THE THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS

24.0

Lecture of Hon. William D. Kelley, at National Hall, Last Evening, Before the Social, Civil, and Statistical Association.

ISPECIAL PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT FOR THE EVEN-ING TELEGRAPH.]

My Fellow-Citizens:-Thank God those words to-night are full of meaning. My fellow-citizens, I come with less pleasure before you to address you to-night, than I have done any time since 1840, and that for the reason that you, who during all that time were nothing, were between persons and things, are to-day a political power in the country-(applause)-and may, ere long, reward the men who served you. (Applause.) He who defends your cause hence forth must prove by other means than mere words his devotion to the cause of right and justice. When Wade Hampton courts the freed-men of South Carolina, and compromises with them, and they pat him on the back and pro-mise that it he will only do as well in the future as he was doing on that day, they will have his disabilities removed, then the Darkey is a power in the land. (Applause and laughter. yet the atternoon papers tell me that that thing happened two or three days ago in South Carolina. Yes, before ten years, you will find the bine-eyed, light-haired, red-cheeked politicians swearing that there is a large infusion of African blood in their velns, (Ap That point has already been reached. planse,) The Thirty-ninth Congress-and that is my theme-was elected chiefly in the fall of 1864. The members from our own grand old State grand in her resources, and grand in the part which, under Providence, she has been able to play in the recent political contests of the country-the representatives of our State were elected in October, 1864, by the terms of the Constitution of the United States. That Congress could not meet until the first Monday in December, 1865, unless summoned in special session by the President of the United States, A brief period !

It must terminate on the 4th of March. 1867. From October, 1864, to March, 1867. period of about twenty-nine months, how brief a period in the life of a nation ! And yet, my friends, if it be, as Tennyson has it, "that fitty years of Europe was better than a cycle of Carthage," we have enjoyed and endured, during that brief period, ages of ordinary life.

More of political influence has been embodied and quickened in that brief period than you find in in any age or history that you may con. For the work we have done here is not thished. Nor is the destiny of our country complete, for, ample as are its dimensions, countless as are to be its people and their generation upon a theatre broad enough for the action of the principle that have been quickened into life. These principles rock the British monarchy to-day, and they will surely traverse and be accepted all the nations of Europe, or they will swell the population of the free republic of America. by the emigration of the best citizens of every

Twenty-nine months! I cannot do justice to the subject I have indicated, nor will it soon be done. State-men will con it, orators will dis cuss it. Historians will narrate it, and God's providence, as it rolls on, will develope the work to the view of men. I come rather to entertain you for an hour by refreshing your memories than to impart to you any special knowledge, or to point a moral by what I am LO SHV

When the election for the Thirty-ninth Congress occurred in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and two more Western States, the work of reconstruction was not the subject of political consideration. The issues in this election were -"Has the warbeen a failure?" "Can the South be conquered ?" "Is is not the duty of the North fortawith to grant an armistice, the consequence of which must be the establishment of a military confederacy upon our Southern border, and the conviction that the hundreds of thousands slain and maimed in our cause have been victims to delusion or innaticism ?"

