



IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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DECEMBER 5, 1866.—Ordered to be printed.

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Mr. SUMNER submitted the following

RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLUTIONS declaring the true principles of reconstruction; the jurisdiction of Congress over the whole subject; the illegality of existing governments in the rebel States, and the exclusion of such States, with such illegal governments, from representation in Congress, and from voting on constitutional amendments.

*Resolved*, 1. That in the work of reconstruction it is important that no false step should be taken interposing obstacle or delay; but that, by careful provisions, we should make haste to complete the work, so that the unity of the republic shall be secured on permanent foundations, and fraternal relations shall be once more established among all the people thereof.

2. That this end can be accomplished only by following the guiding principles of our institutions as declared by our fathers when the republic was formed, and that any neglect or forgetfulness of these guiding principles must postpone the establishment of union, justice, domestic tranquillity, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty, which are the declared objects of the Constitution, and, therefore, must be the essential object of reconstruction itself.

3. That this work of reconstruction must be conducted by Congress and under its constant supervision; that under the Constitution Congress is solemnly bound to assume this responsibility; and that, in the performance of this duty, it must see that everywhere throughout the rebel communities loyalty is protected and advanced, while the new governments are fashioned according to the requirements of a Christian commonwealth, so that order, tranquillity, education, and human rights shall prevail within their borders.

4. That, in determining what is a republican form of government, Congress must follow implicitly the definition supplied by the Declaration of Independence, and, in the practical application of this definition, it must, after excluding all disloyal persons, take care that new governments are founded on the two fundamental truths therein contained: first, that all men are equal in rights; and, secondly, that all just government stands only on the consent of the governed.

5. That all proceedings with a view to reconstruction originating in executive power are in the nature of usurpation; that this usurpation becomes especially offensive when it sets aside the fundamental truths of our institutions; that it is shocking to common sense when it undertakes to derive new governments from that hostile population which has just been engaged in armed rebellion; and that all governments having such origin are necessarily illegal and void.

6. That it is the duty of Congress to proceed with the work of reconstruction, and to this end it must assume jurisdiction of the States lately in rebellion, except so far as that jurisdiction may have been already renounced, and it must recognize only the loyal States or those States having legal and valid legislatures as entitled to representation in Congress, or to a voice in the adoption of constitutional amendments.