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THE SENTINEL.

Wednesday, August 22, 1866.

ADDRESS

To the People of the United States.

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

Since the meeting of the last National Convention in the year 1860 events have occurred which have changed the character of our internal 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 government had threatened the unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and ineffaceable upon all the interests, sentiments, and the destiny of the Republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country severe losses in life and in property and has imposed burdens which must weigh on its resources for generations to come, it has developed a degree of 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 institutions, and command the respect of the civilized world. Like all great contests which rouse the passions and test the endurance of nations, this war has given new scope to the ambition of political parties, and fresh impulse to plans of innovation and reform. Amidst the 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 blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

In the first place, we invoke you to remember always and everywhere that the war is ended, and the nation is again at peace. The shock of contending armies no longer assails the shuddering heart of the Republic. The insurrection against the supreme authority of the nation has been suppressed, and that authority has been again acknowledged by word and act in every State, and by every citizen within its jurisdiction. We are no longer required or permitted to regard or treat each other as enemies. Not only have the acts of war been discontinued, and the weapons of war laid aside, but the state of war no longer exists, and the sentiments, the passions, the relations of war, have no longer lawful or rightful place anywhere throughout our broad domain. We are again people of the United States, fellow citizens of one country, bound by the duties and obligations of a common patriotism, and having neither rights nor interests apart from a common destiny. The duties that devolve upon us now are again the duties of peace, and no longer the duties of war. We have assembled here to take counsel concerning the interests of peace; to decide how we may most wisely and effectively heal the wounds the war has made, and perfect and perpetuate the benefits it has secured, and the blessings which, under a wise and benign Providence, 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 offenses, prolonged beyond the limits which justice and reason prescribe, but of a liberal statesmanship which tolerates what it cannot prevent, and builds its plans and its hopes for the future rather upon a community of interest and ambition than upon distrust and the weapons of force. In the next place, we call upon you to recognize, in their full significance, and to accept, with all their legitimate consequences, the political results of the war just closed. In two most important particulars the victory achieved by the National Government has been final and decisive. First, it has established, beyond all further controversy, and by the highest of all human sanctions, the absolute supremacy of the National Government, as defined and limited by the Constitution of the United States, and the permanent integrity and indissolubility of the Federal Union as a necessary consequence. And second, it has put an end, finally and forever, to the existence of slavery upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. Both these points became directly involved in the contest, and controversy upon both was ended absolutely and finally by the result. In the third place, we deem it of the utmost importance that the real character of the war, and the victory by which it was closed, should be accurately understood. The war was carried on by the Government of the United States in maintenance of its own authority and in defence of its own existence, both of which were menaced by the insurrection which it sought to suppress. The suppression of that insurrection accomplished that result. The Government of the United States maintained by force of arms the supreme authority over all the territory, and over all the States and people within its jurisdiction, which the Constitution confers upon it. But it acquired thereby no new power; no enlarged jurisdiction; no rights, either of territorial possession or of civil authority, which it did not possess before the rebellion broke out. All the rightful power it can ever possess is that which is conferred upon it, either in express terms, or by fair and necessary implication, by the Constitution of the United States.

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

This position is vindicated not only by the essential nature of our government, and the language and spirit of the Constitution, but by all the acts and the language of our government in all its departments and at all times.—From the outbreak of the rebellion to its final overthrow, in every message and proclamation of the Executive it was explicitly declared, that the sole object and purpose of the war was to maintain the authority of the Constitution and to preserve the integrity of the Union. And Congress more than once reiterated this solemn declaration, and added the assurance that whenever this object should be attained the war should cease, and all the States should 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 claim over the States, the territory and the people involved in the insurrection, 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 the people of the Union are represented has asserted the right thus to exclude the rest from representation and all share in making their own laws, and in choosing their own rulers, until they shall comply with such conditions and perform such acts as this Congress, thus composed, may itself prescribe. That right has not only been asserted, but it has been exercised and is practically enforced at the present time. Nor does it find any support in the theory that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the Government, and therefore precluded from sharing in its authority. They are not thus in rebellion. They are, one and all, in an attitude of loyalty towards the Government, and of sworn allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. In no one of them is there the slightest indication of resistance to this authority or the slightest protest against its just and binding obligation. This condition of renewed loyalty has been officially recognized by solemn proclamation of the Executive Department; the laws of the United States have been extended by Congress over all these States and the people thereof; federal courts have been reopened, and federal taxes have been imposed and levied; and, in every respect, except that they are denied representation in Congress and the electoral college, the States once in rebellion are now recognized as holding the same position, as owing the same obligations, and subject to the same duties, as the other States of our common Union.

