...ble for hostilities to Slavery. It belongs to that breed of ...ambitions and passions, of which Slavery in the ...republics and empires, of antiquity, is the historical ...ing present. Whenever Slavery parcels this fundamental ...right, recognizes "property in human flesh," or for the ...proprietors of the soil, there intensely ...than in Tennessee and Kentucky. It carries ...and a great part of the border States ...right to not settle the Constitution to the extent of ...as may be necessary to secure ...ing the government, to the natural companion ...of the protected right as not valid against ...to the ...as may be making mischief of them. They form a ...well-watched people and travel well together, ...ment ...to perish together. If we do not overthrow ...the first with the same indignation which we feel for the ...last, it is because we distantly awaken our contempt. ...latter, it is because we distantly awaken our sympathies in meeting ...

Crowned to the man with lasting praise,
Who, firm to mid heroes from the chain
And save the works Within.

But this is the impossible countermove, which has been attempted. Nothing is clearer than that this pretended right, as ...ction lodged, has yet to every State the right to play at ...will "the mad horse," but with very little chance of ...will "the mad horse." but with very little chance of ...ing any thing. It takes from the government not merely ...ity to nullify, but even the possibility of continued exist...ity its unity, but even the possibility of continued exist...ence, and reduces it to the shadow of a name or at best ...ence, and reduces it to the shadow of a name or at best ...a mere treaty at will—an unsubstantial thing, liable to ...be trampled at the touch of a single State. Of course ...be trampled at the touch of a single State. Of course ...such an anarchical pretension—so instinct with all the ...lawlessness of Slavery—must be encountered promptly ...rily. It is not enough to declare our "dissatisfaction" ...We must see that our conduct is such as not to give it ...any reasonable or factious.

But instead of evading this profession, and utterly ...spurning it from the Government, new concessions to ...Slavery were gravely propounded as the means of pacification—like a new sacrifice offered to an obscene Divinity. It was argued that in this way the Border States ...at least might be induced to stay in the Union, and some of ...the Cotton States, perhaps, be won back to their duty: ...in other words, that in consideration of such concessions these States would consent to waive the present ...exercise of the pretended right of secession. Against ...all such propositions—without considering ...character—there was on the threshold one obvious and ...insuperative objection. It was clear that the very basis ...of any understanding, whether express or implied, was ...a recognition of this pretended right, and that a State ...yielding only to this appeal and detained through coy...sections, practically asserts this claim, and holds it for ...future exercise, frequent pleadings to support. Then a ...concessions, called small, become infinite, for it concedes ...the pretended right of secession and makes the perma...nence of the National Government impossible. Amidst ...the gravest responsibilities of the hour it belongs to us ...to take care that the life of the Republic is saved, but ...saved. But this cannot be sacrificed at once, did we ...submit its existence to the conditions sought to be im...posed.

But looking at the concessions proposed I have always ...found them utterly unreasonable and indefensible. I ...should not expose them now. If they did not constantly ...recur to the Origin and Main-spring of this Rebellion, ...Slavery was using its blackest agent-master, and noth...ing else. Slavery was not only an integral part of every ...secession, but the single integer. The single idea was ...to give some new security—in some form—to Slavery. ...That brilliant statesman, Mr. Canning, in one of those ...eloquent speeches, which charm so much by the style, ...said that he was tired of being a security-grinder," but ...this expression was not reasonable to ours. "Security-...grinding," in the name of Slavery, has been for years ...the way in which we have encountered this Conspiracy, ...the way in which we have encountered this Conspiracy, ...The propositions of the Border States, which in itself was one long con...cession. You do not forget his sympathetic portraiture ...of the disaffection throughout the Cotton States, to the ...testimony to the same effect. Notoriously and shamefully ...his heart was with the conspirators, and he knew full ...well that the movement of which he was the head and front—...the very cause cruenta—of the whole crime.

You have not forgotten the Peace Conference—it it was the debasingly effete assemblage convened at Washington on the ...summons of Virginia, with John Tyler in the chair, ...some of whose members were New York as well as Massachusetts men, ...ed by some of her ablest and most honored citizens. The ...ed by some of her ablest and most honored citizens. The ...assembly was white with cloud doors; but it is now known ...that throughout the proceedings, lasting for weeks, not ...one word was spoken in the field summoned from distant ...Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, as well as from border ...Virginia, and composed of the whole Slave population ...—the poor who guarded Slavery at home with all the rich ...who rent them—through—not the extensive rented estate, ...with Satanic grasp, this slave-holding minority claims ...for itself

The simple rogue and vulgar enough
The abhorrence of hell to frown.

Pardon the language which I employ. The words of the ...poet do not picture the atrocity the object proposed. ...And now these periodical hosts stand arrayed openly ...against that national Government which they covertly ...plotted the destruction and affection. Never in history did ...Rebellion assume such a front. Call their numbers ...400,000 or 500,000—what you will—they far surpass any ...armed forces ever before marshalled in rebellion; they ...are among the largest ever marshalled in war.

And all this is in the name of Slavery, and for the sake ...of Slavery, and at the bidding of Slavery. The profligate ...Duke of Buckingham—the favorite Duke of ...Buckingham—was not more absolutely supreme—even ...according to those words by which he was exposed to ...judgment—of his contemporaries:

Who rules the kingdom? The King.
Who rules the King? The Duke.
Who rules the Duke? The Devil.

The prevailing part here attributed to the royal favorite ...belongs now to Slavery, which in the rebel States is a ...more than royal favorite.

Who rules the rebel States? The President.
Who rules the President? Slavery.
Who rules Slavery?

The latter question I need not answer. But all must ...see—and nobody can deny—that Slavery is the ruling ...idea of this Rebellion. It is Slavery which marshals ...these hosts and breathes into their enlisted ranks its ...own barbarous fire. It is Slavery which mans its ...batteries with officers and men. It is Slavery ...which inspires all from the general to the trumpeter. It ...is Slavery which speaks in the word of command and ...which sounds in the marching drum-beat. It is Slavery ...which digs trenches and builds hostile forts. It is ...Slavery which pitches its white tents and stations its ...sentries over against the National flag. The pendigate ...sentries over against the National flag. The pendigate ...lead by fever than twenty men: Mr. Everett says by as ...many as ten. It is certain that thus far it has been the ...triumph of a minority; but of a minority reared, in...spired, combined and aggrandized by Slavery.

And now this traitorous minority, putting aside all ...the lurking, slimy devices of Consistency, steps forth in ...the full panoply of War. Assuming to itself all the ...common functions of government—declaring—making ...—levies—borrows money—coins—sends ambassadors into foreign countries ...and sets armies in the field summoned from distant ...Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, as well as from border ...Virginia, and composed of the whole slave population ...—the poor who guard Slavery at home with all the rich ...who rent them—through—not the extensive rented estate, ...with Satanic grasp, this slave-holding minority claims ...for itself

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