## THE POLITICAL WORLD

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The Republican Party "Has No Principle Whatever." B. F. Butler's Speech at Gloucester, Mass. Mr. Chairman, my Friends and Neighbors: Allow me in the first place to thank you for the opportunity which you have so counteously afterded me of speaking upon the issues of the they are the same now that they were 1861; they are perhaps being followed out in a different field, but they are to complete the isomer then left unfinished. In 1861 the Representatives in Congress of the present eleven insurgent States. aided by some others, left their seats in the Congress of the United States for the purpose of destroying this Government. And I am one of those who believe that they desire now to return to their seats for a like purpose. Let us calmly, candidly, justly reason together upor this matter, and if upon the whole we are con-vinced that the issue is such as I have indicated, then the plain duty of every loyar man, or every true lover of his country, is seen in the comin political contest, as it was seen in the great contest of armies which has just been concluded. We remember, and we have by far too many re-minders to forget, that for the purpose of making a great-slave empire and for the purpose of holding political power, which the great growth of industry and enterprise of the North was fast taking away from them, with a wickedness unparalleled, without any possible cause except the constitutional election of a President the choice of the great body of the people these eleven insurgent States of the Union went out of the Union. Now let no man misunder-stand me. When I use the term, went out of the Union, I do not mean that by their acts they altered the governmental right of the United States over a toot of territory of the United States, or over any citizen of the United States. All remain in spite of secession, in spite of rebellion, in spite of treason, all remain under the Government of the United States, subject to its laws, amenable to its tribunals, and holding it by the power of its arms. But these going forward, organized themselves into communities bound by the old bonndaries of the States. They passed ordinances of secession made themselves a constitution reall their constitutional obligations, elected for themselves a general and different form of government, making the corner-stone from slavery, and declared themselves forever free from all political obligation States, or any rights under its Constitution or any amenities to its laws. They enacted laws for themselves; they raised armies, and went forward to an extent and with an audacity unparalleled; and summing it up in a word, ought for four years with a determination and bravery which, in a good cause, would have been worthy the admiration of the world, and with a ferocity and cruelty to their opponents and prisoners of war whom they captured from the United States unparalleled in the history of war. These men were subjects of the United States but no less subjects because they were truitors and no less traitors because they were enemies With varied fortune, at some times seeming so dark that a convention assembled at Chicago and declared the war a failure: at some times so dark that even good and loyal men, putting their trust in the good God, who had guided theu fathers and would protect their sons, doubted the existence of a controlling Power, but by the bravery of our soldiers, by the patriousm of our people, and by the stability of our institutions we, in the spring of 1865, were enabled to conquer and capture every foot of territory, and every army of the Rebellion. My friends, what did w capture, with the exception of men? What were these men in the judgment and unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States? They were public enemies, captured in war, surrendered by the surrender of the armic which they had raised to uproot the Govern ment of the United States, and when we cap tured them we captured everything they had We captured men and property, their slaves their rights, constitutional and otherwise. All were conquered—and, indeed, one general of the United States had occasion to define wha rights were left to captured Rebels, and tha definition never has been disputed, and I need not say that in the judgment of one general cannot be disputed, that the only right left to captured Rebeis was the right to hang. (Applause.) If they received anything else it wa from elemency and mercy and not from justice (Loud applause.) At the moment when the sweeping over the land irresistibly, and when the power of the Confederacy was being frac-tured, and when their President was fleeing and pursued by the cavalry of the United States, a that moment, in the spirit that starved ou prisoners at Libby, Belle Isle and Andersonville they raised the assassin hand of Booth against the great and good Lincoln-the last crowning infamy of the war. And that raised the Vice-President of the United States into power; and while I propose to deal with all of his acts and opinions with that respect due to any man in a high office, it will yet be necessary to examine those acts and opinions. He then declared that treason should be madeodious and trutors should be punished. That declaration was made to every committee from every State that visited him, and I need not tell this audience how that declara tion thrilled every loyal heart. Every man said:
"Well, if we have lost Lucoln, we have got
Johnson, and the Rebels will fare worse with
him than with Lincoln." He issued his proclamation for a reward for the principal conspira tors. He refused to sanction the terms of sur render by Sherman to Johnson, and it will b quite material for us, for a moment, to conside what those ferms were. General Sherman, anxious, as he said, to pacificate the country, agreed with General Johnson that if he would surren der, the people of the Confederate States shoulbe restored to all these rights, civil and political, which they enjoyed before the war. That was one of the principal terms of the surrender. When that surrender was known at Washing at once repudiated by every byal man. What was it that we had been fighting for? What had we gained if these terms were allowed. Andrew Johnson issued an order requiring that these terms of surrender should be set aside. Why? Because it restored these Rebels to those rights which lend to

part in the Government of the United Etates.

