

statesmanship in the nineteenth century of the Christian era to try the grand experiment on a scale the most costly and gigantic in its proportions, of creating love by force and developing fraternal affection by war! And history will record, too, on the same page the utter, disastrous, and most bloody failure of the experiment.

But to return: the country was at war; and I belonged to that school of politics which teaches that when we are at war the government—I do not mean the executive alone, but the government—is entitled to demand and have, without resistance, such number of men and such amount of money and supplies generally as may be necessary for the war, until an appeal can be had to the people. Before that tribunal alone, in the first instance, must the question of the continuance of the war be tried. This was Mr. Calhoun's opinion, and he laid it down very broadly and strongly in a speech on the loan bill in 1841. Speaking of supplies, he said: "I hold that there is a distinction in this respect between a state of peace and war. In the latter the right of withholding supplies ought ever to be held subordinate to the energetic and successful prosecution of the war. I go further, and regard the withholding of supplies, with a view of forcing the country into a dishonorable peace, as not only to be what it has been called, moral treason, but very little short of actual treason itself."

Upon this principle, sir, he acted afterward in the Mexican war. Speaking of that war in 1847 he said: "Every senator knows that I was opposed to the war; but none but myself knows the depth of that opposition. With my conception of its character and consequences it was impossible for me to vote for it." And again, in 1848: "But after war was declared by authority of the government I acquiesced in

what I could not prevent, and which it was impossible for me to arrest; and I then felt it to be my duty to limit my efforts to give such direction to the war as would as far as possible prevent the evils and dangers with which it threatened the country and its institutions."

Sir, I adopt all this as my own position and my defence, though perhaps in a civil war I might fairly go farther in opposition. I could not, with my convictions, vote men and money for this war, and I would not as a representative vote against them. I meant, that without opposition, the President might take all the men and all the money he should demand, and then to hold him to a strict accountability before the people for the results. Not believing the soldiers responsible for the war or its purposes or its consequences, I have never withheld my vote where their separate interests were concerned. But I have denounced from the beginning the usurpations and the infractions, one and all, of law and constitution, by the President and those under him; their repeated and persistent arbitrary arrests, the suspension of habeas corpus, the violation of freedom of the mails, of the private house, of the press, and of speech, and all the other multiplied wrongs and outrages upon public liberty and private right which have made this country one of the worst despotisms on earth for the past twenty months, and I will continue to rebuke and denounce them to the end; and the people, thank God, have at last heard and heeded and rebuked them too. To the record and to time I appeal again for my justification.

And now, sir, I recur to the state of the Union to-day. What is it? Sir, twenty months have elapsed, but the rebellion is not crushed out; its military power has not been broken; the insurgents have not dispersed. The Union is

not restored; nor the constitution maintained; nor the laws enforced. Twenty, sixty, ninety, three hundred, six hundred days have passed; a thousand millions been expended; and three hundred thousand lives lost or bodies mangled; and to-day the Confederate flag is still near the Potomac and the Ohio, and the Confederate government stronger, many times, than at the beginning. Not a State has been restored, not any part of any State has voluntarily returned to the Union. And has anything been wanting that Congress, or the States, or the people in their most generous enthusiasm, their most impassionate patriotism, could bestow?

Was it power? And did not the party of the executive control the entire federal government, every State government, every county, every city, town, and village in the North and West?

Was it patronage? All belonged to it. Was it influence? What more? Did not the school, the college, the church, the press, the secret orders, the municipality, the corporation, railroads, telegraphs, express companies, the voluntary association, all, all yield it to the utmost?

Was it unanimity? Never was an administration so supported in England or America. Five men and half a score of newspapers made up the opposition.

Was it enthusiasm? The enthusiasm was fanatical. There has been nothing like it since the Crusades.

Was it confidence? Sir, the faith of the people exceeded that of the patriarch. They gave up constitution, law, right, liberty, all at your demand for arbitrary power that the rebellion might, as you promised, be crushed out in three months and the Union restored.

Was credit needed? You took control of a country,

young, vigorous, and inexhaustible in wealth and resources, and of a government almost free from public debt, and whose good faith had never been tarnished. Your great national loan bubble failed miserably as it deserved to fail; but the bankers and merchants of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston lent you more than their entire banking capital. And when that failed, too, you forced credit by declaring your paper promises to pay a legal tender for all debts.

Was money wanted? You had all the revenues of the United States, diminished indeed, but still in gold. The whole wealth of the country, to the last dollar lay at your feet. Private individuals, municipal corporations, the State governments, all in their frenzy, gave you money or means with reckless prodigality. The great eastern cities lent you \$150,000,000. Congress voted, first, \$250,000,000 and next \$500,000,000 more in loans; and then, first \$50,000,000, next \$10,000,000, then \$90,000,000, and in July last, \$150,000,000 in treasury notes; and the secretary has issued also a paper "postage currency," in sums as low as five cents, limited in amount only by his discretion.

Nay, more: already since the 4th of July, 1861, this House has appropriated \$2,017,864,000, almost every dollar without debate and without a recorded vote. A thousand millions have been expended since the 15th of April, 1861; and a public debt or liability of \$1,500,000,000 already incurred. And to support all this stupendous outlay and indebtedness, a system of taxation, direct and indirect, has been inaugurated, the most onerous and unjust ever imposed upon any but a conquered people.

