"I hear a hion in the lobby roar; Say, Mr Speaker, "hal! I shut the door? Or shall we rather let the mouster in, Then see it we can shut him out again?" I am against letting the monster in until he is no longer terrible in mouth or paw.

NO UNNECESSARY DELAY. But, while holding this ground, I desire to disclaim every sentiment of vengeance or panishment, and also every thought of delay or procrastination. Here I do not yield to the President or to any other person. Nobody can be more anxious than I am to see this chasm close I forever. There is a long way and a short way. There is a long time and a short time. It there be any whose policy is for the longest way of for the longest time, I am not of the number. I am for the shortest way and also for the short est time. And I object to the interference of the President, because, whether intentionally or unintentionally, he interposes delay and keeps the chasm open. More than all others the Pro-sident, by his officious assumptions, has lengthened the way and lengthened the time. Of this there can be no doubt.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY. From all quarters we learn that after the surreader of Lee the Rebels were ready for any terms if they could escape with their lives. They were vanquished and they knew it. The Rebellion was crushed and they knew it. They hardly expected to save a small fraction of then property. They did not expect to save their political power. They were too sensible not to see that participants in rebellion could not pass at once into the partnership of Government, They made up their minds to exclusion; they were submissive. There was nothing they would not do, even to the extent of entranchising their treedmen and providing for them homesteads. Had the national Government merely taken advantage of this plastic condition, it might have stamped equal rights upon the whole people as upon molten wax, while it fixed the immutable conditions of permanent peace. The question of reconstruction would have been settled before it arose. It is sad to think that this was not done. Perhaps in all history there is no instance of such an oppor-tunity lost. Truly should our country say in penitential supplication, "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and have done those things which we ought not to have done." Do not take this on my authority. Listen to those on the spot, who have with their own eyes. A brave officer of our army wrote to me from Alabama, as fol-

I believe the mass of the people could have been easily controlled if none of the excepted classes had received pardon. These classes did not expect anything more than life, and even leared for that. Let me condense the whole subject. At the surrender the South could have been moulded at wal; but it is now as suff-necked and rebellious as ever

In the same vein another officer testifies from

Texas as follows:-There is one thing, however, that is making seainst the speeds return of quetness not only in his state, but throughout the entire South and that is the reconstruction , olicy of President Johnson. It is doing if ore to unsettle this country than who are not practical observers of the workings have any idea of. Before this policy was made anown the people were prepared to accept anything. They expected to be treated as Rebels, their leaders being punished and the property of others i cated. But the moment it was made known all their assurance returned. Rebels have again, become arro, ant and exacting; treason stacks through the land unabashed.

This testimony might be multiplied indennitely. From city and country, from highway and byway there is but one voice. When, therefore, the President, in opprobnous terms, complains of Congress as interposing delay, I reply to him, "No. sir, it is you who, by unexpected and most perverse assumptions, have put off the giad day of security and reconciliation, which is so much longed for. It is you who have inau-gurated anew that mahgnant sectionalism. which, so long as it exists, will keep this Union divided, in fact, if not in name. Sir, you are the disunionists."

THE PRESIDENTIAL POLICY FOUNDED ON TWO BLUNDERS.

Glance, if you please, at that Pre-idential policy-so constantly called "my policy"-which is now so vehemently pressed upon the country, and you will find that it pivots on at least two alarming blunders, as can be easily seen; first, in setting up the one-man power as the source of jurisdiction over this great question; and secondly, in using the one-man power for the restoration of Rebels to place and influence, so that good Unionists, whether white or black, are rejected, and the Rebellion itself is revived new Government. Each of these assumptions is an enormous blunder. You will see that use a mild term to characterize such a doubleheaded usurpation.

THE ONE-MAN POWER.

Pray, sir, where in the Constitution do you find any sanction of the one-man power as the source of this extraordinary jurisdiction? I had always supposed that the President was the Executive, bound to see the laws faithfully executed, but not empowered to make laws. The Constitution expressly says: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." But the legislative power s elsewhere. According to the Constitution,
"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Represen-And yet the President has assumed legislative power, even to the extent of making laws and constitutions for States. You all snow that, at the close of the war, when the Rebel States were without lawful governments. be assumed to supply them. In this business of reconstruction he assumed to determine who should vote, and also to affix conditions for adoption by the conventions. Look, it you please, at the character of this assumption. The President, from the executive mansion at Woshington, reaches his long executive arm into certain States and dictates their Constitu-

