Bancaster Intelligencer.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1866. The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thought and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of men; and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject; being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in public capacities, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence."

FOR GOVERNOR Hon. HIESTER CLYMER, of Berks Co. CAMPAIGN INTELLIGENCER.

PRIOE ONLY THIRTY CENTS!!

In order to aid in the circulation of political truth, we will furnish the WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER until after the election for THIRTY CENTS. Let every one of our readers see to it that his neighbor subscribes for a copy. There never was greater need for the circulation of sound political reading. The Intelligencer is just what you and your neighbors need. Send for a

REMEMBER IT IS ONLY 30 CENTS. The money can be remitted by mail Cooper. Sanderson & Co.. Lancaster, Pa.

The Campaign Intelligencer.

We have already received several handsome lists of subscribers for the CAMPAIGN INTELLIGENCER. It is one of the largest, handsomest and cheanest newspapers in the State. We offer it at a price so low for the Campaign as to put it within the reach of every voter n Lancaster county. We expect our friends to give it a wide circulation. A single dollar will, pay for three

copies. Let each one of our readers see that his neighbors all take it. Every Demo-crat in the county ought to have it. A small subscription from active Democrats will put it into the hands of any who are too poor to afford to pay for it. Let the clubs in the different townships see to it that it is supplied to every man who will read it. Many votes can be made by a comparatively insignificant expenditure of money in this way. It will be one of the most effective electioneering documents which can be put into the hands of candid readers. We expect our friends to give it a very wide circulation.

Let each one who reads this go to work at once. Send the money and the names of the subscribers by mail; and be sure to write the name of the Post Office address in a plain hand.

Address of the Democratic State Committee.

Democratic State Commuttee Rooms, 828 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Aug. 20, 1866, To the People of Pennsylvanae:
The issues of the canvass are made up. The restoration of the Union and the reservation of your form of government ere the vital questions that now confront ou. Secession is dead, but disunion still lives. Slavery is extinct, but fanaticism su aves. The rights of the white man are submerg

ed in efforts to elevate the negro, and the black man is sought to be made a contro-ling element in the politics of the Repub-Centralization seeks to rear its despotic power upon the ruins of the Constitution, nd foreshadows a war of races for its ac Proscription and disfranchisement usur

the places of magnanimity and clemency, and discord and hate combat Christian necessary for payment of the debt of the Re-public, and loads with taxation the industrial interests of the North. Congressional ex-travagance is the rule; economy in public affairs, the exception.

A Convention of representative men from each of the United States has met within

each of the United States has met within the past week; they have forecast the future, agreed in sentiment, and dispersed to their homes.

Their work has passed into history; to the impartial mind that work is a perfect answer to the charge that the South is not ready for restoration.

Composed of men of every section, holding every shade of political opinion, they have re-caunciated the eternal principles that he at the base of our institutions, have renewed their yows of fealty and of brother-

renewed their yows of fealty and of brother hood, and have joined hands in an united effort to restore the Union and preserve the government created by the Constitution. No man need err in this contest:

No man need err in this contest:
Support Congress and you sustain disunion, attack your government, and elevate
the negro at the expense of your own race.
A Support the President and you restore the
Union, preserve your government, and protect the white man.
On the one side are Stevens, Sumner,
negitation and disumion. agitation and disunion.
On the other, the President, the Union, peace and order.

By order of the Democratic State Committee.

WILLIAM A. WALLACE,

Chairman. A Persecuting Spirit.

Thaddeus Stevens appears to have an insatiable appetite for persecution. He is happy only when he has somebody to worry. He first made himself conspicuous in Pennsylvania by persecuting the Freemasons. An emigrant from the frozen hills of Vermont, he had hardly got warm in the nest of his adoption before he entered upon a crusade against a benevolent order that was distinguished for its charities and for its favorable influence upon the cause of morality. In this crusade he acted as Provost Marshal General. He ordered the oldest and best men of this commonwealth to be arrested and dragged before his Inquisition, and the order was executed by his satraps. Insults that must have made their blood boil were heaped by this Yankee intermeddler upon the heads of native citizens of Pennsylvania, whose looks were whitened with the snows of more than sixty winters. To such an extent was this persecution carried, that for many years a large number of the Masonic Lodges in the State were closed. His utterances against the members of that order, very

present time. The attitude of unrelenting hostility that he has assumed towards the South. is but a fresh and more malignant manifestation of the Satanic spirit of persecution that animated him in the days of anti-masonry. Growing more cruel as he has grown older, he delights more than ever in the use of his hot pinchers. He would torture the subdued and repentant people of the South merely to enjoy their misery. He would goad them into a new rebellion, if such a thing were possible, in order to get an excuse to massacre the whole of them. Against this infernal spirit of perse

cution every honest-minded man in the Union ought to set his face. The boast- | the Senate, instead of struggling to seed enlightenment of the nineteenth century should not be disgraced, in free and Christian America, by deeds that would have shamed a darker age. He who catches and shares the malignant temper of Thaddeus Stevens, in effect burns his Bible and blots all its precepts from his mind.

Removal of Postmasters. The Ledger's Washington correspond ent, writing under date of Aug. 20, says preparations are being made to remove some thousands of postmasters from small offices throughout the country. He adds that "the appointments made to succeed these opponents of the Executive policy (those under \$1000 salary) do not have to pass the ordeal of the do not have to pass the ordeal of the Senate, and hence the sweep will be a clean one and without any fear for the consequences."

and Browniow, and a rew more scurry fellows of that class, will be there, but they will represent nobody except them selves. What they may say or do will be of but little importance to anybody.