These were the questions upon which I went into the campaign. These were the questions that engaged the minds of you voters, and that engaged more intensely the minds of you inx-paying but non-voting citizens, who, with a i-given instinct, saw that your rights the rights of humanity in some way or other underlaid the issue, insignificant as it seemed to be upon its surface. Upon these issues the Thirty-ninth Congress was elected. Abraham Lincoln-name ever to be blessed !--(applause)-was elected President, and was established simply, to our view, to preside over the destinies of the country, and to influence them for weal or woe by his great character, and the immense patronage belonging to his office, with the councils of that Congress. He was inaugurated. He exercised his high office in his second term for a period but little over a month; and, you know the story-he was succeeded by Andrew Johnson. It would be curious to speculate upon what would have been the course of events had not the assassin's hand removed Abraham Lincoln. It would, however, be idle. That hand did remove him, and Andrew Johnson became President, and ere a little wers had closed. those long used to read the designs of Provi dence in the occurrences of the day, said Abraham Lincoln had fitly closed his immortal career. It was for him to bring the war to a successful conclusion. But with his gentle hand, we would not have been stern enough in enforcing just measures against penitent Rebels, and in his successor we have one schooled in the iniquities and the hardness of the nature of the people of the South, familiar with their ways, familiar with their social life, familar with the great powers they exercise, and the source of that power in their large landed estates, in their maintainance of igno rance as the law for the multitudes, and with all the other great powers which they exercised, and by which they maintain their power. His utterances justified such conclusions, Loyal men were to reorganize the Southern States, if a few such could be found, treason was to be made odious, and traitors were to be unished. They were, underlall circumstances to be made to take back seats. Their lands were to be confiscated, and divided among the soldiers of our army and the poor whites whom they had oppressed. There was no conception of a Northern mind which demanded a guarantee for the future punishment of the wrong-doer which his language did not fulfil. Members of Congress who had been leaders of opinion before, felt that their duty was to put down this intense radical, this man who might perchance degrade the nation by the violence of the punishments he was dispo inflict upon wrong-doers. Wendell Phillips early took a stand against punishment, and for reconstruction. Horace Greeley echoed his noble and philanthropic utterances, and the bravest of the members of either House of Congress, who had come over from the Thirty eighth, said in answer-We may have to bridl this man somewhat, but his impulses are right. and his motives, fwithin proper restraints, ar the ones that will give ultimate and perpetual pence to the country. I will not detain you, for it is not within the purview of my subject, at least at the present time, to take even a rapid glance of what took place from the date of his inauguration to the assembling of Congress. You know them all-you know as well as I do that by brief utterances, he summoned the radicals to his support. With Wade, now Vice-President of the United States (applause); with Sumner, of Massachu setts (applause); with greater than either of them, glorious old Thad. Stevens. (Uproarious laughter.) The grandest man and the grandest laughter.) The grandest man and the grandest statesman it has ever been my privilege to know (applause), railled to the support of Andrew Johnson, and hoped there should be a name linked with that of Lincoln, no less illus-trious than his. That as Lincoln had been the enfranchiser of the people, it would have been his honor to protect their homes, and let the clara co free. That Andrew Johnson should be slave go free. That Andrew Johnson should be the man to so organize the political society of America, that forever thereafter men should be men wherever haw prevails. (Applause.)

10.

You may not know that at a very early day, while his words were commanding the cond-dence of the radicals of the country, in Condence of the radicals of the country, in Con-gress and out, he was secretly treating with the leaders of the Rebellion; that are he had been two weeks in the office, he was writing or super-vising editorinks, announcing that Audrew Johnson had never been anything else than a Democrat, and they who elected him would ind he had adhered to his early faith. You remember the progress of the quarrel; that while the radicals were praying him and swearing by him, he was saying to others that

swearing by him, he was saying to others that his policy was to cause the radicals to slough off; that he meant to organize a party out of the moderate men of both parties, and he did not expect the support of these very men with whom he was holding confidential intercourse, and whom he was requesting to go forth and

proclam his views. The first Monday in December came, and that Congress which had been elected upon the issues indicated, met. As it entered the hall it jostled, and was jostled, by Senators elected and members elected from all the Rebel States, from members elected from an the Reper States, from all save one. How came they there? They were there at the bidding of Andrew Johnson. My friends, let us look the facts fully in the face. Misled by Andrew Johnson's words, we had in town meeting, in county meeting, in State convention, and in our political organizations, resolved that we approved and endorsed the policy of President Johnson.