and thus rendered pugatory the war in walci

we have been engaged. Mark this, because we want to see if, after all, the present policy of the Philadelphia Convention is to be carried out, we have not enacted the same terms of sur-render. The Government of the United States had the right to name the terms upon which the South should be readmitted to the Union, and they would have been instantly and easerly subscribed to, had they been never so hard and severe. President Johnson takes a power for which there is no warrant in the Constitution, that no State should come back until it passed Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, and until it agreed to annul and make void its ordinances of secession. If those States, as is now claimed, had all their rights in the Union—that is, if South Carolina had the same oht as Massachusetts, and if in exhibiting that right-it Massachusetts men and South Carolina men were bound to march arm in arm for an exhibition anywhere-why did the President undertake to put a condition upon the Southern States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and other rebellious States? I was saying that if at the moment that President Johnson issued his order that these States should not be allowed to have any other than a military government until they pa-sed certain acts-one of which was to nullity the ordinances of secession, and another adopt the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery—if at that time it was competent for me to make that order, I should put it that there States had been in rebeilion—their rights had been captured, and it was for the States to say upon what terms they would take them back. Nowhere in the Constitution, I can sately challenge any constitutional lawyer in the country to put his singer upon a passage anywhere which gives the President a right to say to a State in the Union, do this or do that, or do this or do that, adopt this proposition or that proposition. President Johnson gave them orders as their chief Executive because he recognized that those States that had rebelled had a discrept position in the country from the lovat States. Let me repeat this, because upon this hangs the whole question. I agree, it revolted, rebellious Confederate States never lost any of their rights by the war or their past acts, if they have the same rights that they had before the war, then no man has a right to keep out their representatives, or to impose any condition upon them, and therelore when gentlemen say to me, "Congress ha no right to say what Massachusetts shall do, agree. Neither Congress nor the President do, or Pennsylvania, or New York-or omit to But when Massachusetts rebels against the Government, and takes arms, and after four years or four months is subdued, after she has to surrender because she cannot fight longer, and hes bound hand and toot before the power of the United States, I will say that Massa-chusetts then has lost her rights, and that she has to come under the law of the queror, and can come back into the Union when, in the judgment of the loyal States, if shall be for the benefit of the whole country to receive her back. Congress came together in December, and for the first time the President enunciated the doctrine that these States had a right to representation by loyal representatives It always seemed to me that there was a tallac in that statement, that it was sophistry, and I have seen very many good, henest, loyal that were stumbled by this argument, won't Congress admit the loyal representatives into the Union? Is it not wrong for Congress to keep out loyal men? Suppose the South is disloyal and sends loyal representatives, why should not they be admitted?" Suppose, my friend, you who have a doubt upon this ques tion-suppose the loval States should send disloyal men to the Congress of the United States, will you admit the disloyal representative? No. because he misrepresents his constituency, and ne ought not to be admitted. Suppose a disloyal constituency sends a toyal corresentative, should be be admitted? No. Why? Because he misrepresents his constituency. Is it not perfectly an answer-a perfect one, and not to be overcome by any artifice—that the right of representation is not the right of the representatives, but of the constituency? If the constituency is loyal, then it will hardly do to inquire into the loyalty of the representative, and, therefore, we al appland the answer of John Randolph. asked if he was old enough to come to Congress, he said, "Ask my constituents," I assume that President Johnson believed that they were loyal, and that they had surrendered in good suppose that a horse-thief, when he gets in State pricon, surrenders the right of horse stealing in good faith. He doesn't mean to steal any more until he gets out. (Laughter.) They surrendered, not because they wanted to, but because they were obliged to, not from love of country, but from tear; they surrendered because they were whipped, and soundly whipped, too. I think I do no discredit to Piesident Johnson to say that I think he was mistaken. These men said we have surrendered in good faith; we have agreed to take up our relations in the United States; and in 1865, in May, June, and July, that was their feeling. They were like the convicted sinner, ready to say, Lord, Lord, what will you have us to do? But the difficulty was, they found that they first obtained pardons; and second, that they were sustained by the President; and third, that the North was far too lement and forgiving; then arose this most monstrous theory that they had all the rights which they formerly had under the Constitution; that the terms which Sherman gave to Johnson, and which the President of the United States rejected, were the true terms on which they surrendered. When did they get these terms? I understand that Alexander H. Stephens, one of their ablest men, claims that they are not responsible for what was done in their absence; that those Rebels who lest their seats have the right to come back and vote upon the question whether men and money should be turnished to put down the Rebellion. answer of Mr. Stephens before the Committee of Reconstruction is, that the South are not bound by anything done in their absence; and the bounties of our soldiers are not binding upon them; pensions of our widows and orphanare not binding upon them, because they were unfortunately absent when they were voted. (Applause.) In the spring of 1865 they were ready to accept any terms, but they went on claiming right after right until the question came between the President and Congress. The President claimed the right to say when they were in a fit condition to become a portion of the Union, and Congress claimed that it was the right of the whole law-making power, including the House of Representatives and the President, to say when these men were fit to come back; and this is the struggle. The ssue is now made. When we talk with anybody who claims to support the policy of President Johnson, he immediately tells us about the Con-stitution and the wisdom of our fathers, and that he is content to do as our fathers did. So am I. What did our fathers do? I won't cite Massachusetts, for she was always thought to be rabid; but I will take the State of North Carolina; and at the end of the Revolution what law did she pass? She gave the tory amnesty for all his past misdemeanors, protection tor his life, liberty, and property; but never-torever-should he have any part in the government of the State. I go back to the wisdom of the lathers, and every State in the Union at that day passed the same or similar orders, except South Carolina, and she let the tory pack take part in her government; and the consequence is that she has never had a republican government to this day. It seems that heretofore, nnder the Constitution of the States, the President has never before undertaken to say a State was or was not fit to come back but by the law of Congress. States carved out of Western territory come in by laws of Congress, and in the purchase of Louisiana nobody doubted thatit was the right of Congress to recognize the right of taking States in the Union by purchase or otherwise. We see that the issue now turns upon another question. Are these men fit to come back? What is the evidence on that point? Whether the right of Congress or of the Prestdent, let us pass it-to the second point-are

