Address to the People of the United States.

The following is the address issued by the National Convention, lately held in Philadelphia, to the people of the United

To the People of the United States :

Having met in convention at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 16th day of August, 1866, as the representatives of the people of all sections, and all the States and Territories of the Union, to consult upon the condition and the wants of our common country, we address to you this declaration of our principles and of political purposes we seek to promote.

Since the meeting of the last National Convention, in the year 1860, events have occurred which have changed the character of our internal politics and given the United States a new place among the nations of the earth. Our Government has passed through the vicissitudes and the perils of civil war; a war which, though mainly sectional in its character, has nevertheless decided political differences that from the very beginning of the Govern-ment had threatened the unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and ineffaceable, upon all the inter-ests, sentiments and the destiny of the Republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country severe losses in life and in property, and has imposed burdens which must weigh on its resources for genera-tions to come, it has developed a degree of national courage in the presence of national dangers, a capacity for military organization and achievement, and a devotion on the part of the people to the form of Government which they have ordained, and to the principles of liberty which that Government was designed to promote, which must confirm the confidence of the nation in the perpetuity of its republican the civilized world. Like all great contests which rouse the passions and test the endurance of nations, this war has given new scope to the ambition of political parties, and fresh impulse to plans of innovation and reform. Amidst the chaos of conflicting sentiments, inseparable from such an era, while the public heart is keenly alive to all the passions that can sway the public judgment and affect the public actions; while the wounds of war are still fresh and bleeding on either side, and fears for the future take unjust proportions from the memories and resentments of the past, it is a difficult but an imperative duty which, on your behalf, we who are here assembled have undertaken to perform.

For the first time after six long years of alienation and of conflict, we have come together from every State and every section of our land as citizens of a common country, under that flag, the symbol again of a common glory, to consult together how best to cement and perpetuate that Union which is again the object of our common love, and thus secure the bles-

sings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. In the first place, we invoke you to remember always and everywhere that the citizens of one country, bound by the du-ties and obligations of a common patriotests apart from a common destiny. The duties that devolve upon us now are again the duties of peace, and no longer the du-ties of war. We have assembled here to war has made, and perfect and perpetuate the benefits it has secured, and the blessings which, under a wise and benign Providence, have sprung up in its fiery track. This is the work, not of passion, but of calm and sober judgment; not of resentment for past offences, prolonged beyond the limits which justice and reason prescribe, but of a liberal statesmanship, which tolerates what it cannot prevent, and builds its plans and its hopes of interest and ambition than upon distrust and the weapons of force. In the next place, we call upon you to recognize, in their full significance, and to accept with all their legitimate consequences, the political results of the war just closed. In two most important particulars, the victory achieved by the National Government has been final and decisive. First, the real character of the war, and the with such conditions as it may dictate. victory by which it was closed, should be accurately understood. The war was

no enlarged jurisdiction; no rights, either tern States from the next. of territorial possession or of civil auconferred upon it, either in express terms, or by fair and necessary application, by the Constitution of the United States.

It was that power and that authority which the rebellion sought to overthrow, and the victory of the Federal arms was simply the defeat of that attempt. The Government of the United States acted throughout the war on the defensive. It was already its own. Neither the war nor the victory by which it was closed changed, in any way, the Constitution of to to establish and maintain free govern-the United States. The war was carried ment in Mexico and the States of South on by virtue of its provisions, and under the limitations which they prescribe, and the result of the war did not either enlarge, abridge, or in any way change or affect the powers it confers upon the Federal Government, or release that Government from the restrictions which it has imposed. The Constitution of the United States is, to-day, precisely as it was before the war, "the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." And, to-day, also, pre-cisely as before the war, "all the powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the General Government, nor prohibited by it to the States, is reserved to the several States, or to the people thereof."