Surely there is nothing executive in this assumption. It is not even military. It is legislative, pure and simple, and nothing else. It is an attempt by the one-man power to do what can be done only by the legislative branch of the Government. And yet so perverse is the President in absorbing to himself all power over the reconstruction of the Rebet States, that he insists that Congress must accept his word without addition or subtraction. He can impose conditions; Congress cannot. He can determine who shall vote; Congress cannot. His jurisdiction is not only complete, but exclusive. this be so, then has our President a most extraordinary power, never before dreamed of. He may exclaim with Louis XIV:—"The State, it is I;" while, like this magnificent king, he sacri-fices the innocent and repeats that latal crime, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His whole "policy" is a "revocation" of all that has been promised, and all that we have a right to expect. Here it is well to note a distinction, which is not without importance in the discussion in

issue between the President and Congress Nobody doubts that the President may during war govern any conquered territory as Com-mander-in-Chief, and for this purpose he may detail any military officer as military governor. But it is one thing to govern a State temporarily by military power, and quite another thing to create a Constitution for a State which shall continue when the military power has expired. The former is a military act, and belones to the President. The latter is a civil act, and belongs to Congress. On this distinction I stand, and this is not the first time that I have a serted it. Or course the governments set up in this lie-gitimate way are necessarily illegitimate, except so far as they may acquire validity from time or subsequent recognition. It needs no learned Chief Justice of North Carolina solemnly to declare this. It is manifest from the nature of the But this illegitimacy becomes still more manifest when it is known that the Constitutions which the President orders and tries to cram upon Congress have never been submitted to a popular vote. Each is the naked offspring of an illegitimate convention called into being by the President in the exercise of an illegitimate power. There is another provision of the

Constitution by which, according to a judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, this question is referred to Congress and not to the

I refer to the provision that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican government." On these words Chief Justice Taney, speaking for the Supreme Court, has adjudged "that it rests with congress to decide what government is the tablished one in a State; as the United States guarantee to each State a republican government, Congress must necessarily decide what government is established in a State before it can determine whether it is republican or not; and that undoubtedry a military government es tablished as the permanent government of a State would not be a republican government, and it would be the duty of Congress to over-throw it " (Luther vs. Borden, 7 Ho ward, Rep. 42.) But the President sets at naught this com-manding text of the Constitution, reinforced by this positive judgment of the Supreme Court, and claims this extraordinary power for himseif, to the exclusion of Congress. He is "the United States." In him the republic is mani-test. He can do all. Congress can do nothing, And now the whole country is summoned by the President to recognize State governments created by constitutions thus illegitimate in

rigin and character. Without considering if they contain the proper elements of security for the future, or if they are republican in form; and without any iry into the validity of their adoption; nay in the very face of testimony showing that they on ain no elements of security for the future that they are not republican in form—and that they have never been adopted by the loyal people, we are commanded to accept them; and when we hesitare, the President nimself, leading the outery, assails us with angry vituperation, blunted, it must be confessed, by a coarse ness without precedent and without bounds It is well that such a cause has such an advocate In thus setting up the one-man power as a source of jurisdiction over this great question, the President has committed a blunder of con stitutional law, proceeding from an immense gotism, in which the little pronoun "I" plays a igantic part. It is "I" vs. the people of the United States in Congress assembled. On this nunatural blunder I might say more; but I have sa'd enough. My present purpose is accom-plished if I make you see it clearly.

GIVING POWER TO EX-BEBELS. The other blunder is of a different character. It is giving power to ex Rebel- at the expense of constant Unionists, white or black, and employ-ing them in the work or reconstruction, so that new governments continue to represent the Rebellion. This same blunder, when committed by one of the heroes of the war, was promptly overruled by the President himself; but Andrew Jonnson now does what Sherman was not allowed to do. The blunder is strange and unac-countable. Here the evidence is constant and cumulative. It begins with his first proclams tion, which was for the reconstruction of North Carolina. Holden was appointed Provisional Governor, an office unknown to the law, and for which there was no provision, although it was notorious that he had been a member of the convention which adopted the act or seccesion and that he himself had signed it. Then came Perry, Provisional Governor of South Carolina, who, besides bolding a judicial station under the Rebel Government, was one of its Commis sioners of Impressments. I have a Rebel news-paper containing one of his advertisements in the latter character. There, also, was Par sons, Provisional Governor of Alabama, who, in 1863, introduced into the Legislature of that State fermal resolutions tendering to Jefferson Davis "hearty thanks for his good labors in the cause of our common country, together with the assurance of continued support;" and a/terwards, in 1864, denounced our national debt, exclaiming in the Legislature, "Does any sane man suppose we will consent to pay their (the United States) war debt, contracted in sending armies and navies to burn our towns and cities, to lay waste our country, whose solder have robbed and murdered our peaceful inhabitanta?" Such were the men appointed by the President to institute loval Governments but this selection becomes more strange and unaccountable when it is considered that all this was done in definice of law. There is a recent enactment of Congress which requires that no person shall be appointed to any office United States unless such office has been created by law. And there is another enact-ment of Congress which provides that all officers, civil or military, before entering upon their official duties or receiving any salary or compensation, shall take an cath declaring that have held no office under the Rebellion or given any aid thereto. In the face of these enactments, which are sufficiently explicit, the President began his work of reconstruction appointing civilians to an office absolute unknown to the law, when, besides, they could not take the required oath of office; and to compiete the disregard of Cougress, he fixed their salary and paid it out of the funds of the War Department. Of course such a proceeding was an instant encouragement and beense to all exhebels, no matter now much blood was on their hands. Rebellion was at a premium. It was easy to see that if these men were good enough to be Governors of States, in denance of Congress, all others in the same political predicament would be good enough for the interior effices. And it was so. From top to bottom these States were organized by men who had been warring on their country. Ex-Rebels were appointed by the Governors or chosen by the people everywhere. Ex-Rebels sat in conventions and in legislatures. Ex-Rebels became judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and every-thing else, while the mithful Unionist, white or black, was rejected. As with Cordelia, his love was "according to his bond, nor more nor less; but all this was of no avail.