The Work of the National Union Convention.

The Great National Union Convenion, which assembled in Philadelphia. closed its labors on Thursday, amid the orightest auspices and the most unparslelled enthusiasm and good feeling We lay before our readers the declara tion of principles adopted and the address presented to the people of the United States. Could the whole people of the United States have heard them read, as we did, and have looked upon the imposing scene presented by the Convention, the great work proposed to be accomplished would in truth be done. Faction would be forever disarmed, and the complete restoration of the Union accomplished. The voice of Radical politicians would be hushed, and he who would dare to preach sectional hate would be universally execrated as

the enemy of his country. That Declaration of Principles and that Address go to the people, and they will be read and studied by them as no political manifesto ever has been in this country. In the quiet of their homes, when the day's work is over, every intelligent citizen will read these hightoned and patriotic documents. They will remember the source from which they come, will not forget that they are the embodied sentiments of the loyal and conservative citizens of every State and Territory in the Union, and will bear in mind the fact that they were adopted and enthusiastically approved by the largest and most intelligent body of representative men ever convened

since the world began. Could every voter in the United States have been present, the faction of Northern Radicals, who can only maintain their political existence by keeping alive a feeling of hate for the South, would have been almost unanimously voted unworthy the confidence or the respect of any man in the nation. The New England people would have repudiated Sumner and Wilson, and even Lancaster county would have turned from Thaddeus Stevens with loathing and contempt. The millions who could not witness the grand spectacle will read and think for themselves. The Declaration of Principles will meet with their cordial and hearty approval, and the Address will appeal to their intellects and to their sensibilities with a power that must prove to be completely irre-

sistible Radicalism is doomed by the action of this great National Union Convention to a speedy, inevitable and irrecovcrable overthrow. In the coming elections the masses of the North will assert their rights as intelligent freemen. They will refuse any longer to be dragged as slaves at the heels of such traitors as Stevens and Summer.

The great body of the voters of Pennsylvania will decline to support any man who endorses the policy of the corrupt and revolutionary majority in Congress. The State will be redeemed from the clutches of the men who have misrepresented and disgraced her, and will once more take her proud position as the Keystone of the Arch in a perfeetly restored Union of all the States. The action of the National Union Concention renders that sure beyond a per-

Thad. Stevens on Foreigners. After having been nominated for ongress Thad. Stevens made a speech from which the following is an extract: We have not yet done justice to the oppressed race. We have not gone as far as the Emperor of Russia, when he ordered the reedom of thousands of his oppressed beople and endowed them with the right of people and endowed them with the signs of citizenship. We have been too much gov-erned by our prejudices. We have fistened too much to those whose cry is "Negro Famility" -- "Nigger" -- "Nigger" -- "Nigmuch by those ersons from foreign lands who, while in curch of freedom, dray that blessed boon to win who are their equals.

There is a plain manifestation of the real feeling of the Radicals toward the foreign population of this country. If they could they would deprive every adopted citizen of the right to vote, and confer that sacred franchise on the negro instead. While some men are trying to deceive a few simple-hearted Irishmen into the belief that they are the friends of green Erin, "Old Thad" comes out at his own home and speaks the honest sentiment of the Radical wing of the Republican party. He boldly declares his preference for the negro over the foreign-born white citizen, and avows his belief that the negro is superior to the Irish or the German races. Is that enough for naturalized citizens? Do they need more convincing proofs that the infernal spirit of Know-Nothingism still exists in the hearts of Thaddeus Stevens and all his followers: If they do, let them vote for Geary, himself an original Know-Nothing, and they will repent of their folly when it

shall be too late. No foreign-born citizen can vote for a radical candidate unless he is willing to be reduced to a condition below the negro. That is what Stevens and all the Radicals wish to see

Soldiers' Friends.

Forney bawls loudly for the nominaion of soldiers by the Republican party, but he has not yet brought forward a soldier for the United States Senate. He proposes to take that position himself. He thinks soldiers good enough to fill the county offices, but in all this great Commonwealth, which sent from two to three hundred thousand men to the field, he has not yet found one soldier as well fitted for and as well entitled to a seat in the Senate as himself! Modest man! Great friend of soldiers! Curtin is afflicted in the same' way.

His friendship for the soldiers is unbounded. There is nothing he would not give them, except what he wants himself. He would give them the right to vote alongside of a negro; to sit in the jury-box with "American citizens of African descent," or to send their many of whom were among the best children to school with piccaninnies. men in the whole country, were as He would even allow them to be elected fiendishly malignant as his denuncia- to the Legislature, if they would pledge tions of the Southern people at the themselves in advance to vote for him for the Senate. But out of the thousands of officers to whom he issued commissions during the war, and out of the hundreds of thousands of privates whose names are enroled in the Adjutant General's office at Harrisburg, Curtin has not been able to find a single man whom he prefers to himself for Senator. Disinterested soul! With all his bad health, he is willing to take upon himself the labor of representing Pennsylvania in the United States Senate, rather than see the posi-

tion imposed upon some poor soldier! If these Republican leaders were sincere in their professions, would they not propose some soldier of distinction for

cure their own election? The Convention of Southern Radicals The Southern Radicals who propose to hold a Convention in Philadelphia on the 3d of September are reduced to great straits in their efforts to secure lecent show of delegates. Finding that the thing was about to fizzle out, the managers sent an appeal to the Radical State Convention of Maryland, urging them to nominate one hundred rates, and an equal number of alter nates. The thing looks now like it would be little else than a gathering of Baltimore rowdies, led by a few such men as Jack Hamilton, of Texas. The Convention will represent no constituency, not even the more respectable negroes of the South. Jack Hamilton and Brownlow, and a few more scurvy

GREAT UNION CONVENTION

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES!

