The Chestertown Transcript.

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Chestertown Transcript
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E. F. PERKINS, Editor.

Terms of Subscription

TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IF PAID IN ADVANCE. If not paid within three [illegible] TWO

Coughs, Chronic Coughs, Consumption, Bronchitis and Croup. Being prepared from Honey and Herbs it is healing, softening, and expectorating, and particularly suitable for all affections of the Throat and Lungs. For sale by Druggists everywhere.

CURE for PILES. DR. STRICKLAND'S PILE REMEDY has cured thousands of the worst cases of Blind and Bleeding Piles. It gives immediate relief, and effects a permanent cure. Try it directly. It is warranted to cure. For sale by all Druggists at 50 Cents per bottle.

Doctor Strickland's TONIC. DYSPEPSIA. DR. STRICKLAND'S TONIC is a concentrated preparation of Roots and Herbs, with antiacids and carminatives to strengthen the stomach and nervous system. It is a certain remedy for Dyspepsia or Indigestion, Nervousness, Loss of Appetite, Acidity of the Stomach, Flatulency and Debility. It is not alcoholic, therefore particularly suited for Weak, Nervous and Dyspeptic persons. For sale by all Druggists everywhere at $1 per bottle. Jan. 20, 1866—y

BURGESS, BRAMBLE & HINES,
COMMISSION AGENTS,
FOR THE SALE OF
OYSTERS,
Grain, Fruit, Produce, &c.,
152 Pratt Street Wharf,
BALTIMORE.
T. H. Burgess, C. H. Bramble, V. B. Hines.

NOTICE TO FRUIT GROWERS.

FROM past experience, the facilities now in our possession and our extensive acquaintance with the principal PACKERS and DEALERS in Fruit—we can at all times command the HIGHEST PRICES for all

FRUIT AND PRODUCE

consigned to us for sale, and respectfully solicit consignments.

☞ Prompt returns made, and PARTICULAR attention given to the return of Boxes.

BURGESS, BRAMBLE & HINES,
No. 152 PRATT STREET.
Baltimore, March 17, 1865—tf.

SHEUBROOK, WOODALL & CO.,
COMMISSION MERCHANTS
FOR THE SALE OF
Grain & all kinds of Country Produce,
No. 124 Light St. Wharf,
Opposite the Wharf of Slaughter's Steamboat Line,
BALTIMORE.

☞ All consignments are thankfully received and promptly attended to.
February 10, 1866—1021.

CAKE TURNERS, Egg Whips, Basting Spoons, Flesh Forks, Wire Ladles, Skimmers, Iron and Tin Dippers, Dust Pans, Coffee and Tea Pots, Candle Sticks, Lamps and Lanterns, for sale at the Tin and Stove Store.
May 14 *J. K. ALDRIDGE.*

New Goods.

FANCY SAFES, WATER COOLERS, Egg Beaters, Tea Bells, Gridirons, Beef-Steak Wire Broilers, Patent Freezers, Cake Turners, Tobacco Boxes, Flower Baskets, Galvanized Wire for Clothes Lines.
June 2, 1866. J. K. ALDRIDGE.

SHOT!

BY the Pound or Bag, cheap, at Edesville.
Dec. 16 T. R. STRONG & Co.

NOTICE TO FARMERS.

THE Partnership, under the name of HINES & WEST, was dissolved, by mutual consent, February the 1st, 1866. The undersigned has taken the Warehouse,

No. 132 West Pratt Street,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF DOING A
GENERAL COMMISSION BUSINESS,

and hopes, by strict attention to business, to merit a continuance of the patronage so liberally extended to the late firm.

Particular attention given to the sale of
GRAIN, FRUITS,
AND ALL KINDS OF
COUNTRY PRODUCE.

Having been extensively engaged in the
Fruit Business
for a number of years, and knowing the disadvantage the Peach Growers labor under, by the loss of Boxes, all persons intending to send their Fruit, and notifying me how many Boxes they will need, I will furnish the Boxes; the Grower paying only for what Boxes he has on hand at the end of the season, at market price.

W. H. WEST,
132 *West Pratt street, Baltimore.*

REFERENCES:
Messrs. John A. Stephens & Bro., of Balto.
" Norris & Pusey, "
Dr. C. H. B. Massey, of Kent County.
R. C. Johnson, " "
John S. Hurlock, " "
Messrs. Mallahen & Bro., of Queen Ann's Co.
June 23, 1866—tf.

JAMES R. CHANCE. JNO. F. OSBOURN.

AUCTION NOTICE.

BY CHANCE & OSBOURN,
AUCTIONEERS
AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
No. 85 West Baltimore Street,
Below Sun Iron Building.