How often during the war have I pleaded for such patriots, and urged you to every effort for their redemption; and now, when our arms have prevailed, it is they who are cast down, while the enemies of the republic are exalted. The pirate Semmes returns from his ocean cruise to be chosen Probete Judge in Alabama. In New Orleans the Rebel Mayor at the time the city surrendered to the national flag is once layor, and employs his regained power in that terrible massacre which rises in judg-ment against the Presidential policy. Persons are returned to Congress whose service in the Rebellion makes it impossible for them to take the oath of office, as in the case of Georgia who selects as Senators Herschel V. Johnson Georgia who was a Senator of the Repel Congress, and Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Rebellion. These are but instances; but from these you may learn all. There is nothing in the reach of the President which he has no lavished on ex-Rebels. The power of pardon and amnesty, like the power of appointment has been used to: them by wholesale and retail It would have been easy to affix a condition to every pardon, requiring that, before it took estate a homestead for every one of his freedmen, and thus secure to each what they all

covet so much, a piece of land. But the President old no such thing, although in the words of the old writ, "often requested so to do." Such a condition would have helped the loyal freedman, rather than the Rebel master. In the same spirit, while undertaking to deter mine who shall be voters, all colored persons howsoever loyal, were disfranchised, while all white persons, except certain specified classes although black with rebellion, were constituted voters on taking a simple oath of allegiance it us giving to ex-Recels a prevailing power. Partisans of the Presidential "policy" are in the habit of declaring that it is a continuation of the policy of the martyred Lincoln. This is a mis-Would that he could rise from his bloody shroud to repei the calumny! But he has hap-pily left his testimony behind, in words which all who have ears to hear can hear. On occasion the martyr presented the truth bodily, when he said, in a suggestive metaphor, that we must "build up from the sound materials;" but his successor insists upon building from materials rotten with treason and gaping with re-

On another occasion the martyr said that "an attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State government, constructed in whole or in preponderating part from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be

protected, is simply absurd." But this is the cal power; but the facilities of communication very thing which the President is now attempt | n. w lend swittness and extension to all evil He is constructing State governments, not merely in preponderating part, but in whole, from the host-le element. Therefore, he departs openly from the policy of the martyred Lincoln. The martyr says to his successor that his policy is "simply absurd." He is right, although he might say more than this. Its absurdity is too apparent. It is as i', in abolishing the inquisi-tion, the inquisitors had been continued under another name, and Torquemada had received a fresh license for cruelty. It is as if King Wil-liam, after the overthrow of James II, had made

infamous Jehries Lord Chancellor. Common sense and common justice cry out against the outrage; and yet this is the Presi-dential "policy" now so passionately com-mended to the American people. Government, according to Ar stotle, is a "partnership," and I accept this term as especially applicable to our Government. And now the President, in the exercise of the openian power, decrees that communities lately in rebellion shall be taken at once in o our "partnership." I object to the decree as dangerous to the republic. I am not against pardon, clemency, or magnanimity, except where they are at the expense of good nich. I trust that they will always be practised; but I insist that recent Rebe s sha'l not be admitted without proper precautions to the business of the firm. And I insist also that the one-man power shall not be employed to force them into the firm.

THE PRESIDENT INCONSISTENT WITH HIMSELP. Such are two pivotal blunders of the President. It is not easy to see how he has tallen into these, so strong were his early professions the other way. The powers of Congress he had distinctly admitted. Thus, as early as 24th July, 1815, he had sent to Sharkey, acting by his appointment as Provisional Governor of Mielscippi, this despatch:—'It must, however, be distinctly understood that the restoration to which your proclamation refers will be subject to the will of Congress." Nothing could be more positive; and he was equally positive against the restoration of the Robels to power. You do of lorger that, in accepting his nomination as Vice-President, he rushed forward to declare that the Rebel States must be remodelled; that consistant must be en orced, and that Rebels must be excluded from the work of reconstruction. His language was plain and unmistakable. Announcing that "government must be fixed on the principles of eternal justice," he went on to declare that, "if the man who gave his influence and his "if the man who gave his influence and his ins to destroy the Government should be pern.itted to participate in the great work of reorganization, then all the precious blood so freely poured out will have been wantonly spilled, and all our victories go for naught." True; very true. Then, in words of surpassing energy, he cried out that "the great plantations must be seized and divided into small tarms," and that "tractors should take a back seat in the work of restoration," Perhaps the true rule was never with more bomely and vital force then in this last saving, often repeated in differ-ent forms:-"For Rebels, back seats." Add to this that other saying, so often repeated, "Treasen must be made odious," and you have two great principles of a just reconstruction, once proclaimed by the President, but now practically disowned by him.