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE! ADJOURNMENT, &C.

THIRD DAY.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle, the Chairman, at 10 clock called the Convention to order, and nnounced that Rev. J. B. Reimensnyder, of Lewistown, Pa., would open the proceed ings with prayer.

PRAYER BY REV. MR. REIMENSNYDER. The prayer was in the following lan-

O Lord God Jehovah! King of Kings! We adore Thee as the first, the greatest and the best of beings. Thou art the author of creation, both physical and moral, and hence the rightful sovereign of all things that are in heaven above and in the earth beneath visible and invisible, whether they beneath, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers. Thou art from everlasting. Of old, didst Thou lay the foundations of this earth, and give the sea her depth, and stretch over our heads this glorious firmament, rejoicing in its stars. Thou fillest the Heaven of heavens with thy presence. Immensity is Thy dwelling place. The Universe is Thy realm, and the eternal years are the duration of thy scaptre. How, then, can we, creatures of the dust and of a day, and so far east from Thy presence by our neath, visible and invisible; whether the can we, creatures of the dust and of a day, and so far cast from Thy presence by our moral rebellion, come before Thy tace? We come trusting alone in that love and forbearance, which knew no limit and which were so surpassing that even to save the chiefest of sinners. Thou didst freely give the precious blood of Thine only and well-beloved Son. We come trusting and pleading, in virtue of this precious blood, that ng, in virtue of this precious bl Thou wilt thus freely receive us. mg, in virtue of this precious bood, that Thon wilt thus freely receive us. We were Thy children, and Thou wouldst not cast us off forever. Nay, rather, instead of superadding terms as the penalties of our moral treason. Thou didst make our pathway easier than before. Thou hast changed the covenant of works to the covenant of grace, so that we have gained far more in Christ by his innocent and bitter sufferings and death, than we have lost in Adam through his rebellious fall. O! transcending mercy and grace; may we thus learn this to be the spirit of our great Father, and the spirit of our divine Lord and Master; and may this be the spirit of forgiveness, love and peace, that animates the great heart of Christianity to-day, and that shall be known in true Christian deeds and virtues. We trust, our Father, that is such spirit this great Convention has assembled upon this momentous occasion; and therefore, we the more confidently invoke the richest blessings of Heaven to rest upon it. richest blessings of Heaven to rest upon it. Thou art the God of nations, and Thou art the author of that love of liberty that inspires our hearts; and the greatest anthem that has ever reached mortal ears from the Heavenly Host was an anthem of love, of peace, and good will to man. And as our beloved land has been founded to promote these great ends of liberty and peace and happiness, we believe that Thou art especial ly our country's God, as Thou art her great author. chest blessings of Heaven to rest upon it

author.

And yet, our Heavenly Father, in the weakness of human wisdom and in the folly of human guilt, we have been arrayed in a great and fearful conflict against each other —we, the citizens of this one common country. Brother has striven for the mastery over brother, until the heavens have shaken with the year of our arms, fields are red with the roar of our arms, fields are re-with brothers' blood; firesides darkened with woe, and the wails of our wounder and dying, and of our widows and orphans and dying, and of our widows and orphans' have gone up before Thy great throne. But thanks be to Ahnighty God, praise to Thine ever blessed name, after six long years of strife, of hardship and suffering, in the tent, upon the march, upon the field of battle, and of pained and agonizing hearts at home—at last, from the remotest corners of this great Republic, the men of the East and the West, of the North and the South, have come no to meet beneath the negris of the come up to meet beneath the legis of th American eagle, to greet each other with the true hands and loving hearts of breththe true hands and loving hearts of breth-ren, and to mangurate again the good feel-ing and the common purpose of the olden times. We believe, our Heavenly Father, that if there is apon the earth one scene which Thou dost regard with pleasure it is the forgiving embrace of brethren, once es-tranged, returning to their first, and early love. We adore Thee, then, for this great spectacle which we are at last permitted to spectacle which we are at last permitted to witness to-day; and we confidently invoke Thy presence and Thy sanction to rest upon he great work which Thou hast imposed upon this, the most august of American as-semblies. Crown its deliberations with wis-dom, sanctify them with love, harmonize them with peace, and grant them the aid of them with peace, and grant them the aid of Thy power to reach the hearts of this great people, and to rally them with one will around our noide President in his patriotic efforts to vindicate the supremacy of the Constitution, and thereby to render this great American Union of our fathers imperishable through all future generations. Grant, that in the advanced light of civilization, and tanget by our recent bitter less. zation, and taught by our recent bitter les son, that all our difficulties may be resolved by the weapons of truth upon the fields of intellect, but by the arbitrament of the sword amid the carnage of war no more for-ever. And now we commit, humbly and yet trustingly, our great country, our great people and our common destiny to the keeping of the infinite and every adorable Trinity of Heaven—Father, Son and Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen. son, that all our difficulties may be resolved

THE COLORADO ELECTION. The Chairman rose and said: Before proceeding to any other business the Chair begs leave to announce as the first response in political action to the call for

this Convention, the result of the Colorado

The following dispatch has been received DENVER, Colorado Territory, Aug. 15.
Returns from all parts of the Territory render certain the election of A. C. Hunt, Administration candidate for Delegate to Congress, over Chillient, the Radical. [Long-continued applause.]

NION NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Mr. Crowell, of New Jersey, offered the ollowing resolution which was agreed to: Resolved, That a Union National Execu ive Committee be appointed, to be composed of two delegates from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia.

COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT Hon. Reverdy Johnson, (who, on rising, was greeted with enthusiastic cheers) sub mitted the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of two delegates from each State, one from each Territory and the District of Columbia, be appointed by the Chair to wait upon the President of the United States, and present him with authentic copy of ceedings of this Convention. [I plause.]

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE. Mr. Chas. Knapp, of the District of Column oia, presented a resolution, which was agree to, as follows:

Resolved. That a Committee on Finance appointed, to consist of two delegates from ch State and Territory, and the District o

RESOLUTION REFERRED. Gen. Patton, of Pennsylvania, submitted resolution, which he began to read as follows: Resolved, That it is incompatible with the

Several Delegates—Let it be read at the desk. Gen. Patton sent up his resolution. The Chairman, after examining the reso

ution, said: This resolution, under the rule adopted by the Convention, goes to the Com mittee on Resolutions. Gen. Patton-I would like to have th esolution read. The Chairman—The resolution goes

the Committee on Resolutions without de bate. THANKS TO MAYOR M'MICHAEL. Hon. Edgar Cowan presented the follow

ing resolution, which was adopted unani usly with loud applause. Resolved, That the thanks of this Conven tion, pe, and they are heroby, tendered to Morton McMichael, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, for his admirable police arrangements for the preservation of peace and good order during the sittings of this Con-

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. Hon. Edgar Cowan—Mr. Chairman, or ehalf of the committee who were appointed prepare resolutions and an address, I de to prepare resolutions and an address, I de-sire to state that the committee have given very careful and elaborate consideration to very careful and elaborate consideration to the subject during all of yesterday and a good part of last night, and I beg leave to report a declaration of principles, adopted unanimously by the committee, (which the Secretary of the Convention will read.) and an address to the people of the country, which will be read by the Hon. Henry J. Raymond, of New York. [Applause.]

The Secretary then read the following: 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 last five years it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to give to the American people; profoundly grateful for the return of peace; and desirous as area large majority of their countrymen, in all sincerity, to forget and to forgive the past; revering the Constitution as it comes 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

rial, hereby issues and proclaims the fol-

lowing Declaration of Principles and Pur-ser, on which they have with perfect unan-imity, agreed:

First. We hall with gratitude to Almighty God the end of war, and the return of pea to an afflicted and beloved land. to an afflicted and beloved land.
Second, The war just closed has maintained the authority of the Constitution, with all the powers which it confers and all the restrictions which it imposes 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. [Applause.]

Third. 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 mposed upon its people—fundamental in ts nature and essential to the existence of 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 its enjoyment under the Constitution from the people thereof. [Loud cheering.]

Fourth. We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress, as members thereof, none but men who admit this fundamental right of representation, and bers thereof, none but men who admit this 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. [Applause]

Fifth. 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 not withstanding." All the powers 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 thus reserved to the States is the right to prescribe qualifications for the elective franchise therein, with which right Congress cannot interfere. [Long continued cheering.] 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. (Greet applause.) The Union of these States is perpetual and cannot be dissolved.

Sixth. Such amendments 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 dient, 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 an indefeasible right to a voice and a vote thereon. [Enthusiastic cheers.] Seventh. 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 United States; and the enfranchised slaves in all the States of the Union should receive,

cheering.] No State or combination of

States has the right to withdraw from the

in common with all their inhabitants, equal protection in every right of person and propprotection in every right of person and property. [Applause.]
Eighth. 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, in discharging this as in performing all other national obligations to maintain unimpaired and unimous, to maintain unimpaired and unim-ached the honor and the faith of the Re-Ninth. It is the duty of the national govrnment to recognize the services of the ederal soldiers and sailors in the contest Federal soldiers and sailors in the contest just closed, by meeting promptly and fully all their just and rightful chains for the services they have rendered the nation, and by extending to those of them who have survived, and to the widows and or-

phans of those who have fallen, the most nerous and considerate care. [Loud centerous and concerning the United States, who in his great office has proved steadfast to his devotion to the Constitution, the laws and interests of his country, unmoved by persecution and undeserved reproach—baving faith unassailable in the people and in the principle of free recognized.—we recognize a Chief Magisrate worthy of the nation and equal to the

trate worthy of the nation and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is east; and we tender to him, in the discharge of his high and responsible duties, our profund respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support. The reading of the various resolutions was interrupted by frequent applause, and they were unanimously adopted. The reading of the seventh resolution, which had been unintentionally omitted, was subsequently given by the Secretary amidst loud applause, and the article was adopted with-

out opposition. In response to a call by a delegate from Pennsylvania, for three cheers for Hon. Edgar A. Cowan, that gentleman responded: I claim to be the host of the Convention. One of my guests will now address you, by the unanimous consent of the committee The Hon, Mr. Raymond, from the State of New York, will now read the address which has received the unanimous approval of the

committee. Mr. Henry J. Raymond, in a loud, firm voice, amidst a great stillness, began the reading of the following document, which lasted beyond an hour. He was frequently interrupted by loud applause, until the President, by earnestly soliciting silence, for a time restrained the audience: but subsequently the cheers again broke out, and were allowed to proceed unrebuked. ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITE

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 in all sections, and all the States and Territories of the Union, 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 the political purposes we seek to promote.