This position is vindicated not only by the essential nature of our Government, and the language and spirit of the Constitution, but by all the acts and the language of our Government in all its departments and at all times. From the outbreak of the rebellion to its final overthrow, in every message and proclama-tion of the Executive, it was explicitly declared that the sole object and purpose of the war was to maintain the authority of the Constitution and to preserve the integrity of the Union. And Coninstitutions, and command the respect of gress, more than once, reiterated this solemn declaration, and added the assurance that, whenever this object should be attained, the war should cease; and all the States should retain their equal rights and dignity unimpaired. It is only since the war was closed that other rights have been asserted on behalf of one department of the General Government. It has been proclaimed by Congress that, in addition to the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, the Federal Government may now claim over the States, the territory and the people involved in insur-rection, the rights of war, the right of conquest and of confiscation; the right to abrogate all existing Governments, institutions and laws, and to subject the territory conquered, and its inhabitants, to such laws, regulations and deprivations as the legislative departments of the Government may see fit to impose.

Under this broad and sweeping claim, that clause of the Constitution which provides that "no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate of the United States," has been annulled, and ten States have been refused, and still are refused, representation altogether in both branches of the Federal Congress; and the Congress in which only a part of the States and of the people of are represented, asserts the right to govwar is ended, and the nation is again at the Union are represented has asserted peace. The shock of contending arms no the right thus to exclude the rest from longer assails the shuddering heart of the representation and all share in making Republic. The insurrection against the their own laws, or choosing their own supreme authority of the nation has been rulers, until they shall comply with such the other ten from all share in their own suppressed, and that authority has been conditions and perform such acts as this Government, until it sees fit to admit them again acknowledged by word and act in every State, and by every citizen within scribe. That right has not only been asits jurisdiction. We are no longer required serted, but it has been exercised and is the most absolute and intolerable tyranor permitted to regard or treat each other practically enforced at the present time. ny? Nor do these extravagant and unas enemies. Not only have the acts of Nor does it find any support in the theowar been discontinued, and the weapons ry that the States thus excluded are in powers and authority never conferred of war laid aside, but the state of war no rebellion against the Government, and upon the Government by the Constitution of war laid aside, but the state of war no rebellion against the Government, and longer exists; and the sentiments, the therefore precluded from sharing its aupassions, the relations of war, have no longer lawful or rightful place anywhere throughout our broad domain. We are thority. They are one and all in an attitude of loyalty towards the Government, and of again people of the United States-fellow- sworn allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. In no one of them is their right to representation, and that they there the slightest indication of resistance ism, and having neither rights nor inter- to this authority, or the slightest protest the supreme legislative authority of the against its just and binding obligation. Government, on its own terms and its own This condition of renewed loyalty has discretion. If representation in Congress been officially recognized by solemn proctake counsel concerning the interests of the laws of the United States have been favor, this statement might have the merit in the fundamental law without the conlamation of the Executive Department; peace; to decide how we may most wise- extended by Congress over all these of plausibility; but representation is, under ly and effectively heal the wounds the States and the people thereof; Federal the Constitution, not only expressly courts have been re-opened, and Federal recognized as a right, but it is imposed as taxes imposed and levied; and, in every a duty, and it is essential, in both respects, respect, except that they are denied represention in Congress and the electoral the maintenance of its authority. In free college, the States once in rebellion are now recognized as holding the same position, as owing the same obligations, and individuals, by due process of law. Nor subject to the same duties, as the other can constitutional duties and obligations States of our common Union.