HOW THE PRESIDENT FELL. You will ask how the President fell. This is hard to say, certainly without much plananess of speech. Mr. Seward openly confesses that he counselled the present latal "policy." Unquestionably Mr. Blair, fa her and son, did the same. So also, I would not, did Mr. Preston King. It is easy to see that Mr. Seward was not a wise counsellot. This is not his brst costly blunder. In termal despatches he early anblunder. nounced that "the rights of the States and the condition of every human being will remain subject to exactly the same laws and forms of agn mistration whether the revolution shall succeed or whether it shall fail." And now he labors for the fulniment of his own prophecy. Obviously from the beginning he has tailed to comprehend the Rebellion, wille in his nature abnormal and eccentric, jumping like the knight on the chess-board rather than moving on straight lines. Undoubtedly the influence of such a man over the President has not been good. But the President himself has been his own worst counseller, as he has been his own worst defender. He does not open his mouth without furnishing evidence against himself. The part he is now playing will justify me in ome details.

The brave words with which he accepted his nomination as Vice-President resounded through the country. He was elected. Then followed two scenes, each of which filled the people with despair. The first was of the new Vice-President taking the oath of office-in the presence of the foreign ministers, the judges of the Supreme Court and the Senate-while in such a condition that his attempted speech trivial and incoherent, and he did not know the name of the Secretary of the Navy, who is now the devoted supporter of his policy, as he has been his recent travelling companion. One month and one week atterwards President Lin-coln was assassinated. The people, wrapt in affliction at the great tragedy, trembled a beheld a drunken man ascend the heights of power. But they were generous and forgivingalmost forgetivi. He was our President, and nands were outstretched to welcome and susain him. His early utterance as President. although commonplace, loose, and wordy, gave assurance that the Rebellion and its authors could and little favor from him. Treason was to be made odious.

THE PRESIDENTIAL MADNESS.

Meanwhile the Presidential madness has become more than ever manifest. It has shown itself in frantic efforts to defeat the Constitutional amendment proposed by Congress for adoption by the people. By this amendment certain safeguards are established. Citizenship is defined, and protection is assured at least in what are called civil rights. The basis of repreentation is fixed on the number of voters, so that it colored citizens are not allowed to vote, they will not by their numbers contribute to representative power, and one voter in South Carolina will not be able to neutralize two voters in Massachusetts or Illinois. Ex-Rebels who have taken an "oath to support the Constitution of the United States are excluded from office, national or State. The national debt is guaranteed, while the Rebei debt and all laims for slaves are annulied. But all these ssential sateguards are rudely rejected by the The madness that would reject a proposition so essentially just, whose only error s its inadequacy, has broken forth naturally in brutal atterance, where he has charged persons by name with seeking his life, and has stimulated a mob against them. It is difficult to surpass the criminality of this act; but thus far the old Greek epigram has been verified;-

"A viper bit a Cappadocian's Inde-Envenomed by the bite, the viper died." Though the person thus assailed have not yet suffered, the country has. The violence of the President has provoked violence. His words were dragon's teeth, which have already spring up armed men. Witness Memphis: witness New Orieans. Who can doubt that the President is the author of these tragedies? Charles IX of France was not more completely the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew than Andrew Johnson is the author of those recent massacres which now cry out for judgment. History re-cords that the gullty king was pursued in the silence of night by the imploring voices of murdered men, mingled with curses and impreca-tions, while their ghosts stalked through his chamber until he sweated blood from every pore ; and when he came to die, his soul, wrung with the tortures of remorse, stammered out to his attendant:—"Ah! nurse! my good nurse! what blood! what murders! ch! what bad what blood! what moreors! It. what one counsels Liollowed! Lord God parcon me! have mercy on me!" Like causes produce like effects. The blood at Memohis and New Orleans must cry out outil it is heard, and a guilty President may suffer the same retribution which followed a guilty King. The evil that he has done already is on such a scale that it is impossible to neasure it unless as you measure an arc of the globe. I doubt if in all history there is any ruler who in the same brief space of time has done so much. There have been kings and emperors, procon-

suls and satraps, who have exercised a tyranni-

new lebd switness and extension to all evil influences, so that the President has been able to do in a year what in other days would have taken a life. Nor is the evil that he has done confined to any narrow spot. It is co-extensive with the republic. Next to Jefferson Davis stands Andrew Johnson as its worst enemy. The whole has suffered; but it is the Robel region which has seffered most. He should have sent pence; 'n tead, he sent a sword. Behold the "policy" the President has not hesitated to use his enormous patronage. President Lincoln said, tamusrly, that, as the people had con-tinued him in office, he supposed they meant that others should be continued in office also; and he acted accordingly. He retused to make removals. But President Johnson thanks other wise, and be announces in a public speech that there must be "rotation in office;" and then warming in anger against present incumbents, he says he will "kick them out." Men appointed by the martyred Lincoln are to be "kicked out" of office by his accidental success sor, while pretending to sustain the policy of the martyr. The language of the President is most suggestive. He "kicks" the friends of his weil-loved predecessor; and he also "k cks" the careful counsel of that well-loved predecessor. e-pecially insisting that "we must build up from the sound material."

