Waldo, Origen S. Seymour, James A. Hovey.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—James H. Ashmead, William H. Green, Freeman M. Brown, Edward S. Cleveland, A. R. Goodrich, George D. Hastings, Leverett E. Pease, George M. Ives.

Second District.—John Kendrick, John B. Robertson, E. C. Scranton, O. F. Winchester, Ely A. Elliott, Henry G. Hubbard, Augustus Putnam, Colonel J. B. Cook.

Third District.—Thomas Clark, James B. Coit, Joseph G. Lamb, James A. Bill, Charles Adams, George Leavens, Josiah Perkins, M. H. Sanger.

Fourth District.—William P. Jones, James S. Taylor, Jonathan Godfrey, Seth S. Logan, Edward B. Hughes, William H. Barnum, Gideon H. Hollister, P. C. Sedgwick.

NEW YORK.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. John A. Dix, Hon. Henry J. Raymond, Hon. Charles G. Myers, Hon. H. S. Comstock, Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, Hon. William Kelly, Hon. John Striker, Hon. S. E. Church.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

- First District.*—William H. Ludlow, E. O. Perrin, T. A. Jerome, Alban C. Stimers.
Second District.—Martin Kaldleich, Francis Finch, Calvin E. Pratt, A. M. Wood.
Third District.—James Buckley, E. J. Lowber, Thomas Kinsella, W. E. Robinson.
Fourth District.—John Savage, Richard Schell, Frederick A. Talmadge, Piere C. Van Wick.
Fifth District.—E. Delafield Smith, Alexander W. Bradford, Nelson Taylor, Samuel R. Kirkham.
Sixth District.—R. M. Blatchford, Hugh Gardner, Charles P. Daly, Robert D. Holmes.
Seventh District.—Abram D. Russell, A. B. Rollins, William Boardman, Clement Watts.
Eighth District.—Thomas E. Smith, A. J. Dittenhoeffer, John E. Burrell, George W. McLean.
Ninth District.—Hosea B. Perkins, H. A. Cargill, A. J. M. Pennington, Homer Franklin.
Tenth District.—Silas Seymour, James P. Saunders, Benjamin Brandreth, Abram Hyatt.
Eleventh District.—John W. Brown, John C. Holley, George M. Grier, Isaac Anderson.
Twelfth District.—Homer A. Nelson, Henry A. Tilden, H. H. Heustis, C. Wheaton.
Thirteenth District.—Marius Schoonmaker, S. A. Givens, D. K. Olney, Frederick R. Cooke.
Fourteenth District.—Robert H. Prunyn, Charles Goodyear, Franklin Townsend, Alfred Van Sanford.
Fifteenth District.—Gideon Reynolds, Charles Rodgers, Thomas B. Carroll, James S. Smart.
Sixteenth District.—Thomas S. Gray, A. C. Hand, Robert S. Hale, Lot Chamberlain.
Seventeenth District.—Albert Andrus, William J. Averel, A. Hopkins, D. S. Robertson.
Eighteenth District.—Henry Churchill, George Briggs, P. B. Yates, Simeon Sammons.
Nineteenth District.—Benjamin F. Rexford, Nelson K. Wheeler, C. D. Fellows, Alfred Clarke.
Twentieth District.—Alvin H. Hall, George D. Brown, George Ashley, E. S. Lansing.
Twenty-first District.—Theodore S. Faxton, Peter Cloger, Daniel Upley, Palmer V. Kellogg.
Twenty-second District.—Thomas Barlow, C. H. Beckwith, H. H. Coats, Max B. Richardson.
Twenty-third District.—Vivus W. Smith, John J. Peck, Charles F. Williston, Samuel T. Smith.
Twenty-fourth District.—George Humphreys, A. B. Williams, John S. Clark, George W. Cuyler.
Twenty-fifth District.—Marcena R. Patrick, Daniel H. Abell, E. B. Jones, Edward P. Fuller.
Twenty-sixth District.—B. F. Tracy, George Bartlett, Frederick Davis, Jr., E. K. Apgar.
Twenty-seventh District.—John Arnot, James Dunn, Robert Campbell, Ira Cutler.
Twenty-eighth District.—Daniel H. Cole, George C. Munger, Edwin F. Brown, Wm. C. Rowley.
Twenty-ninth District.—William G. Bryan, Eswald Bond, James Jackson, Jr., L. W. Thayer.
Thirtieth District.—Wm. G. Fargo, L. K. Plimpton, Alexander W. Harvey, William Williams.
Thirty-first District.—Charles H. Lee, Charles E. Weeks, H. J. Miner, William P. Angel.

The following persons, upon the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials, were admitted to honorary seats in the Convention:

Hon. Ely P. Norton, Hon. W. B. Maclay, Hon. Wm. P. Lee, Hon. James Moncrief, P. C. Ackerman, Lewis W. Maires, Ed. B. Falconer, Hon. Stephen M. Taber, Hon. E. M. Hubbell, Hon. Conrad Swackhamer, Joseph Strauss, William Wirt Hewit, Charles Schleir.

UNITED SERVICE SOCIETY.

- Fourth District.*—Colonel J. B. Freeman, Colonel M. W. Burns, Colonel James D. Poller, Major Michael Doran.
Fifth District.—Major Geo. W. Warner, Captain G. L. Goulding, Captain J. Eller, General C. R. McDonald,
Sixth District.—Major Eugene Magrath, Captain Wm. H. Nash, Captain R. S. Watson, General J. H. Hobart Ward.

Seventh District.—General John Cochran, General Daniel F. Crowley, General F. G. Ellendorf.

Eighth District.—General Wm. L. Hillyer, Major Geo. M. Van Hosen, Morton Smith, Captain, Jno. J. Gleason.

Ninth District.—General Jno. D. McGregor, General Jno. E. Bendix, General Wm. Wilsoa, Colonel James J. Mooney.

Twenty-fourth District.—Major J. M. Guion.

Twenty-fifth District.—Brigadier General J. S. Platun, Colonel J. H. Underhill, Major B. F. Thurbur.

NEW JERSEY.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John P. Stockton, Joel Parker, Theodore Runyon, Thomas McKean, Thomas H. Herring, Timothy Henderson, Joseph T. Crowell, E. J. C. Atterbury.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Colonel J. E. Payton, Clarkson Ogden, Abraham Browning, Nathan T. Statton.

Second District.—John L. McKnight, Colonel T. S. Allison, Gersham Mott, George F. Fort.

Third District.—Colonel Ingham Caryell, G. B. Adrian, F. A. Patersen, Alexander Wurts.

Fourth District.—Edward C. Moore, Ashbel Green, Francis J. Lathrop, Robert Hamilton.

Fifth District.—Robert Gilchrist, Jr., Daniel M. Wilson, Theodore Randolph, Moses Bigelow, Thomas W. Maires, Charles F. Rush.

ALTERNATES.

G. H. Armstrong, Samuel W. Plumer, William G. Cook, John L. Linton, W. H. Jacques, Colonel M. H. Beaumont, George Gage, Colonel C. M. Zulick, Oliver S. Halstead, Jr., Charles Moore.

PENNSYLVANIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. Edgar Cowan, Hon. William F. Johnston, Joseph R. Flanigan, H. W. Tracy, Governor David R. Porter, Governor William Bigler, Governor William F. Packer, Chief Justice George W. Woodward.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Hon. James Campbell, George M. Wharton, Joseph Orr, S. J. Randall.

Second District.—Colonel W. C. Patterson, Hon. Richard Vaux, J. W. Lynn, J. L. Husband.

Third District.—Hon. Daniel M. Fox, Hon. John Robbins, S. Snyder Leidy, General S. M. Zulich.

Fourth District.—Hon. Ellis Lewis, Hon. Charles Brown, O. P. Cornman, C. Pullenger.

Fifth District.—General W. W. H. Davis, John G. Brenner, George Lear, H. R. Coggshall.

Sixth District.—Hon. John D. Stiles, Colonel Owen Jones, Captain James Boyd, M. H. Horn.

Seventh District.—Hon. George G. Leiper, Hon. John A. Morrison, Robert L. Martin, Sumner Stebbins.

Eighth District.—Jeremiah Hageman, Charles Kessler, J. B. Warner, Charles Davis.

Ninth District.—Hon. Isaac E. Heister, H. M. North, W. M. Strickler, John Levergood.

Tenth District.—Hon. F. W. Hughes, Grant Wideman, John Early, Colonel Henry Pleasants.

Eleventh District.—Hon. Asa Packer, Colonel W. H. Hutter, Edward L. Wolf, J. N. Hutchinson.

Twelfth District.—General E. L. Dana, John Blanding, Colonel H. B. Wright, D. L. O'Neil.

Thirteenth District.—Colonel W. H. Ent, Hon. C. L. Ward, Colonel Elhanan Smith, General William Patton.

Fourteenth District.—Edmund S. Doty, Hamilton Alricks, Colonel T. C. McDowell, William M. Allison.

Fifteenth District.—Hon. J. S. Black, Hon. Samuel Hepburn, R. M. Stevenson, H. S. Sukenback.

Sixteenth District.—William McLellan, Hon. William P. Schell, John W. Deal, H. B. Woods.

Seventeenth District.—General William H. Irwin, Hon. C. L. Pershing, Colonel Grafius Miller, Colonel John Hamilton.

Eighteenth District.—Colonel Phalon Jarrett, Hon. James Gamble, Thomas P. Simons, Colonel Jacob Sallad.

Nineteenth District.—Hon. James T. Leonard, James B. Graham, Judge S. Marvin, General E. C. Wilson.

Twentieth District.—General A. B. McCalmont, Hon. Gaylord Church, J. M. Bonham, John B. Hayes.

Twenty-first District.—Hon. H. D. Foster, General Richard Colter, Samuel H. Smith, D. R. Davidson.

Twenty-second District.—General J. B. Sweitzer, George P. Hamilton, Samuel McKee, Harry A. Weaver.

Twenty-third District.—Hon. George W. Cass, Colonel William Sirwell, Colonel Samuel McKelvy, J. R. Butterfield.

Twenty-fourth District.—Hon. Jesse Lazier, Archibald Robertson, Edward Campbell, J. A. J. Buchanan.

ALTERNATES.

John H. Sawyer, C. R. Williams, B. Rush Bradford, General W. H. Blair, John B. Minton, George W. Nebinger, George Martin, Wm. Eckfeldt, Tilghman Good, W. Cooper Tally, M. M. Burnett, H. Richards, C. H. Drake, C. M. Minor, John J. Carey, J. H. Huslett, John R. Gratz, R. B. McCoy, P. M. Hackenburg, George Zinnel, H. A. Glessner, Major G. H. Bardwell, J. N. Wright, A. W. Meyers, James Sweeney, F. M. Kinter, Alexander J. Rogers, Daniel Robinson, James Blackmore, James Lowry, Jr., Captain E. Lyons, Joseph C. Ruppel.

DELAWARE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. Joseph P. Comegys, Joseph M. Barr, Ayres Stockly, Edward L. Martin, Charles H. B. Day, Charles Wright, Cornelius J. Hall, Sax Gotha Laws.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

Theodore F. Crawford, John Tharp, William O. Redden, Dr. F. V. Crawford.

The following persons were admitted, by recommendation of the Committee on Credentials, to honorary seats in the Convention:

Samuel Townsend, Albert Newton, Robert A. Cochran, Thomas L. Ogle, Benjamin T. Biggs, Thomas D. Gibson, George W. Smith, Aquilla Derrickson, Samuel D. Chandler, Levi Ruth.

MARYLAND.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. Thomas Swann, Montgomery Blair, J. W. Crisfield, Reverdy Johnson, Thomas G. Pratt, Henry H. G. S. Key, Richard B. Carnichael, Isaac D. Jones.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Colonel George Vicars, Hon. John R. Franklin, Joseph A. Weeks, Daniel M. Henry.

Second District.—General James L. Ridgely, Hon. J. Morrison Harris, Richard Grason, H. W. Archer.

Third District.—Colonel William H. Purnell, J. V. L. Findley, J. Nevitt Steele, William H. Collins.

Fourth District.—Colonel William P. Maulsby, General J. C. Sullivan, E. H. Wiles, J. Poulder.

Fifth District.—Robert Fowler, W. W. Watkins, G. M. Watkins, J. D. Bowling.

VIRGINIA.

STATE AT LARGE.

George W. Bolling, Thomas S. Flournoy, John W. Brockenborough, George Blow, Jr.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Charles R. Mallory.

Second District.—Thomas Wallace, John R. Kilby, E. C. Robinson, G. D. Parker.

Third District.—James Barbour, John L. Marye, Jr.

Fourth District.—E. W. Hubbard.

Fifth District.—James F. Johnson.

Sixth District.—

Seventh District.—Edgar Snowden, Richard H. Parker.

