

ped that Jefferson Davis should die, they might have a better and an abler man to succeed him, though not considered so available at the time for the first place—does the gentleman remember that a greater man, with a greater mind, with a broader intelligence, has not shrunk from coming directly to the point, and placing on record the direct assertion that the statement made by Mr. Davis is not true? Does the gentleman remember that? Yet it is so, and for the satisfaction of gentlemen here, I will read the words of Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, showing exactly what their new government was founded upon. He says:

“Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas, [that is, the ideas advanced by the great men of this Republic in former days.] Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development” —

And well he might say so, remembering the teachings of Jefferson, Jay, Livingstone and other great men.

“This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even in their day.”

He well knew that he could not go back one generation for the approval of his theory. He knew very well that pecuniary interests had built up and given rise to the theory upon which he professes they have founded their great idea of government. He says about their new Constitution, their new government—

“The new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists amongst us, the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization.” This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the rock upon which the old Union would split. He was right, what was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that great rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opin-

ion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last; and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong, they rested upon the assumption of the equality of the races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation; and the idea of a government built upon it—when the ‘storm came and the wind blew, it fell.’”

Now when we talk of the cause of this war let us go back to the opinions of the men who foresaw it, and they tell us that there would come a time when these men, drunk with the full cup of political power, accustomed for long years to rule and guide and control the action of this country, finding that the spread of general intelligence, of education, and of learning would oppose to their power a stumbling block over which they might not pass, whenever that time came, would make an effort to dis sever this Union. This war is the fruit of slavery.

The gentleman then told us that Maryland is manacled and in chains, that her voice is stifled and she may not speak as she would. And as for him, he says he would have her speak now worthily, and not in humble sycophantic terms of subservience to federal power; but in utterance worthy of her part. Does the gentleman remember that at the time of the formation of the Federal Constitution, one of the leading men of Maryland advised her people strongly not to ratify it, because they would thereby be binding themselves as parties to a wrong so great that no government might hope to live under it? And on the one single ground of slavery, the State of Maryland was called upon and warned not to join in the Federal Government, because its Constitution contained in it an admission and an allowance of slavery.

Maryland manacled and in chains to-day? Maryland bound to-day, when in the freedom of her Convention, joyfully and with delight she is about to proclaim the fact that three years of civil war has taught her that in this Union alone is safety to be found, by submitting to the supremacy of the Federal government; that by the Constitution of the United States alone, have republican institutions been guaranteed to her; that for three years has she been wrapped and cradled in the arms of the Federal Government; and though the tide of invasion has rolled upon her frontiers, for three years has the whole power of the Federal Government been exercised to sweep it back, so that she is free to-day.