

LOYALTY OF THE SOUTH UNQU Fourth. But it is alleged, in justifica-tion of the usurpation which we condemn, that the condition of the Southern States and people is not such as render safe their readmission 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 in-terests of the nation would be safe if they were readmitted to a share in its councils. We might reply to this: 1. 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. 2. That so long as their acts are thos 2. 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. 3. 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 mis apprehension or an unjust perversion of existing facts. ITS PEACEABLENESS. We do not hesitate to affirm, that there is no section of the country where the Constitution and lawsof the United States find a more prompt and entire obedience than in those States, and among those than in those states, and annous discussion 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 whirlwind of war, where all the ordinary modes and methods of organized indusmodes and methods of organized indus-try have been broken up, and the bonds and influences that guarantee social or-der have been destroyed; where thou-sands and tens of thousands of turbulent spirits have been suddenly loosed from the discipline of war, and thrown, with-out resources or restraint, upon a disor-menical and abactic society and where ganized 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 im-perfect discipline of law, and excite anew the fears and forebodings of the patriotic and well-disposed. It is unquestionably true that local dis-turbances of this kind, accompanied by more or less of violence, do still occur. But they are confined entirely to the elt-ies and larger towns of the Southern States, where different races and interstates, where unifold these and inter-ests are brought most closely in contact, and where passions and resentments are always most easily fed and fanned into outbreaks; 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.