It seems to us, in the exercise of the calmest and most candid judgment we can for the future rather upon a community bring to the subject, that such a claim, so enforced, involves as fatal an overthrow of the authority of the Constitution, and as complete a destruction of the Government and Union, as that which was sought to be effected by the States and people in armed insurrection against them both. It cannot escape observation that the power thus asserted to exclude certain States from representation is made nulled and rendered void when the insurit has established, beyond all further con- to rest wholly on the will and discretion troversy, and by the highest of all human of the Congress that asserts it. It is not the right of representation, nor the duty sanctions, the absolute supremacy of the made to depend upon any specified conto be represented was in the least impair-National Government, as defined and ditions or circumstances, nor to be sublimited by the Constitution of the United ject to any rules or regulations whatever. have been that, by reason of the insurrechas put an end, finally and forever, to the States that have rebelled-it is the right not be fulfilled. existence of slavery upon the soil or of any Congress, in formal possession of within the jurisdiction of the United the legislative authority, to exclude any States. Both these points became direct. State or States, and any portion of the and unlawful authority in the territory by involved in the contest, and controvers by upon both was ended absolutely and finally by the rebut. In the third place, some discretion, and until the United States which is made by that college, at its own discretion, and until the United States which is made by that college, at its own discretion, and until the United States which is made by that college, at its own discretion, and until the United States which is made by that college, at its own discretion, and until the United States which is made by that content is the United States which is made by that content is the United States which is made by that the united States which is made by that content is the United States which is made by that the united States which is made by we deem it of the utmost importance that they shall perform such acts and comply fundamental law the essential condition

carried on by the Government of the Congress, may change as the Congress it-United States in maintenance of its own self shall change. One Congress may ex- necessary consequence, no man could authority and in defence of its own exis- clude a State from all share in the Govtence, both of which were menaced by ernment for one reason, and that reason ernment of the United States maintained may be excluded on the opposite ground and it ceased to exist when the usurpaernment of the United States maintained by force of arms the supreme authority over all the territory, and over all the territory, and over all the scaled Southern States from one Constitution confers upon it.

States and purpose, and that help dividuals before the judicial tribunals of the thorn, the credit, nor the interior and purpose, and that help dividuals before the judicial tribunals of the thorn, the credit, nor the interior and purpose, and that help dividuals before the judicial tribunals of the thorn, the credit, nor the interior and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been overthrown, and the States and grain restriction of our republication, and the compound the former of the honor, the credit, nor the interior and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been dividuals before the judicial tribunals of the ther in a fraternal spirit, with a common purpose, and that help dividuals before the judicial tribunals of the thorn, the credit, nor the interior and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been overthrown, and the States and organized communities, they have gress. The ascendency of Western or of sumed their allegiance to the Constitution confers upon it.

Southern interests, or of both combined, tion and laws of the United States.

We might reply to this: First, that we large ment of the nation would be safe if they dividuals before the judicial tribunals of the therm interests, upon whatever reforms the exclude some interior and it ceased to exist when the usurpation propose, and that the state in the communities and purpose and it ceased to exist when the usurpation propose, and that the communities and purpose and it ceased to exist when the surpation propose, and that the communities and purpose and it is the communities.

But it acquired thereby no new power; may exclude the Northern or the Eas-

Improbable as such usurpations may of territorial possession of of the stablishment of the control of The character, indeed the very existence, of Congress and the Union is thus made dependent solely and entirely upon the party and sectional exigencies or forbearances of the hour.

We need not stop to show that such action not only finds no warrant in the Constitution, but is at war with every principle of our Government, and with sought only to hold possession of what the very existence of free institutions. It is, indeed, the identical practice which has rendered fruitless all attempts hither-

America. Party necessities assert themselves as superior to the fundamental law, which is set aside in reckless obedience to their behests. Stability, whether in the exercise of power, in the administration of Government, or in the enjoyment of rights, becomes impossible-and the conflicts of party, which, under constitutional Governments, are the conditions and means of political progress, are merged in the conflict of arms, to which they directly and inevitably tend.

It was against this peril, so conspicuous and so fatal to all free Governments, that our Constitution was intended especially to provide. Not only the stability, but the very existence of the Government is made by its provisions to depend upon the right and the fact of representation. The Congress, upon which is conferred all the legislative power of the National Government, consists of two branches, the Senate and House of Representatives, whose joint concurrence or assent is essential to the validity of any law. Of these, "the House of Representatives," says the Constitution, Article 1, Section 2, "shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States." Not only is the right of representation thus recognized as possessed by all the States, and by every. State, without restriction, qualification, or condition of any kind, but the duty of choosing representatives is imposed upon the people of each and every State alike, without distinction, or the authority to make distinction, among them, for any reason, or upon any grounds whatever. And, in the Senate-so careful is the Constitution to secure to every State this right of representation—it is expressly provided that "No State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage" in that body, even by an amendment of the Constitution itself.