Since the meeting of the last National Convention, in the year 1850, 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 centh. Our government has passed he earth. Our government has passed brough the vicissitudes and the perils of ivil war—a war which, though mainly secional in its character, has nevertheless de cided political differences, that from the very beginning of the government had threatened the unity of our national existhreatened the unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and ineffaceable upon all the interests, the 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 people to the form of government which they have ordained, and to the principles 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 sions and test the endurance of nationpassions 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 action; while the wounds of war are still fresh and bleeding on either side, and fears for the future take unjust proportions 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 as-sembled, have undertakon to perform.

For the first time after six long years of lienation and of conflict, we have come together from every State and every section of our land, as citizens of a common coun try, under that flag, the symbol again of a common country, under that flag, the symbol again of a common glory, to consult together how hest 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 re 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 arms no longer assails the shuddering heart of the republic. The insurrection against the su preme authority of the nation has been annoressed, and that authority has been suppressed, and that authority has been gain acknowledged, by word and act, in very State and by every citizen within its 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 havone 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 effectually heal the wounds the war has made, and perfect and perpetuate the benefits it has secured, and the blessings which, under a wise and beging Providence, have sorrug up in its nign Providence, have sprung up in its fiery track. This is the work, not of pasnery track. Into it 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 for the future atther men a community of interests and

rather upon a community of interests 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

inforced. In other words, a Congress in ented, asserts the right to govern, absoutely and in its sented, asserts the right to govern, abso-lutely 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 dis-tinguish the power thus asserted and exer-cised from the most absolute and intolerale tyranny? Nor do the

stitution 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 either enlarge, abridge, or in any way change or effect 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 tooday precisely as it was before the war. 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 construction 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 there-off" of."
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 rebel-

at all times from the outbreak of the rebel-lion to its final overthrow. In every mes-sage and proclamation of the Executive it was explicitly declared, that the sole object and purpose of the war wasto maintain the authority of the Constitution and to pre-serve the integrity of the Union; and Con-gress more than once reiterated this solemn declaration, and added the assurance that whenever this object should be uttained the declaration, and added the assurance that whenever this object should bentained, 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 the insurrection, the rights of war, the 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 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 are still refused, representation altogether in both States have been refused, and are still 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 the Union are represented, has asserted the right thus to exclude the rest from representation, and from all share in making their own laws or chosing their own rulers until they shall comply with such conditions and verticing

just closed. In two most important par-

ticulars 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

controversy, and by the highest of all human sanctions, the absolute supremacoof the national government, as defined an limited by the Constitution of the United States, and the permanent integrity and in dissolubility of the Federal Union as a neces

sary consequence; and second, it has pu-an end finally and forever to the existence

points became directly involved in the con

slavery upon the soil or within the juris-iction 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 defense 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

irms the supreme authority over all the

erritory, and over all the States and people

within its jurisdiction which the Constitu

tion confers upon it; but it acquired thereby

tion conters 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

erms or by fair and necessary implication, by the Constitution of the United States.

It was that power and that authority which

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 already its own. Neither the war, nor the victory by which it was closed changed in any way the Continuous and the continuous states of the continuous continuous and the continuous con

it was closed, changed in any way the Con-stitution of the United States. The war

comply with such conditions and perform such acts as this Congress thus composed may itself prescribe. That right has not been asserted, but it has been exeronly been asserted, but it has been exer-cised, and is practically enforced at the pres-ent time. Nor does it find any support in the theory, that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the government, and are therefore precluded from sharing its authority. They are not thus in rebel-lion. They are one and all in an attitude hon. 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 as just and binding obligation. This condition of remarks here of the life.

dition of renewed loyalty has been officiall recognized by solemn proclamation of the Executive department. The laws of the United States have been extended by Cou gress over all these States and the people thereof. Federal Courts have been reopen thereof. Federal Courts have been réopèn-ed, and Federal taxes imposed and levied, and in every respect, except that they are denied representation in Congress and the Electoral College, the States once in rebel-lion are recognized as holding the same po-sition, as courte the same political control. sition, as owing the same obligations, an

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 authorinvolves 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 and from representation is made to rest wholly in the will avoid tion, is made to rest wholly in the will and discretion of the Congress that asserts it. It is not made to depend upon any spec conditions or circumstances, nor to be sub ject to any rules or regulations whatever The right asserted and exercised[is absolute The right asserted and exercised[isabsolute, without qualificrtion or restriction, not continued to States in rebellion, nor to States that have rebelled; it is the right of any Congress in formal possession of 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 Concretion of Congress, may change as the Congress itself shall change. One Congress may exclude a State from all share in the 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 —the ascendancy of Western or of Southern interests, 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 princimay 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 exist ence, of Congress and the Union is thu made dependent solely and entirely upon the party of leading the congress are

the party and sectional exigencies or for-bearances of the hour.

We need not stop to show that such action 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 enjoyministration of government, or in the enjoy-ment of rights, becomes impossible; and the conflicts of party, which, under constitutional governments, are the conditions an means of political progress, are merged the conflicts of arms to which they direct and inevitably tend.

