

conclusions so monstrous. And yet precisely such must be the conclusions to which any man must yield who supposes the Supreme Court to have decided, as has been pretended. That high tribunal never meant to *décide*, and never did decide, a principle so wholly irrational and despotic. It is a disrespect to its character to put such a question even in dispute. The way in which the States and the people may and ought to deal with such a usurpation is a matter apart, but that it does not cease to be a usurpation, because of the insertion of a form of words in a Proclamation, is a matter which the Committee will not disparage the manliness and sense of the House by discussing further. Indeed, in his letter of May 4th, 1861, to the United States Minister at Paris, which has appeared during the preparation of this report, the Secretary of State does not hesitate to throw aside all the masks and pretenses of the Proclamation, and to admit that it is no longer a simulated question of "enforcing the laws" and "defending the Capital," but a downright case of "civil war"—of "open, flagrant, deadly war," which the United States have "accepted." Such a confession—nay, such a bold and defiant annunciation—that the President has assumed upon himself the power of peace and war, in glaring and indisputable subversion of even the Constitution, leaves to the people of Maryland nothing further to consider, in this connection, but the fact, that they are face to face with a military despotism, whose only law is its will.

If the Committee are justified, by what has been said, in their view of the constitutional position of the Federal Government, and especially if the missions now made by it, without disguise, show but the consummation of an original and persistent illegal scheme on the part of the Administration, it follows, as a matter of necessity, that the troops called out by the President were and are an unauthorized body of men, passing across our territory for illegal and unconstitutional purposes, and carrying with them none of the constitutional safeguards, which would undoubtedly accompany any force of the United States exercising the right of transit for lawful and justifiable ends. They were, in fact, not United States soldiers, but "Northern troops," as they were properly designated by the Governor in his correspondence, and "Northern troops," too, whose presence in Maryland, without the consent of her constituted authorities, was indubitably an aggression upon her dignity, her safety and tranquility. Your Committee, of course, admit, without question, that only the authorities of the State were competent to deal with such a case, and that it would only have been dealt with properly, even by them, in distinct recognition of the fact, that Maryland is still a State of the Union, with all the obligations which that relation imposes upon her.

But they cannot shut their eyes to the other part, equally indisputable, that it was primarily the fault of those who marched the