Money and credit, then, you have had in prodigal profusion. And were men wanted? More than 1,000,000 rushed to arms; 75,000 first (and the country stood aghast at the mul-

itude), then 83,000 more were demanded; and 310,000 responded to the call. The President next asked for 400,000, and Congress in their generous confidence, gave him 500,000; and, not to be outdone, he took 637,000. Half of these melted away in their first campaign; and the President demanded 300,000 more for the war, and then drafted yet another 300,000 for nine months. The fabled hosts of Xerxes have been out-numbered.

And yet victory, strangely, follows the standard of the foe. From Great Bethel to Vicksburg, the battle has not been to the strong. Yet every disaster except the last has been followed by a call for more troops, and every time so far they have been promptly furnished. From the beginning the war has been conducted like a political campaign, and it has been the folly of the party in power that they have assumed that numbers alone would win the field in a contest not with ballots but with musket and sword.

But numbers, you have had almost without number—the largest, best appointed, best armed, fed, and clad host of brave men, well organized and well disciplined, ever marshalled. A navy, too, not the most formidable perhaps, but the most numerous and gallant, and the costliest in the world, and against a foe almost without a navy at all. Thus with 20,000,000 people, and every element of strength and force at command—power, patronage, influence, unanimity, enthusiasm, confidence, credit, money, men, and army and a navy the largest and the noblest ever set in the field, or afloat upon the sea; with the support, almost servile, of every State, county, and municipality in the North and West, with a Congress swift to do the bidding of the executive; without opposition anywhere at home and with an arbitrary power which neither the Czar of Russia nor the Emperor of Aus-

tria dare exercise; yet after nearly two years of more vigorous prosecution of war than ever recorded in history; after more skirmishes, combats and battles than Alexander, Cæsar, or the first Napoleon ever fought in any five years of their military career, you have utterly, signally, disastrously—I will not say ignominiously—failed to subdue 10,000,000 “rebels,” whom you had taught the people of the North and West not only to hate, but to despise.

Rebels, did I say? Yes, your fathers were rebels, or your grandfathers. He who now before me on canvas looks down so sadly upon us, the false, degenerate, and imbecile guardians of the great Republic which he founded, was a rebel. And yet we, cradled ourselves in rebellion and who have fostered and fraternized with every insurrection in the nineteenth century everywhere throughout the globe, would now, forsooth, make the word “rebel” a reproach.

Rebels certainly they are; but all the persistent and stupendous efforts of the most gigantic warfare of modern times have through your incompetency and folly availed nothing to crush them out, cut off though they have been, by your blockade from all the world, and dependent only upon their own courage and resources. And yet they were to be utterly conquered and subdued in six weeks or three months.

Sir, my judgment was made up and expressed from the first. I learned it from Chatham: “My lords, you cannot conquer America.” And you have not conquered the South. You never will. It is not in the nature of things possible; much less under your auspices. But money you have expended without limit, and blood poured out like water. Defeat, debt, taxation, sepulchres, these are your trophies. In vain, the people gave you treasure, and the soldier yielded

up his life. "Fight, tax, emancipate, let these," said the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Pike] at the last session, "be the trinity of our salvation."

Sir, they have become the trinity of your deep damnation. The war for the Union is, in your hands, a most bloody and costly failure. The President confessed it on the 22d of September, solemnly, officially, and under the broad seal of the United States. And he has now repeated the confession. The priests and rabbis of abolition taught him that God would not prosper such a cause. War for the Union was abandoned; war for the negro openly begun, and with stronger battalions than before. With what success? Let the dead at Fredericksburg and Vicksburg answer.

And now, sir, can this war continue? Whence the money to carry it on? Where the men? Can you borrow? From whom? Can you tax more? Will the people bear it? Wait till you have collected what is already levied. How many millions more of "legal tender"—to-day, forty-seven per cent. below the par of gold—can you float? Will men enlist now at any price? Ah, sir, it is easier to die at home. I beg pardon; but I trust I am not "discouraging enlistments." If I am, then first arrest Lincoln, Stanton, Halleck, and some of your other generals, and I will retract; yes, I will recant. But can you draft again? Ask New England—New York. Ask Massachusetts. Where are the nine hundred thousand? Ask not Ohio—the Northwest. She thought you in earnest, and gave you all, all—more than you demanded.

"The wife whose babe first smiled that day,  
The fair, fond bride of yester eve,  
And aged sire and matron gray,  
Saw the loved warriors haste away,  
And deemed it sin to grieve."

Sir, in blood she has atoned for her credulity; and now there is mourning in every house, and distress and sadness in every heart. Shall she give you any more?

But ought this war to continue? I answer, no—not a day, not an hour. What then? Shall we separate? Again I answer, no, no, no! What then? And now, sir, I come to the grandest and most solemn problem of statesmanship from the beginning of time; and to the God of heaven, illuminer of hearts and minds, I would humbly appeal for some measure, at least, of light and wisdom and strength to explore and reveal the dark but possible future of this land.