

myself to measure text by text with any man that will maintain that the Gospel of Jesus and the Revelation of God sustain slavery.

It is necessary, peculiarly in Maryland, to abolish slavery, because the time has come in the history of the State of Maryland in her connection with the General Government when she must decide, beyond peradventure, on which side she will cast her lot. She must either stand wavering between two, losing force, losing weight, taking the evils of both and none of the advantages of either; unless she shall definitely and clearly decide upon this the first occasion given her as to where she will take her position. This article I think will decide that her position forever is with the North; that though every other Southern State in the Union shall join with the South, though every other State south of Mason and Dixon's line shall go down into that seething cauldron of secession, she shall go with the North; she shall go where her honor leads, where freedom flourishes and education reigns. All that is good and pure of our whole system of Government has taken up the response. Hard as it may seem, upon the floor of this Hall in Maryland, for gentlemen to call themselves American citizens, where epithets of contempt are flung at Massachusetts, flung at Rhode Island, flung at men from New Jersey and other States; do the gentlemen know that without those States the country of which they are so proud would have been unknown? Do they know that taking out those States the country of which they are so proud would never have been heard of in the progress of the world? Do they know that all progress, all legislation, all education, all the genius of mechanics and all the manufactures of the country have come from that quarter and that alone?

Do gentlemen enjoy the unenviable results of slavery? Maryland has always professed to be bound in her connection with the Southern States which firmly hold and sustain slavery. The other States have left the Union—so they say. Having disavowed themselves from Maryland, they have invaded her soil; they have broken up her railroads; they have taken away her citizens; they have made war upon the State of Maryland, yet I have heard in this House not one single word of objection to that course. Though I have heard the Federal Government which defended us maligned, I have not heard for the government, whose army invaded us, one word of censure. I do much fear me that slavery produces the effect that men want to make conditions of their loyalty. I do much fear me that their meaning is: We are loyal if you touch not slavery! It seems to me that if slavery were once out of the way, we should all say that the man who is not prepared to give up all that he has, or is, or hopes to be for this Union, is not what we should call a good loyal man.

Slavery stands to-day before the bar of the people of Maryland. She is impeached for having driven all free migration to the other States, because free men would not come here to live in a slave State. She is impeached for having stopped immigration, because she has blighted our soil with her culture. She has refused us education, because education would make abolitionists; and finally, she is impeached with having brought on this country the war in which we are now engaged. And the verdict the people of Maryland give, first in premonition through this Convention, and then by the ruling voice of the people when this Constitution shall be submitted to them, will fix forever this much vexed question of slavery; and a verdict will be rendered which posterity for all time will applaud. The smile of the civilized world will be upon you; and we may then hope that God will smile on both State and nation.

I come now to the question of compensation for slavery by the State. We are met with many an assertion, apparently strong, that can be brought home to every citizen. We are told that we shall make many a child poorer. We are told that the slaves themselves will be left destitute. Our sympathies are strongly appealed to, as they have been before. But, Mr. President, this is not a question of sympathy. It is admitted that always in all reforms the weak must go to the wall. There never yet has been a reform of any kind in which some have not suffered. We are not here to determine the organic law of this State by considering the few who may lose property; for the property of the few is but a little thing compared with the good of the many. We do not allow ourselves to be affected in the slightest degree by any appeals to our sympathy, and we do not care to listen to any tale of individual miseries that may be inflicted. We have foreseen that, and have come here determined to let them be inflicted. This is no time for sympathy for the few who lose their property when all around us are men with their lives ebbing away. Our sympathies stretch there, and we have no time to think of the few whose property is lost or squandered. The loss of property is comparatively little in this war against the principles of universal liberty, and it will have no weight I hope in this Convention.

Slavery is a nuisance in the State of Maryland, and therefore we claim that it shall be abolished. We pay no man for abating a nuisance, and we will not pay for slavery. Not one dollar, not one cent will we give. Not a day will we give. We will immediately emancipate; we will not compensate. The voice of the people has said this before; and I say it in the name of my constituency here upon this floor. You may call it robbery; you may call it theft, or any other and milder name that you please. Nevertheless the people have so determined. If it is a satisfaction