The members elected to Congress in the elec-tions that were held in the spring of 1865 were all elected on platforms indorsing the pollcy of Andrew Johnson; and as he had instructed these Southern men to organize States and constitutions, and, moreover, as the political or-ganizations of the North professed to approve of that policy, these men came, not doubting their sion, and not doubling that by that admission the chieffaius of the Rebellion would, even in the Thirty-ninth Congress, rule the entire republic, and rule it to its ruin. They did not come as supplicants for their places: they came demanding it. J ney came saying, Here is the Constitution, for instance, of North Carolina. We made it in obcdience to the dictates of the Government, and if you do not admit us we will back Andrew Johnson in his threatened appeal to the people, and at the coming elections huri you from power, Mark the position, will you? There was not

an honest member of the Republican party that did not believe that the future welfare of our country, interlaced with that of the world, deended upon the continued predominance of the Republican party. What were the real issues before the people? How far did the people, in endorsing Andrew Johnson's policy. and in still hoping to induce him to do what was right in living up to his own promise, how far did the people accept that policy? How far might Congress go without overwhelming the party?

These were questions that pressed themselves upon every member of the Thirty-ninth Con-gress when it assembled in Washington. Mr. ohnson had control of the patronage of the Government, and when you speak of the offices of the Government in their pecuniary value, you make but a small estimate of the patronage of the Government.

I remember with much pleasure, and so do many of the people of Philadelphia, our humble and brave soldiers - humble iot because they were not wealthy, humble not because they had not fine social relations, but humble because, having got these, they had strapped their knapsacks on their backs, and shouldered the musket, and died, and liald, if need be, in the unknown trench, that the An erican Union and freedom might be preserved. (Applause.) The President's patronage consists largely in

his influence in pleasant social intercourse. Your laws are often made in the Executive chamber, or in the ante-room adjoining it. because the President uses undue influence there, but because the President and the heads of Departments, and the Members of the two Houses of Congress, meeting separately in their proper official functions, meet socially there, and neet also with distinguished citizens from different States, from their own and others, and thus the views of men naturally apart from each other are brought together, and much of your legislation is really moulded and modified by the pleasant intercourse of the Executive mansion and the ante-rooms of the Departments. This is wise and well.

the offices with their power and their emoluments go into the hands of the narty that had been arrayed against the country. during the whole war, and were then, even after the war was over, arrayed against freedom, and against the men who had fought in the war, and the civilians who had sustained them. It was no question for Congress to consider, Shall we still try to woo this man? Shall we make concessions to him, if he and those around him will in the form of concessions so as agree not to do quite so badly as they seem

sake of the President's induced and power, but there were others among them as honest in their views as were Thad. Stevens and Charles Sumner. I instance one—the Hon. Columbus Delano, of Onio! No one ever doubted the patriotism and the courage of the Hon. Colum-bus Delano. He had not been elected upon the course without Courages and mot the President issue "that Congress, and not the President, had the right to reconstruct the States." That was not the question in the contest, for be was elected on the same day that I was. He had been elected on issues which had terminated with the surrender of the armies of Lee and Iohnston

And there were other men as honest and as high-toned as himself. For look at the New York delegation (and I point these things out to show you the terrible influences that were operating in the secret councils of that Con-gress.) There were Henry J. Raymond, of New York city: his intimate friend from boyhood, William H. Darling, of New York city: there was Judge Davis, from one of the interior districts; there was Mr. Marvin, a private clergyman, an unprofessional man, and a true man, but largely influenced by these more cultivated men, who had filled hirger places before the public gaze. There was Mr. Humphreys, who died during Congress, from the Brooklyn district, and these men had all been trained, as it were, at the feet of that once great and glorious, but now fallen statesman, William H. Seward. They had followed his fortunes through good and evil report, from boyhood fill they were upon the downhill of life. They had counselled with that other arch apostate, whose grateful heart overflowed with gratitude for Andrew Johnson for having saved the country by his 22d of February speech, Thurlow Weed. (Laughter.) There was another man from the editorial chair of that widely-circulated journal - the New York Times. There were questions of doubt and difficulty before these men, and it was asking them to be more than men to ask them boldly to turn and denonnce those whose lead they had followed, and with whom they had taken counsel from the time they had en tered into the political arena or had understood political subjects.