It seems to us, in the exercise of the calmest and most candid judgment we can bring to the subject, 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 to rest wholly on the will and discretion of the Congress that asserts it. It is not made to depend upon any specified conditions or circumstances, nor to be subject to any rules or regulations whatever. The right asserted and exercised is absolute, without qualification or restriction—not confined to States in rebellion, nor to States that have rebelled—it is the right of any Congress, in formal possession of the legislative authority, to exclude any State or States, and any portion of the people thereof, at any time, from representation in Congress and in the electoral college, at its own discretion, and until they shall perform such acts and comply with such conditions as it may dictate.

Obviously the reasons for such exclusion, being wholly within the discretion of Congress, may change as the Congress itself shall change. One Congress may exclude a State from all share in the Government for one reason; and that reason removed, the next Congress may exclude it for another. One State may be excluded on one ground to-day, and another may be excluded on the opposite ground to-morrow. Northern ascendancy may exclude southern States from one Congress. The ascendancy of western, or of southern interest, or of both combined, may exclude the northern or the eastern States from the next.

Improbable as such usurpations may seem, the establishment of the principle now asserted and acted upon by Congress will render them by no means impossible. The character, indeed the very existence, of Congress and the Union is thus made dependent solely and entirely upon the party and sectional exigencies or 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 the very existence of free institutions. It is indeed the identical practice which has rendered fruitless all attempts hitherto to establish and maintain free governments in Mexico and the States of South America.

Party necessities assert themselves as superior to 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 to 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 has excluded 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 whom those laws are to be enforced. In other words, a Congress in which only twenty-six States are represented asserts the right to govern, absolutely, and in its own discretion, all the thirty-six States which compose the Union; to make their laws and choose their rulers, and to exclude the other ten from all share in their own government until it sees fit to admit them thereto. What is there to distinguish the power thus asserted and exercised from the most absolute and intolerable tyranny? Nor do these extravagant and unjust claims on the part of Congress to powers and authority never conferred upon the Government by the Constitution find any warrant in the arguments or excuses urged in their behalf. It is alleged:

First. That these States, by the act of rebellion, and by voluntarily withdrawing their members from Congress, forfeited their right to representation, and that they can only receive it again at the hands of the supreme legislative authority of the Government on its own terms and its own discretion. If representation in Congress and participation in the Government were simply a privilege [illegible] held by favor, this argument might have the merit of plausibility; but representation is, under our Constitution, not only expressly recognized as a right, but it is imposed as a duty, and it is essential in both respects to the existence of the Government and to the maintenance of its authority. In free governments, fundamental and essential rights cannot be forfeited, except against individuals, by due process of law. Nor can constitutional duties and obligations be discarded or laid aside. The enjoyment of rights may be for a time suspended by the failure to claim them, and duties may be evaded by the refusal to perform them.

The withdrawal of their members from Congress by the States which resisted the General Government was among their acts of insurrection—was one of the means and agencies by which they sought to impair the authority and defeat the action of the Government. And that act was annulled and rendered void when the insurrection itself was suppressed. Neither the right of representation nor the duty to be represented was in the least impaired by the fact of insurrection, but it may have been that, by reason of the insurrection, the conditions on which the enjoyment of that right and the performance of that duty for the time depended could not be fulfilled.