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE.

And now, that I may give practical direction to these remarks, let me tell you plainly what must be done. In the first place Congress must be sustained in its conflict with the one-man power, and in the second place ex-Rebels must not be restored to power. Bearing these two things in mind, the way will be easy. Of course the Constitutional amendment must be adopted. As far as it goes it is well, but it does not go far enough. More must be done. Impartial sufrage must be established. A homestead must secured to every freedman; if in no other way, through the pardoning power. If to these added education there will be a new order of things, with liberty of the press, liberty of prech, and liberty of travel, so that Wendell Phillips may speak freely in Charleston or Mobile. There is an old English play which goes under the name of the four "Ps. present desires may be symbolized by tour "Es," standing for emancipation, entranchisement, equality, and education. Let these be secured and all cise will follow. I can never cease to regret that Congress has hesitated by proper legislation to assume a temperary jurisdiction

ver the whole hebel region. To my mind the power was ample and unpestionable, waether in the exercise of belticrent rights, or in the evercise of rights icrived directly from the Constitution itself. n this way everything needful might have been accomplished. In the exercise of this just inrisdiction the Rebel communities might have been inshioned anew, and shaped to loyalty and virtue. The President lost a great opportunity the beginning: Congress has los But it is not too late. If indisposed to assume this jurisdiction by an enabling act constituting provisional governments, there are many things which Congress may do, acting directly or indirectly, Acting indirectly, enfranchise ment, equality and education shall be established as a condition precedent to the recognition of any State whose institutions have been overthrown by rebellion. Acting directly, it may, by constitutional amendment or by imple legislation, fix all these forever.

IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE MUST BE SECURED BY THE NATION AND NOT LEFT TO THE STATES.

You are aware that from the beginning I have pasted upon impartial suffrage as the only ceram guarantee of security and reconciliation. renew this persistence and mean to hold on to the end. Every argument, every principle, every sentiment is in its tavor. But there is one reason, which at this moment I place above all others—it is the necessity of the case. You will require the votes of colored persons in the Rebel States in order to sustain the Union itself. Walbout their votes you cannot build securely for the future. Their ballots will be needed in ime to come much more than their muskets have been needed in time past. For the sike of the white Unionists in the needel States, and for their protection; for the sake of the republic itself, whose peace is imperified, I appeal for ustice to the colored race. Give the ballot to the colored ctuzen and he will be not only ared in his own rights, but he will be the timely desender of yours.
It is by a singular Providence that your secu-

But it is said, leave this question to the tales; and State rights are pleaded against the power of Congress. This has been the cry at the beginning to prevent efforts against the Rebellion, and now, at the end, to prevent efforts against the revival of the Rebellion. Whichever way we turn we encounter this cry. But you yield now you will commit the very error of Buchanan, when at the beginning he declared teat he could not "coerce" a State. Nobody doubts now that a State in rebellion may be "coerced;" and to my mind it is equally clear that a State just emerging from rebellion may be "coerced" to that condition which is reaired by the public peace. But there owers of Congress, not derived from the Rebelon, which are adequate to this exigency, and is the time to exercise them, and thus complete the work that has been begun, it was the nation that decreed emancipation,

and the mation must see to it, by every obliga-non of honor and justice, that emancipation is cured. It is not enough that slavery is aboished in name. The Bultimore platform, on which President Johnson was elected, requires the otter and complete extragation or slavery from the soil of the republic;" but this can be accomplished only by the cradication of every inequality and caste, so that all shall be equal Leiore the law. Be taught by Russia. The Emperor there did not content himself with a naked proclamation of emancipation. He followed this giorious act with unbute provisions securing to the treedmen rights of all kinds, as to hold property, to sue and testify in court, to vote, and to enjoy the advantages of education. All this was secured by the same power which decreed en accipation.

Reason is in harmony with this authoritative testimony. Surely it is not natural to suppose that people who have claimed property in their clow man, who have indulged that "wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in will become at once the kind and just legislators of freedmen. It is contrary to nature to expect it. Even if they have made up their ained to emancipation they are, from invete-rate habit and prejudice, incapable of doing ustice to the colored race. There is the President himself, who once charmed the country and the age by announcing bimself as the Moses" of their redesoption; and yet he is now xerting all his mighty power against the estabshment of those saleguards without which there can be no true redemption. In the dishat was in him, with its hostility to principles and to men, comes out anew, as when on the application of heat the old tunes frozen up in the bugle of Baron Munchausen were set agoing and broke forth as treahly as when the bugle sounded before.