When, therefore, any State is excluded from such representation, not only is a right of the State denied, but the constitutional integrity of the Senate is impaired, and the validity of the Government itself is brought in question. But Congress, at the present moment, thus excludes from representation in both branches of Congress ten States of the Union; denying them all share in the enactment of laws by which they are to be governed, and all participation in the election of the rulers by which those laws are to be enforced. In other words, a Congress, in which only twenty-six States ern, absolutely, and in its own discretion, all the thirty-six States which compose the Union; to make their laws and choose their rulers, and to exclude just claims on the part of Congress to

find any warrant in the arguments or excuses urged in their behalf. It is alleged:

1. That these States, by the act of rebelion, and by voluntarily withdrawing their members from Congress, forfeited can only receive it again at the hands of and participation in the Government were simply privileges conferred and held by to the existence of the Government and to Governments, fundamental and essential rights cannot be forfeited, except against be discarded or laid aside. The enjoyment of rights may be, for a time, suspended, by the failure to claim them, and

perform them. The withdrawal of their members from Congress by the States which resisted the General Government was among their acts of insurrection-was one of the means and agencies by which they sought to impair the authority and defeat the action of the Government. And that Act was anrection itself was suppressed. Neither ed by the fact of insurrrection, but it may

This was, in fact, the case. An insurgent power, in the exercise of usurped under its control, had prohibited that alof representation in its Government. No Obviously the reasons for such exclu- man within the insurgent States was alstitution of the United States, and, as a of permanent union and peace. lawfully represent those States in the councils of the Union. But this was only the condition of the Southern States and For whatever

seem, the establishment of the principle rectly from the laws of war; that it is Constitution of the United States. Secinsurrection of its own people, upon its own soil, against its authority. If we had These would, in our judgment, be full carried on successful war against any foreign nation, we might thereby have advanced for the exclusion of these States len exclusively upon neither section, and acquired possession and jurisdiction of from the Union. But we say further, their soil, with the right to enforce our that this plea rests upon a complete mislaws upon their people, and to impose apprehension or an unjust perversion of upon them such laws and such obligations as we might choose. But we had before firm that there is no section of the countries of families, the disruption the war complete jurisdiction over the soil of the Southern States, limited only the United States find a more prompt and throw of Governments, of law, and of orby our own Constitution. Our laws were entire obedience that in those States and the only national laws in force upon it; the Government of the United States was against them, or where there is less the loss of political, commercial, and moral the only Government through which those purpose or danger of any future attempt influence, in every shape and form which States and their people had relations with foreign nations, and its flag was the only flag by which they were recognized or inevitable that, in States or sections so re-known anywhere on the face of the earth. cently swept by the whirlwind of war, In all these respects, and in all other re- where all the ordinary modes and mespects involving national interest and thods of organized industry have been right, our possession was perfect and com-plete. It did not need to be acquired, but that guarantee social order have been deonly to be maintained, and victorious war stroyed, where thousands and tens of against the rebellion could do nothing thousands of our turbulent spirits have more than maintain it-it could only vinneither enlarge nor diminish the authority society, and where the keen sense of de-which that Constitution confers upon the feat is added to the overthrow of ambiitself prescribes. The claim that the sup-pression of an insurrection against the Government gives additional authority and power to that Government, especially that it enlarges the jurisdiction of Congress, and gives that body the right to exclude States from representation in the tion itself can have no authority and no existence, it seems to us is at variance alike with the principles of the Constitu-tion and with the public safety.

3. But it is alleged that in certain particulars the Constitution of the United States fails to secure that absolute justice and impartial equality which the princi-ples of our Government require. That it was in these respects the result of compromises and concessions, to which, however necessary when the Constitution was formed, we are no longer compelled to for its exercise in the hostile conduct of the insurgent section, the actual Government of the United States may impose its own conditions and make the Constitution ideas of equality and the rights of man.