Eighth District.—Windham Robertson.

ALTERNATES.

W. J. Robertson, Charles L. Mosby, Willoughby Newton, H. B. Tomblin, G. D. Parker, Thomas A. Smith, A. M. Kilby, Thomas H. Daniel, Z. Turner, John H. Guy, James Nesbitt, Robert Whitehead, William Martin, E. H. Keen, John T. Anderson, William Milley, B. H. Shackelford, Armistead Carter, A. C. Cummings, Robert Gibboney.

WEST VIRGINIA.

STATE AT LARGE.

Charles T. Beale, Major E. W. Andrews, Henry S. Walker, Lewis Ruffner, Thomas Sweeney, General J. J. Jackson, John S. Burdett.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Daniel Lamb, John J. Davis, Colonel D. D. Johnson, Colonel J. G. Lane.

Second District.—Stephen W. Downey, John J. Yellott, John J. Jacob.

Third District.—Dr. A. E. Summers, Dr. John J. Thompson, L. Baker.

ALTERNATES.

John W. Kennedy, Thos. Paxton, H. G. Davis, L. R. Cotton, Fontaine Smith, Wm. M. Randolph, Benj. Honnett, W. A. Hanway, N. H. Taft, Rufus Maxwell.

NORTH CAROLINA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. William A. Graham, Hon. R. C. Puryear, Hon. George Howard, Hon. George Davis.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—William N. H. Smith, Henry A. Gilliam.

Second District.—Hon. Mathias E. Manley, William A. Wright.

Third District.—Archibald McLean, Hon. Thomas S. Ashe.

Fourth District.—A. H. Arrington, Hon. D. M. Barringer.

Fifth District.—Hon. John A. Gilmer, Thomas Ruffin.

Sixth District.—Hon. Nathaniel Bozden, Joseph H. Wilson.

Seventh District.—Samuel F. Patterson, Montreville Patton.

ALTERNATES.

George Mordecai, E. J. Hale, W. J. Yates, Weldon N. Edwards.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. James L. Orr, Hon. B. F. Perry, Hon. J. L. Manning, Hon. J. B. Campbell.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—F. J. Moses, Richard Dosier.

Second District.—Thomas Y. Simons, W. P. Shingler.

Third District.—D. L. Wardlow, S. Gowan.

Fourth District.—T. N. Dawkins, James Farrow.

GEORGIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

A. H. Stephens, H. V. Johnson, A. H. Chappell, D. A. Walker.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—General J. B. Gordon, William B. Fleming.

Second District.—J. L. Winberly, H. C. Barrow.

Third District.—Hon. W. F. Wright, Hon. Porter Ingram.

Fourth District.—Thomas Hardman, Jr., P. W. Alexander

Fifth District.—A. R. Wright, Lewis Tumlin.

Sixth District.—John H. Christy, S. J. Smith.

Seventh District.—Richard E. Lyons, W. M. Lowry.

ALTERNATES.

Hon. David Irvin, Hon. J. H. Hull, Hon. William Law, Hon. C. B. Cole, Major P. C. Pendleton, T. C. McIntire, Ira E. Dupree, T. G. Lawson, J. S. Hooke, H. R. Casey, H. P. Bell, T. T. Smith, D. S. Printup, A. J. Hansel, J. R. Parrott.

FLORIDA.

DELEGATES.

West Florida.—B. D. Wright, O. M. Avery, George Walker, George S. Hawkins, F. R. Pittman, J. L. Dunham.

North Florida.—S. B. Love, Robert Davidson, Hon. W. Call, Colonel J. C. McKibbin, Colonel George W. Scott, R. H. Gamble, M. B. Pappy, Judge Thomas Randall.

East Florida.—Hon. F. McLeod, T. O. Holmes, Judge B. Dawkins, M. Solano, John Friend, R. J. Gist.

South Florida.—Hon. W. Marvin, W. C. Maloney, James Gettes, Col. J. P. Sanderson, C. E. Dyke, N. T. Shober, T. T. Long, Governor A. K. Allison.

ALABAMA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

George E. Parsons, George S. Houston, A. B. Cooper, Alexander White, John Forsyth, R. B. Lindsay.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—C. C. Langdon, W. H. Crenshaw, T. J. Goldsby.

Second District.—C. S. G. Doster, Lewis Owen, John G. Shorter.

Third District.—Cullen A. Battle, W. H. Cruikshanks.

Fourth District.—J. S. Kennedy, Jonathan Bliss, C. C. Huckabee.

Fifth District.—John Foster.

Sixth District.—T. J. Foster, F. L. Goodman.

MISSISSIPPI.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William Yerger, George L. Potter, Giles M. Hillyer, W. L. Featherston.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—H. Dockeray, Thomas Pegues.

Second District.—J. S. Bailey, G. A. Sykes.

Third District.—A. Murdock, J. A. Binford.

Fourth District.—N. H. Harris, A. G. Meyers.

Fifth District.—H. F. Simrall, George V. Moody.

ALTERNATES.

John McGuirk, M. S. Ward, M. D. L. Stephens, W. H. Vasser, H. W. Foot, Jason A. Niles, W. Q. Poindexter, A. M. Paxton, S. T. Lanikin.

LOUISIANA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. John Ray, Richard Taylor, Hon. Randall Hunt, Hon. A. W. Walker, Charles Gazarre, J. Ad. Rozier, Alexander Walker, W. H. C. King, Hon. Tobias Gibson, Alfred Hennen, Sr., William Reed Mills, P. A. Morse, Dr. Alfred Duperier, William S. Parham, Cuthbert Bullitt, Robert J. Kerr, A. M. Holbrook, Nicholas D. Coleman, T. P. May, A. C. Graham, Joshua Baker, W. R. Whitaker, Jacob C. Van Wickle, James O. Fugua, Aleck Bowman.

TEXAS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. D. G. Burnett, Hon. L. D. Evans, Hon. B. H. Epperson, Colonel W. H. Sellers, Colonel G. Cook, Colonel G. H. Giddings, Colonel A. M. Gentry, Colonel W. H. Parsons, W. J. Hutchins, Esq., Hon. Jacob Warlan, Colonel G. W. Carter, J. M. Surshu, L. M. Warner, Major D. U. Barziza, Captain J. M. Daniels, George W. White, Major J. H. Pratt, Major J. W. Wells.

ARKANSAS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Dr. George W. Lawrence, E. C. Boudinot, Jonas M. Tebbetts, M. L. Bell, J. O. Kimball.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—William Byers, Q. K. Underwood.

Second District.—John R. Fellows, A. B. Williams, Weldon E. Wright.

Third District.—Jesse Turner, H. F. Thomason, John B. Luce.

ALTERNATES.

Albert Pike, David Walker, Harris Flanigan, T. J. Batson, Lorenzo Gibson, J. C. Tappan, N. P. Stanton.

TENNESSEE.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. John S. Brien, John Lellyett, Hon. John W. Leftwitch, Hon. John Baxter.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Hon. David T. Patterson, Colonel R. A. Crawford, Hon. N. G. Taylor, Colonel A. A. Kyle, J. P. Holsinger, General W. C. Kyle.

Second District.—Hon. T. A. R. Nelson, Dr. William Rogers, Colonel John Williams, George M. Branner.

Third District.—Asa Faulkner, Dr. William Crutchfield, James R. Hood, James H. Hughes, General James G. Speers, Colonel E. S. Garrett.

Fourth District.—Hon. Edmond Cooper, Hon. W. P. Hickerson, J. H. Thompson, Joseph Ramsey.

Fifth District.—Governor W. B. Campbell, Governor Neil S. Brown, S. S. House, James Whitworth, S. R. Anderson, Thomas Barry, John Woodward.

Sixth District.—Hon. A. O. P. Nicholson, Hon. D. B. Thomas, T. W. Keesec, G. C. Breed.

Seventh District.—Hon. Emerson Etheridge, N. G. Porter, R. G. Hurt.

Eighth District.—General P. B. Glenn, Colonel W. D. Ferguson, Colonel W. B. Grace, Judge Mahlon L. Perkins, Hon. A. A. Freeman, M. W. Kenney, Rolfe S. Saunders.

KENTUCKY.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. G. Davis, R. H. Stanton, E. Hise, Hon. Aaron Harding.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Hon. L. S. Trimble, G. A. Flournoy.

Second District.—G. Henry, F. A. Smith, William S. Owsley.

Third District.—J. W. Ritter, Colonel W. B. Craddock.

Fourth District.—E. A. Graves, C. S. Hill.

Fifth District.—Hamilton Pope, G. A. Caldwell, J. H. Harney.

Sixth District.—John W. Stevenson, James Taylor.

Seventh District.—Hon. George E. Shanklin, M. J. Durham.

Eighth District.—General T. T. Garrard, Major M. H. Owsley.

Ninth District.—W. H. Wadsworth, W. W. Baldwin.

OHIO.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Lewis D. Campbell, James B. Steedman, William S. Groesbeck, Joseph H. Geiger, E. B. Eshelman, M. R. Willett, J. M. Estep, P. Van Trump.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Milton Saylor, Dr. George Fries, Joseph E. Egley, T. P. Saunders.

Second District.—Charles Reemelin, E. H. Johnson, Judge Oliver, General Hickenlooper.

Third District.—Judge W. J. Gilmore, General A. M. D. McCook, General Durbin Ward, R. H. Hendrickson.

Fourth District.—John H. James, Colonel George F. Dawson, General J. W. Frizell, General John E. Cummins.

Fifth District.—Colonel William Sawyer, Judge Hugh Letzen, Colonel Samuel R. Mott, P. E. Canningham.

Sixth District.—Julius A. Penn, J. F. Ely, A. G. Penn, John Wayland.

Seventh District.—S. S. Henkle, Charles W. Dewey, William W. Franklin, W. Webb.

Eighth District.—Colonel Barnabas Burns, Captain William E. Schofield, James H. Anderson, John E. Hurlburt.

Ninth District.—T. C. McEwen, A. D. Shellenger, J. R. Clymer, T. W. Green.

Tenth District.—Thomas Dunlap, William Carter, A. G. Clark, Harry Chase.

Eleventh District.—J. A. Turnley, D. M. M. Seymour, H. H. Poppleton, James Cochran.

Twelfth District.—Dr. O. E. Davis, William M. Bowen, James Stockdale, M. C. Campbell, J. O. Reamy.

Thirteenth District.—W. H. Ball, George B. Smythe, R. C. Hurd, G. B. Arnold.

Fourteenth District.—George Bliss, Thomas J. Kenny, O. C. Scovell, R. R. Shank.

Fifteenth District.—J. Cartwright, Colonel R. P. L. Baber, George B. Center, Samuel Lahm.

Sixteenth District.—William Lawrence, Colonel A. T. Ready, James A. Charlesworth, H. T. Stockwell.

Seventeenth District.—Isaac Ullman, Colonel George W. McCook, Judge J. Clarke, Peter Kaufman.

Eighteenth District.—F. T. Backus, R. P. Ranny, H. B. Payne, Moses Kelly.

Nineteenth District.—Jefferson Palm, H. C. Ramsey, Colonel Charles S. Colter, M. Bosworth.

ALTERNATES.

W. R. Waite, Thomas Sherlock, Judge A. G. W. Carter, William E. Jones, S. J. McGroarty, Wilson S. Kennon, Major D. Gordon, Major Minor, George H. Fry, A. G. Barrett, A. H. Lewis, T. H. Bartram, J. C. Canfield, John F. Dewey, J. H. Magruder, D. R. Austin, Elias Nigh, Isaac Roberts, H. H. Sage, J. L. Sheridan, J. J. Green, James Irvine, Captain Sherlock, Dr. B. B. Moore, J. J. Smith, J. K. Frost, Robert Mackey, J. O. Rote, Thos. Powell, John M. Brown, John Perrig, M. M. Seymour.

INDIANA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, Colonel Thomas Dowling, Colonel Graham N. Fitch, Hon. P. M. Kent, William S. Smith, David Kilgore, David S. Gooding, D. Garland Rose.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—W. F. Pidgeon, John Pitcher, Hon. W. F. Parrett.

Second District.—Levi Sparks, Colonel D. Sigler, John S. Davis, J. G. Caldwell.

Third District.—Colonel Frank Emerson, Hon. Thomas R. Cobb, William M. Daly.

Fourth District.—Dr. George Berry, Cortez Ewing, James Gavin, John Ferris.

Fifth District.—General Solomon Meredith, Eli Pigman, Lafayette Deevlin, Volney Wilson.

Sixth District.—John R. Elder, Benjamin F. Davis, Henry C. Gooding, C. N. Pollard.

Seventh District.—Colonel J. I. Alexander, C. C. Matson, Edward Wilson, Major A. M. Puett.

