

complications, which only the people could control. Whatever may have been the effect of the measures which have since been adopted, and the confusion resulting from the prompt abolishment of slavery in Maryland, the responsibility rests with the leaders and sympathizers with the rebellion, and not with the President. The people had referred to slavery all the evils under which they were suffering, and they decreed its downfall as the only means of restoring peace and harmony to our distracted country. The Proclamation of Emancipation came next in order. It was the embodiment of an overwhelming popular sentiment, as proved by the result of the Presidential election, and the unmistakable endorsement of the policy of the Administration. The people of the South had thrown themselves upon their slaves to cultivate their lands, to build their fortifications and to disencumber their white population, in order to release them for active service in the field. The use of the slave was an element of strength to the rebel cause, which no rule of civilized warfare would have permitted to pass unnoticed. The Proclamation of Emancipation, irrespective of the influence which it was calculated to exert in strengthening our relations with foreign Powers, was simply the dictate of a military necessity. What would have been thought of the President, even by those who adhere to the miserable heresy of State Rights—those who claim that the Government has no power to bring back a State to her allegiance—if, seeing the ruin which was impending over the country and the cause of human freedom, he had failed to use every means at his disposal to paralyze a dangerous element of power which was being used to break up and destroy the Government? It was the fair and legitimate exercise of his war power as the military head of the nation—it was a duty which he owed to his high position and to the people of the United States, not only to override that obstruction in the great pathway of our destiny, but to avail himself of every other honorable means to strike down this wicked rebellion. In this connection—keeping in view the destiny of this mighty Republic—the dignity of our free institutions, and the duty of securing to ourselves and our posterity the results of an unclouded future—I may be permitted to express the opinion, as the result of my own deliberate judgment—that whether it be accomplished by the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, or by the Act of Congress amending the Constitution as proposed at its last session, the *institution of slavery must cease to exist throughout the length and breadth of this land, as our only hope of securing an honorable and lasting peace.* If slavery is permitted to live, this great nation, sooner or later, must prepare to meet the penalty in its own destruction.

The prompt abolition of slavery in Maryland resulted, as a necessity, from the attitude in which she found herself