Congress, at its last session, proposed amendments to the Constitution enlarging, in some very important particulars, the authority of the General Government over that of the several States, and reducing, by indirect disfranchisement, the representative power of the States in which slavery tormerly existed. And it is States to be most seriously affected by forced surrender was accepted by the to jarring States.

The war just closed—with all its sorrows. States by three-fourths of the remaining electoral college.

It is the unquestionable right of the changes in the Constitution as they, upon due deliberation, may deem expedient .-But we insist that they shall be made in the mode which the Constitution itself points out, in conformity with the letter and the spirit of that instrument, and with the principles of self-government and equal rights which lie at the basis of our the United States. republican institutions. We deny the right of Congress to make these changes including especially those to be most seriously affected by them, or to impose them upon States or people as conditions of representation, or of admission to any of the rights, duties or obligations which belong, under the Constitution, to all the States alike. And with still greater emphasis do we deny the right of any portion of the States, excluding the rest of the States from any share in their coun-

cils, to propose or sanction the changes in the Constitution which are to affect permanently their political relations, and duties may be evaded by the refusal to the several members of the common Union. Such an exercise of power is simply a usurpation—just as unwarrantable when exercised by Northern States as it not to be fortified or paliated by anything in the past history either of those by allowed to share. whom it is attempted, or of those upon whose rights and liberties it is to take eftution; it is at war with the fundamental indissolubility of the Federal Union as a necessary consequence. And second, it has not confined to States in rebellion, nor to has not confined to States in rebellion, nor to has not confined to States in rebellion, nor to has not confined to States in rebellion, nor to has not confined to States in rebellion, nor to has not confined to States in rebellion, nor to have not confined to States in rebellion and the notice of the restriction.

2. But it is asserted, in support of the have no right for such reasons to deny to that can fall on offending States, in the in possession of power, that it flows di- expressly conferred upon them by the of unsuccessful war. among the rights which victorious war ond, that so long as their acts are these solely, so far as the rights they confer are their sentiments and opinions to our own. place or force in this regard in a war the Union to protect and defend, under and moral, which they were powerless to waged by the Government to suppress an all contingencies and by whatever means

These would, in our judgment, be full terrible as have been the bereavements and conclusive answers to the plea thus and the losses of this war, they have falexisting facts. We do not hesitate to af That in the death of relatives and friends,

to overthrow their authority. It would seem to be both natural and inevitable that, in States or sections so re-Government by which it was achieved. tion and hope, scenes of violence should by the amendment of the Constitution forebodings of the patriotic and well-disitself, and such amendment can be made posed. It is unquestionably true that loby more or less of violence, do still occur, and larger towns of the Southern States, where different races and interests are where passions and resentments are alnational councils, without which the na- break. And even there they are quite as the part of the people to the authority of the National Government.

But the concurrent testimony of those best acquainted with the condition of society and the state of public sentiment in the South, including that of its represencountry.

History affords no instance where a people so powerful in numbers, in resources, and in public spirit, after a war in pursuance thereof. so long in its duration, so destructive in all had for the time been overthrown .people of the United States to make such No steps could have been better calculated to command the respect, win the confidence, revive the patriotism and secure the permanent and affectionate allegiance of the people of the South to the Constitution and laws of the Union, than those

been since impaired—if the people of the South are to-day less cordial in their allegiance than they were immediately upon the close of the war-we believe it is due partment of the General Government tofrom all participation in our common Government; to the withdrawal from them of rights conferred and guaranteed by the Constitution, and to the evident purpose Congress, in the exercise of a usurped and unlawful authority, to reduce them from control or coerce the legitimate action of the rank of free and equal members of a Republic of States, with rights and dignities unimpaired, to the condition of conquered provinces and a conquered people -in all things subordinate and subject to would be if exercised by Southern, and the will of their conquerors-free only to obey laws, in making which they are not