they ready to come back? On that point we have lately had some in There assembled at Philadelphia struction. on the 14th of this month these men in convention as delegates—if men can be called delegates who generally went on their own hook-a con-vention of men assembled and undertook to tell wherein he tells you that this was a massacre ps, by proclamation, what our political rights

and duties were, and how we are to settle this war-which they did not favor, did not fight. speak with great carnestness and interest on this point. Let me put a case to you. At the time when you had bad news from the army in Virginia, were not certain fellow - citizens seen in streets with smiling and joyous countenances, and saying: - "Didn't I tell you so?" "I knew it would be so;" "I told you this war was a failure;" and when news came of glorious victory, like Farragut at New Orleans or Mobile, would you not see the same men saying, "I don't believe that telegram;" "We shall hear the true account in a few days," That is the class of men sent as delegates to Philadelphia. Where they undertake, to instruct you on your duties, you should ask them, Did you fight for our side—did you favor it? No, they say, but we want to settle it now. Much obliged, but we want to settle it ourselves; we fought it in the held, and we will settle it here. The delegates of South Carolina and Massachusetts walk arm in arm into that Convention, and, therefore, the whole matter is fraterpized, the shole country is fraternized. the emblem member what is Carolina — the rattlesnake. South when the rattlesnake and copperhead twine and twine, it don't seem to make much differ ence to the rest of the beasts of the tod noment to the language of my profession emur" to these men instructing me in my political duty. And these men come together re-presenting neither section. We know that the men who went from here do not represent Masachusetts. There is no man so blind, no child so toolish, who cannot see that these men are not the representatives of Massachusetts. Take ur old triend Mr. Winthrop, for whom person illy I have the highest regard; everybody knows hat he has not for ten years controlled any cay's one but his own. Take that very respect ble lawyer, Judge Curtis, an admiral and scholar; it was only in 1851 that he published an opinion that certain coaliindictable offense, were an since then we have not heard a from him until this Philadelphia vention. I will only say this, gentlemen, that when you find anybody from this State supcorting slavery, you will find that he only carries with him the clothes on his back. I have said to you that these men do not represent the North, and in this respect that convention was the most memorable that was ever held. Not a peech allowed from Southern men, and representative Southern man there. Mr. Orr he don't represent the people of the South any more than our would be Governor Couch repreents Massachusetts. Wade Hampton, the Robel chiertain, had to bee and pray that they would not vote for him, and would vote for Orr, or he would bave been elected. Again, Governor Perry was chosen by President Johnson because e had been taboord during the war by the entire soice of the South, and ne cia med to be almost be only Umon man there. Do they represent the South? And what did they do? They passed ten resolutions. For fear Labould make a mistake prought them in my band and I will give you a synopsis of some of them. have given you evidence of the Philadelphia Convention which was to teach us our political traternize, and I was grieved more than I would tike to express (because I have ever had kindly relations with the President of the United States), when I heard or his saying to the committee—to Reverdy Johnson, a man who, when I was in Battimore, stood on the fence for more than a month not knowing which way to icap, until he found that we were considerably the strongest on Federal Hill, and our guns pointed towards his house — I was grieved, I say, to hear the President say that a portion of Congress, not the whole Congress, were attempting to usurp power. I should like to have stood behind him and said:-"What are you thinking of? That is a portion of Congress only because elected by a portion of the States; but this Congress is elected by precisely the same persons that elected you; are you only a portion of a President? And if you say this thing is to be ried over again, and the rest of the States con a to Congress in order to set this matter right bring the disloyal States into Congress adn't you, being elected by only a portion of a result better resign your place? And then you rot elected on that issue, I think you will allowed to do pretty much as vo that these eleven States would have baused him so quick at the beginning of the war that he would not have had time to breathe a prayer. We see by the tone of the papers that these people are not ready or reconstruction. There is a mass of over whelming evidence upon the subject. I for one do not believe that any portion of this country is ready to participate in the government of the cuntry until any man of any part of the country has equal rights with any other man. And ntil that can be done in every portion of the United States, that portion is not ready to be admitted as a portion of the United States. The Southern man, whether arrived at the common age of man or not, knows that he can go to any part of the North and speak his sentiment ireely, and I do not want any part of this country represented in Congress until you and I can go and argue the principles of free government without tear of the knife or pistol, or of being murdered by a mob. And when men ask me now long I would keep these men out, I say keep them out until the heavens melt with fervent heat, until they will allow free speech and free press throughout their land. And it it should not ome in this generation we will swear our sons to keep them out till they become fit for a republican form of government. I now remember a man who came to me among the very irst at New Orleans, and took me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes said, "I thank God that you have come; I bless God that your flag waves over me again, the symbol of justice and protection of my country;" and yet I have seen that man murdered in cold blood by the chief of police, whom I had condemned to death for the murder of a Union man, and only re frained from hanging him because the act took place before my arrival, and I doubted my au-thority to execute him. That murdered man was Dostie, the best and purest Union man that ever trod the soil of Louisiana, for he perilled is life when he bad no hope, in defense of the lag. I speak with feeling, for he was one of my best and stanchest advisers, and aided me by all means in his power. As long as I had a com-mand the flag sheltered him, and every other man within my territory. And that that man should be murdered, with that flag dying over him-not to him an emblem of power and protection—and we be told that these men are our brothers! (Applause.) The rattle-snake may be a brother of the copperhead, but not mine-not mine! And what was his often se! He undertook to assemble with the Convention, and discuss their nights as we are assembled here to-night—a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and under any one attempts to pull down the United States the protection of the flag: and Ishould like to say to my old 'riend, General Dix, "You said, when flag shoot him on the spot;" but now whenever a man raises an American flag you seem to want ome Thug to shoot him on the spot, General Dix, go to Philadeighia, and talk about your brethren! They are ho brethren of mine.

