

THE POLICY OF CONGRESS

to have first to consider on July 2, 1861, the policy of Congress in relation to the rebellion, and to show that the policy of Congress was to restore the Union and to suppress the rebellion.

RESTORATION OF THE UNION

It is the policy of Congress to restore the Union and to suppress the rebellion, and to do so by the use of force if necessary.

PUBLISHED BY THE UNION REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE MORE EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT OF THE REBEL STATES.

Whereas no legal State governments or adequate protection for life and property now exists in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas, and whereas it is necessary that peace and good order should be restored in said States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established:

Therefore, *Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That there shall be organized in said States military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States, as hereinafter prescribed; and for that purpose, Virginia shall constitute the first district, North Carolina and South Carolina the second district, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the third district, Mississippi and Arkansas the fourth district, and Louisiana and Texas the fifth district.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the President to assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the Army, not below the rank of brigadier general, and to detail a competent military force, to be under his command, to perform his duties and enforce his authority within the limits of each district.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the President to suspend all persons who have participated in their rights of person and property to suppress insurrection, rebellion, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals, and to this end he may allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and try offenders, or, when in his judgment it may be necessary for the trial of offenders, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose; and all interference under color of State authority with the exercise of military authority under this act shall be null and void.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That all persons put under military arrest by virtue of this act shall be tried without unnecessary delay, and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted; and no sentence of any military commission or tribunal, so far as authorized, touching the life or liberty of any person, shall be executed until it is approved by the officer in command of the district, and the laws and regulations for the government of the Army shall not be affected by this act.

As to the bill... President... approval of the President.

That the bill do pass... agreeing to pass the same.

EDWARD WATSON... In the Senate of the United States... The Senate having proceeded in pursuance of the Constitution...

AN ACT supplementary to an act entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States..."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled...

In the House of Representatives of the United States... The President of the United States having returned to the House of Representatives...

Representatives proceeded in pursuance of the Constitution to receive the bill...

Resolved, That the said bill do pass... agreeing to pass the same.

EDWARD WATSON... In the Senate of the United States...

The Senate having proceeded in pursuance of the Constitution to receive the bill...

AN ACT supplementary to an act entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States..."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled...

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of the original...

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That after the completion of the registration hereby provided for in any State, at such time and places therein as the commanding general shall appoint and direct, of which at least thirty days' public notice shall be given, an election shall be held of delegates to a convention for the purpose of establishing a constitution and civil government for such State loyal to the Union, said convention in each State, except Virginia, to consist of the same number of members as the most numerous branch of the State legislature of such State in the year eighteen hundred and sixty, to be apportioned among the several districts, counties, or parishes of such State by the commanding general, giving to each representation in the ratio of voters registered as aforesaid as nearly as may be. The convention in Virginia shall consist of the same number of members as represented the territory now constituting Virginia in the most numerous branch of the legislature of said State in the year eighteen hundred and sixty, to be apportioned as aforesaid.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That at said election the registered voters of each State shall vote for or against a convention to form a constitution therefor under this act. Those voting in favor of such a convention shall have written or printed on the ballots by which they vote for delegates, as aforesaid, the words "For a convention?" and those voting against such a convention shall have written or printed on such ballots the words "Against a convention." The persons appointed to superintend said election, and to make return of the votes given thereat, as herein provided, shall count and make return of the votes given for and against a convention; and the commanding general to whom the same shall have been returned shall ascertain and declare the total vote in each State for and against a convention. If a majority of the votes given on that question shall be for a convention, then such convention shall be held as hereinafter provided; but if a majority of said votes shall be against a convention, then no such convention shall be held under this act: *Provided,* That such convention shall not be held unless a majority of all such registered voters shall have voted on the question of holding such convention.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the commanding general of each district shall appoint as many boards of registration as may be necessary, consisting of three loyal officers or persons, to make and complete the registration, superintend the election, and make return to him of the votes, lists of voters, and of the persons elected as delegates by a plurality of the votes cast at said election; and upon receiving said returns he shall open the same, ascertain the persons elected as delegates according to the returns of the officers who conducted said election, and make proclamation thereof, and if a majority of the votes given on that question shall be for a convention, the commanding general, within sixty days from the date of election, shall notify the delegates to assemble in convention, at a time and place to be mentioned in the notification, and said convention, when organized, shall proceed to frame a constitution and civil government according to the provisions of this act and the act to which it is supplementary; and when the same shall have been so framed, said constitution shall be submitted by the convention for ratification to the persons registered under the provisions of this act at an election to be conducted by the officers or persons appointed or to be appointed by the commanding general, as hereinbefore provided, and to be held after the expiration of thirty days from the date of notice thereof, to be given by said convention; and the returns thereof shall be made to the commanding general of the district.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That if, according to said returns, the constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the votes of the registered electors quali-

fied as herein specified, and a valid election, (at least one-half of all the registered voters voting upon the question of such ratification,) the president of the convention shall transmit a copy of the same, duly certified by the President of the United States, who shall forthwith transmit the same to Congress, which shall, if not in session, then immediately after its next assembling, and if it shall moreover appear to Congress that the election was not at which all the registered and qualified electors in the State had an opportunity to vote freely and without restraint, fear, or the influence of fraud, and if the Congress shall be satisfied that such constitution meets the approval of a majority of all the qualified electors in the State, and if the said constitution shall be declared by Congress to be in conformity with the provisions of the act to which this is supplementary, and the other provisions of said act shall have been complied with, and the said constitution shall be approved by Congress, the State shall be declared entitled to representation and senators and representatives shall be elected thereat as herein provided.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That all elections in the States mentioned in the said "Act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States," shall, during the operation of said act, be by ballot; and all officers making the said registration of voters and conducting said elections shall, before entering upon the discharge of their duties, take and subscribe the oath prescribed by the act approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled "An act to prescribe an oath of office." *Provided,* That if any person shall knowingly and falsely take and subscribe any oath in this act prescribed, such person so offending, and being thereof duly convicted, shall be subject to the pains, penalties, and disabilities which by law are provided for the punishment of the crime of wilful and corrupt perjury.