I could point you to United States Senators all through the upper House, upon whose proper decision of that one question, "Who "Who shail reconstruct the States, and who has the power ?" depended-as I have, I think, already stated-the eatire future welfare of the country. Do you ask me where you can find the philosophy that guided the House? whose eachings they followed ? Yes, I can tell you where you can find the philosophy embodied. but I cannot tell whose teachings they fol-lowed. A great book is a thing of a century. We don't get many great books, though we get a great many books. In 1862 Sidney George isher, Esq., of Philadelphia, published one of he most remarkable books of our country toney George Fisher, Esq., a lawyer of Philadelphis, who made no pretension to practize at the bar, published in 1862 a book called "The Trial of the Constitution."

He who will read the book will find embodied in it the philosophy which pervaded all the final action of the Thirty-ninth Congress. No man has studied the highest exposition of the Constitution of the land who has not read this work. In it are the theories which controlled ongress, and I say to you with solemn truth that until within the last two months I know no single member of Congress, save myself, who has carefully read that book. Mr. Fisher embodica in elegant style, though marked by some evidence of haste, all the theories which enabled Congress to grasp and grapple with the great subjects before it, which brought it and the country through. (Applause.)

Congress having assumed that it was its duty o reconstruct the states, went quietly on with its outy, and that was to protect the Union men of both colors in the South. Mark the position. Andrew Johnson and the Democracy of the North claimed that there were States there, but Congress quietly said, "No! There is only conquered territory." It did not agree upon its terms, for men who voted with us every time Thus to separate from the President of the United States was to forego all this, and to see and would run into an angry discussion on the question whether the States were in or out of the Union, but, as if Providence had them by the hand, though their theories would lead them otherwise, when they came to vote the majority always voted practically for the Territorial bill. You may scan all the votes of the Thirtyninth Congress, and you may find in the dis-cussions of those who voted, that they often voted in harmony with the theory that they were conquered territory and must be governed by the military arm of the country. (Applnuse.) It was Emerson, I think, who said, "They builded before they knew how." They developed a theory executing it in advance. The Freedmen's Bureau was an agency by which they could protect the Southern people A bill was passed for its enlargement; it had been my privilege to be a member of the committee to frame the original bill, and to stand second on the committee of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Well, the bill came to the President for signature. It was vetoed, and you rememwribow the heart of the country sank. On its entering the Senate again, this bill became law, notwithstanding the objections of the President. Meanwhile the sentiment flew from the extremity of the country into the centre. The constituencies spoke no longer endorsing his policy, but demanding that Congress should protect every man born of woman in the South, and the moral force of the country flowed into Congress, and flowed into the Senate, and when the President vetoed the Civil Rights bill, and t came before Congress again, it passed without consideration by more than two-thirds in both Houses, and the heart and hopes of the country were reassured. (Applause.) The Freedman's Bureau bill was then taken up and modified slightly, so that it should not be the same bill, but another, and sent again to the President. It was vetoed, and the heart and voice of the country spoke through the Senate and it became the law of the land. (Applause.) But it did nothing to subdue Andrew Johnson. It did nothing to subdue the people of the South. They went on persecuting white Union nen. Northern imen, and negroes. Why, the game laws of England afford better protection to the hunted have than the laws of these so, called Southern States gave to the free American citizens entranchised by the Civil Rights bill. Governor Hamilton came to us from Texas, telling us of hundreds of murders. Men would write write to us, using slips of paper. White men who had not been known during the war as Unionists would write to us, using slips of paper, and bury them in an old newspaper, and Postmasters were even direct them to us. afraid of their own clerks, afraid to let the people know that they were corresponding with a radical in Congress. (Applause.) And that illustrates the freedom and security that was illustrates the freedom and security that was given to the Union men and the negroes, who felt the throb of American hearts in their posoms when they heard their country's call. (Applause.) Andrew Johnson swung around the circle. (Laughter.) He had no doubt but that Con-gress had ruined itself. He had no doubt that when the Thirty-ninth Congress came together, he would be sustained by the people of the North, in union with the people of the South, in driving Congress from its halls. It may be in driving Congress from its halls. It may be said that that is a statement which cannot be sustained, if the trial of Andrew Johnson on the charges of high crimes preferred against him ever takes place. (Great applause.) If it does not take place, it will be because there is a power that can suborn witnesses, though It could not suborn the people and the Congress of the United States.