This was in fact the case. An insurgent power, in the exercise of usurped and unlawful authority in the territory under its control, had prohibited that allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States which is made by that fundamental law the essential condition of representation in its government. No man within the insurgent States was allowed to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and as a necessary consequence, no man could lawfully represent those States in the councils of the Union. But this was only an obstacle to the enjoyment of the right and to the discharge of a duty. It did not annul the one nor abrogate the other, and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been overthrown, and the States had again resumed their allegiance to the Constitution of the United States.

Second. But it is asserted, in support of the authority claimed by Congress now in possession of power, that it flows directly from the laws of war; that it is among the rights which victorious war always confers upon the conqueror, and which the conqueror may exercise or waive, in his own discretion. To this we reply, that the laws in question relate solely, so far as the rights they confer are concerned, to wars waged between alien and independent nations, and can have no place or force in this regard in a war waged by a government to suppress an insurrection of its own people, upon its own soil, against its authority. If we had carried on a successful war against any foreign nation, we might thereby have acquired possession and jurisdiction of their soil, with the right to enforce our laws upon their people, and to impose upon them such laws and such obligations as we might choose. But we had before the war complete jurisdiction over the soil of the southern States, limited only by our own Constitution. Our laws were the only national laws in force upon it; the Government of the United States was the only government through which those States and their people had relations with foreign nations, and its flag was the only flag by which they were recognized or known anywhere on the face of the earth. In all these respects, and in all other respects involving national interest and right, our possession was perfect and complete. It did not need to be acquired, but only to be maintained, and victorious war against the rebellion could do nothing more than maintain it—it could only vindicate and re-establish the disputed supremacy of the Constitution. It could neither enlarge nor diminish the authority which that Constitution confers upon the government by which it was achieved. Such an enlargement or abridgement of constitutional power can be effected only by the amendment of the Constitution itself, and such amendments can be made only in the modes with the Constitution itself prescribes. The claim that the suppression of the insurrection against the Government gives additional authority and power to that government, especially that it enlarges the jurisdiction of Congress, and gives that body the right to exclude States from representation in the national councils, without which the nation itself can have no authority and have no existence, it seems to us is at variance alike with the principles of the Constitution and with the public safety.

Third. But it is alleged that in certain particulars the Constitution of the United States fails to secure that absolute justice and impartial equality which the principles of our Government require. That it was in these respects the result of compromises and concessions, to which, however necessary when the Constitution was formed, we are no longer compelled to submit, and that now, having the power, through successful war, and just warrant for its exercise in the hostile conduct of the insurgent section, the actual government of the United States may impose its own conditions and make the Constitution conform, in all its provisions, to its own ideas of equality and the rights of 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 formerly existed. And it is claimed that these amendments may be made valid as parts of the original Constitution without the concurrence of the States to be most seriously affected by them, or may be imposed upon those States by three-fourths of the remaining States as conditions of their re-admission to representation in Congress and in the electoral college.

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

Fourth. But it is alleged, in justification of the usurpation which we condemn, that the condition of the Southern States and people is not such as render safe their re-admission to a share in the government of the country; that they are still disloyal in sentiment and purpose, and that neither the honor, the credit, nor the interest of the nation would be safe if they were re-admitted to a share in its councils. We might reply to this: First, that we have no right for such reasons to deny to any portion of the States or people rights expressly conferred upon them by the Constitution of the United States. Second, that so long as their acts are those of loyalty, so long as they conform in all their public conduct to the requirements of the Constitution and laws, we have no right to exact from them conformity in their sentiments and opinions to our own. Third, That we have no right to distrust the purpose or the ability of the people of the Union to protect and defend, under all contingencies and by whatever means may be required, its honor and its welfare.

These would, in our judgment, be full and conclusive answers to the plea thus advanced for the exclusion of these States from the Union. But we say further, that this plea rests upon a complete misapprehension or an unjust perversion of existing facts. We do not hesitate to affirm that there is no section of the country where the Constitution and laws of the United States find a more prompt and entire obedience than in those States and among those people who were lately in arms against them or where there is less purpose or danger of any future attempt to overthrow their authority.