Eighth District.—Dr. James Mc. Workman, Colonel E. F. Lucas, John S. Williams, James Wilson.

Ninth District.—R. P. Effinger, James Bradley, Henry Crawford, R. H. Rose.

Tenth District.—Hon. A. P. Egerton, Colonel J. B. McDonald, M. Drake, Captain M. W. Wines.

Eleventh District.—Nathan R. Lindsay, William C. Fleming, G. S. Brown.

ALTERNATES.

Hon. R. A. Clements, Richard Raleigh, Colonel W. F. Sherrod, Colonel C. L. Dunham, Hon. Jephtha D. New, Hon. F. T. Hord, General James B. Foley, Hon. A. B. Line, Cyrus F. McNutt, Hon. W. H. Jennings, Hon. Henry Wilson, W. C. Vance, James Odell, Hon. T. J. Merrifield, A. L. Wheeler, Samuel A. Alvord, Eli W. Brown, Hon. S. E. Perkins, W. M. Franklin, Col. Charles Denby, Hon. A. C. Downey.

ILLINOIS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. O. H. Browning, Major General John A. McClernard, Hon. Thomas J. Turner, Hon. William B. Ogden, Hon. D. K. Green, Hon. Isaac Underhill, Judge E. S. Terry,

Colonel William R. Morrison, Hon. Thomas Hoyne, Hon. R. E. Goodell, Hon. L. W. Ross, Hon. S. S. Marshall.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Hon. George C. Bates, Hon. Philip A. Hoyne, Hon. S. S. Hayes, John McGinnis, Jr.

Second District.—A. M. Herrington, J. S. Ticknor, Hon. E. M. Haines, F. Garfield.

Third District.—Samuel Strawder, U. D. Meacham, W. H. Mesenkop, E. B. Stiles.

Fourth District.—Colonel John C. Cox, Major H. V. Sullivan, G. Edmunds, Jr., C. J. Horsman.

Fifth District.—W. E. Cook, W. R. Phelps, J. G. Greene, A. M. Gibbons.

Sixth District.—Hon. J. O. Norton, Captain A. Longworth, Colonel Lorenzo P. Sanger, Colonel William Reddick.

Seventh District.—Colonel W. N. Coler, Dr. W. M. Chambers, General Charles Black, D. G. Burr.

Eighth District.—John E. Rosette, G. W. Parke, William P. Chain, Hon. Colby Knapp.

Ninth District.—Hon. A. A. Glenn, Captain J. C. Bernard, James G. McCreery, J. H. McCall.

Tenth District.—B. F. Slater, Colonel Charles A. Morton, J. W. Hankins, Charles Horles.

Eleventh District.—Colonel W. B. Anderson, George H. Yarnell, George W. Haynie, Hon. Daniel Riley.

Twelfth District.—E. M. West, Colonel John J. Mitchell, Hon. W. G. Kase, George W. Brackett.

Thirteenth District.—Colonel R. R. Townes, John C. White, A. Laing, Dr. John Monroe.

ALTERNATES.

General M. R. M. Wallace, General W. B. Scates, Samuel W. Fuller, H. D. Perry, W. P. Turcy, S. L. De Land, Colonel W. H. Benneson, G. W. Hunt, Colonel Hurt, J. G. Madden, B. Turner, B. Todd, W. T. Bryan, Colonel A. Smith, Hon. S. W. Harrison, John Miller, George F. Brown, Colonel H. F. Vallette, L. C. Hurd, Colonel W. J. Calloway, A. N. Smyser, D. Sherman, E. H. Palmer, R. E. Goodell, W. G. Burdell, Hon. J. S. Bailey, F. C. McSeely, Lyman Lacy, M. C. Long, Colonel S. G. Heiseeks, Captain Judy, Dr. J. J. R. Turney, Colonel W. H. Ready, Dr. C. T. Jones, John R. Bowie, Charles Carroll, Dr. Paul Sears.

MICHIGAN.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Charles E. Steuart, Augustus C. Baldwin, Merrill J. Mills, Charles H. Taylor, Colonel W. B. McCreery, General C. O. Loomis, General G. A. Custer, Colonel J. J. Ely.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—William P. Wells, George C. Munro, Henry Barnes, Captain J. J. Newell.

Second District.—Rufus W. Landon, Frederick V. Smith, O. B. Clark, John G. Parkhurst.

Third District.—Orlando M. Barnes, Ed. F. Uhl, James Monroe, E. C. Seaman.

Fourth District.—Alexander F. Bell, Lyman G. Mason, General A. A. Stevens, W. B. Thomas.

Fifth District.—Robert W. Davis, Harlehigh Cartter, Byron G. Stout, John Atkinson.

Sixth District.—John W. Payne, William L. Webber, S. B. Bliss, A. W. Brockway.

WISCONSIN.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle, Hon. A. W. Randall, Hon. G. M. Robinson, Alexander Mitchell, H. L. Palmer, Milton Montgomery, L. B. Vilas, Gabriel Bauck.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—J. B. Smith, A. W. Curtiss, General H. C. Hobert, Hon. Daniel Willis, Jr., L. J. Farwell, E. M. Lee, P. V. Deuster, George Schmidt, Major R. Cheney, J. A. Noonan.

Second District.—John J. R. Pease, N. H. Wood, A. Hyatt Smith, J. Gillett Knapp, J. B. Doe.

Third District.—George W. Krouskoup, J. H. Kimball.

Fourth District.—Hon. A. D. Bonesteel, Hon. Robert Flint, Hon. C. A. Eldridge, Hon. Emil Rothe, Hon. Benjamin Ferguson.

Fifth District.—Colonel George C. Ginty, Charles W. Felker, Hon. S. A. Pease, Hon. A. L. Smith, General E. L. Bragg.

Sixth District.—Hon. W. T. Galloway, Hon. George Gayle.

IOWA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

A. C. Dodge, George H. Parker, Edward Johnston, A. Larimer, J. M. Ellwood, B. B. Richards, L. D. Parmer, S. H. Fairall, General Thomas H. Benton, T. Christie, G. W. Clark, Hon. James D. Gamble, J. W. Stewart, Major Thomas B. Hunt, Dr. J. F. Fairbanks, Colonel S. W. Summers.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Thomas W. Claggett, Charles Mason, H. H. Trimble, Dr. J. G. De Wolf, William Thompson, Colonel O. H. P. Scott, Hon. Edmund J. Elger.

Second District.—J. M. Priston, J. H. Wallace, C. E. Putnam, E. H. Thayer, Sage O. Butler, David H. Scott, Ebenezer Cook, J. F. Hill, John B. Booth.

Third District.—William Mills, A. P. Richardson, O. H. P. Rozelle, L. L. Ainsworth, William McClintock, Dr. William A. Chase.

Fourth District.—J. E. Neal, George Gillaspay, J. H. Murphy, John White, D. B. Abrams, Colonel C. H. Mackey, Major J. B. Atherton.

Fifth District.—J. D. Test, J. Browne, W. P. Hammond, M. D. McHenry, Colonel George Burton, John K. Lyon, Captain William E. Taylor, D. Ritchie, J. M. Walker,

Sixth District.—D. F. Ellsworth, B. D. Holbrook, E. D. Fenn, H. E. J. Boardman, William C. Stanbery, J. F. Griffith.

MINNESOTA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. B. S. Norton, Hon. N. M. Rice, Hon. Franklin Steele, Hon. Charles W. Nash, Henry C. Hoffman, Esq., Charles A. Gilman, Esq., William Lee, Esq., Richard Price, Esq.

MISSOURI.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John Hogan, James O. Broadhead, Richard J. Howard, M. H. Ritchie, George P. Hall, Charles M. Elliard, James S. Rollins, Thomas C. Ready, Austin A. King.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

First District.—Lewis V. Bogy, Burton Able, James J. McBride, John Knapp.

Second District.—David Murphy, William James, Albert Todd, W. J. Martin.

Third District.—F. A. Rozier, T. B. English, P. L. Foy, Charles Welling.

Fourth District.—John M. Richardson, Marcus Boyd, James K. Mills, C. B. Holland.

Fifth District.—Thomas A. Price, T. F. Crittenden, L. H. Lane, Logan Hunter.

Sixth District.—Charles Todd, R. C. Vaughan, James W. Black, Lucius Salisbury.

Seventh District.—Charles B. Wilkinson, James McFerran, Robert Wilson. E. C. Thomas.

Eighth District.—E. K. Sayre, J. B. Rogers, Edward McCabe, E. B. Brown.

Ninth District.—James Sweeney, E. A. Lewis, J. A. Hockaday, Charles G. Mauro.

KANSAS.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

General Hugh Ewing, General Charles W. Blair, Captain Nicholas Smith, James L. McDowell, General H. S. Sleeper, Major G. A. Colton, Thomas P. Fenton, George W. Glick, Orlin Thurston, Edward Campbell, W. P. Gambell, S. S. Penderry.

ALTERNATES.

Major S. R. Palmer, Colonel J. R. McClure, Colonel Hugh Cameron, M. W. Reynolds, Major J. W. Martin, F. P. Fitzwilliams, Isaac Sharpe, R. M. Ruggles, John Martin, Charles Rubican, Maj. James Ketner, W. A. Tipton.

CALIFORNIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William T. Coleman, J. A. McDougall, W. W. Cope, Jackson Temple, General John A. Dix, Hon. R. J. Walker, Major General Slocum.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

Samuel Purdy, C. M. Hitchcock, Jacob P. Leese, L. A. Birdsall, Thomas Gray, Samuel B. Martin, John Furguson, J. T. Ryan.

NEVADA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Governor G. M. Beebe, G. D. Hall, Jesse Williams, John Carmichael, L. H. Newton, Frank Hereford, Hon. Gideon J. Tucker, Hon. George G. Barnard.

ALTERNATES.

T. H. Harris, S. B. Kyle, R. C. Hill, P. H. Pierce, Sol. Geller, J. W. B. Carver, C. L. Perkins, W. F. Tooms.

OREGON.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Hon. J. W. Nesmith, Governor George L. Curry, W. H. Farrar, E. M. Barnum, A. D. Fitch, D. T. Bradford.

DAKOTA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John W. Turner, D. F. Bramble, Colonel A. J. Faulk.

IDAHO.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

C. F. Powell, Thomas W. Betts, Henry W. DePuy, Governor W. H. Wallace, H. Cummins.

NEBRASKA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

General H. H. Heath, Hon. J. S. Morton, Dr. George L. Miller, J. Patrick, James R. Porter, W. F. Lockwood, Major Lewis Lowry, James M. Patterson, T. W. Bedford, J. R. Beale.

NEW MEXICO.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

George P. Este, Charles S. Blake.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

George E. Cole, Elwood Evans, Chas. P. Eagan.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John E. Norris, Richard T. Merrick, Joseph H. Bradley, Sr., B. F. Swart, Colonel James R. O'Beirne, Jonah D. Hoover, John B. Blake, Owen Thorn.

ALTERNATES.

Richard Wallach, Asbury Lloyd, Samuel E. Douglass, Richard R. Crawford, Charles Allen.

HONORARY DELEGATE ELECTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION.

Hon. Thomas B. Florence.

NOTE.—The Secretary found it impossible to get a correct List of Delegates to the Convention. In numerous instances Delegates did not leave their names and address, as often requested. Many vacancies were filled the first day by Alternates, and subsequently the Delegates arrived. The Committee on Credentials made numerous changes and substitutions, while others were made by the Delegations themselves.

The above List is as correct, therefore, as it could be made, though doubtless containing many errors and omissions.

E. O. PERRIN,

Secretary National Union Convention.

APPENDIX.

Letter from Hon. Thomas Ewing.

LANCASTER, OHIO, August 2, 1866.

HON. O. H. BROWNING :

DEAR SIR: Your letter inclosing a copy of a call for a National Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 14th instant, has long been before me. I at once expressed to you by hearty concurrence in its objects; but causes not within my control have thus far delayed me in giving, as I then promised, more definitely and at large my views on the subject.

We all feel, and know, that the condition of the country is unsettled; the different departments of the Government do not move harmoniously in their proper spheres, but in some respects retard and disturb the action of each other. The evil requires a remedy which can only be applied on a careful investigation of its causes. It is most important that we should have a distinct understanding of the present condition of our country, the state of its organic law, as settled by recent events, and a consideration of the errors and irregularities by which its action is disturbed; and make a fair presentation of these matters to the public, without a mixture of the passion or prejudices of party, that they may apply the corrections. This is, as I understand it, the object of the proposed Convention. To this object I am desirous to lend my feeble aid as one among the thousands whose aggregate judgment makes up public opinion.