People do not change suddenly or completely. The old devils are not all cast out at once. Even the best converts sometimes backslide. It is recerded by so grave a writer as Southey, in his his history of Brazil, that a venerable woman, accustomed to consider human flesh as anjexquist'e dainty, was converted to Christianity while in extreme old age. The faitaful missionaries strove at once to minister to her wants, and asked her if there was any kind of food which she needed. To all which the venerable convert replied:—"My stomach goes against everything; there is but one thing which I fancy I could touch; if I had the little hand of a little tender boy, I think I could pick the bones; but woe is me! there is nobody to go out and shot one for me!" In similar spirit our Presidential convert now yearns for a taste of those odious pretensions which were a part of slavery. Now when a person thus situated, with great responsibilities to his situated, with ountry and to history, bound by public professions and by political associations—who has declared himself against slavery

and has every motive for perseverance to the end—when such a person openly seeks to pre-serve some of its oaious prefensions, are we not admonished again how unsate it would be to trust those masters, who are under no responsibility and have given no pledges, with the power of legislating for freedmen? I protest against it. I claim this power for the nation. If it be said that the power has never been exer-cised, then I say that the time has come when it should be exercised. I claim it on at three several grounds:—First, there is the stitutional amendment, already adopted by the people, which invests Congress with plenary powers to secure the abolition of slavery; av. its extirpation, according to the promise of the Baltimore platform, including the right to suc and testify in court, and the right also to vote. The distinction that has been attempted be tween what are called civil rights and political rights is a modern invention. These two words, "civil" and "political," in their origin have the same meaning. One is derived from the Latin and the other from the Greek. Each signifies that which pertains to a city or citizeus. nesides, if the elective franchise seem.

oriate" to assure the "extirpation" of slavery, congress has the same power to secure this right which it has to secure the right to sue and festive in courts, which it has already done. Every argument, every reason, every considera-tion by which you a-sert the power for the pro-tection of colored persons in what are called their civil rights, is equally strong for their pro-tection in what are called their political rights In each case you legislate to the same end—that the freedman may be maintained in that liberts which has so tardily been accorded to him, and the legislation is just as "appropriate" in one case as in the other. Second, There is also that distinct clause of the Constitution, requiring the United States "to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government." Here is a source of power as yet unused. The time has come for its use. Let it be declared, that a State which disfranchises any portion of its chizens by a discrimination in its nature insurmountable, as in the case of color, cannot be considered a republican government. The principle is obvious, and its practical adoption would ennoble the country, and give to mankind a new dennition of republican government.

Thurd. But there is another reason which is

with me peremptory. There is no discrimina-tion of color in the allegiance which you require. Colored citizens, like white citizens, owe attegiance to the United States; therefore, they n ay claim projection as an equivalent. other words, allegiance and projection must be reciprocal. As you claim allegiance of colored persons, you must accord protection. One is the consideration of the other. And this protection must be in all the rights of citizens, civil and political. Thus again do I bring home to the national Government this solemn duty. If this has not been performed in times past, it has been on account of the tyrannical influence of slavery, which perverted our Government But, thank God! that influence has been overthrown. Value are the victories of the war, if this influence continues to tyrannize over the national Government. Formerly the Constitu-tion was interpret d always for slavery. I insist that, from this time forward, it shall be interpresed always for freedom.

This is one of the great victories of the war, or rather it is the crowning result of all the vic-tories. One of the most important battles in the world's history was that of Tours, in France where the Mohammedans, who had come at from Spain, for three days contended with Christians under Charles Martel. On this battle Gibbon remarks, that had the result been duferent, "perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford. and her pupils might demonstrate the sanctity and truth of the revelations of Mahomet." Thus was Christianity saved, and thus has bberty been saved by our victories. Had the Rebels prevailed slavery would have had voices everywhere, and even in the Constitution itself. But it is liberty now that must have voices every-where, and the greatest voice of all is the national Constitution, and the laws made in pur suance thereof. In this cause I cannot be rightened by words. There is a cry against "centralization," "consolidation," "Imperialism," all of which are bad enough when dealcated to any purpose of tyranny.

As the House of Representatives is renewed

every two years, it is inconceivable to suppos that such a body, fresh from the people and about to return to the people, can become a tyranny, especially when it seeks sategoards for human rights. A government inspired by liberty is as wide spart from tyranny as heaven from hell. There can be no danger in liberty rity is linked inseparably with the recognition of his rights. Deny him it you will. It is at your any danger in any powers to uphold fiberty. any danger in any powers to uphold liberty. Such a centralization, such a consolidation, ay, sir, such an imperialism, would be to the wir country a well-toring of security, prosperity and renown. To und danger in it is to find danger in the Deciaration of Independence and the Constitution itself, which speak with central power; it is to find danger in those central laws which govern the moral and material world, binding men together in society and keeping the planets wheeling in their spheres. Often during the war the cause of our country seemed to appear in three different forms, each essential itself l yet together constituting one unit.