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 very existence of the government is made by its provisions to depend upon the right and the fact of representation. The Con-gress, upon which is conferred all the legis-lative power of the national government, consists of two branches, the Senate and consists of two branches, the Senate and House of Representatives, whose joint con-currence or assent is essential to the validity of any law. Of these the House of Repre-sentatives, 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 pos-sessed by all the States and by every State without restriction available of the restriction. 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 distinctions are the state of t action, or the authority to make distinctions among them, for any reason or upon any grounds whateyer. And in the Senate so careful is the Constitution to secure 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 government itself is brought in question. But Congress at the present moment 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

ble 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 on 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 of representation, and that they can only receive it again at the hands of the supreme legislative authority of the governonly receive it again at the hands of the su-preme legislative authority of the govern-ment, on its own terms and at its own dis-cretion. If representation in Congress and participation in the government were sim-ply privileges conferred and held by favor, this statement might have the merit of ply privileges conferred and held by favor, this statement might have the merit of plausibility. But representation is under the Constitution not only expressly recognized as a right, but it is imposed as aduly; and it is essential in both aspects 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 carded 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 all 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 aco impair the authority and defeat the ac tion of the government; and that act was annulled and rendered void when the insurannulled and renderedlyoid 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 the laws of the
United States which is made by that funits control, had prohibited that allegiance to the Constitution and the 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 by the proposed that the condition of the United States, and as a necessary consequence by the proposed that the condition of the United States, and as a necessary consequence to the condition of the United States, and as a necessary consequence to the condition of the United States and the conditio hose States in the councils of the Union

sequence, no man could lawfully represent But this was only an obstacle to the enjoy But this was only an obstacle to the enjoy ment of the right and to the discharge of a duty—it did not annul the oce 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.

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 always confers rights which victorious war always confers upon the conquerors, and which the con upon the conquerors, and which the con-queror 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 sup-press an insurrection of its own people, upon its own soil, against its authority. If pon its own soil, against its authority. ve had carried on 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 son, 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 com-plete jurisdiction over the soil of the South-ern States, limited only by our own Con-stitution. Our laws were the only national laws in force most. The government of laws in force upon it. The government of the United States was the only government through which those States and their peo-

ple had relations with foreign nations, and ple had relations with loreign 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 victorious war against the rebellion could do nothing more than maintain it. It 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 which that Constitution conters upon the government by which it was achieved. Such an enlargement or abridgment of constitutional power can be effected only by amendment of the Constitution itself, and such amendment can be made only in the modes which the Constitution itself premodes which the Constitution itself pre-scribes. The claim that the suppression of an insurrection against the government gives additional authority and power to that government, especially that itenlarges 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 no existence, seems to us at variance alike with the principles of the Variance anke 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 requires that it was in of our government require; that it was in these respects the result of compromises and ncessions to which, however necessary when the Constitution was formed, we are 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 hast session, proposed amendments to the Constitution, enlarging in some very important particulars the auamendments 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 posed upon those States by three-fourths o

ne remaining States, as conditions of their re-admission to representation in Congress and in the Electoral College. It is the unquestionable right of the peo-ple of the United States to make such ple 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 of 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 people as conditions of representation, or of admission to any of the rights, daties, or obligations which belong under the Consti-tution to all the States alike. And with tune 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 perma-nently their political relations, and control or coercethe 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

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 right dependent solely upon the will of the party in possessolely upon the will of the party in possession of power, and thus leads, by direct and necessary sequence, to the most fatal and sion of power, and thus leads, by direct and necessary sequence, to the most fatal and intolerable of all tyrannies—the tyranny of shifting and irresponsible political factions. It is against this, the most formidable of all the daugers which menace the stability of free government, that the Constitution of the United States was intended most carefully to provide. We demand a strict and steadfiest adherence to its recyrisions. In steadfast adherence to its provisions his, and in this alone, can we find a basis

Fourth. But it is alleged in justification of the usurpation which we condemn, that the condtion of the Southern States and people is not such as renders safe their repeople is not such as renders sate 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 interests of the nation would be sufe if they were readmit-ted to a share in its councils. We might re-That we have no right, for such reasons,

of permanent Union and peace

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 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 tingencies and by whatever means may be tingencies 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.

facts.
We do not hesitate to affirm, that there is no section of the country where the Consti-tution 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 of danger of any future able that, in States and sections so recently swept 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 guarantees 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 or 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 deteat is added to the overthrow or amonous 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 questionably true that local disturbances of this kind, accompanied by more or less of violence, do still occur. But they are con-fined entirely to the cities and larger towns of the Southern States, where different ra-ces and interests are brought more closely in contact, and where passions and resent nents are always most easily fed and fun ned into outbreak; and even there, the are quite as much the fruit of untimely und hurtini political agitation, as of any hostili-ity on the part of the people to the authori-ty of the national government.

But the concurrent testimony of those best

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 the the people of the other States, the re-established supremacy of the national auth-rity, 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 detend the rights, maintain the honor and promote the welfare of our common country. History affords no instance where a people, so powerful in numbers, 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, 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 insurrec-tion 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 urrender was accepted by the President of he United States and the generals in imme iate command of their armies, and to the iberal measures which were afterwards aken to restore order, tranquility and law taken to restore order, tranquility and have 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 timby 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 contidence and boyalty 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 licipation in our common government; to the withdrawal from them of rights confer

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 oboy laws in making which free only to obey laws in making which they are not allowed to share. No people has ever yet existed whose oyalty and faith such treatment long conmued would not alienate and impair. And he ten millions of Americans who live i 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 by the fathers and founders of this republic, if they could accept, with uncomplaining submissiveness, the humiliations thus sought to be imposed upon them. Resentment of injustice is always and everywhere essential to freedom; and the spirit which prompted the States and people lately in insurrection, but insurgent now no longer, to protest grainst the imposition of units. insurrection, but insurgent 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 held to answer, as individuals, before the judicial tribunals of the land, and for that conduct, as societies and organized comconduct, as societies and organized comconduct, as societies and organized communities, they have already paid the most fearful penalties that can fall on offending States in the losses, the sufferings and humiliations of unsuccessful war. But whatever may be the guilt or the punishrection, candor and common justice deman rection, candor and common justice demans the cencession that the great mass of thos who became involved in its responsibility acted upon what they believed to be their duty, in defense of what they had beer taught to believe their rights, or under a compulsion, physical and moral, which they were powerless to resist. Nor can ibe amiss to remember that, terrible as have been the bereavements and the losses of een the bereavements and the losses this war, they have fallen exclusively upo neither section and upon neither pure-that they have fallen, indeed, with 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, the overthrow of governments, of law and of order, the destruction of properly 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 neither section and upon neither part