Either their hearts or mine must change before

I can give them the right hand of fellowship. Major-General Sheridan is not even a Republi-can; he is a brave soldier; before the war a

Democrat; remains so now for aught I know;

certainly he does not give any outward mani-

testation of change of opinion. He makes a

representation to General Grant which I will read

o you; and, by-the-by, I see that three of the Johnson papers do not print this telegram, for no

reason that I can see, except that he don't agree

with the eighth article in the Philadelphia reso-

lutions. (The speaker then read General Sheri-dan's despatches.) Now, my friends, I have read to you, as you see, the testimony unwil-

linely drawn out in answer, giving a gloss over the tenor of the despatch. The President's des-

patch asked for as kindly a report as possible of the affair. I have read to you the testimony of one who is opposed to the Republican party, but whose logalty to the country is unquestioned,

and a murder, that the police shot down men even while prisoners. They are but thigs and murderers, and they are Johnson men in good standing for coming back into the Union. When the President asks General Sheridan if the civil power is sufficient to take care of these men, he answers, "I should say emphatically it is not." This is after the President has issued his proclamation of the 18th of August that peace reigned and civil authority is sufficient protection or all citizens. I am sorry to see that in face of the facts that Horton the clergyman, Dostie the pure patriot, Hyer, and others are dead, and wounde men are coming North, with the testimony of all these unavenged, with Northern people unprotected so that they are obliged to leave New Orleans, that the President has issued his pro clamation that peace has obtained throughou all the land, and the civil courts are ample to protect life and liberty. And in face of Genera Sheridan's emphatic disavowal of the ability of the civil authorities to protect the citizens, the President on the 16th of August turns over every Inion man in the South to the mercies of thus s-assassins and murderers of Lincoln and Are you ready to say that these mer shall sit in Congress, make laws for you, have power to say whether your debts shall be paid or go ungaid, whether bounties shall be paid to your soldiers, pensions to your widows, or whether the flag of the United States shall be upheld? To have a ortion of the country in governmental tions to the country where no loval man car speak, and no loyal men can assemble? had some private documents from another por-tion of the Union. It was because Texas had concluded to come into the Union that this pro charaction of peace was issued. A gentleman born in a town in this county, formerly serving upon my stall, was sent upon an inspection tou to Texas, and he made his report, and was forth with ordered home, because he reported what he saw, and in what condition he saw things What is the difference between the President and Congress or between the Philadelphia Convention and Congress? because I believe now we are to look to that as an exponent of his feel-ing. Congress says these men shall not come back intil they pass the Constitutional amendment And what is there in the Constitutional amend ment that fault should be found with it? The nrst section (and I thought it was in the Con stitution already) is that every citizen of every State shall have the right of every cluzen o every State-in other words, that any one here shall walk in peace in South Carolina, the same as a citizen of South Carolina can now walk in Massachusetts—as Couch and Orr walked arm in arm at Philacelphia. The second section provides that the United States debt shall never e repudiated. That is where the convention agree with us, only we want Southern men to put it on paper. And that the Confederate deb forever repudiated, because Mr. Alex ander H. Stephens says they are not bound b what was done in their absence, and therefor they are not bound by the Confederate debt, an the moment they get back, we shall have a motion not to pay interest on the national debt, but a movement to pay the Confederate debt-and, succe under these evenumstances, what would your Seven-thrities be worth? The next section is that representation at the South shall be in proportion to the population, precisely as it is at the North, not counting those persons who are not allowed to vote. Under our Constitution the negro was counted as three-fifths, and the paster was allowed to represent his slavesthree-fifths of them as persons. Now there are no slaves; and