s wonderful remedy was discovered and in-	but the best bakers, and warrant them to be such, for we keep none other. Come and see the great variety. We can give hundreds of testimo-	skin, th F A
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to for sule by George Winters, wholesale and I liquor dealer, Second Street, Harrisburg, at Shower's liquor store, and at the Franklin	combines every requisite for economy and effi- clency in cooking. The public arc specially re- quested to call and see it, as we are confident it will fully recommend itself.	tail at improv goods, t
F. RAHTER.	March 22, 1866.—19. F. GARDNER & CO.	ware of are con
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PERMANENTLY CURED BY	COAL AND LUMBER.	Dec. 1
ELDON'S DYSPEPSIA TROCHES	The subscribers beg leave to inform the public that they continue the	H ^A
DYSPEPSIA PERMANENTLY CURED OR THE MONEY REFUNDED.	COAL AND LUMBER BUSINESS,	The Eastern
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e can give hundreds of testimo-	FANCY CASSIMERES.
Come and see our AND OFFICE STOVES	Also, a large variety of Cassinets and Tweeds, Kentucky Jeans, and Cottonnades, Linens, and Linen Drillings, in great variety. Also a great
r wood or coal.	assortment of
RS AND RANGES,	READY MADE CLOTHING. of every style and quality, White Linen and Woolen Shirts, Summer Drawers, co. Constant-
IN WARE,	by on hand a large assortment of Ties, Collars, Hoslery and Gloves, Linen, Silks and Cotton
at variety, made from the very I you need in our line can be	Also a full assortment of Trunks, Carpet Bags
saving of 20 per cent. Call at re Rooms, in rear of the Court ill save money in your purcha-	and Valises, of every size. Clothing made to order at the shortest notice. Call and examine the stock.
pay you to come. FING AND SPOUTING	Call and examine the stock. Don't forget the stand—South Hanover Street, adjoining Miller & Bowers' Hardware Store, Car-
ce. on to business the undersigned	lisle. ISAAC LIVINGSTON. May 10, 1866.
on to business the undersigned receive a liberal share of pub-	
WALKER & CLAUDY.	Mardware, Paints, &c.
RLISLE COOK!	MILLER & BOWERS, SUCCESSORS TO
D OLD HOUSEKEEPERS.	LEWIS F. LYNE,
fect Air-tight Gas Consuming stove for Coal or Wood.!	North Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa Dealeys in American, English and German
LAND SEE IT! Id Stove Rooms, Main St., Curlisic.	HARDWARE,
his Stove are new and original	Cutlery, Suddlery, Conch Trimmings, Shoe Findings, Morocco and Lining Skins,
ten up expressly for our use. We	Concer Trimings, Shoe Findings, Morocco and Lining Skins,
ARLISLE COOK!	Boot Trees
stoves. It is exceedingly hand- nce—is a perfect Air-tight and	and Shoemaker Tools of every description. Solid and Brass Box Vices, Hore Shoe
stoves. It is oxee the source of the source	Nails, Bar and Rolled Iron of all sizes.
the country. We cast two sizes, ants of both large and small fa-	HAMES AND TRACES.
	Carriage Springs, Axles, Spokes, Fellows, Hubs, &c., &c. Saws of every variety, Carpenters' Tools and Building Material, Table and Pocket Cutlery, Blotzet, Evely, and Spoons with an extensive as
RLISLE COOK	sortment of Hardware of all kinds and of the best mapufacture, which will be sold wholesale or re-
requisite for economy and effi- g. The public are specially re- id see it, as we are confident it nend itself.	tail at the lowest prices. We are making great improvements in our already heavy stock of
r. Grinning Co.	and Building Material, Table and Focket Cullery, Plated Forks and Spoons, with an extensive as- sortment of Hardware of all kinds and of the best manufacture, which will be sold wholesale or re- tail at the lowest prices. We are malcing great improvements in our already heavy stock of goods, and invite all persons in want of Hard- ware of every description to give us a call and we are confident you will be well paid for your trou- bie.
-ly.	Transing that by strigt attention to husiness and
ber and Coal.	a disposition to please all we will be able to maintain the reputation of the old stand. MILLER & BOWERS.
LUMBER.	Dec. 1, 1865.
beg leave to inform the public ie the	HARDWARE.
D LUMBER BUSINESS,	The subscriber has just returned from the Eastern Cities with the largest, cheapest, and
d of Delancey & Blair, where e best, and cleanest Coal in the cetly dry, kept under cover. Fa-	Eastern Cities with the largest, cheapest, and best selected assortment of Hardware, ever offer- ed in this county. Everything kept in a large wholesale and retail Hardware store, can be had a little lower than at any other house in the county, at the cheap hardware store of the sub- scriber.
bl to try us: as we are determin- Coal, and at as low prices as any he Town. Try us and be con-	a little lower than at any other house in the county at the cheap hardware store of the sub-
•	action.
on hand, and will keep all kinds ly kept in a first class Lumber vill sell as low or lower than the	Fifty tons nails and spikes just received of the
	merchants supplied with Nails at manufacturers
Il orders for Coal and Lum- Martin & Gardner's, Harris' and	prices. Six hundred pair Trace Chains of all kinds, with a large assortment of
es, and at Creamer's Jewelry underlich's Glassware and Gro- er of South Hanover and Pom-	BUTT CHAINS, HALTER CHAINS
t prices by	BREAST DO., FIFTH CHAINS, LOG CHAINS EDONCIUM (11 A 1NS)
DELANCY & SHROM.	LOG CHAINS, TONGUE CHAINS, &C.
LUMBER YARD.	HAMES.
having leased the Yard formerly astrong & Hoffer, and purchased	Three hundred and fifty pair of Hames of al kinds just received. Common pattern, London
•	kinds just received. Common pattern, Londoi pattern, Elizabethtown pattern with and withou patent fastenings, cheaper than ever.
AND LUMRBER, ogether with an immense new	PAINTS AND OILS.
ogether with an immense new constantly on hand and furnish is and quality of seasoned	Ten tons White Lead, 1,000 gallons Oil just re ceived, with a large assortment of Varnishes, Tun pentine, Japan, Putty, Litharage, Whiting
	Tyluo Shollog Point Brushes, Fire-proof Pain
ANTLING, FRAME STUFF, PALING, PLASTERING Lath. Worked Flooring and	Lead, Lard Oil, Boiled Oil, Sperm Oil, Fish Oi &c. Colors of every description, dry and in oil, i
PLASTERING	EADM BELLS.
Posts and Rails and every ar-	Just received the largest, cheapest, and best assortment of Farm Bells in the county. Green castle Metal and Bell Metal, warranted not t
is to a Lumber Yard. ingles, to wit: White Pine, Hem- f diferent qualities. Having cars n furnish bills to order of any	castle Metal and Bell Metal, warranted not t crack.
n furnish bills to order of any at the shortest notice and on the (terms. My worked boards will over, so they cau be furnished	POWDER.
over, so they can be furnished	Twenty-five kegs Dupont Rock and Rifle Pow der, with a large assortment of Safety Fuse, Fick
tiy on hand all kinds of FAM- er cover, which I will deliver, rt of the borough, to wit: Ly- sken Egg, Stove and Nut, Luke on, Locust Mountain, Lauberry nycel the soli at the lowest prices.	der, with a large assortiment of Safety Fuse, Pick Crowbars, Stone Drills, Stone Siedges, Stor Hammers, &c.
rt of the porough, to wit: Ly- bken Egg, Stove and Nut, Luke on Locust Mountain Lauberry	PUMPS AND CEMENT.
nyself to sell at the lowest prices, and Blacksmiths' Coal, always on	Fifty barrels of Cement, with a very lar e a sortment of Chain and Iron Pumps of all hind chemics they over at the bardware store of
nyself to sell at the lowest prices, and Blacksmiths' Coal, always on ill sell at the lowest figure. Yard mmar School, Main Street. AN DREW H. BLAIR.	cheaper than ever, at the hardware store o HENRY SAXTON, Dec. 1, 1865.
ANDREW H. BLAIR.	· Det, 1, 1000.
	e