the Thirty-ninth Congress, I would fight to death in my seat before I would vote to admit Tennessee as she now is." (Applause.) Tet, as I say, the combinations made with the president, or to carry out the President's views, mustered strength enough to be within seven votes to effect that trainforous purpose. Trai-torous, do you say? Oh, no! not trainforous at all. I admit that some went that way for the sake of the President's influence and power, but there were others among them as honest in their views as were Thad. Stevens and Charles Summer. I instance one—the Hon. Columbus Delano, of Onio! No one ever doubted the the Constitution, and that, if the President clearly saw that if he could not save the Union Congress acting, it would be his duty to save the Union by driving Congress out, and saving the Union without Congress, and he promised that the next article should show now it would be done, but that next article never appeared. (Applanse.) On the October night that we gathered in

such numbers in front of the Union League, to hear what the people of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana had been doing, Andrew Johnson was in the Executive Chamber, at the Whit House, hearing only from his parasites and satel-He was bearing that the majority in hites. Berks county was largely swollen; and he was hearing that the First Congressional District in Philadelphia was rolling up a majority which was terrifying to Union men; and when he re-tired for the night, he congratulated his friends upon the endorsement of his policy by the people.

In that same spirit this article saw daylight, as did the one in the Boston *Mercury*, a paper then just established for the sustenance of the Johnson cause; and in that same spirit had Andrew Johnson prepared those interrogatories to hus Attorney-General which appeared in the Public Ledger, and which were subsequently denounced as the Ledger houx. These questions were pre-pared in the White House, and were meant to be put, and would have been put if the election in question had sustained Andrew Johnson and his policy. They were in harmony with every atterance be made from the platform of a car while swinging around the circle from Washington to St. Louis and from St. Louis back to Washington. They were in unison with all the utterances made to Southern men. They were in accordance with the shrewd editorial of the Daily News of Philadelphia, on the morning atter election, which was but the first of a series -the second and third of which I hope to see, at least in manuscript, as part of the secret history of a conspiracy to overthrow the Govern-ment of the United States. (Applause.) The Committee appointed to devise means of reconstruction had not completed its work at the order of the unorther devise means of

the end of six months, and when it reported a mensure, it was not a measure of reconstruc-tion; it was the preliminary measure of reconstructiou; it was to guard the country against the repudiation of the public debt, and it was to guard the country against the assumption of the Confederate debt; it was to protect that bread, beautiful, and fertile ierritory stretch-ing from the Potomac to the Bio Grande, which had been drenched in patriot and Rebel blood. from double taxation-first, for the payment of the national debt; second, for the payment of the Contederate debt. For it provided that no State should ever pay the debt it had con-tracted in aid of the Confederacy. It was to secure equal civil rights-and equal political power, and it received the sympathy and corhat support of every true man.

"When that section was read which gives the Southern States, when they should be recon-structed, the right to exclude their colored people, I expressed my irrevocable hostility to the proposition, and others did the same. (Appiause.) Yet when the final test came I voted for that measure; I sent it before the country, and I spoke to the people of the country on the political condition; and why did I revoke that which I regarded as irrevocable, and advocate that which I loathed from my inmost nature, the doctrine that the United States could embody in its fundamental law a decree that a State might distranchise any portion of its citizens? Why? because I saw, as others had seen, that in the Republican party, let the past be what it may, tout it was the great party of our country for the future; and because I saw in the rising tide of public sentiment through the country, that no States could be organized in the South on any other basis than that of human equality, recognizing man as man, and investing every man with the fall enloyment of all civil and political rights,