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That all expenses incurred by the several commanding generals, or by virtue of any orders issued, or appointments made, by them, under or by virtue of this act, shall be paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, That the convention for each State shall prescribe the fees, salary, and compensation to be paid to all delegates and other officers and agents herein authorized or necessary to carry into effect the purposes of this act not herein otherwise provided for, and shall provide for the levy and collection of such taxes on the property in such State as may be necessary to pay the same.

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That the word article in the sixth section of the act to which this is supplementary, shall be construed to mean section.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,

The President of the United States having returned to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, the bill entitled "An act supplementary to the act entitled 'An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States,' passed March two, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to facilitate restoration with his objections thereto, the House of Representatives, in pursuance of the Constitution, to reconsider the same, and having thereat determined, by a vote of two-thirds of the House of Representatives, agreeing to pass the same, and the

Attest: **EDWARD McPHERSON,**
Clerk of House of Representatives.

March 22, 1867

The Senate having proceeded, in pursuance of the Constitution, to reconsider the bill entitled "An act supplementary to an act entitled 'An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States,' passed March two, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to facilitate restoration," returned to the House of Representatives by the President of the United States, with his objections, and sent by the House of Representatives to the Senate, with the message of the President returning the bill, resolved that the bill do pass, two-thirds of the Senate agreeing to pass the same.

Attest:
J. W. FORNEY,
Secretary.

The preceding acts of Congress were designed as measures of beneficence and restoration, and not of revenge or punishment. They are measures looking to the restoration of the Union in the spirit of justice and upon the basis of equality. Slavery has passed away, and it only remains to destroy its spirit and to crush the institutions which it established and nurtured. The Republican party expects and desires the restoration of the Union, but upon such terms and conditions only as shall render it impossible for its enemies to renew the civil war or to involve the country in sectional strife. It will be true to its friends in the South without regard to color or previous condition. The Republican party is the party of freedom and progress. It is its purpose to aid in securing for the South freedom of speech, a free press, and a system of free schools. These desirable results will be sought through the action of Congress as far as possible, but our main reliance must be upon the wisdom and virtue of the people of the respective States. By the acts of the 2d of March, and of the 23d of March, 1867, provision is made for the enjoyment of the right of voting by all male citizens, twenty-one years of age, except those who have been convicted of felony and a small class of rebels who are excluded from office by the third article of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The negroes of the South by the measures of the Republican party, as expressed in these acts of Congress, are elevated to the full and equal rights of citizens of the States to which they belong, and of the country which hereafter will recognize no distinctions on account of race or color. The nation is indebted to the negro race for services rendered during the late war; the negro race is indebted to the country, controlled in its policy by the Republican party, for the emancipation of the race from slavery; and now, by these acts of Congress, for its elevation to a position of equality. From these reciprocal services arise mutual obligations and duties.

The colored race are to be treated as citizens of the States to which they belong, and of the country which hereafter will recognize no distinctions on account of race or color. The negroes of the South are to be treated as citizens of the States to which they belong, and of the country which hereafter will recognize no distinctions on account of race or color. The negroes of the South are to be treated as citizens of the States to which they belong, and of the country which hereafter will recognize no distinctions on account of race or color.

First, upon the basis of universal suffrage we urge the people of the South to direct their efforts to the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools for the education of the children of all classes. Finally, public policy should stimulate the laboring people to become land owners. The owners of large estates should divide and subdivide their lands and sell them at reasonable rates to those who need them and who can improve them. In the South there is land enough for all, and all who have the energy and industry to obtain homes. This, a common human right, cannot be denied to any race.

The black man will not prove that he is not a man, and that he is not a citizen of the United States. He will alayate and enrich the negro race, which, in his ignorance, he dishonored and burdened.

Secondly, upon the basis of universal suffrage we urge the people of the South to direct their efforts to the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools for the education of the children of all classes.

Finally, public policy should stimulate the laboring people to become land owners. The owners of large estates should divide and subdivide their lands and sell them at reasonable rates to those who need them and who can improve them. In the South there is land enough for all, and all who have the energy and industry to obtain homes. This, a common human right, cannot be denied to any race.

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If the people of the States in rebellion shall cheerfully and in good faith
 reorganize their governments upon the principles of the laws passed by Congress,
 there will then remain no causes of difference between the various sections of the
 country. The Republic must be made to stand on a firm basis, and to the
 purpose of the spirit of slavery is pointed to one of the institutions and of the
 value of the North, there can be no room for the Union. It is this which should
 be in place. The preservation of the Union, the establishment of these prin-
 ciples of freedom between the North and of the South which are
 what between the States of the North. When this moment arrives, as it will
 soon arrive, if the government of the South should be properly advised by the people
 of the North, the North will be able to support the necessary measures and power for
 the development of the nation. In the course of a short period of time, it
 only will be the evidence of the true situation, but the government should be
 in the enjoyment of a secure and happy and prosperous condition.

There can be no objection, constitution, amendment, and property for all. If the
 States shall in any way ... but if they shall ...