having got rid of slavery, they claim to represent them not only as three-uiths but as a whole; and that leaves the South with about two-thirds as many votes in a proportion ately equal population. I do not mean to give the proportion exactly, but it is about that, Now we say you shall not have your population counted until you allow them to vote, and then you may have them counted just as we do at the North. Is not that fair and just, and not only fair and just, but magnanimous? Come back, only don't ask for more power than you had before. The next proposition on the part of Congress is, that whenever they will allow all persons to vote then they shall be counted—a direct offer to the South in favor of giving all persons the right to vote, withou regard to color or race. I propose to deal with very great frankness with you, my neighbors and triends. I am not in favor of that propost tion of Congress for this reason—the negro is not. He ought to vote or he ought not, texation without representation, we settled n the beginning of this evening. If he has the right to vote, and Congress offers to the people the Constitutional amendment to fix the great rights of citizens, then I say I wont offer a bribe to anybody to give the right. He shall have the right directly, and in so many words; therefore 1 am against it, for it don't go as far as I would go; it stops short. Don't let any man say, are you in favor of indiscriminate suffrage I am in favor of anybody's voting that is now fit vote, and I don't think the question of color enters into the question of fitness. Fix your standard of qualification, and when any man comes here fit to vote, let him vote. Let Congress fix it; let these people fix it, and then ask them to come back into the Union. Let us all nx it by the Constitutional amendment. call upon the negro to fight our battles, and we wont allow him to aid in governing the country he aided in defending. I cannot understand why Congress did not go forward. was well enough, as far as they went, to offer to the South the gift of power, if they would let the negro vote. I would say to the South, gen themen, we fought you four years, we captured your armies, we captured you, and you are all ours, and we will give you so many rights, so much representation, and you may make such laws. I never go in for indirectness. I mean what I say, and I carry out what I say as well as I can. I give everybody fair notice that I shall try to get, whenever and wherever I have the opportunity, impartial suf-frage for every man in my command. And apybody that don't like that I don't want him to go with me. We are too afraid of this fear about negro equality. And are you going to make the negro your equal? I am not going to make him anything. I am going to leave him to make himself. I am not going to so poor and contemptible as to build myself up by crowding him down. If he can really me tairly, beat me I am willing he should. Anv man who talks about being airaid of the negro is not the better man of the two. The first ques-tion is one of great concernment. If I have any doubt it is about this convention to elect dele gates to Congress, and to override the North and forming a conjunction with them in the North, we would have all our work to do over again. And Mr. Blair tells you that unless they get control of the Government in the manner proposed, and the whole South is admitted, civil war must rage again. Governor Brownlow, of Tennessee, teds you that there is now an attempt in Tennessee to get hold of that Government, and to overthrow the Constitution of Tennescee, which distranchises Rebels, so that they may elect disloyal representatives to the next Congress. There fore it becomes the duty of every man to sustain Congress, in sustaining first the Civil Rights bill which gives to everybody their rights in every State, and sustain Congress in giving protection to the negro, in holding these States where they are, and insisting that free speech, a free press, civil and religious liberty, shall be guaranteed until a change can be made. Sustain the loyal men of the South. Sustain them though but ten honest nien can be found in State; for ten men would have saved Sodom and these States are not much worse than Sodom, and let these ten righteous men save them. Let us have a Republican party in the South. Let us have a party where tree speech can be heard, and when a loyal representative of a loyal of stituency comes to the doors of Congress conwill admit him. Born in a Democratic State and reared a Democrat, taught it from my very youth up, I felt myself obliged to uphold the