WE respectfully call the attention of all Merchants to our extensive Auction Rooms, where we are daily receiving

Goods of all Descriptions,

for public and private sales. Call and see us.

CHANCE & OSBOURN,
Auction and Commission Merchants,
85 West Balt. St., near Holliday.
April 14, 1866—6m.

MILLING.

Meal, Flour and Feed.

THE subscriber having leased the Goose Hill Mill for the remainder of the year, is prepared to do all custom work at short notice. He will also supply the citizens of the town with Meal, Flour and Feed, at reasonable rates, and may be found at the Market House every morning. He will also take grists for householders to his Mill to grind and return it to them.

WM. F. BAKER.
Chestertown, May 12, 1866—tf.

$1,500 PER YEAR! We want Agents everywhere to sell our IMPROVED $20 Sewing Machine. Three new kinds. Under and upper feed. Sent on trial. Warranted five years. Above salary or large commissions paid. The ONLY machines sold in the United States for less than $40, which are *fully licensed by Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, Grover & Baker, Singer & Co., and Bachelder. All* other cheap machines are *infringements* and the *seller or user* are *liable to arrest, fine and imprisonment.* Illustrated circulars sent *free.* Address, or call upon Shaw & Clark, at Biddeford, Maine, or Chicago Ill. May 12, 1866—1y

$90 A MONTH!—AGENTS wanted for *six entirely new articles*, just out. Address O. T. GAREY, City Building, Biddeford, Me. May 12—y.

SAMUEL COMEGYS. GEO. D. S. HANDY.

COMEGYS & HANDY,
GRAIN COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
No. 70 South Street,
BALTIMORE.
October 21, 1865—y

DR. J. T. TWILLEY,



Dentist,
CHESTERTOWN, MARYLAND,

RESPECTFULLY informs the citizens of Kent county, that having located in Chestertown, he can always be found at his office on High Street, next door below the residence of Miss T. Bradshaw.

☞ His charges are moderate and all work done by him guaranteed to be as he represents.
May 13, 1865—y.

Dissolution of Partnership.

THE CO-PARTNERSHIP OF MEDDERS, SUTTON & CO., was dissolved by mutual consent, on the First day of February, inst., Jacob Pearson withdrawing from the firm. Philip Medders and Orlando F. Sutton are alone authorized to settle up the business of the firm, to whom, persons indebted, will please make immediate payment.

PHILIP MEDDERS,
O. F. SUTTON,
JACOB PEARSON.

CONTINUATION OF BUSINESS.

THE undersigned, thankful for past patronage, respectfully notify their friends, that they are conducting the

COACH AND CARRIAGE MAKING BUSINESS,

in all its various branches, at their old stand in GALENA, where they will be pleased to see those wanting anything in their line.

PHILIP MEDDERS,
O. F. SUTTON.
Galena, Feb. 10, 1866—6m.

Wool Notice.

WE will take on account, exchange for Kersey, or pay Cash for Wool, at the "People's Popular Store."

W. A. VICKERS.
Chestertown, June 2, 1866.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND ADDRESS TO THE People of the United States BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

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: desirous, as are a large majority of their countrymen, in all sincerity, to forget and forgive the past; revering the constitution as it comes to us from our ancestors; regarding the Union in its restoration more sacred than ever; looking with deep anxiety into the future as of instant and continuing trial, hereby issues and proclaims the following declaration of principles and purposes on which they have, with perfect unanimity, agreed:

First.—We hail with gratitude to Almighty God the end of the war and return of peace 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.

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 imposed upon its people, fundamental in its nature and essential to the existence of our republican institutions. And neither Congress nor the general government has any authority as a power to deny this right to any State, or to withhold its enjoyment, under the constitution, from the people thereof.

Fourth.—We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress, as members thereof, none but men who admit this right of fundamental representation, and 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 election returns and qualifications of its own members.

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 notwithstanding. All the powers not conferred by the constitution upon the general government, nor prohibited by it to the States or to the people thereof; and among the rights thus reserved to the States is the right to prescribe the qualification for the elective franchise therein, with which right Congress cannot interfere. No State or convention of States has the right to withdraw from the Union, or to exclude, through their action in Congress or otherwise, any other State or States from the Union. The union of these States is perpetual.

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 the proposition and exposition of such amendments, whether by Congress or Convention, and in ratifying the same, all the States of the Union have an equal and undeniable right to a voice and a vote therein.

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 emancipated slaves in all the States of the Union should receive, in common with all their inhabitants, equal protection in person and property.

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 unimpeached the honor and the faith of the Republic.