A large proportion of the leading men of the South have for more than thirty years past been taught in the school of disunion—reared up and educated in the political faith that allegiance to the State is paramount to allegiance to the Union; and that a citizen of the State may, at the command of his State, lawfully bear arms and wage war against the United States, and, as a corollary, against any one or more of the sister States. This is not new doctrine. It is the same which, under different forms of government, distracted Europe for more than six hundred years, made every baronial castle a robber's stronghold, and the whole country a military encampment. In 1861, those holding the physical force in eleven States, declared in Convention their secession from the Union, expelled its officers, and repudiated its laws; and stood prepared to maintain, as far as they might by force of arms, distinct and independent nationalities, confederated for the purpose of attack or defence against the Union, as a common enemy. On the other hand, we asserted the absolute integrity of the Union; that no State could secede from, or cease to be an integral part of it; that its laws, constitutionally enacted, were of binding force in all the States and Territories; and that to levy war, or oppose armed resistance to the execution of the laws of the Union, was treason, even though such resistance were in obedience to a law of a State, and to the mandate of its authority. And it is this on which the issue was taken between the Union and those holding the physical power in the eleven seceding States. A civil war was the consequence; great in its magnitude, great in its results. The supremacy of the Union has been maintained. The illegal and revolutionary declarations of secession have been annulled, together with the ordinances in their support and maintenance; and the government of each of the several States is now in the hands of loyal men; is organized in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and acknowledges the supremacy of its laws. We have contended throughout the contest that the seceded States were States of the Union, and in the Union, and that the citizens of those States who, in any way, aided in the revolt, were guilty of treason. This point is now yielded. It is settled, and not open to discussion.

Your call invites only those who hold the Union indissoluble and perpetual; and it declares that no delegate will take a seat in the Convention who does not loyally

accept the national situation, and cordially endorse the great principle above announced. This, I most heartily approve. I would not willingly meet in council or join in political action with those, if such there be, who would again open the question, the agitation of which has inflicted such untold misery upon the country.

I assume, therefore, that the laws of the Union enacted pursuant to the Constitution are paramount, neither weakened nor affected by the laws of the State; that no State can secede from the Union, either temporarily or permanently; that the ordinances of secession, though bearing the names of the States, were the acts of unauthorized men, who temporarily usurped power; that during the whole contest, from its beginning to its close, each and all States, notwithstanding their ordinances of secession, were States of the Union; and at the close of the contest the usurped powers were withdrawn, and the supremacy of the Union acknowledged by the authorities of the States.

It follows as a necessary consequence that, even in the heat and violence of the rebellion, the States in which the rebel violence most prevailed, were each and all of them, as States, entitled to their representation in the two Houses of Congress. Such was clearly the understanding of the statesmen who then ruled the stormy scene. Tennessee was represented in the Senate after the ordinance of secession in that State was passed; and I know it was the expressed wish of President LINCOLN that MR. BOWMAN, the Senator from Arkansas, whose term was not expired, and who had taken no part in the rebellion, should come to Washington and resume his seat in the Senate. The difficulty existed—not in the right of the State to be represented—but in the means of electing and certifying Senators and Representatives. With that difficulty the Houses of Congress had, in the first instance, nothing to do. But when the State returned its Senators and Members, then it was the province of the two Houses of Congress each to examine the credentials of the proposed Members of its own body, ascertain whether the Members of each were duly appointed, and whether they personally conformed to the requisites which each House has established for its Members. If the opinion then entertained be admitted as sound, it cannot be rationally contended that a State in which the rebellion has been suppressed, the ordinance of secession rescinded and annulled, and the power of the Union acknowledged, can be denied its representation in the two Houses of Congress because it has been controlled for a time by men in a state of revolt, when that very condition, while it existed, did not deprive it of the right of representation. But thus far those States have been denied, as States, their representation in Congress, without question as to the qualifications of the individual members or the regularity of their election.

It will be difficult to establish the position that a portion of the Senate and the House which have thus rejected the representation of a part of the States, as States, is a legally constituted Congress under the Constitution. They, of course, had the power which the Constitution gives them, the Senate to reject any and all members individually, for the reason that they do not represent the several States; the House, that they do not represent their appropriate districts. The Constitution defines in express terms the power of each House over the Members who offer themselves for recognition. The second section of the first article of the Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; that is to say, each and all the States. To this there is no exception, no limitation. It includes States which have been controlled by insurgents as well as those which have always been governed by loyal men. Another clause of the same article provides that when vacancies happen in the representation from any State the Executive authority thereof shall issue an order for an election. Here is no qualification, no requisite condition of the State to entitle it to its representation. How does any portion of Congress, or a committee selected by a part of Congress, acquire the power to lay down conditions and deny representation to the States that do not conform to them? The third section of the same article of the Constitution provides "that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years." The fifth article, that no State, without its consent, shall, even by an amendment of the Constitution, be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. So clear is the construction of the Constitution—so fixed the purpose of the Convention—that even an amendment of the Constitution would be void that should attempt to deprive a State for a single day, under any conditions, of its due representation in that body. But the Constitution makes ample provision for the prevention of illegal membership in either of those bodies, and puts it in the power of each to exclude from itself all Members and Senators who are unfit from any cause, national or moral—for want of due election, due certificate, defect of loyalty to the Union, or moral character—to hold their places in either of those bodies.

Hence it is very clear to my mind that the exclusion of States, as States, for any reason, supposed or alleged, is a violation of their constitutional privileges. The members who may be in possession of the Senate Chamber and House of Representatives have the same right to assume that New York, as that Georgia, is unfit to be represented until it complies with their prescribed conditions. If they may exclude eleven States, they may exclude twenty, and each will affect alike the constitutional legitimacy of the body which thus lays down conditions for admission, and refuses it to those who do not comply with those conditions. The wrong would be more glaring if a majority were excluded, but the principle would be the same. It may be said that, in the Senate, there could not be a constitutional quorum if twenty were excluded, but what of that? Admit the binding efficacy of the Constitution, and there is an end of the argument.

Laws formally enacted by the members, and certified and approved by the officers of the two Houses and the President, must be recognized by our Courts without inquiring into the regular constitution of each of the powers enacting them. But whatever comes in the form of a law emanating from a single branch of the law-making power, is, in my judgment, open to examination; (unless, indeed, the Court shall hold that the Executive recognition of the Congress extends to all their acts, whether severally recognized or not;) as, for example, if but one-third of the States should meet and take possession of the halls of the Senate and House of Representatives, and enact resolves in the form of law, without Executive sanction or recognition, it would be absurd to say that the Courts would be bound to hold that such resolves were law, without having the power to inquire into the Constitutionality of the Assembly enacting them. This is but an *a fortiori* case—the principle is precisely the same with that before us. It is quite immaterial whether one-third or two-thirds of the States be excluded from participation in the enactment. Admit the right of inquiring into the constitution of the enacting body in one case, the same right follows in the other, and the illegitimacy in the one case is as clear as in the other. Apply the case to practical legislation. There are thirty-six States in the Union, requiring seventy-two Senators to make a full Senate. But eleven States, with their twenty-two Senators being excluded, fifty then make the Senate. But a majority of the body, twenty-six, constitutes a quorum; a majority of this quorum may pass a bill—that is, fourteen votes in the Senate might, under the organization of last winter, pass laws vital to the Union. This is unconstitutional; it is revolutionary. This difficulty applies to the Civil Rights Bill, to the last Freedmen's Bureau Bill, and to the Constitutional Amendment. This objection, together with the constitutional difficulties in the several bills, may each be brought before the Courts, and it is not too much to say that their decision will be doubtful on this point, if on this alone. This, of course, does not apply to cases where the States did not appear at the proper time and place and offer their Senators and Representatives.

It would have a quieting effect, and be but a reasonable sacrifice to the Constitution and law, to repeal, at the earliest possible moment, all enactments of the last session of Congress which have not received the sanction of the President; for, whatever the decision of the Courts may be on the subject, it is quite clear that the opinion of the bench and bar of the United States, outside of political circles and beyond political influence, will not be unanimous in favor of the validity of these laws. They will not be absolutely and entirely respected by the mass of the people, as they would have been if enacted by a Congress in which all of the United States were suffered to be represented.

There are reasons urged for refusing the admission of the eleven rejected States into the legislative councils of the Nation. Stripped of all ambiguity, the result is this: Exclusion is necessary in order to retain power in the hands of the present majority and to prevent its passing into the hands of others who no doubt they conscientiously believe would abuse it. It is not, I think, generally claimed to be constitutional, but right and reasonable in the present excepted case. But allow this as a precedent, and specially excepted cases will continually arise, where, in the opinion of the party in power, their opponents, if they obtain the mastery, will ruin the country. The present Congress cannot say "thus far and no further." The Constitution allows no such exception. If violated for a day, it is violated.

This I regard as the great source of evil, pregnant with political mischief. It is a sap applied to the very foundation of our political edifice, and, if pressed forward to its results, must shake, if not destroy it.

It is needless and idle to dwell upon the past, that which belongs to history; but it is not, perhaps, improper for me to say that I have not, in all things,

entirely concurred in the action of the last or the present Executive. In the direct political movement necessary to preserve the integrity of the Union and enforce its laws—in the conduct of the war—I felt no difficulty, no hesitation. I felt it also necessary as a war measure to deprive of the power of mischief those who actively and openly attempted to obstruct the raising of our armies, or to induce desertion from its ranks. Their crime approached treason, but did not fall within its definition. The position of those in its commission was ambiguous, occupying middle space between traitor and spy. But whatever the judgment of the courts might be upon their acts, the performance of a duty which the President owed the Constitution required that they should be deprived of the power of mischief. It was as necessary to protect our armies in the process of formation against this hostile element, as to protect them against opposing armies in the field.

Military Commissions are warrantable only in cases in which the commanding General is justified in ordering the execution of his mandate without trial. Then he can properly organize a Commission to advise and share with him the responsibility. But I have never been satisfied with the trials and convictions, by military courts, where our civil courts held undisturbed sessions and our civil laws could be executed. Such things have, nevertheless, been done, and I have not failed to protest against them in the proper quarter, and use all my powers of reason and argument to prevent them. The prevention of mischief is one thing: the trial and punishment of a crime complete is another. For this use of military tribunals the administration of President Johnson is not entirely free from responsibility. But so far as I know it was only when he was fresh in his office, new to the surrounding circumstances which influenced the action of his predecessor and his counsellors, that he fell into what I consider a vital error; and he showed early a purpose to apply to the mischief an efficient remedy. Thus, the only instance in which he greatly erred was in uniting in the policy of those who most condemn him. It was by suffering himself to be borne onward by the wild tide of events, which threaten to sweep away and obliterate the ancient landmarks of our republic; and it was only when he attempted to check its violence that he encountered fierce resistance, contumely, and reproach.

Besides the illegal Constitution of the two Houses of Congress, by the exclusion of eleven States, there was a vice—a novelty—in the proceedings of those two assemblages by the appointment of a Joint Committee on the all-important question of Reconstruction, and the admission of members to each body—a committee similar to that of Public Safety in the constituent assembly of France, in the revolution, and almost equally potent. The two Houses were, by appointment of this committee, and the power granted it, consolidated; and there was no longer, for the more important purposes of the session, two Houses of Congress—two deliberative assemblies. Indeed, there could be no free deliberation in either of those bodies; they were fettered and bound by the action of the Joint Committee, and no member could be permitted to introduce a measure without its first passing through this ordeal. It was as much as the political standing of any Senator or Representative was worth to dispute its behests. In a few instances it was attempted, but on each occasion followed by explanation and apology.

Men are drifted, by the strong current of events, where their own deliberate judgment would not carry them. In the composition of most men, even men possessing intelligence, and some force of character, there is more of the osier than of the oak. Hence it is, that in times of high party excitement the more reckless and violent govern in political assemblies sober-minded men, their superiors in knowledge and intellect. Under the dictation of this Joint Committee, measures were adopted almost unanimously, which would not have passed the two Houses by the free votes of the members without this restraint. Its efficacy must have been understood and its necessity foreseen, or this strange anomaly in American legislation would not have been resorted to.

By the report of the Committee on Reconstruction, it appears to have been their opinion that what is generally understood as an Executive right of determining when the insurrection or rebellion of a State has ceased and it is in a condition of self-government, pertains to the two Houses of Congress and not to the President. They say it was his duty to execute the laws of Congress, and they ignore, and, in effect deny his right to do his duty under the Constitution, except as they direct and impel him. This is their first radical error: and the close of the report shows how unfit a legislative body is for the performance of executive duties. It was well shown in the Long Parliament in England, when they undertook to exercise executive power. It was equally well shown here. Not only could not Congress agree as to what should be done to effect reconstruction, where it should begin, and how far it should advance, without the aid

of a Committee of Reconstruction; but that Committee, so selected, say that the result of their report was a mutual concession, after a long and careful comparison of conflicting opinions. It would seem that their inability to agree might have induced some deference and respect for the opinion of the President, who, with certainly an equally patriotic spirit, and much larger information and much longer deliberation, differed from some, perhaps all of them. And if he were mistaken, and members were returned from the States not organized so as to be competent to return them, each House had the power to determine the question for itself in the case of each individual member, and, on full information, to reject such member.