South in all its claims and all its exactions, so

long as it should remain under the Constitution

political preferment; I stood almost in a very

small minority with my fellow-cit zens, because the Constitution of the fathers seemed to me to

give them certain rights, and I therefore stood by those rights of the South up to the hour that

they repudiated their obligations under the

that I sacrificed everything that I had of

Constitution and attempted to secode from the Union. And when they set aside the Constitu-tion that released me from my obligations to They became my enemies in war, and my friends in peace when they return to the true principles of republican liberty and law. Therefore, my friends, my old Democratic friends, be not straid of any idea that you will be charged with any change of your parties. We have fought together in the old Democratic party for many years—we will fight four years more if necessary to save the true democratic Government where every man shall have a right to equality in every State. He who swerves from that principle, swerves from it because he has not seen the course of events. The true demo-cratic principle is equal rights to every man, and there is no such thing as baving an exception in favor of or against the negro-equal rights to all men. And one of the most remarkable events in political-life which has struck my observation is the action of our Democratic Irish friends. They come from a land of oppression to a land of liberty, baving been almost enslaved themseives; why should they want to crush down and join a party that seems to crush down the negro? Is that true democracy? Is that the liberty which we desire to establish in Ireland—that one man a little lower than another shall be kept under still? That is the liberty that Ircland now enjoys. Therefore, my Democratic triends, I propose to speak to you as an old Democrat, who never has swerved from the path—who stands by every shibboleth of the party—who stands by every right of the lowest man, as well as the highest, and demands equal justice for all. Be not be deceived by party ties. Therefore, come back to the true principles of justice for all men-equal rights for all men. Away with the idea that this is a white man's government! it is God's government. It is made for white men, black men, or grey menall men, and all men with a perfect equality; and any man who claims to be a Democrat must subscribe to that, or he clams a name without the substance. Be not diffident, but come up to the true standard of the country. Stand by the country, stand by the flag; stand by the principles of the fathers, and see to it that this thing shall be settled—that every man, from Maine to Teyns, upon every part of American soil, shall be free to express his sentiments, and be protected in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and then we shall, indeed, have a free, united, and glorious country.

Wendell Phillips' Optnion of the Phila-delphia Convention. From the Anti-Slavery Standard, dugust 25. The great Rebel Convention has met and adjourned. Some men tespise it as a failure, sure to have no important results. We regard it afficiently. Even if its immediate results are unimportant—which is by no means certain—it will probably prepare a way for a desperate conflict in 1868. Newspaper critics make them-selves merry over the insignificance or one or another of the actors in this Convention, but bould do well to remember that many of its members are men thoroughly used to political management, accustomed to wield great States
—cuming men, unscrupulous, and backed by the whole patronage of the Government. Some men are fond of comparing this as-embly to the Democratic Convention, which nominated McClellan at Chicago. But there are two great differences. It was war time then, and the patronage of the Government was against Chicago. Now the Government is on the side of the Rebels, and besides, we have allen from the enthusiasm of war to the vapors and dark by-paths of politics. We are free to confess that we see great reason to fear the effect of such a Convention as that of Philadel-phia. Not that the party will be able to carry many elections this full. On the contrary, everything bids fair for the great Republican success. But what is the meaning of a Republican success? To what is the party pledged?
Of what principle does their success guarantee he triumph? Of no principle whatever. They are pledged to nothing vital. Republican ora-tors continually tell us to be of good courage the party will succeed. Grant it; what nelp does it give to the negro? What promise does it old out of claiming for him his rights? They do not enter the canyass even claiming for him the ballot; is it likely they will come out from it ready to do for him more than they offered? there such a case in our party history? Congress, the proper representative of the Republical party, has yielded the Gibraltar of the question of suffrage. It lays before the country Constitutional amendment plan of which is to punish—weaken—the States, while they refuse the negro his ballot. Not four weeks ago Republicans denounced us for doubt ing the assertions of Congress that even the adoption of those amendments would not secure the admission of the Rebel States; that Congress would still insist on impartial suffrage as a condition of admission; that the amendment was only part of its policy, etc. etc. But read the speeches of Mr. Senator Wilson at Natick and at Boston, and you will see that ne parades these amendments as the "policy" of Congress—as its answer to Johnson's "policy and both speeches allow that those amendment once adopted, the States will be allowed to return. Congress therefore surrenders the question at issue. Suppose, therefore, that the fall elections do sustain the Republican party then, if the amendment is adopted the Rebe States take their places in Congress at once. Once there, and wielding their present represent tation (based on counting three-fifths of the slave basis), which they must do till a new apportionment is made, how much mischie may not be consummated in those few months But even after a new apportionment, credible witness assure us the South will prefer, years to come, the compact strength of a reduced white basis to the democratic reality of negro suffrage. But suppose, after Republican success this fall. Congress meets and finds the amendments rejected? That same syren voice, expediency, which dictated giving up the ques tion of negro suffrage, will justify and demand they shall surrender the idea embodied in the amendment, and, failing still lower, find basis or theory on which they and the Rebel can meet and unite in a joint Congress. see, therefore, no hope on the mere success o the Republican party this fall, with the canvass conducted according to present avowals. South fights to avert negro suffrage. Having ailed to sustain slavery by war, she to come as near as possible towards effecting the same thing by political intrigue. There is no political party in the North that is no political party in the North that needs her on this issue. This is the danger. The public are wise enough, mean well enough, but lack concentration, organizaion, and leaders. Now, in such circumstances the plot concocted at Philadelphia is to be leared. Wily men, corrupt men, willing to use any means—their ability doubled by their utter unscrupulousness-wielding wealth and patronage, men bearing the prestige of many a success hitherto; such men are a power! Men of mo-derate capacity, when they act unfettered by any sense of right and wrong, equal themselves to great mirds for a while. This explains Napoleon III. When the Devil made him up he took care not to burden him with any moral sense. and hence this jockey, riding without weight has distanced many a competitor abler, but burdened with a conscience. One valuable confession we wrench from this Conven-tion. The promises they feel obliged to make, the principles they see it wise to profess, the coat their hypocrisy compels them to assume, show us what, in their opinion, is the opinion of the loyal North. Thus we guage what, in their judgment, the people long for, and will have, unless balked. This list is:—No slavery, payment of the nation's debt, no right of secession, and equal civil rights everywhere for all men. A valuable confession that. If even the Rebels confess so much, what is probably the real heart of the masses? Does it not claim equal suffrage also? The address of this Convention informs us of its standpoint in the first line:—"Since the meeting of the last National Convention in 1860," Consequently there has been no nation since 1860. Surely there have been conventions enough professing to represent all the loyal States; but you observe in their view there has not been, because there could not be without the Rebels any National Convention since 1860. The argument against the proposed Constitutional amendment is based on the same idea; and, if valid, covers the anti-layery amendment of 1864, rendering that also