mained in allegience to its Constitution and These considerations may not, as they 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 results to themselves and the country, which that overthrow they have sustained. They acknowledge and acquiesce in the results to themselves and the country, which that defeat involves. They no longer claim for any State the right to secode 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 Constitution 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 haw 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 bear true faith and allegiance, through al ime to come, to the Constitution United States, and to all laws that may b made in pursuance thereof. Fellow-countrymen: We call upon you n full reliance upon your intelligence and

great calamities can assume, the States an

suffered tenfold more than those who

people which engaged in the war agains the Government of the United States, have

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 jurring 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 ment 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 for 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—an aptitude for achievements of war, both by sea and land, before unknown to ourselves, and destined to exercise hereafter, under united destined to exercise hereafter, under united councils, and 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. destined to exercise hereafter, under united

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 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 shape, the civil war from which we have emerged. We call upon you to interpose your power to prevent the recurrence of a transcendant 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 ADMITTO SEATS IN EITHER BRANCH RIGHT OF EVERY STATE OF THE UNION TO REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS, and WHO WILL ADMITTO SEATS IN RITHER BRANCH EVERY LOVAL REPRESENTATIVE FROM EVERY STATE in allegiance to the government, who may be found in each House, in the exercise of the power conferred upon it by the Constitution, to have been duty elected, returned and qualified for a seat therem.

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 mation, 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. This reorganized and restored to their constitutional relations, the States and the general government can enter in a fraternal, spirit al relations, the States and the general government can enter in a fraternal spirit, 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. At the close of the reading of the forego-

ing address, Governor Perry, of South Carolina, rose and moved its adoption. The question was put by the Chair, and the address was declared unanimously adopted. Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York then ose and said; Mr. Chairman: The delegation from New

Mr. Chairman: The delegation from New York have instructed me to propose that the Convention give three cheers for the Hon Henry J. Raymond, who has prepared the address just read.

General Patton, of Pennsylvania, rose, and on behalf of the Pennsylvania delega-tion, seconded the motion.

The cheers were accordingly given. THE COMMITTEES The Chair then announced the following

NATIONAL UNION COMMITTER, John T. Crowell, of New Jersey, Chairman, Maine – James Mann and A. A., Gould, New Hampshire – Edmund Burke and E. S. itter, Vermont—B. B. Smalley and Colonel H. N. Vortham. Massachusetts—Josiah Dunham and R. S. pofford. Rhode Island—Alfred Authony and James , Parsons, Connecticut—James T, Babcock and D. C. ranton. New York—Robert II, Pruyn and Samuel J. Filden. New Jersey—Joseph T. Crowell and Theodore , Randall Pennsylvania—J. M. Zulick and J. S. Bla**c**k, Delaware—J. S. Comegys and Edward J. maryland—Governor Swann and T. G. Pratt Virginia—James F. Johnson and Dr. E. C obinson. West Virginia—Daniel Lamb and John J. lackson, North Carolina—Thomas S, Ashe and Joseph I, Wilson, atison, ith Carolina—James L. Orr and B. F. South Carolina Carry Perry, Georgia-J. H. Christy and Thomas S. Harde ean. Florida—William Marvin and Wilkinson ee. Louisiana—Randall Hunt and Alfred Hen-Arkansas-Lorenzo Gibson and A. H. Engisa, Texas—B. H. Epperson and John Hancock, Tenness e—D. T. Tallusin and William D. Campbell, Kentucky—R. H. Stanton and Hamilton Dom ope, Ohfo-L, D, Campbell and George B, Smyth, Indiana-D, D, Gooding and Thomas Downg. Hilmois—John A. McClernand and Jesse O. Norton, Michigan—Alfred Russell and Byson'S, Stout Missouri—Hon, Barton Abell and James S tollins.
Minnesota—Hon, H. M. Rice and D. F. Nor-60. Wistonsin—J. A. Noonan and S. A. Peace. Iowa—George A. Paraer and Wan. A. Cha Kansas—James A. McDowell and W. A. T on. California—Hon, Samuel Purdy and Joseph ! Hoge. Nevada—John Carmi, hael and Hon, G. B.

Oregon—James W. Nesmith and B. W. Eon-Oregon—James North Mark, Control of Columbia Solosiah D. Hoover and J. Hake.
Dakotah N. K. Armstrong and N. W. Winer, Idaho—Wm. H. Wallace and H. Cummins, Notraska—General H. H. Heath and Hon, J. RESIDENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT WASHING Charles Knapp, District of Columbia, Chairman, Hon, Montgomery Blair, Maryland, Hon, Charles Mason, Iowa, on, Charles Mason, Iowa, ard H. Lamon, John F. Covle A. E. Pen

COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT, Chairman—Reverdy Johnson, Maine—W. G. Crosby and Calvin Record, New Hampshire—John W. Hesley and J. mith, Vermont—8, Robinson and T. J. Cree, Massachusetts—Edward Avery and E. C.

