

disposed to pursue this further, can find these views elaborated in the debates in the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and in the *Federalist*, in the arguments of all the original fathers of the Federal Government.

Now, let me in conclusion briefly consider the question which has been argued pretty extensively, Who is responsible for this war? Who brought it upon the country? I make this proposition, that the Southern States never have made a demand upon the Federal Government that has not been granted. In the formation of the Constitution, they required, first, that the slave trade should be open to them for twenty years; that, like highwaymen, robbers and pirates, they might go in their vessels to the coast of a far-off land, seize the defenceless inhabitants thereof, and bring them home, and put them into the cotton-fields and use them as chattels. They made this demand in violation of the moral conscience of the world. But it was granted to them. They had the permission, and they used it. Next, they asked to have three-fifths of their negroes represented, and made the basis of political power. That, too, was granted by the North; and they have had it ever since. Although it was coupled with taxation, they never have been taxed for it. They used what was advantageous to them, and have never been compelled to pay the price for it. Again, they asked for the return of their slaves, when they should escape into the Northern States. That, too, was granted to them, and it was confirmed by the act of 1850. That act, or the act that preceded it, have never been violated by the Federal Government. It is true that in some individual cases the law has been opposed; but the Federal Government has uniformly brought the machinery of its executive power to enforce that law, and it has always been enforced.

A few years later, they demanded the purchase of Florida, that they might have that area to spread their peculiar institution over, and that they might increase their political power. That was purchased. Then they demanded Louisiana; that immense territory west of the Mississippi, that they might spread themselves still further. That, too, was purchased out of the common treasury of the common country. Then they demanded the annexation of Texas, that they might still have more power, and still keep the control of the Federal Government. That, too, was conceded to them, with the power of making four additional slave States. Then they asked a war with Mexico, for the purpose of gaining still more territory. That, too, was conceded to them. That defenceless power was invaded, war was made upon it, and a large portion of its territory was wrenched from it, for the purpose of appeasing the insatiate appetite for territory of Southern States' rights men.

Have they anything to complain of in that respect? Have they not had everything they wanted? The Federal Government has never injured them or laid an onerous hand upon them. They had no right to cloak their revolt under any declaration that they had been injured by the North. The North has uniformly given them everything they asked, and the destiny of this country has been in their hands. They claimed it, and we conceded it.

They have had forty-eight years of the Presidency of this country in their hands; forty-eight years of the seventy-two that have elapsed since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and twelve years more they have had Northern men with Southern principles, making sixty. So that, in fact, the executive department of this Government, from the formation of the Constitution up to the present time, has only been for twelve years in the hands of the national party. What grounds have they for complaint? They have controlled the destiny of this people. They have established its policy. They have had eighteen Judges of the Supreme Court, and the North has had but eleven. They have had the control of the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the Government, although four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Northern States. Has the North injured them on this score? Certainly not. Of Presidents of the Senate, the South has had twenty-four and the North eleven; and of Speakers of the House the South has had twenty-three and the North twelve. Of Attorney Generals they have had fourteen, while the North has had five. Of foreign ministers they have had eight-six, and the North fifty-four; yet three-fourths of the business requiring the services of these diplomatic agents abroad arose in the North. Have they any ground of complaint there? They have had the lion's share in that matter. In the army and navy the same disproportion exists. They have had a vast majority of the higher officers, while the great mass of the soldiers and marines were from the North. So, too, of the clerks, auditors, and comptrollers in the executive departments of the Government. For the last fifty years, the records show that out of three thousand thus employed, two-thirds have been from the South.

These are facts. They have had the destiny of this people entirely in their own hands; and in God's name what have they made out of it? Through the infernal and infamous doctrine of States' rights they have ruined the country, so that it would long ago have been damned beyond redemption but for the recuperative power and inexhaustible resources of this young and giant nation. It has been nothing but Southern misrule, from the time we commenced up to