null and void. Do the Southern members of this Convention intend to warn us that they reserve the right to contest that when a favoraable opportunity occurs? We know not. All we do know is that the South organized her forces at that Convention. She deployed them into line. Her right rests on Philadelphia, under Weed. Seward, Vallandigham, and Garrett Davis. Her left is encamped at New Orleans, with Mayor Monroe and his butchers for general The headquarters at the White House, and the next move will be on the Capitol, hold-ing Senate and House of Representatives.

Our duty is to put there men who will at every hazard save the nation, remembering that they stand where the Long Parliament stood in 1649; and though the block and axe in front of the palace may be no fitting measure now, they are bound to find and use some measure it and effi-cient to secure their purpose, the deposition of the perjured and usurping traitor. But alas! the courage and "thoroughness" which would make that possible, would at the same time make it necessary. In the presence of a united North, led by courageous men, there would be now, as in 1862, no Rebel Democratic party worth counting. Some foresee a coup wetat in the literal sense—a violent move against Congress. We hardly expect that. That is too good to be true. The cunning traitors at Philadelphia do not intend to give the North any such advantage. They see their mistake at Sumter, and have no intention to repeat it. "The burnt child dreads a painted fire," says a proverb. Thoroughly whipped in that method, the South will never risk provoking another 1861, if it can possibly be avoided. The move upon Congress -upon what this traitor Accident dares to describe as "a body called, or which assumes to be, the Congress of the United States"-will be made under legal forms. The trick will be so covered that it will been a specious argument of constitutionality. Seward belongs to the Barnow, not to the Cromwell class. But whether a blow come from Jefferson Davis' hand, or a trick from the brain of William H. Seward, either will fail in the cnd. We have no fears for the final result. Justice will triumph. We have God's promise for that. The Jew in Egypt, burdened and crushed, never doubted he should see Canaan. God had promised that; but whether in four years or forty, or through what perils, none could tell. We also shall reach our Canaan. But whether in four years or forty-through what peril-whether as one nation or two-whether all gathered round the temple at Jerusalem, or with one king there, another in Samaria—none can tell.
Wendell Phillips.

## PROPOSALS.

A SSISTANT QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, FHILADELPHIA, August 22, 1866.
Sealed Proposals will be received at this fice until 12 o'clock M., SATUEDAY, September 1, 1866, for the immediate delivery at the United States Storehouse, HANOVER Street wharf, Phila-delphia, Pa., of the following Quartermasters'

10 gross 1 utting But-

2 dozen Putty Knives. 2 dozen Drawer Tum-bler Locks.