There seems to be no agreement on the points on which it is charged that the President erred. Every act, and each omission to act, is objected to by different individuals. The only particular in which they agree is that he did not, in all things, conform to the will of Congress. He had opinions of his own, and expressed them in time and in form, as by the Constitution he was required. But other objections are urged. Senator Trumbull, in a speech lately delivered to his constituents, claims that the President did not punish traitors sufficiently; in other words, that there had not been blood enough shed, or that there had not been pain and misery, poverty and privations enough upon the people of the land to teach them that rebellion was unprofitable. Mr. Trumbull, had his views been carried out in detail, would have taught them well that submission was even less profitable than rebellion. I would ask under what law, after the war had ceased, could the President hang, or shoot, or imprison those who had been traitors? The matter must have been submitted to Courts of Justice, and no time had elapsed sufficient to organize and officer courts and bring to trial a hundred thousand criminals for treason. Mr. Trumbull claims that the President, in a conversation with him, seemed to yield to the opinion, or expressed the opinion, that the laws should be rigidly executed against those who violated them. When he conversed with Mr. Trumbull, according to the account we have of the conversation, he seemed to be smarting under the infliction of heavy recent wrongs, and he spoke with feelings of indignation and resentment common to men, and justifiable in their private stations. But when he became President of the United States those feelings ought to have been, and I trust they were, suppressed, and his personal wrongs forgotten. His office was then the restorer of public peace and order, not the avenger of private wrongs, or the instrument by which private vengeance might be gratified; and it became a question what was the best mode of reconciling all men to their conditions, and establishing peace and harmony in the country.

That popular passions and prejudices still exist in the South, is undoubted. The opinions of men as to their abstract rights are not changed; for no man or men were ever reasoned into a change of opinion by the cannon of the bayonet; though they may be well taught to live at peace and enjoy freedom and safety of life and property under a regular constitutional government, rather than to suffer a repetition of the horrors and desolation of a civil war. It is the remark of a writer who lived through the French Revolution, who reasoned sagely and observed much, that "the remedy for popular passions is to be found, not in despotism or arbitrary infliction, but in the assured sovereignty of the law." I concur in this opinion. I do not unite in the censure which Senator Trumbull casts upon the President, because there is apparent in his official action humane feelings for the miseries of those who most wronged him; especially as I am conscious that this kindness and forbearance tended, much more than severity, to the establishment of union and harmony.

I am not the apologist of the President. It is simply my aim to do him and all others right and justice according to my own conceptions. In these I may greatly err, but my opinions are formed on passing events, and with a view only to the interests of my country.

It is idle to impugn motives and apply personal abuse to those who differ from us in political opinions: to call names, to use contemptuous epithets, and thus depreciate personally those whose arguments we find unanswerable. There is much of this that is neither creditable nor statesmanlike in the speech of Mr. Trumbull, which is now before me; but I will not comment upon it.

My wish is that the Republican party, very many of whose members I highly respect, my return to the path of constitutional rectitude, and, walking in that path, I wish them a long and successful administration in their appropriate sphere of the affairs of Government; but if they and the Constitution and the Union cannot exist together, I earnestly desire their speedy and final overthrow.

Practically, my opinion is, that a humane forbearance in the execution of penal law, which would make it the interest of men to prefer the Union and law and order to anarchy, is the only sound policy. Some wild spirits will undoubtedly become outlaws,

but none should be driven to that condition ; and the few that, having been allowed the privilege of citizens, and their right of property, choose to form themselves into predatory bands, whether they plunder upon land or water, should be exterminated as enemies of the human race.

I hope much from the good effect of your Convention. I am sure it will be conducted in a spirit of kindness and conciliation, at the same time with firmness and decision. I trust much in its effect on public opinion ; much indeed, in its effect on the opinions and actions of the present Congress. Indeed, I hope, at the next session of Congress, to find the state of feeling such that no considerable changes may be necessary to secure the triumph of constitutional law ; and the union, peace, and prosperity of each and every part of our common country.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

T. EWING.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop's Letter.

BROOKLINE, August 9, 1866.

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL :

MY DEAR SIR: I am sincerely sensible to the honor conferred upon me, yesterday, by the meeting at Faneuil Hall, over which you presided, in placing my name at the head of the Delegation at Large to the National Union Convention. But, as I had previously intimated to more than one of our friends, it will not be in my power to go to Philadelphia next week.

I am quite unwilling, however, to decline the appointment without a distinct expression of my hearty concurrence in the general views of those by whom that Convention has been called, and of my earnest hope that its deliberations may conduce to the earliest practicable restoration of all the States of the Union to the exercise of their constitutional powers, and to the enjoyment of their constitutional privileges, in the National Government.

I can add nothing, I am aware, to the argument which others have already presented on this subject, and I gladly avail myself of the language of Judge Curtis in his late admirable letter: "To suppose that the Government of the United States can, in a state of peace, rightfully hold and exercise absolute and unlimited power over a part of its territory and people just so long as it may choose to do so, appears to me unwarranted by any rules of public law, abhorrent to right reason, and inconsistent with the nature of our Government." With Judge Curtis, too, I hold to the opinion—"that the Southern States are now as rightfully, and should be as effectually, in the Union, as they were before the madness of their people attempted to carry them out."

Most happily, Congress did not adjourn without admitting to their seats the Senators and Representatives of Tennessee ; but that very act has rendered it all the more difficult to discover anything of constitutional principle, or anything of true national policy, in its persistent denial of all representation to the other Southern States. Congress has ample means of protecting itself and of protecting the country from the presence of disloyal men in the halls of legislation by the simple exercise of the power which each branch possesses of deciding without appeal on the qualifications of its own members. Had the case of each individual Senator or Representative elected from the States lately in rebellion been taken up by itself, and fairly considered on its own merits, agreeably to the wise suggestions of President Johnson, no one could have complained, what ever might have been the result. But I know not how either branch could have consented, as it has done, to compromise its constitutional independence, by submitting any question as to its members either to legislative or executive discretion.

This great question of representation is not a question which concerns only the Southern States, who, I know, are regarded by not a few unrelenting men as having forfeited all rights which the Northern States are bound to respect. It is a question which concerns the Constitution and the whole country. The people of the whole Union have a right to demand of their public servants an exact and faithful observance of the Constitution and of all its provisions. It was to enforce and vindicate that Constitution that their blood and treasure have been poured out so lavishly during the late four years of civil war. Who could have believed, in advance, that a year and a half after that war had ended, and after the Union had been rescued and restored so far as our gallant armies and navies could accomplish it, nearly one-third of the States should be still seen knocking in vain at the doors of the Capitol, and should be denied

even a hearing in the councils of the country? Such a course may, indeed, be calculated to prolong the predominance of a party, but it seems to me utterly inconsistent with the supremacy of the Constitution.

I have no disposition, however, to indulge in any imputations, either upon parties or upon individuals. I hope that a spirit of forbearance and moderation will prevail at Philadelphia, notwithstanding the insulting and proscriptive tone in which the Convention has been assailed by so many of the opponents of the President of the United States. But I shall be greatly disappointed, I confess, if, through the influence of that Convention, or through some other influence, the people of the whole country are not soon aroused to the danger of allowing the Constitution of the United States to be longer the subject of partial and discretionary observance on the part of those who are sworn to support it. It is vain to offer test oaths to others if we fail to fulfil our own oaths. The necessities of a state of war may be an excuse for many irregularities, both legislative and executive. But now that, by the blessing of God, a state of peace has been restored to us, we are entitled to the Constitution and the Union in all their legitimate authority and extent. Nothing less than the whole Constitution and the whole Union ought to satisfy us. For one, I should despair of the restoration of law and order in the Southern States, and even of the maintenance of our own national credit, if there should fail to be exhibited at Washington something of that scrupulous adherence to the Constitution and the laws which characterized the earlier days of the Republic. Nor could anything, in my judgment, be of worse influence upon the future career of our country than that Congress should even seem to be holding in abeyance any provisions of the Constitution, until they shall have been changed, under duress, in order to suit the opinions or secure the interests of a predominant party. Against such a course of proceeding, I trust the Convention at Philadelphia will put forth a reasonable and effective protest.

Once more regretting my inability to be present at that Convention, and thanking all to whom I am indebted for the honor of being named as a delegate,

I remain, dear sir, with great regard, very faithfully, yours,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

Letter from Hon. William C. Rives.

CARNWATH, DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK, August 10, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 23d a few days ago. Since I last wrote to you I perceive that, in my absence from home, I have been named one of the delegates of Virginia to the National Union Convention, to be held in Philadelphia on the 14th instant. I regret it will not be in my power to attend. The state of my health is too feeble to admit of any useful participation in the proceedings of that body. I am here at present with my son and his family, in their summer residence on the North river, where the congenial quiet and pure highland air I am permitted to enjoy will, I trust, gradually restore me to my ordinary health. In the meantime, my warmest wishes and prayers shall be for the success of your deliberations, guided, as I am sure they will be, by that spirit of union, of justice, of fraternity, and of a broad and comprehensive patriotism, which originated the proposition of the meeting.

The object and principles so well set forth in the call of the Convention have my most hearty assent and concurrence; and I am not less sensible of the fitness and propriety of such an assemblage at the present moment, to interchange counsels on the measures requisite for the maintenance of the Constitution and the security of Republican Liberty in this land of ours once so favored of Heaven. It certainly would not be an extraordinary thing if, after the fearful tempest of the unhappy civil strife through which we have lately passed, our vessel of state, however nobly she has withstood the shock, and however strong and unharmed her timbers and clamps have proved to be, should have been somewhat discomposed in her canvas, and been momentarily driven by the stress of the elements from her straight and onward course. It becomes, then, the duty of those in charge of her, now that the star of peace once more beams from an unclouded sky, to take a new observation to ascertain her precise position on the ocean, still swollen by the recent tempest; to put her on her original track; and to steer her, by the chart of the Constitution, into the port of her destination.

The sacred observance of the principles of the Constitution is the highest and most vital interest of every free country. It is that alone which gives peace and security to

the whole and to every part; which guarantees the public liberty; which promotes enterprise and improvement by confidence in the future; which vivifies private industry by the prospect of an assured reward; and leaves every man free, without distracting apprehensions and forebodings of Governmental oppression, to put forth his whole energies in providing for the wants of himself and family, and, in doing so, to contribute most effectually to the aggregate wealth, revenue, and prosperity of the Nation. If this faithful adherence to the Constitution be the paramount interest of every free people, how emphatically is it ours, blessed as we are with freer institutions than any other people, and endowed with the wisdom and foresight of our ancestors with a Constitution of Government which, by a nice adjustment and balance of State and National attributes, entrenches liberty against the encroachments of power, while defending power against the attacks of licentiousness.

Every free government is necessarily a system of checks and balances, or what Burke happily and significantly calls a system of "reciprocal control." This principle our ancestors were enabled to apply to a greater extent than any modern people have done, by the fortunate division of our country into separate and independent communities. The system devised by them has stood the test of experiment, in peace and in war, through a period of now eighty years, and has proved itself adequate to every vicissitude and exigency of human affairs. While some of the systems of the old world, after a far shorter trial, are crumbling into ruin before our eyes, the federal system of America still survives in undiminished vigor, and bids fair "to thrive amid the rude concussion of the storm." We have every reason, then, to cherish with increased veneration the legacy bequeathed to us by our fathers in the Constitution framed by their wisdom, and to surround it with new and watchful precautions against usurpation on the one hand, and rash unadvised change on the other.

All will now admit, in the language of one of the earliest and most distinguished of our republican Presidents, when entering on his high office, that, "the preservation of the general government, in the whole constitutional vigor, is the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad;" but no attentive observer of the practical operation of the Government, or judicious student of its theory, can fail also to agree with his immediate successor, bred in the school of the Constitution itself, when, on a like solemn occasion, he said, "the rights and authorities reserved to the States and the people are equally incorporated with, and essential to the success of the general system." It is this compound organization of the system—the mutual dependence and reciprocal action and reaction of the several parts on each other—which constitutes its chief excellence and security, as well as its distinguished characteristic compared with other governments. One of those venerable and able men who bore part in the formation of the Constitution, John Dickinson, adverted, in the Convention, with prophetic and far-seeing sagacity, to the division of the country into distinct States as "the chief source of stability" to our political system. "It is this," he said, "which is the ground of my consolation for the future fate of my country. Without this, and in case of the consolidation of the States into one great republic, we might read its fate in the history of those which have gone before it."

The supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States within their allotted sphere; the inviolability and perpetuity of the Union under the Constitution; the incompetency of a State or States, or of the general Government, to impair the integrity of the Union by secession on the one hand, or exclusion on the other, are postulates of the political system of America which must be soon, if not already, universally acknowledged; the perfect equality of rights among all the States under the Constitution; the exclusive right of each State to regulate its interior concerns, subject only to such special exceptions as the Constitution itself has established; the right of each State to prescribe for itself the fundamental qualifications of suffrage, are correlative propositions equally clear, no less necessary to the preservation of the system, and go hand in hand with their companion principles just enumerated. The corporate existence and privileges of a State under the Constitution are as indestructible as the Union itself.

A State can never be the subject of conquest in a united Government, however imperfect and loose the bands of connexion may be. It is remarkable that this principle was laid down as a well-established maxim of universal law in the late debates of the *Corps Legislatif* of France with regard to the rights of the Germanic Confederation over the Duchy of Holstein. "*Il n'y a pas,*" said Monsieur Thiers, "*des droits de conquête à l'égard d'un confédéré. La confédération n'avait qu'un droit de juridiction, et non pas un droit de conquête, sur le Holstein.*" The same principle has received the highest judicial sanction in this country from luminaries of the bench, whom I am proud to recognize as belonging to the North, and elevated far above the possible imputation of any party or local bias—of Nelson, of Sprague, of Curtis, of Parker.

Among the rights of the States, none is certainly more vital than that of representation in the National Councils according to the rules established by the Constitution—a right which cannot, without a virtual act of revolution, be denied to a State fulfilling in peace and loyalty its obligations to the Union. Instructive lessons for the present are often learned by a recurrence to the past; and in this view a passage of our early Constitutional History is well worthy of being recalled. In looking back to the proceedings and debates of the Federal Convention, as I had occasion to show in the second volume of the *Life of Madison*, recently published, it is seen with how much jealousy and alarm the Eastern States contemplated the future growth and power of the new States of the West. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, though at that time a delegate of the State of Pennsylvania, was made the spokesman and interpreter of this jealous feeling of the Eastern States. He said:

“He looked forward to that range of new States which would soon be formed in the West. These States will know less of the public interest than the old; will have an interest, in many respects, different; in particular, will be little scrupulous of involving the country in wars, the burdens and operations of which would fall chiefly on the maritime States.” “Among other objections,” he added, “it must be apparent they would not be able to furnish men, equally enlightened, to share in the administration of the common interests. If the Western people get the power into their hands, they will ruin the Atlantic interests.” Finally, he said, “seeing the dangers from this quarter, he should be obliged to vote for the vicious principle of equality in the second branch, in order to provide some defence to the Northern States against it;” and he also declared that “he thought the rule of representation in the first branch ought to be so fixed as to secure to the Atlantic States the prevalence in the National Councils.”

This hint was immediately taken by Mr. King and Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts; and the latter, repeating the alarm sounded by Mr. Morris, and declaring that “if the Western States acquire power they will abuse it, will oppress commerce, and draw our wealth into the Western country,” actually submitted to the Convention a proposition that, whatever might be the future population of the new States of the West, “the total number of their Representatives shall never exceed the total number of the Representatives of the old States.” This invidious attempt on the part of some of the old States to bind the infant Hercules of the West in perpetual swaddling bands met with an indignant protest from others, and especially from the oldest of them all, Virginia. Colonel Mason said:

“The new States of the West must be treated as *equals*, and subjected to no degrading discriminations. They will have the same pride and other passions which we have, and will either not unite with or speedily revolt from the Union, if they are not, in all respects, placed on an *equal footing* with their brethren.”

Mr. Madison said: “With regard to the Western States, I am clear and firm in the opinion that no unfavorable distinctions are admissible, either in point of justice or policy.”

The proposition of Mr. Gerry and Mr. King was rejected—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and Delaware voting for it, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia against it, and Pennsylvania divided.

The great principle of the equal right of all the States to representation in the national councils, by one and the same rule, was thus victoriously and permanently established in the Constitution against all the efforts and devices of sectional jealousy or ambition to thwart and defeat it. What is now the sweeping exclusion of ten States of the Union from a common representation in the national councils but a reversal, by a subordinate and brief authority, of the supreme decision of the Convention and the people, and an effort to revive, in another form, the injurious sectional discrimination attempted and overruled in 1787? Each State has an inherent interest and right in the equal, constitutional representation of all the States. If the West, for example, shall think that the representative voice of the South would be with her in any question of national policy which may divide the public councils, she has a direct, immediate interest in the equal and just representation of the South; and to withhold the representation is the same to her, practically, in the decision of every such question, as the undisguised and open mutilation and retrenchment of her own representation. And what, it is well worth while to consider, may not be the danger to so many of the States having a representation in one branch of the Legislature out of all proportion to their population of once setting the example of breaking in upon the solemn, constitutional adjustment of a subject involving such delicate and precarious interests?

In writing to you thus, my dear sir, I have been borne along by the current of my thoughts, and by an earnest solicitude for the preservation of the Constitution, into a statement of my own views on topics which certainly require no discussion to you. You have sounded “all the depths and shoals” of constitutional learning, as you have

done and will long continue to do, I trust, of the public honors of your country. My career, if career it may be called, is ended. Still, as a citizen, a patriot, and a man, I cannot but feel the deepest interest in whatever concerns the eventful future of our magnificent common country. I accept, without hesitation or reserve, the constitutional amendment already made for the extinction of slavery—a consummation long and anxiously sought, though in a different mode and by other agencies, by many of the wisest and most illustrious citizens of my own State. In all other respects, my fervent prayer is that the Constitution of our fathers, with the admirable wisdom and harmony pervading its complete adjustments, may be defended from the rude hand of headlong innovation or wanton encroachments, and that it may continue, with each revolving year, to the remotest generations, to shed its blessings on a free, united, and Christian people.

Believe me, my dear sir, most truly your friend,

W. C. RIVES.

Letter from Judge B. R. Curtis.

PITTSFIELD, MASS., July 25, 1866.

HON. O. H. BROWNING, WASHINGTON:

DEAR SIR: I thank you for sending me a copy of the call for the National Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 14th day of August next.

In the present unhappy condition of our national affairs, it seems to me fit and important that delegates of the people should come together from all parts of our country, to manifest, in an authentic and convincing way, the adhesion of their constituents to the fundamental principles of our Government, and to that policy and course of action which necessarily result from them. In my judgment, the propositions contained in the call of the Convention are consistent with those principles and that policy.

The nature of our Government does not permit the United States to destroy a State, or acquire its territory by conquest. Neither does it permit the people of a State to destroy the State, or lawfully affect, in any way, any one of its relations to the United States. One is as consistent with our Constitution as the other; while that Constitution remains operative, each is impossible.

But the Government of the United States may, and must, in the discharge of constitutional duty, subdue, by arms, any number of its rebellious citizens into quiet submission to its lawful authority. And if the officers of a State, having the actual control of its government, have disobeyed the requirement to swear to support the Constitution, and have abused the powers of the State by making war on the United States, this presents the case of an usurping and unlawful government of a State, which the United States may rightfully destroy by force; for, undoubtedly, the provision of the Constitution that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government" must mean a republican form of government in harmony with the Constitution, and which is so organized as to be in this Union.

But neither the power and duty of the Government of the United States to subdue by arms rebellious people in the territorial limits of one or more States, nor its power and duty to destroy an usurping government *de facto*, can possibly authorize the United States to destroy one of the States of the Union, or, what must amount to the same thing, to acquire that absolute right over its people and its territory which results from conquest in foreign war. There are only two alternatives: One is, that in subduing rebellion the United States act rightfully within the limits of powers conferred by the Constitution; the other is, that they make war on a part of their own people because it is the will of those who control the Government for the time being to do so, and for such objects as they may choose to attain. The last of these alternatives has not been asserted by either department of the Government of the United States at any time, and I doubt if any considerable number of persons can be found to sanction it.

But if the first alternative be adopted, it follows that the Constitution which authorized the war prescribed the objects which alone can rightfully be accomplished by it; and those objects are, not the destruction of one or more States, but their preservation; not the destruction of Government in a State; but the restoration of its government to a republican form in harmony with the Constitution; not the acquisition of the territory of a State, and of that absolute control over the persons and property of its people which a foreign conqueror would possess, but their submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States. But it seems to me a great and funda-

mental error to confound the case of the conquest of a foreign territory and people with the case of submission to a lawful and established constitutional Government, enforced through the powers conferred on that Government for that specific purpose.

It is quite true that such a civil contest may have, and in our country has had, the proportions of an actual war; and that humanity and public law unite in dictating the application of rules designed to mitigate its evils and regulate the conditions upon which it should be carried on.

But these rules of public law which concern the rights and power of a conqueror of foreign territory, reduced by conquest to entire submission, have no relation to the active prosecution of war. Their operation begins when war has ended in submission; they are the laws of a state of peace, and not of a state of war.

To suppose that the Government of the United States can, in a state of peace, rightfully hold and exercise absolute and unlimited power over a part of its territory and people just so long as it may choose to do so, appears to me to be unwarranted by any rules of public law, abhorrent to right reason, and inconsistent with the nature of our Government.

When war has ceased, when the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States has been restored and established, the United States are in possession, not under a new title, as conquerors, but under their old title, as the lawful Government of the country; and that title has been vindicated, not by the destruction of one or more States, but by their preservation; and this preservation can be worked out practically only by the restoration of republican governments organized in harmony with the Constitution.

The title of a conqueror is necessarily inconsistent with a republican government, which can be formed only by the people themselves, to express and execute their will.

And if the preservation of the States within the Union was one of the objects of the war, and they can be preserved only by having republican governments organized in harmony with the Constitution, and such governments can be organized only by the people of those States, then manifestly it is not only the right, but the constitutional duty of the people of those States to organize such governments; and the Government of the United States can have no rightful authority to prohibit their organization. But this right and duty of the people of the several States can only begin when war has ceased, and the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States have been restored and established; and, from the nature of the case, the Government of the United States must determine when that time has come.

It is a question of great interest, certainly, but not, I think, of great difficulty, how and by whom the Government of the United States should determine when that time has come.

The question whether *de facto* governments and hostile populations have been completely subdued by arms, and the lawful authority of the United States restored and established, is a military and executive question. It does not require legislative action to ascertain the necessary facts; and, from the nature of the case, legislative action cannot change or materially affect them. As commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and as the chief executive officer, whose constitutional duty it is to see that the laws are faithfully executed, it is the official duty of the President to know whether a rebellion has been suppressed, and whether the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States has been completely restored and firmly established.

The mere organization of a republican government, in harmony with the Union, by the people of one of the existing States of the United States, requires no enabling act of Congress, and I can find no authority in the Constitution for any interference by Congress to prohibit or regulate the organization of such a government by the people of an existing State of the Union. On the other hand, it is clearly necessary that the President should act, so far, at least, as to remove out of the way military restrictions on the power of the people to assemble and do those acts which are necessary to reorganize their government. This, I think, he was bound to do as soon as he became satisfied that the right time had come.

After much reflection, and with no such partiality for Executive power as would be likely to lead me astray, I have formed the opinion that the Southern States are now as rightfully, and should be effectually, in the Union as they were before the madness of their people attempted to carry them out of it; and in this opinion I believe a majority of the people of the Northern States agree.

The work the people are waiting to have done this Convention may greatly help. If it will elevate itself above sectional passions, ignore all party schemes, despise the sordid and party scramble for offices, and fairly represent the national instinct that the time *now* is when complete Union of all the States is a fact which it is a crime not to accomplish, its action cannot fail to be beneficial to our country.

The passions generated in a great and divided people by long and bloody civil war are deep and formidable. They are not confined to one section; the victor as well as the vanquished are swayed by them. They connect themselves with the purest and tenderest sensibilities of our nature; with our love of country; with our love of those who have laid down their lives in the contest; with the sufferings which war, in multiplied forms, always bring to the homes of men, and still more to the homes of women, and which civil war, most of all, brings to the homes of all; and these passions are the sharp and ready tools of party spirit, of self interest, of *perversity*, and, most of all, of that fierce infatuation which finds its best satisfaction in hatred, and its only enjoyment in revenge.

No statesman who is acquainted with the nature of man and the necessities of civil government can contemplate such passions without the deepest concern, or fail to do what he fitly may to allay them. Hard enough the work will prove to be, at the best. But a scrupulous regard for the rights of all and a magnanimous clemency are twice blessed; they both elevate and soften the powerful, and they reach and subdue what laws and bayonets cannot control.