No people has ever yet existed whose loyalty and faith such treatment, long fect. It finds no warrant in the Consti- continued, would not alienate and impair, and the ten millions of Americans who principles of our form of Government. If live in the South would be unworthy cititolerated in one instance, it becomes the zens of a free country; degenerate sons precedent for future invasions of liberty of an heroic ancestry, unfit ever to bequence, to the most fatal and intolerable with uncomplaining submission, the huof all tyrannies—the tyranny of shifting miliation thus sought to be imposed upon and irresponsible factions. It is against them. Resentment of injustice is always this, the most formidable of all the dangers which menace the stability of a free Government, that the Constitution of the people lately in insurrection, but insur-United States was intended most carefully gents now no longer, to protect against to provide. We demand a strict and the imposition of unjust and degrading steadfast adherence to its provisions. In conditions, makes them all the more worsion being wholly within the discretion of lowed to take the oath to support the Concommonwealth, and gives still firmer as-4. But it is alleged, in justification of surance of the future power and freedom

the condition of the Southern States and | For whatever responsibility the Souththe insurrection which it sought to suppression of that insurrection accomplished that result. The Govtion accomplished that result accomplished that result are the first that the grade in the Condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in the condition of the country that they are still disloyal in t in sentiment and purpose, and that nei- throw, they may be held to answer as in- tions, the States and the General Government can

authority claimed by the Congress now any portion of the States or people rights losses, the sufferings, and the humiliations

But whatever may be the guilt or the punishment of the conscious authors of among the rights which victorious war old, that so long as their acts are those always confers upon the conquerors, and which the conqueror may exercise or waive, in his own discretion. To this we waive, in his own discretion. To this we of the Constitution and laws, we have no mass of those who become involved in its reply, that the laws in question relate right to exact from them conformity in responsibility acted upon what they believed to be their duty, in defence of what concerned, to wars waged between alien Third, That we have no right to distrust they had been taught to believe their and independent nations, and can have no the purpose or the ability of the people of rights, or under a compulsion, physical resist.

> Nor can it be amiss to remember that, upon neither party; that they have fallen those with whom the war began .der; the destruction of property, and of great calamities can assume, the States and people which engaged in the war against the Government of the United States have suffered ten-fold more than those who remained in allegiance to the Constitution and laws.

These considerations may not, as they certainly do not, justify the action of the people of the insurgent States; but no just or generous mind will refuse to them very been suddenly loosed from the discipline considerable weight in determining the dicate and re-establish the disputed su- of war, and thrown, without resources of line of conduct which the Government of premacy of the Constitution. It could restraint upon a disorganized and chaotic the United States should pursue towards them. They accept, if not with alacrity, certainly without sullen resentment, the defeat and overthrow they have sustained. Such an enlargement or abridgement of defy, for a time, the imperfect discipline They acknowledge and acquiesce in the constitutional power can be effected only of law, and excite anew the fears and result, to themselves and the country, which that defeat involves. They no longer claim for any State the right to only in the modes which the Constitution | cal disturbances of this kind, accompanied | secede from the Union. They no longer assert for any State an allegiance parabut they are confined entirely to the cities mount to that which is due to the General Government. They have accepted the destruction of slavery, abolished it by brought more closely in contact, and their State Constitutions, and concurred with the States and people of the whole ways most easily fed and fanned into out Union in prohibiting its existence forever break. And even there they are quite as upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of much the fruit of untimely and hurtful the United States. They indicate and political activation as of any hardlitter. political agitation as of any hostility on evince their purpose just so fast as may be possible and safe to adapt their domestic laws to the changed condition of their society, and to secure by the law and its tribunals equal and impartial justice to all classes of their inhabitants. They admit the invalidity of all acts of tatives in this Convention, establishes the resistance to the national authority, and fact that the great mass of the Southern of all debts incurred in attempting its people accept, with as full and sincere overthrow. They avow their willingness submission as do the people of the other to share the burdens and discharge all States, the re-established supremacy of the duties and obligations which rest upon submit, and that now, having the power, the national authority, and are prepared, them in common with other States and through successful war, and just warrant in the most loyal spirit, and with a zeal other sections of the Union, and they reque kened alike by their interest and their new, through their representatives in this pride, to co-operate with other States and | Convention, by all their public conduct in sections in whatever may be necessary to every way, and by the most solemn acts defend the rights, maintain the honor, by which States and societies can pledge conform, in all its provisions, to its own and promote the welfare of our common their faith, their engagement to bear true faith and allegiance, through all time to come, to the Constitution of the United States, and to all laws that may be made

