

majority in Congress, in all future time—subversive, as I believe, of every principle of justice and equality among the States, and in times of high party excitement and sectional alienation, dangerous to the liberties of the people.

I assume, without the fear of contradiction, that the effect of this Amendment of the Constitution as a condition precedent to the re-admission of the revolted States, will be the ultimate enforcement of negro suffrage and negro equality, by indirect legislation, depriving the Southern and Border States of their Constitutional representations in the National Councils, unless purchased by the elevation of the negro to the untrammelled right of suffrage.

Admitting the proposed Amendment to be ever so just and liberal, ought it in common justice to be thrust upon the people of the Southern States, to be used as a lever to secure to the negro in that section what has not been attempted with the people of the North by direct legislation?

There are ten States now held in abeyance by the dominant party in Congress, without sufficient cause, as I believe. The war has ceased, and the war power of which we hear so much has ceased with it. The submission of the Constitutional Amendment to these excluded States by Congress is a virtual recognition that they are still in the Union, and have a right to entertain or reject it, as may seem most conducive to their political safety. Suppose they reject it, as they certainly will do, what then? Is the North to re-open the war upon them?—to dissolve the Union—for it will amount to that—by reducing them to Territories, or what is worse, as some have threatened, to degrade them, by confiscating their lands and allowing the negroes to come in and occupy them. The South makes no resistance to the edict of exclusion—she can make none. She admits her utter prostration. Paralyzed in all her relations, social, commercial and political, she calmly resigns herself to her fate. This is the universal feeling of the people of the South at the present moment. In his Message to the Georgia Legislature, November 1, 1866, Governor Jenkins holds this language: "To submit to injurious changes in the Constitution, when forced upon a State according to the forms prescribed for its amendment, would be one thing; to participate in making them by duress against her sense of right and justice would be a very different thing. The difference in principle is as broad as that which distinguishes martyrdom from suicide. We had better calmly await a returning sense of justice and a consequent reflux of the tide now running strong against us."

Meanwhile, her great staples are neglected—immigration seeks other channels, trade languishes, and her contributions to the national burthens, so important to the general taxpayer, are represented by merely nominal values. There is