I believe that there is now a general conviction among the people that this great and difficult work is practicable. That it will long remain so, if the present state of things continues, I have not the hardihood to trust. I look to the Convention with hope that it will do much to help onward this instinctive desire of the people of the United States for union and harmony and peace. That it will assert, strongly and clearly, those principles which are the foundations of our Government; that it will exhibit the connection between their violation and the present distracted condition of our country; that it will rebuke the violence of party spirit, and especially of that spirit of hatred which is as inconsistent with the true love of our country as it is with true love of our bretheren; and that it will do much to convince the people of the United States that they must act soon, in the wisest way, or suffer evils which they and their posterity will long deplore.

With great respect, I am your obedient servant,

B. R. CURTIS.

Letter of Hon. J. S. Black.

NEW YORK, July 25, 1866.

TO THE REV. ALFRED NEVIN, D. D.:

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter addressed to me through the Philadelphia Evening *Bulletin* disappoints me, because I did not expect it to come in that way, and because it does not cover the subject in issue between us; but, if I am silent, your friends will say, with some show of reason, that you have vindicated "*Political Preaching*" so triumphantly that all opposition is confounded. I must, therefore, speak freely in reply. In doing so, I mean to say nothing inconsistent with my great respect for your high character in the Church and in the World. The admirable style and temper of your own communication deserves to be imitated.

I fully concede the right you claim for clergymen to select their own themes and handle them as they please. You say truly that neither lawyers nor physicians, nor any other order of men, have the least authority to control you in these particulars. But you will not deny that this is a privilege which may be abused. You expressly admit that some clergymen have abused it, "*and, by doing so, did more than any other class of men to commence and continue the late rebellion.*" While, therefore, we can assert no power to dictate your conduct, much less to force you, we are surely not wrong when we entreat you to impose upon *yourselves* those restrictions which reason and revelation have shown to be necessary for the good of the Church and the safety of civil society.

I acknowledge that your commission is a very broad one. You must "*declare the whole counsel of God,*" to the end that sinners may be convinced and converts built up in their most holy faith. Truth, justice, temperance, humility, mercy, peace, brotherly kindness, charity—the whole circle of the Christian virtues—must be assiduously taught to your hearers; and, if any of them be inclined to the opposite vices, you are to denounce them without fear, by private admonition, by open rebuke, or by a general delivery of the law which condemns them. You are not bound to pause in the performance of this duty because it may offend a powerful ruler or a strong political party.

Nor should you shrink from it when bad men, for their own purposes, approve what you do. Elevate the moral character, enlighten the darkness, and purify the hearts of those who are under your spiritual charge at all hazards; for this is the work which your Great Taskmaster has given you to do, and He will admit no excuse for neglecting it.

But this is precisely what the Political Preacher is *not* in the habit of doing. He directs the attention of his hearers away from their own sins to the sins—real or imputed—of other people. By teaching his congregation that they are better than other men, he fills their hearts with self-conceit, bigotry, spiritual pride, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. Instead of the exhortation, which they need, to take the beam out of their own eye, he incites them to pluck the mote from their brother's. He does not tell them what they shall do to be saved, but he instructs them very carefully how they shall act for the destruction of others. He rouses and encourages to the utmost of his ability those brutal passions which result in riot, bloodshed, spoliation, civil war, and general corruption of morals.

You commit a grievous error in supposing that politics and religion are so mingled together that you cannot preach one without introducing the other. Christ and his Apostles kept them perfectly separate. They announced the great facts of the Gospel to each individual whom they addressed. When these were accepted the believer was told to repent and be baptized for the remission of his sins, and afterwards to regulate his own life by the rules of a pure and perfect morality. They expressed no preference for one form of government over another. They provoked no political revolutions, and they proposed no legal reforms. If they had done so they would have flatly contradicted the declaration that Christ's Kingdom was not of this world, and Christianity itself would have died out in half a century. But they accepted the relations which were created by human law and exhorted their disciples to discharge faithfully the duties which arose out of them. Though the laws which defined the authority of husbands, parents, masters, and magistrates were as bad as human perversity could make them, yet the early Christians contented themselves with teaching moderation in the exercise of legal power, and uniformly inculcated the virtues of obedience and fidelity upon wives, children, slaves, and subjects. They joined in no clamors for or against any administration, but simply testified against sin before the only tribunal which Christ ever erected on earth; that is to say, the conscience of the sinner himself. The vice of political preaching was wholly unknown to the primitive Church.

It is true that Paul counselled obedience to the government of Nero; and I am aware that modern clergymen interpret his words, as a justification of the doctrine, that support of an existing administration is "part of their allegiance to God." Several Synods and other ecclesiastical bodies have solemnly *resolved* something to that effect. But they forget that what Paul advised was simple submission, not active assistance, to Nero. The Christians of that day did not endorse his atrocities merely because he was "the administration duly placed in power." They did not go with him to the theatre, applaud his acting, or praise him in the churches when he kidnapped their brethren, set fire to a city, or desolated a province. Nor did they assist at his apotheosis after his death, or pronounce funeral sermons to show that he was greater than Scipio, more virtuous than Cato, and more eloquent than Cicero. Political preachers would have done this, but Paul and Peter did no such thing.

There is nothing in the Scriptures to justify the Church in applying its discipline to any member for offences purely political, much less for his mere opinions or feelings on public affairs. The clergy are without authority, as they are often without fitness, to decide for their congregation what is right or what is wrong in the legislation of the country. They are not called or sent to propagate any kind of political doctrine. The Church and the State are entirely separate and distinct in their origin, their object, and the sphere of their action; inasmuch that the organism of one can never be used for any purpose of the other without injury to both.

Do I, therefore, say that the Christian religion is to have no influence on the political destiny of man? Far from it. Notwithstanding the unfaithfulness of many professors, it has already changed the face of human society; and it will yet accomplish its mission by spreading peace, independence, truth, justice, and liberty regulated by law, "from the sea to the uttermost ends of the earth." But this will be accomplished only by reforming and elevating the individuals of whom society is composed; not by exasperating communities against each other; not by any alliance with the Governments of the world; not by any vulgar partnership with politicians to kill and plunder their enemies.

Every time you reform a bad man and bring his character up to the standard of Christian morality, you make an addition, greater or less, to that righteousness which exalteth a Nation, and subtract an equal sum from the sin which is a reproach to any

people. Sometimes a single conversion is extremely important in its immediate effect upon the public interest of a whole nation. No doubt the acceptance of the truth by Dionysius, the Areopagate had much to do in moulding the subsequent laws and customs of Athens. The conversion of Constantine was followed by the instant abrogation of all laws which fettered the conscience. In the reign of Theodosius the people of Thessalonica rose against the Roman garrison and killed its commander. For this act of rebellion, the Emperor decreed against them the curse of an indiscriminate war, in which the guilty and the innocent were confounded together in one general slaughter. His spiritual "guide, philosopher, and friend," at the time, was Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, who boldly denounced his cruelty, refused to give him the Sacrament, or even to administer it in his presence, compelled him to take his seat among the penitents on the portico of the church and induced him to humble his diadem in the dust for eight months in succession. The conscience of the Emperor was thoroughly awakened; his subsequent reign was distinguished by justice and mercy, the integrity of the Empire was preserved in peace, and the great Theodosian Code, the product of that bitter repentance, is still read and quoted for its admirable union of humanity and policy. Ambrose produced these consequences by acting in the true capacity of a Christian minister; for he reformed the criminal by a direct appeal to his own heart. A Political Preacher in the same circumstances would have inflamed the sanguinary passions of the monarch by exaggerating the treason of the Thessalonians and counselling the military execution of all who presumed to sympathize in their sufferings.

You will see, I think, the distinction I would make. A gospel preacher addresses the conscience of his hearers for the honest purpose of converting them from the error of their ways—a Political Preacher speaks to one community, one party or one sect, and his theme is the wickedness of another. The latter effects no religious purposes whatever; but the chances are ninety-nine in a hundred that he excites the bad passions of those who are present, while he slanders the absent and undefended. Both classes of preachers frequently speak upon the same or similar subjects, but they do so with different objects and aims.

I will make my meaning more clear by taking your own illustrations. You believe in the first day of the week as a Sabbath, and so believing your duty undoubtedly is to exhort all persons under your charge to observe it strictly; but you have no right to preach a crusade against the Jews and Seventh-day Baptists, to get intolerant laws enacted against them for keeping Saturday as a day of rest. If drunkenness be a sin which easily besets your congregation, you may warn them against it, and inasmuch as abstinence is always easier than moderation, you should advise them to *touch not, touch not, and handle not*; but your position gives you no authority to provoke violent hostilities against tavern keepers, liquor dealers, or distillers. If any of your hearers be ignorant or coarse enough to desire more wives than one a piece, you should certainly teach them that polygamy is the worst feature of Asiatic manners, inconsistent with Christianity, and dangerous to domestic happiness; but you cannot lawfully urge them to carry fire and sword into the territory of the Mormons merely because some of the Mormons are in this respect less holy than you. If the holding of slaves or bond servants be a practical question among the members of your church, I know of nothing which forbids you to teach whatever you conscientiously believe to be true on that subject. But in a community where slavery is not only unknown but impossible, why should any preacher make it the subject of his weekly vituperation? You do not improve the religion of the slave-holder by traducing his character nor mend the spiritual condition of your own people by making them thirst for the blood of their fellow men.

If any person, to whom the service of another is due by the laws of the State in which he lives, shall need your instructions to regulate his personal conduct towards the slave, you are bound in the first place to tell him, that as long as that relation exists, he should behave with the utmost humanity and kindness; for this you have the clear warrant of the Apostolic example and precept. In dealing with such a person you may go as much further as your own conscientious interpretation of the Bible will carry you. If you are sure that the divine law does, under all circumstances, make the mere existence of such a relation sinful on the part of the master, you should induce him to dissolve it by the immediate emancipation of his slaves; for that is truth to you which you believe to be true. But where is the authority for preaching hatred of those who understand the Scripture differently? What privilege can you show for exciting servile insurrection? Who gave you the right to say that John Brown was better than any other thief or murderer, merely because his crimes were committed against pro-slavery men?

I think the minister, in his pulpit discourses, is forbidden to touch at all upon that class of subjects which are purely political; such for instance as the banking law, tariff, railroad charters, state rights, the naturalization laws, and negro suffrage. These

are questions of mere political expediency; religion takes no cognizance of them; they come within the sole jurisdiction of the statesman; and the Church has no more right to take sides upon them than the civil government has to use its legislative, judicial, or executive power for the purpose of enforcing principles wholly religious.

In short, if I am not entirely mistaken, a Christian minister has no authority to preach upon any subjects except those in which divine revelation has given him an infallible rule of faith and practice; and, even upon them, he must speak always for the edification of his own hearers, "rightly dividing the word of truth," so as to lead them in the way of all righteousness. When he does more than this he goes beyond his commission, he becomes a scurvy politician, and his influence is altogether pernicious.

The use of the clerical office for the purpose of propagating political doctrines under any circumstances, or with any excuse, is, in my judgment, not only without authority, but it is the highest crime that can be committed against the government of God or man. Perhaps I ought not to make this broad assertion without giving some additional reasons for it.

In the first place it is grossly dishonest. I employ you as a minister, pay your salary and build you a church, because I have confidence in your theological doctrines; but you may be at the same time wholly unfit for my political leader. Now, you are guilty of a base fraud upon me if, instead of preaching religion, you take advantage of the position I have given you to ventilate your crude and ignorant notions on State affairs. I have asked for bread, and you give me a stone; instead of the fish I bargained for, you put into my hands a serpent that stings and poisons me.

It destroys the unity of the Church. There is no room for rational dispute about the great truths of Christianity; but men will never agree upon political subjects, for human government is at best but a compromise of selfish interests and conflicting passions. When you mix the two together, you break the Church into fragments, and instead of "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism," you create a thousand warring sects, and substitute the proverbial bitterness of the *odium theologicum* for the "charity which thinketh no evil."

No one will deny that the union of Church and State is always the cause of bad government, perverted religion, and corrupt morals. I do not mean merely that legal union which exists in European countries. That is bad enough; but you have less common sense than I give you credit for, if you do not see that this adulterous connexion assumes its most repelling form when the Church is voluntarily prostituted by her own ministers to a political party in a popular government.

The evil influence of such connexions upon Church and State is easily accounted for. Both of them in combination will do what either would recoil from if standing alone. A politician backed by the promise of the clergy to sustain him can safely defy honesty and trample upon the law, for, do what he may, he is assured of a clerical support here and of Heaven hereafter. The clergy on the other hand, and those who are under their influence, easily acquire the habit of praising indiscriminately whatever is done by their public men. Acting and reacting on one another, they go down together in the direction of the pit that is bottomless, and both are found to have "a strange alacrity at sinking."

No man can serve two masters faithfully; for he must hate one if he loves the other. A minister who admires and follows such men as those who have lately ruled and ruined this country must necessarily despise the character of Christ. If he glorifies the cruelty, rapacity, and falsehood of his party leaders, he is compelled by an inflexible law of human nature to "deny the Lord who bought him."