3 doz. Door Neck Bolts. 50 Shutter Bolts, Sdoz. Door Neck Bolts, 200 Wall Brushes, 200 pounds lin, Block, 100 R. & L. Closet Locks, 5 boxes Glass, 10x12. 75 pounds Gine

50 pounds Black Wax. 5 boxes Glass, 12x16. in oil. 10 pounds Umber, raw, 500 pounds Putty. 1 bbl. Coach Varnish.

200 valions Turpentine. 1 bbl. Spanish Whiting. 2 bbls. Copal Varnish. 1 gress Striping (as sorted) Pencels. sorted) Penods. 10 lbs.Gum Tragacanth.
All or the above-described articles to be of the
best quality, and subject to the inspection of an inspector appointed on behalf of the United States

Samples of the above-named stores to be delivered. at the United States Storehouse, twenty-four hours previous to the opening of the bids.
Bidders will state price in writing and figures, and the amount or quantity of each article bid for.

Each bid must be guarasteed by two responsible persons, whose signatures must be appended to the guarantse, and certified to as being good and suffiment security for the amount involved, by a United States Judge, At orney, or Collector of the Port, otherwise the bid will not be considered.

The right to reject any bid deemed too high or unreasonable is reserved, and no bid from a defaulting contractor will be received. Proposals to be made out in duplicate on the regu-

lar printed forms, which may be had on application at this office.

The envelopes to be endorsed "Proposals for unitermaster's Stores,"and addressed to the under-

Bids will be opened on SATURDAY, September 1866, at 12 o'clock M., and bidders are requested. be present. By order of Broyst Brig. Gen. G. H. CROSMAN

Assistant Quartermaster-General U. S. A. GEORGE R. ORME, 8 22 9t Byt. Major and Assistant Quartermaster.

CLOTHING DEPOT, SCHUYLKILL ARSENAL-OFFICE EXECUTIVE AND INSPECTING OFFICER,

PHILADELPHIA, Pa , August 22, 1866 | Sealed Proposals will be received at this Office until noon SATURDAY, September 1, 1866, for delivery at the Schuylkill Arsenal, in merchantable

200 Pairs Sewed Bootees, Size No. 15 200 Pairs Sewed Bootees, Size No. 16 Army Standard.

Samples can be seen at this Office.

Bidders must state in their proposals the price which must be given in writing as well as in Each bid must be quantity and time of delivery.
Each bid must be guananteed by two responsible persons (whose signatures and places of residence just be appended to the guarantee), and certified to od and sufficient security for the amount involved by some public functionary of the United

Bids from defaulting contractors, and those that do not fully comply with the requirements of this advertisement, will not be considered. Blank forms for proposals, embracing the terms of the suarantee required on each bid, can be had on application at this office, and none others which do not embrace this guarantee will be considered, nor will any proposal be considered which does not con-form to the requirements therein stated. Bids must be; endorsed "Proposals for Bootees," and bidders are requested to be present at the open-

ing of bids. By order of Brevet Brig -Gen. G. H. CROSMAN, Asst. Quartermaster-General U. S. Army, HENRY W. JANES, Capt. and A. Q. M. Byt. Major U. S. Army, 22 9t Executive and Inspecting Officer,

WHISKY, BRANDY, WINE, ETC.

CHESNUT GROVE WHISKY,

No. 225 North THIRD Street.

It saything was wanted to prove the absolute purity of this Whisly, the following certificates should do fa. There is no acoholic stimplant known commanding such eccumentation to one such high sources:

PHILADELPHIA, September S. 1868.

We have carefully tested the sample of CHESNUT GEOVE WHISET which you send us, and find that R contains NORE OF THE POISONORS SUBSTANCE known at FURL OIL, which is the characteristic and injurious in gredient of the whiskies in general use.

gredient of the whiskies in general use.

BOOTH, GARRETT & CAMAC,

Analytical Chemists

New York September 3 1858,

I have analyzed a sample of CHESNUT GROVE
WHISKY received from Mr. Charles Wharton, Jr., I
Phindelphia: and having carefully tested it, I am
pleased to state that it is entirely printer from POISONOU
OR LEE BIGUS Substances. It is an unusually pur
and fine vivired quality of whisky.

JAMES R. CHILTON, M. D.,

Analytical Chemis

Boston, March 7,1859 I have made a chemical analysis of commercial samples of CHESNUT GROVE WHISKY, which provests be tree from the heavy Fusil Clis, and perfectly pure an unadulterated. The line flavor of this whisky is derive from the grain used in manufacturing it.

Respectfully, A. A. HAYES, M. D. State Assayer, No. 16 Boylston street.

For saie by barrei, demijonn, or bottle at No. 225 North THIED Street Philadelphia.

M. NATHANS & SONS IMPORTERS

BRANDIES, WINES, GINS,

Etc. Etc. No. 19 North FRONT Street. PHILADELPHIA. MORES MATHAMS. HORACE A. NATHANS, CRLANDO D. SATUANS,