

eralist are pregnant with demonstrations to the same effect, and there is no constitutional lawyer who does not know, that the whole theory of the Government is to act, through the courts, upon individuals, and not through the Army and Navy upon the States. The brave and wise men who framed and upheld it, would have died in the breach before they would have submitted themselves to it upon any other basis. It could never have been adopted, it would never have been ratified, upon any other understanding. The States would have endured anarchy, distracted counsels, and all the evils of the old Confederation, aggravated tenfold, before they would have surrendered themselves to any system in which the Federal Government, and least of all, the Federal Executive, was clothed with the constitutional power of coercing them by force of arms. They entered into a constitutional Union, depending for its permanence upon the good faith and good feeling of its members, and deriving its strength from their consent only. They did not abandon themselves to the bayonets of a military despotism enthroned upon popular majorities.

But, illegal and unconstitutional as was the war which the Proclamation summoned one section of the country to wage against the other, the causes and purposes of that war made it chiefly obnoxious to the people of Maryland and of the Slave States of the Border. It was a war of propagandism and of sectional aggression and domination. It was a war of the North upon the South. It was a war in which the dominant section had seized upon the name and flag, and resources and powers, of the General Government, and was abusing them for its own ends, and for the permanent establishment of its dominion over the other section. It was a war, to the unholy purposes of which the sacred associations and memories of the Union were prostituted, and in which its honored name was taken in vain. It was a war waged against a people of our own name and blood, who sought peace and kindly relations with us, and who asked only to be let alone and to be permitted to govern themselves. It could bring no good, for it could end only in the defeat of the invaders or the subjugation of the invaded, and in either case the Union, which our fathers left to us, must be at an end. Subjugated provinces could not be sister States, and a Federal Government, professedly Republican, maintaining its authority by armies, could not be other than the worst and most unprincipled and uncontrollable of despotisms. The South had entrenched itself upon the principle of self-government. It had offered to negotiate, peaceably and honorably, upon all matters of common property and divided interest, claiming only that three millions of people had a right to throw off a Government, by which they no longer desired to be ruled, and to live under another Government of their own choosing. Unless the American Revolution was a crime, the Declaration of American Independence a falsehood,