Ninth.—It is the duty of the national government to recognize the services of the federal soldiers and sailors in the contest just closed, by meeting promptly and fully all their just and rightful claims for the services they have rendered the nation, and by extending to those of them who have served, and to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen, the most generous and considerate support.

Tenth.—In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, who has proved steadfast in his devotion to the constitution, the laws, and the interests of his country, unmoved be persecution and undeserved reproach, having faith unassailable in the people and in the principle of free government, we recognize a Chief Magistrate worthy of the nation, and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast. And we tender to him, in his high and responsible duties, our profound respect and assurance of our cordial and sincere support.

ADDRESS.

To the People of the United States:

Having met in convention at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 15th day of August, 1866, as the representatives of the people in all sections, and all the States and Territories of the Union, to consult upon the condition and the wants of the 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 1860, events have occurred which have changed the character of our internal politics and given the United States a new place among the nations of the earth. Our government has passed through the vicissitudes and the perils of civil war: a war which, though mainly sectional in its character, has nevertheless decided political differences that from the very beginning of the government had threatened the unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and ineffaceable upon all the interests, sentiments and the destiny of the republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country severe losses in life and property, and has imposed burdens which must weigh on its resources for generations to come, it has developed a degree of national courage in the presence of national dangers, a capacity for military organization and achievement, and a devotion on the part of the people to the form of government which they have ordained, and to the principles of liberty which that government was designed to promote, which must confirm the confidence of the nation in the perpetuity of its republican institutions and command the respect of the civilized world. Like all great contests which rouse the passions and test the endurance of nations, this war has given new scope to the ambition of political parties and fresh impulse to plans of innovation and reform. Amidst the chaos of conflicting sentiments inseparable from such an era, while the public heart is keenly alive to all the passions that can sway the public judgment and affect the public actions; while the wounds of war are still fresh and bleeding on either side and fears for the future take unjust proportions from the memories and resentments of the past, it is a difficult but imperative duty which, on your behalf, we who are here assembled have undertaken to perform.

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

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

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

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

Under this broad and sweeping claim, that clause of the constitution which provides that "no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate of the United States" has been annulled, and ten States have been refused and 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 all share in making their own laws, or choosing their own rulers, until they shall comply with such acts as this Congress, thus composed, may itself prescribe. That right has not only been asserted, but it has been exercised, and is practically enforced at the present time. Nor does it find any support in the theory that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the government, and therefore precluded from sharing its authority. They are not thus in rebellion. They are one and all in an attitude of loyalty towards the government and of sworn allegiance to the constitution of the United States. In none of them is there the slightest indication of resistance to this authority, or the slightest protest against its just and binding obligation. This condition of renewed loyalty has been officially recognized by solemn proclamation of the Executive Department; the laws of the United States have been extended by Congress over all these States and the people thereof; Federal courts have been reopened and Federal taxes imposed and levied; and, in every respect, except that they are denied representation in Congress and the electoral college, the States once in rebellion are now recognized as holding the same position, as owing the same obligations and subject to the same duties as the other States of our common Union.

It seems to us, in the exercise of the calmest and most candid judgment we can bring to the subject, that such a claim, so enforced, involves as fatal an overthrow of the authority of the constitution and as complete a destruction of the government and Union as that which was sought to be effected by the States and people in armed insurrection against them both. It cannot escape observation that the power thus asserted to exclude certain States from representation is made to rest wholly on the will and discretion of the Congress that asserts it. It is not made to depend upon any specified conditions or circumstances, nor to be subject to any rules or regulations whatever. The right asserted and exercised is absolute, without qualification or restriction—not confined to States in rebellion nor to States that have rebelled—it is the right of any Congress, in formal possession of the legislative authority, to exclude any State or States, and any portion of the people thereof, at any time, from representation in Congress and in the elecioral college, at its own discretion, and until they shall perform such acts and comply with such conditions as it may dictate.

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

Improbable as such usurpations may seem, the establishment of the principle now asserted and acted upon by Congress will render by no means impossible the character indeed the very existence of Congress and the Union is thus made dependent solely and entirely upon the party and sectional exigencies and forbearances of the hour.

We need not stop to show that such action not only finds no warrant in the constitution, but is at war with every principle of our government, and with the very existence of free institutions. It is, indeed, the identical practice which has rendered fruitless all attempts hitherto to establish and maintain free government in Mexico and the States of South America.