It would seem to be both natural and inevitable that in States or sections so recently [illegible] by the whirlwind of war, where all the ordinary modes and methods of organized industry have been broken up, and the bonds and influences that guarantee social order have been destroyed, where thousands and tens of thousands of turbulent spirits have been suddenly loosed from the discipline of war, and thrown, without resources of restraint, upon a disorganized and chaotic society, and where the keen sense of defeat is added to the overthrow of ambition and hope, scenes of violence should defy, for a time, the imperfect discipline of law, and excite anew the fears and forebodings of the patriotic and well disposed. It is unquestionably true that local disturbances of this kind, accompanied by more or less of violence do still occur, but they are confined entirely to the cities and larger towns of the Southern States, where different races and interests are brought more closely in contact and where passions and resentments are always most easily fed and fanned into outbreak. And even there they are quite as much the fruit of untimely and hurtful political agitation as of any hostility on the part of the people to the authority of the National Government.

But the concurrent testimony of those best acquainted with the condition of society and the state of public sentiment in the South, including that of its representatives in this Convention, establishes the fact that the great mass of the southern people accept, with as full and sincere submission as do the people of the other States, the re-established supremacy of the national authority, and are prepared, in the most loyal spirit, and with a zeal quickened alike by their interest and their pride, to co-operate with other States and sections in whatever may be necessary to defend the rights, maintain the honor, and promote the welfare of our common country.

History affords no instance where a people so powerful in number, in resources, and in public spirit, after a war so long in its duration, so destructive in its progress, and so adverse in its issue, have accepted defeat and its consequences with so much of good faith as has marked the conduct of the people lately in insurrection against the United States. Beyond all question this has been largely due to the wise generosity with which their enforced surrender was accepted by the President of the United States and the Generals in immediate command of their armies, and to the liberal measures which were afterwards taken to restore order, tranquility, and law to the States, where all had for the time been overthrown. 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 which have been so firmly taken and so steadfastly pursued by the President of the United States.

And if that confidence and loyalty have 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 to the changed tone of the legislative department of the General Government towards them; to the action by which Congress has endeavored to supplant and defeat the President's wise and beneficent policy of restoration; to their exclusion from all participation in our common government; to the withdrawal from them of rights conferred and guaranteed by the Constitution, and to the evident purpose of Congress, in the exercise of a usurped and unlawful authority, to reduce them from 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 the will of their conquerors—free only to obey laws, in making which they are not allowed to share.

No people has ever yet existed whose loyalty and faith such treatment, long continued would not alienate and impair, and the ten millions of Americans who live in the South would be unworthy citizens of a free country, degenerate sons of an heroic ancestry, unfit ever to become guardians of the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by the fathers and founders of this Republic, if they could accept, with uncomplaining submission, the humiliation thus sought to be imposed upon them. Resentment of injustice is always and everywhere essential to freedom; and the spirit which prompts the States and people lately in insurrection, but insurgents now no longer, to protest against the imposition of unjust and degrading conditions, makes them all the more worthy to share in the government of a free commonwealth, and gives still firmer assurance of the future power and freedom of the Republic.

For whatever responsibility the Southern people may have incurred in resisting the authority of the National Government, and in taking up arms for its overthrow, they may be made to answer as individuals before the judicial tribunals of the land; and for that conduct, as societies and organized communities, they have paid the most fearful penalties that can fall on offending States, in the losses, the sufferings, and the humiliations of unsuccessful war.

But whatever may be the guilt or the punishment of the conscious authors of the insurrection, candor and common justice demand the concession that the great mass of those who became involved in its responsibility acted upon what they believed to be their duty, in defence of what they had been taught to believe their rights, or under a compulsion, physical and moral, which they were powerless to resist.