(Applause.) Thus when the session of Congress adjourned. t had asserted its control over the quest

Asked what will be the consequence of this measure, and then been governed by right and outy, as were the men of the Thirty-nutli Con-stess, we should not have had this war, and freedom would long ago have been the law of the land. (Applause.) For thirty years our legislation did but re-eche the dictation of the selfish polyticians of the land; but in the Thirty-ninth Congress there was a preponderating power of men who there was a preponderating power of men who saw duty, who saw justice, who recognized a great duty first to the country and then to God, and who remembered that there was nothing so usciul to the country as men, and nothing so dear to God as His children boidly legisla-ting for the welfare of men-and justice was on all outsiders the country like the all questions the controlling test.

In the Thirty-ninth Congress was what will be seen and acknowledged as the moral effect of this law, and I challenge the record of the Thirty-ninth Congress in comparison with any other in that behalf. I say that Congress had in it more men of far-reaching insight and inde ment, more men of trained courage-that coarare which enables a man to conquer, not his adversary only, but himself, to yield his own convictions, to yield his own aspirations, to bury himself, as it were, and as the common sol-dier does, as one of a great army, achieving a measure-than any other convocation of which I have ever read.

Its great difficulty was not in the courage that it showed in doing, but the courage that it showed in bearing through this long session of the Thirty-ninth, when every paper that came in to any of us contained no word of praise, but many words of censure. We were slow, we were wa-fing our time in idle talk, when we ought to be up and doing. We were not impeaching, we were not overthrowing the Governors. But we were at work gathering information from the freedmen, from persons who were native Unionists, from every source from which in-formation could be drawn, and our doings and reports have been carried to the country, The Fortieth Congress enters upon compara-tively easy work-a President restrained, and powerful enemy vanquished the second time, and cheerfully accepting the conditions imposed upon it. It is a great and an able body of men. It will make its own mark; and had

the Thirty-ninth Congress decided the point that under the Constitution the President should reconstruct the States, the story of the Fortheth Congress would not have been what it was, or what it will be; and I doubt whether there would ever again been an assembling of the Fortleth Congress. (Applause.)

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e intent upon ' The question had to be met at once and firmly, and by resolution, and by those who determined that if God would sustain them in the effort, they would control the Thirty-ninth Congress, and so change the aspect of affairs, (Applause.) What my own humble position was I need not tell you. I sought an early opporta-nity to come to my home, and among the people of my native State to sound the alarm, by speaking of the duties and the dangers of the (Applause.) I notified the country that Andrew Johnson contemplated a coup d' dat, in which the Constitution should be overthrown. and the representatives of the people expelled or excluded from its capital, and a government of traiters from the South, and those from the North who sympathized with him, inaugurated in its stead. Men said-Trash. There are times when to pause is to lose all, and the majority of the Union party m Congress never saw the hour that they were not guided by the faith, "That to pause was to abandon the country !"

The first issue that engaged the attention of Congress was, Who has the power to reconstruct the Rebel States? They speedily cided that it was Congress; and on the first day of business they appointed a committee of fifteen, consisting of nine members of the lower House and six of the upper House, to take testimony as to the condition of the country and to report a oill. They settled the question that no person should be admitted as a member to either House from the Rebei States till that committee should have reported. and this report have been acted upon. This was point No. 1.

Now, my fellow-citizens, do you know how near we were to losing this point number one? One of our American story-writers has written a story to illustrate how near we come to danger and to death without knowing it. And th country does not yet know how near it came to danger and to death upon that very question. You knew that there were meetings being held of members of our party who sympathized with the President. You know that motions were continually made on the floor to admit the Represesentatives of Tennessee and the Representatives from Arkansas. But you do not know that an arrangement had been made which came within seven, of giving those who favored the admission of these States the control of your ongress. Four changes from our ranks, and nnessee and Arkansas would have been mitted early in the long session of the Thirty-ninth Congress; and, with the addition of the members from those two States, there would have been an end of the possibility of two-thirds on the radical side in the House.

