

else. The fear of disloyalty is not to be thought of for a moment; and the proposed change in the basis of representation, points to negro suffrage, and the equalization of the races.—There are four millions of negroes to be dealt with. If this element were insignificant or out of the way, there would be no talk of Constitutional Amendments. But the power of the South is to be held in check at least, if not appropriated by the extreme men of the dominant party.

My opposition to any farther tampering with the Constitution, proceeds upon the honest belief, that Congress controls all the power needed to protect the country against disloyalty, whatever form it may assume, if any such exists, and that Constitutional Amendments, to force equality between the races, can only result in the ultimate annihilation of the weaker race. Some time ago, the absorbing topic among political agitators, was amalgamation: now it is "manhood suffrage," which means amalgamation, and the power to hold office, without regard to race or color, and every other attribute of perfect equality between the races. This will all do very well for the States of the North, where the colored race have never lived, and cannot be induced to emigrate. With the Southern border States, it is a question of social and political existence. In Maryland the negro would anon hold the balance of power, if in a few years, from the swelling current of immigration alone, he did not command the numerical ascendancy.

The regulation of suffrage belongs to the States. I never can consent, by any act of mine, to interfere with this vital reservation.

It is a recognized constitutional right, over which Congress has no control. If any of the States think proper to confer upon the negro race the right of suffrage, and the right to hold office, it is no business of ours—and it is possible that in some of the States the negro might be allowed to vote, without serious disturbance of existing relations. But in communities nearly balanced by the presence of the two races, in which the infusion of the negro is so great as to constitute an element of power, the struggle will terminate only in the complete triumph of one over the other—and it needs no foresight to predict, to whom the mastery will be awarded.

Entertaining these views, I disavow all desire to widen the breach, which now unhappily exists between Congress and the Executive. Maryland has stood by the Union in the hour of its darkest peril. In this land of free thought and free discussion, we may surely be permitted, without violence or insult, to express honest convictions of patriotic duty, and constitutional interpretation, if this Government of our fathers, unchanged by the events of the past, is still recognized as the heritage of their children. The bitter hatred and vindictive malice, with which the President has been assailed for his