Nor can it be amiss to remember that, terrible as have been the bereavements and the losses of this war, they have fallen exclusively upon neither section, and upon neither party; that they have fallen indeed with a far greater weight upon those with whom the war began. That in the death of relatives and friends, the dispersion of families, the disruption of social systems and social ties; overthrow of governments, of law, and of order; the destruction of property, and of forms, and modes, and means of industry; the loss of political, commercial, and moral influence, in every shape and form which 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 its Constitution and laws.

These considerations may not, as they certainly do not, justify the action of the people of the insurgent States; but no just or generous mind will refuse to them very considerable weight in determining the line of conduct which the Government of the United States should pursue towards them. They accept, if not with alacrity, certainly without sullen resentment, the defeat and overthrow they have sustained. They acknowledge and acquiesce in the result, to themselves and the country, which that defeat involves. They no longer claim for any State the right to secede from the Union. They no longer assert for any State an allegiance paramount to that which is due to the General Government. They have accepted the destruction of slavery, abolished it by their State constitutions, and concurred with the States and people of the whole Union in prohibiting its existence forever upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. They indicate and evince their purpose just so fast as may be possible and safe to adapt their domestic laws to the changed condition of their society, and to secure by the law and its tribunals equal and impartial justice to all classes of their inhabitants. They admit the invalidity of all acts of resistance to the national authority, and of all debts incurred in attempting its overthrow. They avow their willingness to share the burdens and discharge all the duties and obligations which rest upon them in common with other States and other sections of the Union, and they renew, through their representatives in this Convention, by all their public conduct in every way, and by the most solemn acts by which States and Societies can pledge 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 in pursuance thereof.

Fellow-countrymen, we call upon you, in full reliance upon your intelligence and your patriotism, to accept with generous and ungrudging confidence this full surrender on the part of those lately in arms against your authority, and to share with them the honor and renown that await those who bring back peace and concord to jarring States.

The war just closed—with all its sorrows and disasters—has opened a new career of glory to the nation it has saved. It has swept away the hostilities of sentiment and of interest which were a standing menace to its peace.—It has destroyed the institution of slavery—always a cause of sectional agitation and strife—and has opened 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 capacity and aptitude for achievements of war, both by sea and land, before unknown even to ourselves, and destined to exercise hereafter, under united councils, an important influence upon the character and destiny of the continent and the world. And while it has thus revealed, disciplined, and compacted our power, it has proved to us beyond controversy or doubt, by the course pursued towards both contending sections by foreign Powers, that we must be the guardians of our own independence, and that the principles of republican freedom we represent can find among the nations of the earth no friends or defenders but ourselves.

We call upon you, therefore, by every consideration of your own dignity and safety, and in the name of liberty throughout the world, to complete the work of restoration and peace which the President of the United States has so well begun, and 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 dissension and a general collision of sentiments and pretensions which may renew, in a still more fearful shape, the civil war from which we have just emerged.

We call upon you to interpose your power to prevent the recurrence of so transcendent a calamity. We call upon you in every congressional district of every State to secure the election of members who, whatever other differences 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 conferred upon it by the Constitution, to have been duly elected, returned, and qualified for a seat therein.

When this shall have been done, the Government will have been restored to its integrity. The Constitution of the United States will have been re-established in its full supremacy, and the American Union will have again become what it was designed to be by those who formed it—a sovereign nation, composed of separate States, 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 relations, the States and the General Government can enter in a fraternal spirit, with a common purpose and a common interest, upon whatever reforms the security of personal rights, the enlargement of popular liberty, and the perfection of our republican institutions may demand.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The National Union Convention, now assembled in the city of Philadelphia, composed of delegates from every State and Territory in the Union, admonished by the solemn lessons which for the past five years it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to give to the American people, profoundly grateful for the return of peace, desirous, as are a large majority of their countrymen, in all sincerity, to forget and to forgive the past, revering the Constitution as it came to us from our ancestors, regarding the Union in its restoration as more sacred than ever, looking with deep anxiety into the future as of instant and continuing trial, hereby issues and proclaims the following declaration of principles and purposes on which they have with perfect unanimity agreed:

1st. We hail with gratitude to Almighty God the end of the war and the return of peace to an afflicted and beloved land.