Fellow-countrymen, we call upon you, its progress, and so adverse in its issue, in full reliance upon your intelligence and have accepted defeat and its consequences with so much of faith as has marked the and ungrudging confidence this full surconduct of the people lately in insurrec- render on the part of those lately in arms claimed that these amendments may be tion against the United States. Beyond against your authority, and to share with made valid as parts of the original Con- all question, this has been largely due to them the honor and renown that await made valid as parts of the original Con-stitution, without the concurrence of the the wise generosity with which their en-those who bring back peace and concord

generals in immediate command of their and disasters-has opened a new career States as conditions of their re-admission armies, and to the liberal measures which of glory to the nation it has saved. It to representation in Congress and in the were aftewards taken to restore order, has swept away the hostilities of sentitranquility and law to the States, where ment and of interest which were a standing menace to its peace. It has destroyed the institution of slavery-always a a cause of sectional agitation and strifeand has opened to our country the way to unity of interest, of principle and of action, through all time to come. It has developed in both sections a military cawhich have been so firmly taken and so pacity and aptitude for achievements of war, both by sea and land, before unknown even to ourselves, and destined to And if that confidence and loyalty have exercise hereafter, under united councils, an important influence upon the character and destiny of the continent and the world. And while it has thus revealed, disciplined and compacted our power, it to the changed tone of the legislative de- has proved to us, beyond controversy or doubt, by the course pursued towards wards them; to the action by which Con- both contending sections by foreign powgress has endeavored to supplant and de-feat the President's wise and beneficent own independence, and that the princiers, that we must be the guardians of our policy of restoration; to their exclusion ples of republican freedom we represent can find among the nations of the earth no friends or defenders but ourselves.

We call upon you, therefore, by every considera-tion of your own dignity and safety, and in the name of liberty throughout the world, to complete the work of restoration and peace which the Pres-ident of the United States has so well begun, and which the policy adopted and the principles asserted by the present Congress alone obstruct. The time is close at hand when members of a new Congress are to be elected. If that Congress shall perpetuate this policy, and by excluding loyal States and people from representation in its halls, shall continue the usurpation by which the legislative powers of the Government are now exercised, common prudence compels us to anticipate augmented discontent, a sullen withdrawal from the duties and obligations of the Federal Government; internal dissensions and a general collision of sentiments, and pretensions which may renew, in a still more fearful shape, the civil war from

which we have just emerged.

We call upon you to interpose your power to prevent the recurrence of so transcendant a calamity. We call upon you in every Congressional District of every State to secure the election of members who, whatever other difference may characterize their political action, will unite in recognizing the right of every State of the Union to representation in Congress, and who will admit to seats in either branch every loyal representative from every State in allegiance to the Government, who may be found by each House, in the exercise of the power con-ferred upon it by the Constitution, to have been duly elected, returned and qualified for a seat

therein.
When this shall have been done, the Government will have been restored to its integrity. The Constitution of the United States will have been re-established in its full supremacy, and the American Union will have again become what it was designed to be by those who formed it—a sovereign nation, composed of separate States, each like itself, moving in a distinct and independent sphere, exercising powers defined and reserved by a common Constitution, and resting upon the assent, the confidence, and co-operation of all the States and all the people subject to its authority. Thus re-organized and restored to their constitutional relationships of the constitution of the con