

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FEBRUARY 8, 1864.—Ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. SUMNER submitted the following

RESOLUTIONS:

1. *Resolved*, That, in order to determine the duties of the national government at the present moment, it is of the first importance that we should see and understand the real character of the contest which has been forced upon the United States, for a failure truly to appreciate this contest must end disastrously in a failure of those proper efforts which are essential to the re-establishment of unity and concord; that, recognizing the contest in its real character, as it must be recorded by history, it will be apparent beyond controversy, that this is not an ordinary rebellion, or an ordinary war, but, that it is absolutely without precedent, differing clearly from every other rebellion and every other war, inasmuch as it is an audacious attempt, for the first time in history, to found a wicked power on the corner-stone of slavery; and that such an attempt having this single object—whether regarded as rebellion or as war—is so completely penetrated and absorbed, so entirely filled and possessed by slavery, that it can be justly regarded as nothing else than the huge impersonation of this crime, at once rebel and belligerent, or in other words, as slavery in arms.

2. *Resolved*, That, recognizing the unquestionable identity of the rebellion and of slavery, so that each is to the other as another self, it becomes plain that the rebellion cannot be crushed without crushing slavery, as slavery cannot be crushed without crushing the rebellion; that every forbearance to the one is a forbearance to the other, and every blow at the one is a blow at the other; that all who tolerate slavery tolerate the rebellion, and all who strike at slavery strike at the rebellion; and that, therefore, it is our supremest duty, in which all other present duties are contained, to take care that the barbarism of slavery, in which alone the rebellion has its origin and life, is so utterly trampled out that it can never spring up again anywhere in the rebel and belligerent region; for leaving this duty undone nothing is done, and all our blood and treasure have been lavished in vain.

3. *Resolved*, That, in dealing with the rebel war the national government is invested with two classes of rights—one the *rights of sovereignty*, inherent and indefeasible everywhere within the limits of the United States, and the other the *rights of war*, or belligerent rights, which have been superinduced by the nature and extent of the contest; that, by virtue of the rights of sovereignty, the rebel and belligerent region is now subject to the national government as its only rightful government, bound under the Constitution to all the duties of sovereignty, and by special mandate bound also “to guaranty to every State a republican form of government, and to protect it against invasion;” that, by virtue of the rights of war, this same region is subject to all the conditions and incidents of war, according to the established usages of Christian nations, out

of which is derived the familiar maxim of public duty, "Indemnity for the past and security for the future."

4. *Resolved*, That, in seeking the restoration of the States to their proper places as members of the republic, so that every State shall enjoy again its constitutional functions, and every star on our national flag shall represent a State, in reality as well as in name, care must be taken that the rebellion is not allowed, through any negligence or mistaken concession, to retain the least foothold for future activity, or the least germ of future life; that, whether proceeding by the exercise of sovereign rights or of belligerent rights, the same precautions must be exacted against future peril; that, therefore, any system of "reconstruction" must be rejected, which does not provide by irreversible guarantees against the continued existence or possible revival of slavery, and that such guarantees can be primarily obtained only through the agency of the national government, which to this end must assert a temporary supremacy, military or civil, throughout the rebel and belligerent region, of sufficient duration, to stamp upon this region the character of freedom.

5. *Resolved*, That, in the exercise of this essential supremacy of the national government, a solemn duty is cast upon Congress to see that no rebel State is prematurely restored to its constitutional functions until, within its borders, all proper safeguards are established, so that loyal citizens, including the new-made freedmen, cannot at any time be molested by evil-disposed persons, and especially that no man there may be made a slave; that this solemn duty belongs to Congress under the Constitution, whether in the exercise of rights of sovereignty or rights of war, and that in its performance that system of "reconstruction" will be found the best, howsoever it may be named, which promises most surely to accomplish the desired end, so that slavery, which is the synonym of the rebellion, shall absolutely cease throughout the whole rebel and belligerent region, and the land which it has maddened, impoverished, and degraded, shall become safe, fertile, and glorious, from assured emancipation.

6. *Resolved*, That, in the process of "reconstruction," it is not enough to secure the death of slavery throughout the rebel and belligerent region only; that experience testifies against slavery wherever it exists, not only as a crime against humanity, but as a disturber of the public peace and the spoiler of the public liberties, including the liberty of the press, the liberty of speech, and the liberty of travel and transit; that obviously, in the progress of civilization, it has become incompatible with good government, and especially with that "republican form of government" which the United States are bound to guaranty to every State; that from the outbreak of this rebel war, even in States professing loyalty, it has been an open check upon patriotic duty and an open accessory to the rebellion, so as to be a source of unquestionable weakness to the national cause; that the defiant pretensions of the master, claiming the control of his slave, are in direct conflict with the paramount rights of the national government; and that, therefore, it is the further duty of Congress, in the exercise of its double powers, under the Constitution, as guardian of the national safety, to take all needful steps to secure the extinction of slavery, even in States professing loyalty, so that this crime against humanity, this disturber of the public peace, and this spoiler of the public liberties shall no longer exist anywhere to menace the general harmony; that civilization may be no longer shocked; that the constitutional guaranty of a republican form of government to every State may be fulfilled; that the rebellion may be deprived of the traitorous aid and comfort which slavery has instinctively volunteered; and that the master, claiming an unnatural property in human flesh, may no longer defy the national government.

7. *Resolved*, That, in addition to the guarantees stipulated by Congress, and as the cap-stone to its work of restoration and reconciliation, the Constitution itself must be so amended as to prohibit slavery everywhere within the limits

of the republic ; that such a prohibition, leaving all personal claims, whether of slave or master, to the legislation of Congress and of the States, will be in itself a sacred and inviolable guarantee, representing the collective will of the people of the United States, and placing universal emancipation under the sanction of the Constitution, so that freedom shall be engraved on every foot of the national soil, and be woven into every star of the national flag, while it elevates and inspires our whole national existence, and the Constitution, so often invoked for slavery, but at last in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, will become, according to the holy aspirations of its founders, the sublime guardian of the inalienable right of every human being to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; all of which must be done in the name of the Union, in duty to humanity, and for the sake of permanent peace.