athey, Rhode Island-Amasa Sprague and Gideon Granford.
Connecticut—James E. English and Gideon I. Hollister.
New York - Owens W. Smith and Hon. S. E. New Jersey-Hon, Thomas H, Herring and Sew Jersey - 1001, Thomas B., Herring and Joneral Theodore Kimyan, Pennsylvania--J. R. Finnigan and Hon, jeorge W. Cass.
Delaware --S. G. Lewis and C. H. B. Day, Maryland --J. M. Harris and I. D. Jones, Virginia--Hon, James Bartour, and George W. Bowlin. Marymon—5. ...
Marymon—5. ...
Wignine—Hon, James Barsour and George W. Bowlin.
West Virginla—1:r. John S. Thompson, Putnam County, and Damel Lamo, Wheeting.
North Carolina—A. M. Barringer and Hon, George Howard.
South Carolina—J. L. Manning and ——
Farrow.
Georgia—8. S. Smith and J. L. Winberly,
Florida—John Friend and J. C. McKibbin,
Mesissipp—Georgia—6. M. Heitger and Hon,
H. F. Smiball,
Louislama—Thos. B. May and H. C. King,
Arka: sis—John D. Luce and E. C. Boute10.

ot. Texas— D. G. Burnett and B. H. Epperson, Tennessee—Hon, C. A. Kyle and Hon, D. B. homas. Alabama-Louis E. Parsons and John Gale Shorter, Kestucky-Hon, John W. Stephenson and Hon, A. Harding, Ohio-Henry Payne and General A. M. D. McCook,
Indiana—General Sol. Meredith and Judge D. S. Gooding. D. S. Gooding.
Hilmols—Hon. George G. Bates and Hon. W.
R. Morrison—General C. R. Loomis and General
George A. Custer.
Wisconsin—A. W. Curtis and B. Fergason.
Hown—Colonel Cyrus E. Markley and B. E.
Richards. Kansas—General H. Sleeper and Orlin Thurston.
California—T. A. McDougall and Colonel
Jacob P. Lee.
Nevada—Hon. Gideon J. Tucker and John
Carmichian. Carmichael.
Oregon—W. H. Fanar and E. M. Bainum.
District of Columbia-Thomas B. Florence and 3. F. Swart. Idaho-Hon, A. W. De Puy and William H. Wallace. Nebraska-Dr. George L. Weller and L. Lourie.
Washington—George C. Cole and C. T. Eagon.
Minnesota—D. S. Norton and H. N. H. ee,
Missouri—E. A. Lewis and John M. Richard-

on. Arizona, Dakotah, New Mexico, Utah and COMMITTEE ON FINANCE. Charles Knapp, President, John Barleigh, New Hampshire—Daniel Marcy and W. M Blair. Vermont—R. W. Chose and C. L. Davenport, Massachusetts—Hon. F. O. Prince and Geo. M. Bentley. Rhode Jsland—Amasa Sprague and James Connecticat-J. H. Ashmend and Freeman H. Brown, , Brown. New York—Abraham Wakeman and Richd. Schell.
Schell.
New Jersey—John L. McKnight and Francis
S. Lathrop.
Pennsylvania—R. S. Martin and W. C. Putterson.
Delaware—Charles Wright and Theodore F.
Cruwtord Maryland—Hon. R. Fowler and W. P. Maryland—Hon. R. Fowler and W. P. Maulsby, Virginia—Hon. Edmund W. Hubbard and George Blair, Jr. West Virginia—Charles T. Beale, Warren county; Theodore Sweeney, Wheeling. North Carolina—A. H. Amington and A. McLean. McLean,
South Carolina—F. G. Moses and W. P.
Schuyle:
Georgia—Lewis Tomlin and William M.
Lowry,
Florida—George W. Scott and W. C. Mamey,
Alabama—Lewis Owen and J. S. Kennedy,
Missistippi—Hon, E. Pegues and Colonel
tom A. Bingford,
Loui-lana—A. M. Holbrook and
Arkansas—M. L. Bell and O. L. Fellow,
Texus—M. B. Ochiltree and John Hancock,
Tennessee—William D. Ferguson and John
Williams,

Williams, Kentucky-M. J. Durham and W. W. Baldin.
Ohlo—J. E. Cunninghata and John H. James,
Indiana—Hon, Levi Sparks and Moses Orake,
Illinois—Hon. William B. Ogden and Isaac
inderhill. i-Hon, George C. Monroe and Wil-Michigan—Hon, George C. Monroe and Wil-ham B. M. Creery.
Missouri—Thomas L. Price and Charles M. Elliard.
Minnesota—Hon, C. F. Buck and Charles F.

Gilman
Wisconsin—J. B. Doe and C. L. Shoies.
Iowa—M. D. McHenry and S. O. Butler.
Kansas—F. P. Fitzwilliams and G. A. olton.
California—John H. Baird and Henry F.
Williams.
Nevada—Frank Hereford and L. H. Newton.
District of Columbia—Charles Knapp and E.
Pickerell. District of Commona—Charles
Pickerell,
Dakotah—J. B. S. Todd and T. C. Dewitt,
Idaho—C. T. Powell and T. W. Betts,
Nebraska—James R. Porter and P. B. Becker,
Washington—Edward Lauder and E. Evans,
Arlzona, Oregon, Montana. Utah, and Colorado—No appointments.

COMPLIMENTARY RESOLUTIONS. COMPLIMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

The Hon. John M. Hogan, of Missouri, then rose and said: Mr. Charrman—This Convention, so glorious in its character, has now accomplished the results for which it met, and I move, in view of its harmonious action, that the Convention do now adjourn. The Chairman—Before putting that motion the Chair desires to announce two or three things connected with what has transpired. Mr. W. P. Schell, of Pennsylvania, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted. Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are now tendered to the President and officers of the Convention, for the able and impartial