2d. The war just closed has maintained the authority of the Constitution with all the powers which it confers and all the restrictions which it imposed upon the General Government, unabridged and unaltered, and it has preserved the Union with the equal rights, dignity, and authority of the States perfect and unimpaired.

3d. Representation in the Congress of the United States and in the electoral college is a right recognized by the Constitution as abiding in every State, and as a duty imposed upon its people, fundamental in its nature and essential to the existence of our republican institutions, and neither Congress nor the General Government has any authority or power to deny this right to any State or to withhold enjoyment, under the Constitution, from the people thereof.

4th. We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress as members thereof none but men who admit the fundamental right of representation, and who will receive to seats therein loyal representatives from every State in allegiance to the United States, subject to the constitutional right of each House to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

5th. The Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. All the power not conferred by the Constitution upon the General Government, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people thereof; and among the rights just reserved to the States is the right to prescribe qualifications for the elective franchise therein, with which right Congress cannot interfere. No State or combination of States has the right to withdraw from the Union, or to exclude through their action in Congress or otherwise any other State or States from the Union. The union of these States is perpetual, and its government is of supreme authority, within the restrictions and limitations of the Constitution.

6th. Such amendment to the constitution of the United States may be made by the people thereof as they may deem expedient, but only in the mode pointed out by its provisions; and in proposing such amendments, whether by Congress or by a Convention, and in ratifying the same, all the States of the Union have an equal and indefeasible right to a voice and a vote thereon.

7th. Slavery is abolished and forever prohibited, and there is neither desire nor purpose on the part of the Southern States that it should ever be re-established upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States; and the enfranchised slaves in all the States of the Union should receive, in common with all their inhabitants, equal protection in every right of person and of property.

8th. While we regard as utterly invalid, and never to be assumed or made of binding force, any obligation incurred or undertaken in making war against the United States, we hold the debt of the nation to be sacred and inviolable, and we proclaim our purpose to maintain unimpeached the honor and the faith of the Republic.

9th. It is the duty of the National Government to recognize the services of the Federal soldiers and sailors in the contest just closed, by meeting promptly all their just and rightful claims for the services they have rendered the nation, and by extending to the widows and orphans of those of them who have fallen the most generous and considerate care.

10th. In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, who, in his great office, has proved steadfast in his devotion to the Constitution, the laws, and interests of his country, unmoved by persecution and unswerved by reproach, having faith unassailable in the people, and in the precepts of the Government, we recognize a chief magistrate worthy of the nation and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast; and we tender to him, in the discharge of his high and responsible duties, our profound respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, Caldwell County,
Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, July Term, 1866.

C. W. Clarke, Admr. of Hawkins Kerby, Dec'd, vs. Heirs at Law of said Dec. — *Petition for sale of Land.*

INTERLOCUTORY DECREE:

This cause coming on to be heard before the Court, on this, the 16th day of July, 1866, upon the petition which is sworn to and from which it appears that certain parties, mentioned in the petition, are minors of tender years, it is therefore ordered by the court that J. R. Wilson, Clerk of this Court, be appointed guardian *ad litem* for all the minors mentioned in said petition.

And it further appearing, from the allegation of said Petitioner, that C. H. Barber, and his wife Martha Barber, formerly Martha Kerby, and —— McDowell, and his wife Sarah, formerly Sarah Kerby, are non residents of this State, on motion it is ordered, adjudged and decreed by the Court, that publication be made in the Sentinel, a news paper published in Raleigh, for six successive weeks, requiring the said parties to appear before this worshipful court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions to be held for said county of Caldwell, at the Court House in Lenoir, on the first Monday in Sept. next, then and there to plead, answer or demur, or the same will be set for hearing *ex parte* as to them.

J. R. WILSON, C. C. C.

Aug. 16—6w