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

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

When, therefore, any State is excluded from such representation, not only is a right of the State denied, but the constitutional integrity of the Senate is impaired, and the validity of the government itself is brought in question. But Congress, at the present moment, thus excludes from representation in both branches of Congress ten States of the Union, denying them all share in the enactment of laws by which they are to be governed, and all participation in the election of the rulers by which those laws are to be enforced.—In other words, a Congress in which only twenty-six States are represented, asserts the right to govern, absolutely, and in its own discretion, all the thirty-six States which compose the Union; to make their laws and choose their rulers, and to exclude the other ten from all share in their own government until it sees fit to admit them thereto. What is there to distinguished the power thus asserted and exercised from the most absolute and intolerable tyranny? Nor do these extravagant and unjust claims on the part of Congress to powers and authority never conferred upon the government by the constitution find any warrant in the arguments or excuses urged 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 government on its own terms and its own discretion. If representation in Congress and participation in the government were simply 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 a duty, 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 failure to claim them, and duties may be evaded by the refusual to perform them.

The withdrawal of their members from Congress by the States which resisted the general government was among their acts of insurrection—was one of the means and agencies by which they souht to impair the authority and defeat the action of the government. And that act was committed, and rendered void when the insurrection itself was suppressed. Neither the right of representation nor the duty to be representation nor the duty to be represented was in the least impaired by the fact of insurrection. But it may have been that be 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 usurpation and unlawful authority in the territory under its control, had prohibited that allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States which is made by that fundamental law the essential condition of representation in its government. No man whithin the insurgent States was allowed to take the oath to support to constitution of the United States, and, as a necessary consequence, no man could lawfully represent those States in the councils of the Union.

But this was only an obstacle to the enjoyment of the right and to the discharge of a duty. It did not annul the one nor abrogate the other, and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been overthrown, and the States had again resumed their allegiance to the constitution 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 confer 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 solely, so far as the rights they confer are concerned, to wars waged between alien and independent nations, and can have no place or force in this regard in a war waged by a government to suppress an insurrection of its own people, upon its own soil, against its authority. If we had carried on successful war against any foreign nation, we might thereby have acquired possession and jurisdiction of their soil, with the right to enforce our laws upon their people, and to impose upon them such laws and such obligations as we might choose. But we had before the war complete jurisdiction over the soil of the Southern States, limited only by our own constitution. Our laws were the only rational laws in force upon it; the government of the United States was the only government through which those States and their people had relations with foreign nations, and its flag by which they were recognized or known anywhere on the face of the earth. In all these respects and in all other respects involving national interest and 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—could only vindicate and re-establish the disputed supremacy of the constitution. It could neither enlarge nor diminish the authority which that constitution confers upon the government by which it was achieved. Such an enlargement or abridgement of constitutional power can be effected only by the amendment of the constitution itself, and such amendment can be made only in the modes which the constitution itself prescribes.—The claim that the suppression of an insurrection against the government gives additional authority and power to that government, especially that it enlarges the jurisdiction of Congress and gives that body the right to exclude States from representation in the national counells, without which the nation itself can have no authority and no existence, it seems to us as a variance alike with the principles of the constitution and with the public safety.

Third. But it is alleged that in certain particulars the constitution of the United States fails to secure that absolute justice and impartial equality which the principles of our government require.—That it was in these respects the result of compromise and concessions, to which, however necessary when the constitution was formed, we are no longer compelled to submit, and that now, having the power, through successful war, and just warrant for its exercise, in the hostile conduct of the insurgent section, the actual government of the United States may impose its own conditions and make the constitution conform, in all its provisions, to its own ideas of equality and the rights of man.

Congress, at its last session, proposed amendments to the constitution, enlarging in some very important particulars the authority of the general government over that of the several States, and reducing by indirect disfranchisement the representative power of the States in which slavery formerly existed. And it is claimed that these amendments may be made valid as parts of the original constitution without the concurrence of the States to be most seriously affected by them, or may be imposed upon those States by three-fourths of the remaining States as conditions of their readmission to representation in Congress and in the electoral college.

It is the unquestionable right of the people of the United States to make such changes in the constitution as they, upon due deliberation, may deem expedient.—But we insist that they shall be made in the mode which the constitution itself points out, in conformity with the letter and the spirit of that instrument, and with the principles of self-government and equal rights which lie at the basis of our republican institutions. We deny the right of Congress to make these changes in the fundamental law without the concurrence of three fourths of all the States, including especially those to be most seriously affected by them, or to impose them upon States or people, as conditions of representation or of admission to any of the rights, duties or obligations which belong, under the constitution, to all the States alike.

And with still greater emphasis do we deny the right of any portion of the States excluding the rest of the States from any share in their councils, or to propose or sanction changes in the constitution which are to affect permanently political relations and control or coerce the legitimate action of the several members of the common Union. Such an exercise of power is simply a usurpation—just as unwarrantable when exercised by Northern States as it would be if exercised by Southern; and not to be fortified or palliated by anything in the past history either of those by

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