have the acts of war been discontinued

lestiny.

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 Uni-ted States, fellow citizens of one country, bound by the duties and obligations of a ommon patriotism, and having neither ights nor interests apart from a common

DUTIES OF PEACE.

The duties that devolve upon us now are again the duties of peace, and no lon-ger the duties of war. We have assem-bled here to take counsel concerning the calmest and most candid judgment we can bring to the subject, that such a claim, so enforced, involves as fatalan overthrow interests of peace; to decide how we may most wisely and effectually heal the 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 wounds the war has made, and perfect and perpetuate the benefits it has secured, 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 in the will and discretion of the Course that concrete it. It is not made 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 jus-tice and reason prescribe, but of a liberal statesmanship which tolerates what it cannot prevent, and builds its plans and Congress that asserts it. It is not to depend upon any specified conditions or circumstances, nor to be subject to any rules or regulations whatever. The right its hopes for the future rather upon a asserted and exercised is absolute, with community of interest and ambition than out qualification or restriction, not upon distrust and the weapons of force. fined to States in rebellion, nor to States that have rebelled ; it is the right of any

POLITICAL RESULTS OF THE WAR. In the next place, we call upon you to

recognize, in their full significance, and to accept with all their legitimate consejust closed. In two most important par-ticulars the victory achieved by the Na-tional Government has been final and de-cisive. First, it has been established beat its own discretion and until they shall conditions as it may dictate. yond all further controversy, and by the highest of all human sanctions, the absolute supremacy of the National Govern-ment, as defined and limited by the Con-stitution of the United States, and the exclude a State from all share in the Gov 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 juris-diction 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.

FRUITS OF VICTORY.

ment 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 medo domendent solely and In the third place, we deem it of the utmost importance that the real charac-ter of the war and the victory by which t was closed should be accurately underthe Union is made dependent solely and stood. The war was carried on by the Government of the United States in mainentirely upon the party and sectional exi-gencies or forbearance of the hour. tenance of its own authority and in de-fence of its own existence, both of which were menaced by the insurrection which it sought to suppress. The suppression of that insurrection accomplished that rethat insurrection accomplished that re-sult. 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 with-in its jurisdiction which the Constitu-tion confers mon it, but it accounted these tion confers upon it; but it acquired thereby no new power, no enlarged jurisdic-tion, no rights either of territorial pos-session or of eivil authority which it did not possess before the rebellion broke out. All the rightful power it can ever posess is that which is conferred upon it, either in express terms or by fair and un-necessary implication, by the Constitu-tion 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

It was against this peril so conspicu-ous and so fatal to all free governments that our Constitution was intended es-pecially to provide. Not only the stabili-ty but the very existence of the Govern-wort is made by its provisions to depend MENT. a sledges, Stone MENT. h a very lar e as-mps of all kinds, wire store o NIKY SAXION. to the of the defeat of that attempt. The Government of the United States sive. It sought only to hold possession of what was already its own. Neither the war, nor the victory by which it was closed, changed in any way the Constity but the very existence of the Govern-ment is made by its provisions to depend upon the right and the fact of representa-tion.

and rendered void when the insurrection United States have been extended by Congress all over these States and the itself was suppressed. people thereof. Federal courts have been reopened, and Federal taxes imposed and

SARY.