There would, then, as a necessary conse-quence, have been made the successful argu-ment for the admission of every State that would assume the mask of loyalty by electing a loyal man from any Congressional district, for the whole argument went upon this:--*These people have elected loyal men, and you have no

people have elected loyal men, and you have no right, so long as they have elected loyal men, to assume that they are disloyal, or to exclude them from the Thirty-ninth Congress." Yet, before it closed, the very men who came from Arkansas claiming membership to the House were back again thanking Congress and the Almichty that they had here kept out, for House were back again thanking Congress and the Almighty that they had been kept out, for they and their triends were being hunted from their homes by the Johnson Rebels of Arkansas, (Applause.) And Colonel Stokes, in speaking of the same thing with regard to Tennessee, while in Connecticut, said, "Were I member of

As there are many views known to each one of us which we cannot prove, so I know many

reconstruction. It has passed two laws. for providing the people of the South with food. seed, employment, and schools; another assert-ing the equal civil rights of all; and had submitted to the country, as an amendment to the

Constitution, a provision which opened the way for jud reious reconstruction.

Now let me show you something of the pro-gress of the country. The first bill submitted to the Thirty-ninth Congress was submitted by the representative of the Fourth District of Pennsylvania, upon the subject of suffrage in the District of Columbia. (Applause.) And it proposed simply to starke out the word "white" from any law, whether of Maryland or Virgi-nia, or of any ordinance of the cities of Washnia, or of any ordinance of the cities of Wash ngton and Georgetown, that regulated suffrage; in other words, it proposed to give every colored man in the District the right to vote. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and was referred back without modification, and when came into the House there were motions to nodify it. Some gentlemen wanted to admit all who could read the Constitution. Some wanted to admit only those who could read and write, while some wanted the property qualid-

There was nearly one-half of the Republican party who shrank from their own principles and were afraid to apply them, by emphatically declaring that, under the flag that waved over the dome of our Capitol, every man was a free citizen, eligible to all the rights and all the honors of the country. (Applause.) And it was adroitly moved to refer the bill to a committee, with instructions to put in some of these unlifications.

Now, my fellow-citizens, like David Downs, we were very near to danger, even to death. Yet we did not seem to know it. If the Demo erats had voted to recommit that bill, it would have been recommitted. They held the palance of power between the two wings of the Repubcan party, and they wanted to do the worst thing they could. There is a power that resem-bles alike the wrath and folly of man for his glory. And they said, We will make this bill so listasteful to the Republicans that they shall themselves vote it down. We won't recor We will vote for absolute, unqualified

legro suffrage. (Applause.) On the question, "Shall the bill be recom-mitted, with instructions?" there were a few radicals on the Democratic side engaged in conversation. I remember I was engaged with an emment poet and statesman, Jack Rogers. of New Jersey, (Applause.) My old friend Stevens had put his cane under his arm, and was engaged with two or three gentlemen. The was engaged with two or three gentlemen. The vote being by tellers, when they reported it a small number passed over, but when the other side passed over you would have thought it was the August Convention. The Democrats deleated the recommitment of the bill. There you have it, gentlemen, simply, Shall every citizen yota two recommendations. citizen vote irrespective of color? Is man a man? Do you entertain the republican faith It you do, go it. If you don't, political damnation awaits you, (Tremendous applause.)

When the ayes and nays were called, every man on that side said aye. (Applause.) Then, they said, "You have got us there !" Others shook their fists at the Democrats, and said, "You made us do right, and we will let our constituent. constituents know we would not have done

You ask me, who was in that Congress that compared with Webster or with Clay in debate? I ask you, who was in the opposition to pro-voke discussion at its hands? There was not a single speaker of marked ability on the Democratic side; and to wrangle among ourselves would have been rather unworthy work, when other matters were pressing upon our attention. I know not that any man in the House or in the Senate could have compared with either; and on the other hand, I know not that either of them could have made the admirable report of William Pitt Fessenden, in submitting the re-

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