It was the shamrock or white clover, with its riple leaf, originally used to illustrate the Trinity. It was toree in one. These three difterent forms were-first, the national forces secondly, the national finances; and thirdly, the uleas which extered into the controversy. The national forces and the national finances have prevailed. The ideas are still in question, and even now you debate with regard to the rights of chizenship. Nobody doubts that the army and navy tall plainly within the jurisdiction of the national Government, and that the finance tall plainty within the jurisdiction of the national Government; but the rights of citizen ship are as thoroughly national as the army and navy or the mances.

Obviously you cannot without peril cease to regulate the army and navy, nor without peril cease to regulate the finances; but there is equal peril in abaneoning the rights of citizen who, wherever they may be or in whatever State, are entitled to protection from the nationvery least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power. An American citizen in a tereign land enjoys the protecting hand of the national Government. He should not enjoy that protecting hand less at nome than abroad. OUR PRESENT DUTY.

Fellow-citizens-As I am about to close allow me to gather the whole case into a brief compass. The President, wielding the oper-man power, has assumed a prerogative over Congress utterly unjustifiable, and has under-taken to dictate a tatal "polic," of reconstruc-tion which gives sway to Rebeis, puts off the blessed day of security and reconcillation, and leaves the best interests of the Republic in jeopardy. Treecherous to party, treacherous to the great cause, and treacherous to himself, he has set up his individual will against the peo-ple of the United States in Congress assembled. Forgetful of truth and decency, he has ussailed members as "assassins," and has de nounced Congress itself as a revolutionary body, "called or assuming to be Congress," and "hanging on the verge of Government," as it this most enlightened and patri-t Congress did not contain the embodied will of the American people. To you, each and all, I append to arrest this madness. Your votes will be the first step. The President must be taught that usurpation and apostacy cannot prevail. He who promised to be Moses and has become Pharoah must be overthrown, and the Egyptians that follow him must share the same fale, so that it shall be said now as aferetime, "And the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the mid-t of the sea."

BOARDING.

No. 1121 GIRARD STREET Being neatly fitted up, will open for FIRST-CLASS BOARDERS ON THE FIRST OF SEPTEMBER. Two large (on a unicating Rooms on the second flowr well adapted for a family. 8 25

BOARDING IN A PRIVATE FAMILY, ON The Germantown Railroad but a few minutes' walk from a station. Address "H," at this office. 1032.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

QUARTERLY REPORT

OF THE

NATIONAL BANK OF

REPUBLIC, THE

Nos. 809 and 811 CHESNUT STREET,

PHILADELPHIA October 1, 1866 RESOURCES. 109,154:33

61.562-87

Total..... \$326,150 02 I, JOSEPH P MUMFORD, Cashler of the NATIONAL BANK OF THE REPUBLIC do solomary swear that the above statement is true to the best of my knowledge

JOSEPH P MUMFORD, Cashier.

OFFICE OF THE LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY.

The stockholders of this company are hereby notified that the Board of Managers have determined to a low to an iterious who shall as pear as Stockholders on the Books of the Company on the 5th of September next, after the closing of frankers, at 3 P M of the day the privilege of subscribing for new slock for every five shares then standing in their asmes Each shareholder criticed to a ractional part of a share shall have the privilege of subscribing or a null share.

The multiplication books will open on MONDAY, September 10 and close on SATURDAY, December 1, 1865 and 1 P.M.

tember 10 and close on SATURDAY, December 1, 1863 and 1 M
Payment will be considered due June 1, 1867, but an instead ent of 10 per cent, or true do lars per shave, must be end at he time or subscribing. The balance may be paid from time to time, at the option of the subscribers, before the 1st of Kovenner, 1867 on a payments, heluding the accressial instalment, made before the 1st of June 1867 discount will be allowed at the rate of 6 per cent, per annum and on a longments unade between that date and the 1s of November 1867, interest will be charged at the same rate.

All sock in the paid up in fail by the 1st of November, 1867 will be noriested to the use of the Company Certificates for the new stock will not be issued until after June 1 1867 and said stock, it paid up in fail, will be entitled to the November 1867, but to no earlier dividend.

SOLOHON ShEPHERD,
Treasurer.

DEPARTMENT OF RECEIVER OF TAKES FIGURE AND THE TO PERSONAL TAX PAYERS.

Any receipt issued by an AC main for Personal Texes for any year order to 1838 (for City or State) is no valid he call early stateoffeed parties and clined for the collection of such taxes are the Definquent Tax Collectors, or the Cierks at this office.

Information is respectfully requested when any person or persons attempt to Issue such receipts, as they will be dealt with according to igw.

CHARLES O'NEILL.