The experience of fifteen centuries proves that Political Preachers are the great curse of the world. More than half the bloody wars which, at different periods, have desolated Christendom, were produced by their direct instigation; and wherever they have thrust themselves into a contest commenced by others, they always envenomed the strife and made it more cruel, savage, and uncompromising. The religious wars, so-called, had nothing religious about them except that they were hissed up by the clergy. Look back and see if this be not true.

The Arian controversy (the first great schism) was followed by wars in which millions of lives were lost. Do you suppose the real quarrel was for the insertion or omission of *Jilique* in that part of the creed which describes the procession of the Holy Ghost? Did a *homousian* slaughter his brother because he was a *homoousian*? No, it was not the difference of a diphthong, but the plunder of an Empire that they fought for. It was the politics of the Church, not her religion, that infuriated the parties and converted men into demons.

The Thirty Years War in Germany is often supposed to have been a fair stand up fight between the two leading forms of Christianity. It was not so. The religious

difference was the false pretence of the Political Preachers for the promotion of their own schemes. There was not a sane man on all the Continent who would have felt himself impelled by motives merely religious to murder his neighbor for believing or disbelieving in transubstantiation. If proof of this were wanting, it might be found in the fact that, long before the war ended, the sectarian cries were abandoned, and Catholics, as well as Protestants, were fighting on both sides.

It is utterly impossible to believe that the clergy of England and Scotland, if they had not been politicians, would have thought of waging bloody wars to settle questions of election and reprobation, fate, foreknowledge, free will, and other points of metaphysical theology. Nor would they, apart from their politics, have encouraged and committed the other horrid crimes of which they were guilty in the name of religion.

Can you think that the Irish were invaded and conquered, and oppressed, and murdered, and robbed for centuries, merely because the English loved and believed in the Protestant religion? I suppose you know that those brutal atrocities were carried on for the purpose of giving to Political Preachers in England possession of the churches, cathedrals, glebe lands and tythes which belonged to the Irish Catholics. The soldier was also rewarded by confiscations and plunder. The Church and the State hunted in couples, and Ireland was the prey which they ran down together.

Coming to our own country you find Massachusetts and Connecticut in colonial times under the sole domination of political preachers. Their treacherous wars upon the Indians for purposes wholly mercenary; their enslaving of white persons, as well as red ones, and selling them abroad, or "swapping them for blackmoors;" their whipping, imprisoning, and killing Quakers and Baptists, for their conscientious opinions; and their base treatment of such men as Roger Williams and his friends, will mark their government through all time as one of the cruelest and meanest that ever existed.

Political preachers have not behaved any better since the Revolution than before. About the commencement of the present century they were busy in their vile vocation all over New England, and continued it for many years. The wilful and deliberate slanders habitually uttered from the pulpit against Jefferson, Madison, and the friends who supported them, were a disgrace to human nature. The immediate effect of this was the Yankee plot to secede from the Union, followed by corrupt combinations, with a foreign enemy to betray the liberties of the country. Its remoter consequences are seen in the shameless rapacity and bitter malignity which, even at this moment, are howling for the property and blood of an unarmed and defenceless people.

You and I both remember the political preaching which ushered in and supported the reign of the Know-Nothings, Blood Tubs, and Plug Uglies; when Maria Monk was a saint and Joe Barker was Mayor of Pittsburg; when pulpits resounded every Sunday with the most injurious falsehoods against Catholics; when the public mind was debauched by the inculcation of hypocrisy and deception; when ministers met their political allies in sworn secrecy to plot against the rights of their fellow-citizens. You cannot forget what came of this—riot, murder, church burning, lawless violence all over the land, and the subjugation of several great States to the political rule of a party destitute alike of principle and capacity.

I could easily prove that those clerical politicians, who have tied their churches to the tail of the Abolition party, are criminal on a grander scale than any of their predecessors. But I forbear, partly because I have no time, and partly because it may, for aught I know, be a sore subject with you. I would not excite your wrath, but rather "provoke you to good works."

Apart from the general subject there are two or three special ideas expressed in your letter from which I venture to dissent.

You think that, though a minister may speak from the pulpit on politics he ought not indicate what party he belongs to. It strikes me, that if he has a party, and wants to give it ecclesiastical aid or comfort, he should boldly avow himself to be what he is, so that all men may know him. Sincerity is the first of virtues. It is bad to be a wolf, but a wolf in sheep's clothing is infinitely worse.

You represent the church as an unfinished structure and the State as its scaffolding. I think the church came perfect from the hand of its divine Architect—built upon a rock, established, finished, complete—and every one who comes into it by the right door will find a mansion prepared for him. It needs no scaffold. Its founder refused all connection with human governments for scaffolding or any other purpose.

You say (in substance) that, without sometimes taking political subjects, a minister is in danger of falling into a "vague, indefinite, and non-committal style" which will do no good and bring him no respect. The Gospel is not vague, indefinite, or non-committal upon the subjects of which it takes jurisdiction, and upon them you may

preach as loudly as you please. But I admit that in times of great public excitement—an important election or a civil war—men listen impatiently to the teachings of faith and repentance. A sermon which tells them to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God, is not an entertainment to which they willingly invite themselves. At such a time a clergyman can vastly increase his personal consequence, and win golden opinions from his audience, by pampering their passions with a highly seasoned discourse on politics. The temptation to gratify them often becomes too strong for the virtue of the preacher. I fear that you yourself are yielding to it. As a mere layman, I have no right to advise a Doctor of Divinity, but I hope I am not over presumptuous when I warn you against the specious allurements of Satan. All thoughts of putting the Gospel aside because it does not suit the depraved tastes of the day, and making political harangues to win popularity in a bad world, should be sternly trampled down as the suggestions of that Evil One, "who was a liar and a murderer from the beginning."

Faithfully yours, &c.,

J. S. BLACK.

Report of General Gordon Granger.

To His Excellency ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States:

SIR: In obedience to instructions, dated May 9, 1866, directing me, while carrying out a specific mission, "to examine carefully into the disposition of the people of the Southern States through which I might pass toward the Government of the United States," I have the honor to report:

That in all the States I visited I found no sign or symptom of organized disloyalty to the General Government. I found the people taking our currency, and glad to get it, anxious for Northern capital and Northern labor to develop the resources of their wasted country, and well-disposed toward every Northern man who came among them with that object in view.

In some localities I heard rumors of secret organizations pointing to a renewal of the rebellion. On investigating these secret societies, I could discover in them nothing more than charitable institutions, having for their principal object the relief of the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers who had fallen in the war.

During the whole of my travels I found it to be as safe and as convenient to mingle with the people of the South, freely discussing any and every topic that came up, as in any other section of the United States. I was often among them unknown, and the tenor of their acts and conversation was then the same as when my name and official position was thoroughly understood.

The people of the South may be divided into two classes: There is the industrious class, laboring earnestly to build up what has been

broken down, striving to restore prosperity to the country, and interested mainly in the great question of providing food and clothing for themselves and families. These form the great majority of the people. Then there is another class, an utterly irresponsible class, composed mainly of young men who were the "bucks" of Southern society before the war, and chiefly spent their time in lounging round the court-rooms and bars, in chicken fighting and gambling. These have been greatly broken up by the war; many of them have been killed; but those who remain are still disturbing elements in the community, and are doing much mischief. It is this class of men, and a number of the poor whites, who have formed gangs for horse-stealing. It is they who, in some instances, have made attacks on officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, and have ill-treated the freedmen. It is they who afford the main pretext for saying that there is among the people of the South a feeling of hostility toward the United States Government. But they are not the representatives of the Southern people. They form but an insignificant minority in the community, and even they are actuated not so much by a feeling of opposition to the Government as by a reluctance to earn their own livelihood by honest labor and individual exertion.

That cases of authentic outrage have occurred in the South is patent to every one familiar with the current news of the day. But these cases are few and far between, and it is both unjust and ungenerous to charge the responsibility for such acts of lawlessness upon the whole Southern people. For some malicious purpose, accounts of these isolated disorders have been collected and grouped together, and sown broadcast over the North, so as to give to the public mind an utterly erroneous impression as to the condition of Southern society. The fact is, that wherever disaffection and turbulence have manifested themselves outside the class to whom I have above alluded, there has been some local or specific cause to account for it. Lawlessness, like an epidemic, has extended over particular belts of the country, and, like an epidemic, is equally traceable to some initiatory cause. Chief among these causes must be named bad government, pillage, and oppression.

For five years the Southern people have been subjects of gross misrule. During the war their Government was a military despotism, dependent solely upon the *dictum* of an individual. Since the war they have been left more or less in a chaotic state—their government semi-civil, semi-military, or rather a division of rule between the military, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Provisional Governments. What might have been the result of a different policy it is not altogether idle to speculate. Every military man who served in the South during the war will agree that the heart of the great mass of the people was not thoroughly in the struggle. The number of desertions from the rebel armies abundantly establishes this fact. Had a policy of wise and statesman-like conciliation been followed out immediately after the close of the war, it is more than probable that the condition and disposition of the people would now be far better than they are. But on the subjugation of the South, the National authority in the lately

rebellious States was divided and broken up into opposing factions, whose action greatly hindered the re-establishment of civil law and good order, so much needed among people demoralized by the most demoralizing of all agencies—civil war. The country was flooded with Treasury agents who, with their accomplices and imitators, fleeced the people right and left, returning into the United States Treasury for all the enormous amount of property they seized and confiscated barely enough to pay the cost of confiscation. Agents of the Freedmen's Bureau stepped between the planter and the laborer, stirring up strife, perpetuating antagonism, and often adding their quota of extortion and oppression. On every hand the people saw themselves robbed and wronged by agents and self-appointed agents professing to act under the sanction of the United States Government. Need it be wondered at that among a community thus dealt with, powerless to resist and too weak and prostrated for successful complaint, some bitterness and ill-feeling should arise? None but a brave and well-meaning people could have endured unresistingly all that the South has undergone.

In prosecuting this inquiry I hardly deemed it fair to ask more than what had been the actions of the people of the South towards the General Government. With their private opinions, their sympathies, and their prejudices, I had nothing to do. Yet, for a more thorough understanding of the question, I made it a part of my mission to investigate even these. I found they had universally complied with the conditions granted and accepted at the final surrender of their armies and cause. I found that they were carrying out with good faith and alacrity the requirements of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, and that in all the States, except Mississippi and Texas, the famous Civil Rights Bill had been anticipated by the action of the State Legislatures previous to its passage by Congress. Further than this, I found that, in the repudiation of every dollar known as the Confederate debt, the same prompt action had been taken by the State authorities, and had been universally endorsed by the people; and I neither saw nor heard any disposition, or anything that pointed towards a disposition, to repudiate the National debt, or to revive the institution of slavery.

But while the Southern people are thus loyal, and have fulfilled all the requirements asked of them by the Federal Government, it is impossible to disguise the fact, and the better class of citizens do not attempt to disguise it, that there is among them a deep feeling and a strong apprehension as to the cause of their long-continued exclusion from Congress. They believe that it is part of a set plan for perpetuating the existence of the political party now in the ascendant, and that the question of suffrage, readjustment of representation, and taxation, are excuses for still longer delay. Thus, regardless of the great interests, not only of the suffering South, but of the whole country, burdened with debt and laboring under severe embarrassment, I found the prevailing opinion among the most intelligent citizens, as well as among those most anxious for an early restoration of the Union, to be, that if representation and an equal and just co-operation in the

administration of Federal affairs were much longer withheld from the Southern States, a feeling of indifference would spring up toward taking any part in filling Federal offices, and more particularly toward refilling their seats in Congress; that the people, in fact, would stay away from the polls, and allow the elections to go by default, to the great detriment of the country at large. This feeling of indifference, indeed, is already manifesting itself, and is rapidly increasing, so much so that were it not for a few persons in each Southern State who have found it necessary for their existence to live upon and hold office, and whose haunts and occupations have hitherto been at the Federal Capital, I do not believe that any clamor for representation would be heard.

What is needed to restore harmony and prosperity to the entire country, both North and South, is closer and better acquaintance with each other. I have been astonished to notice how little people, even whose social relations are all Southern, know of the true state of feeling in that section of the country. We need greater political, social, and commercial freedom, more frequent intercourse, and a kinder appreciation of each other's peculiarities. The advantages to the country in its present financial stress of a reunion of heart and sentiment would be beyond enumeration. The broad lands of the fertile South are now lying almost in waste for want of means and capital to cultivate them, when every acre of the beneficent soil might be a gold mine to its possessor, were the political relations of the people better understood and acted upon.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

GORDON GRANGER,
Brevet Major General U. S. A.





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