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 levied, and in every respect, except that they are denied representation in Con-gress and the Electoral College, the States the enjoyment of that right and the per-formance of that duty for the time de-pended could not be fulfilled. This was, once in rebellion are recognized as holding the same position, as owing the same obligations and subject to the same duties in fact, the case. An insurgent power, in the exercise of usurped and unlawful as the other States of our common Union. UNRESTRICTED REPRESENTATION NECES-

authority in the territory under its con-trol, had prohibited that allegiance to the It seems to us, in the exercise of 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 conse-quence, no man could lawfully represent those States in the councils of the Union. But this was only an obstacle to the en-joyment of the right and to the discharge of a duty, it did not annul the one nor 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 and laws of the United States. THE REPELLION AN INSURRECTION.

Second. But it is asserted, in support of the authority claimed by the Congress now in possession of power, that it flows directly from the laws of war; that it is among the rights which victorious war Congress in formal possession of legis-lative authority to exclude any State or States, and any portion of the people thoreof, at any time, from representation in Congress and in the Electoral College, always confers upon the conquerors, and which the conqueror may exercise or waive in his own discretion. To this we reply that the laws in question relate sole-ly, so far as the rights they confer are conperform such acts and comply with such Obviously, the reasons for such exclu-sion being wholly within the discretion of cerned, to wars waged between alien and independent nations, and can have no Congress, may change as the Congress itself shall change. One Congress may place or force, in this regard, in a war waged by a Government to suppress an in-surrection of its own people, upon its own soil, against its authority. If we had car-ried on successful war against any for-eign nation, we might thereby have acernment 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 quired possession and jurisdiction of their soil, with the right to enforce our laws be excluded on the opposite ground to-morrow. Northern ascendancy may ex-clude Southern States from one Congress upon their people and to impose upon them such laws and such obligations as we might choose. But we had before the -the ascendancy of Western or of South-ern interests, or of both combined, may exclude the Northern or the Eastern States from the next. Improbable as 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 such usurpations may seem, the establish Government of the United States was the 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 interests and rights, our possession was perfect and complete. It did not need to be acquired, but only to be maintained; and victori-ous war against the rebellion could do We need not stop to show that such ac-We need not stop to show that such ac-tion 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 actablish and maintain free government. nothing more than maintain it. It could only vindicate and re-establish the disputo establish and maintain free govern-ments in Mexico and the States of South ted supremacy of the Constitution. It could neither enlarge nor diminish the authority which that Constitution confers America. Party necessities assert them-selves as superior to the fundamental law, upon the Government by which it was achieved. Such an enlargement or which is set aside in reckless obedience to their behests. Stability, whether in the exercise of power, in the administration abridgement of constitutional power can be effected only by amendment of the Constitution itself, and such amendment of government, or in the enjoyment of Constitution itself, and such amendment can be made only in the mode which the Constitution itself prescribes. The claim that the suppression of an insur-rection against the Government gives ad-ditional authority and power to that Gov-ernment; especially that it enlarges the jurisdiction of Congress and gives that body the sight to exclude States from reurights, becomes impossible; and the conflicts of party, which, under constitution-

al governments, are the conditions and means of political progress, are merged in the conflicts of arms to which they di-rectly and inevitably tend. body the right to exclude States from rep-resentation in the national councils, with-

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ADHESION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

But the concurrent testimony of those But the condition testimony of those best acquainted with the condition of so-ciety and the state of public sentiment in the South—including that of its represen-tatives in this Convention—establishes the fact that the great mass of the Southern people accept, with as full and sinern people accept, with as full and shift cere submission as do the people of the other States; the re-established suprema-cy of the National authority, and are pre-pared, in the most loyal spirit, and with a zeal quickened alike by their interest authority and no existence, seems to us at variance alike with the principles of the Constitution and with the public safety. the honor, and promote the welfare of our