Receiver of Tax is. DEPARTMENT OF RECEIVER OF

JEFFERSON MEDICAL COLLEGE—
FORTY SECOND SESSION OF LECTURES.

The General Introductory will be delivered on MONDAY EVENING SEXT, October 8 at 7% P. M., by Pretessor WALLACE. The regular Lectures will begin the WALL CE. The regular Lecture WALL CE. The regular Lecture at 9 o'clock A. M. ROBLEY DUNGLISON, Dean. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT,

101st SESSION 1888-57.

The regular Lectures of this School will commence on MONDAY October 8, and continue until the 1st of March. Fee for the full course, 240.

1034: R. E. ROGERS, M. D. Dean Medical Faculty.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE Stockholders of the CRESCENT CITY OIL. OMPANY will be held at their office So 258 - THIRD Steet on TUENDAY, October 9 at 12 o'clock noon, for the election of officers.

M. BUZBY Secretary.

BATCHELOR'S HAIR DYE
THE BEST IN THE WOLLD.
Barmless reliable, instantaneous, the only periect mless reliable, instantaneous, the only periect No disampointment, no ridiculous thus, but true to nature, black or brown, GEN LINE IS SIGNED WILLIAM A. BATCHELOR, Begoverating Extract of Millefleurs restores, preserves, and beautifies the hair prevents buildness, rold by all Druppiers. Factors No 81 BARCLAY St., N.Y. 335

JUST PUBLISHED—
By the l'hysicians of the
NEW YORK MUSEUM, the Ninctieth Edition of their FOUR LECTURES,

entitled-To be had tee, for four stamps be nodressing Secretify New York Susseum of Ann emy, Sec. New York Susseum of Ann emy, New York, Sec. No. 683 | ROADWAY, New York,

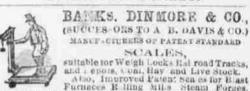
LEGAL NOTICES.

STATE OF JOHN DUPOUY, DECEASED .-A STATE OF A OHN DUPOUY, DECEASED.—

The Auditor appointed by the Orphans' Court for the Chiv and County of Philadelphia to audit, settle, and asjust the account of HoRA 10 G. JONES, Administrator of the estate of JOH'S EUPOUY deceased and to report distribution of the balance in the hands of the accountant, will meet the parties interested for the puriouses of his appointment on MONDAY, October 8, 1860, at 4 o'clock P. M. at his Office, No. 711 W. ALNUT Street, in the city o Philade pilla.

91; thereby.

STANDARD SCALES.



SCALES,
suitable for Weigh Looks Hai road Tracks,
and repois, con Hay and Live Stock.
Also, Improved Patent Scales for Blast
Foundries and Bithe variances R Hing Miles Steam Forges,
Foundries and Pathe variance and Patent Beams
a. W. Corner FIFIENTH and PENESTLVANIA
Avenue Phindelphia (9 14 Imrp
C. M. Banks.
Lewis L Gount
P. H Dinmore, Frederick A. Richle.

*RUSSES, SUPPORTERS, ETC.

PHILADELPHIA SURGEONS
BANDAGE INSTITUTE, No. 14 N.
NINTH Street, above Market.—B. C.
EVERETT, and thirty years' practical experience,
guarantees the skillul adjustment of his Fremian
Palent Graduatine Pressure Truss, and a variety of
others Supporters, Flastic Stockings, shoulder Brades
Crutches, Suspensories, etc. Ladies' apartments conducted by a Lady.

5293 USE STARIN'S CONDITION POWDERS

FOR HORSES AND CATTLE.

It cures Worms, Butts, and Co in. It cures Colds, Coughs, and Wide-Bound. It is the best alternive for Horses and Cattle now se, having a reputation of 20 years' standing

It is a sure preventive for the much creaded Rinder

pess.

No Farmer or Dauvman should be without it.

For sa e in Philadelphia by DYOT: & CO. No. 232

North St COND. Street; JOHNSON, HOLLOWAY & CO. WDEN, No. 23 North SIXTH Street, and by Drugghis throughout the country. Address all orders to STABIN & FLOYD, Proprietors,

No. 209 DUANE Street, New York.

HARD RUBBER ARTIFICIAL
LIMBS. Arms. Legs. Appliances for
Desormity, etc. etc. These Limbs are
transerred from line in form and ill;
are the lightest, most durable comfortable. Perfect and artis its substitutes
yet invented They are approved and
adapted by the United States Government and our brincipal surveous. Patten ed August 18,
1665; May 23, 1865; May I, 1866. Address

Ro 659 * RCH Street, Philadelphia.

Pamphiets free.

DOWN RIVER LINE, STEAMER
SWAS from Second Pler above ARCH
Street evely TUESDAY, THURSDAY and SAIURDAY Moraing, at 3 o'clock, for Chetter Pennsgrov.,
New Casile, Deleware city, Port Penn Bombay Hook,
Drakyne's Landing, Smyrna, Leigde, and DoverFersenger and Freight line.

922 78