

ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. * * *

You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever."

Now, sir, that was the purpose of his proposition to the border States. And how was the proposition to be carried into effect? He says:

"I do not speak of emancipation *at once*, but of a *decision* at once to emancipate *gradually*."

No man had proposed any such mad project as immediate emancipation, anywhere in the civilized world, in any time of the past, much less in the midst of the horrors of a civil war, the possible consequences of which no man can foretell, and at which the imagination shudders.

"I do not speak of emancipation *at once*, but of a *decision* at once to emancipate *gradually*. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go."

Not only gradual emancipation, but the removal of this population from among us; "this nuisance," as the gentleman from Baltimore city (Mr. Cushing) called it; "a nuisance which the sovereignty of the State has the right to abate." And how do you propose here to abate it? By increasing its offensiveness; by letting it remain here, to the destruction of all that is left to us from the devastation of this war. You do not propose to remove this population as the President proposed. Who, but the abolitionists of the North, has ever supposed it possible that this population could remain upon our soil in any other relation than that of master and slave? The colonization scheme was based upon the proposition that it was utterly incompatible that any other relation than that of master and slave could exist, while the negro remained within our limits. Mr. Clay, in 1839, speaking of the colonization society inaugurated some twenty or more years before, said that it was utterly impossible for the two races to coexist, except in the relation of master and slave. Did not the President, in his talk at Washington with the free negroes who waited upon him at the White House, tell them that they could not remain in juxtaposition with the whites here, and that they must look out for homes elsewhere—that they must look to colonization, and that he would aid them in it? And did not Congress make an appropriation for that purpose, and were not ships sent off with them to Hayti? Disease broke out among them; the half of them died, and a ship was sent there, and the remainder of them was brought back; and so ended this scheme of colonization.

Not only was the emancipation proposed by the President to be gradual; not only was there to be connected with it the gradual removal of this population, in order that we might bring in a population that would work regularly for wages, that would supply the place of this unfortunate class of people; but the President said more. In response to some suggestions made by the Border State delegates: "The President acknowledged the force of this view, and admitted that the Border States were entitled to expect a substantial pledge of pecuniary aid as a condition of taking into consideration a proposition so important in its relations to their social system."

That was the reasonable proposition of the President of the United States within two years past. Substantial aid was to be offered; the slaves were to be gradually emancipated, and were to be gradually removed as they became emancipated, so that other classes of labor might take their places. And what was the response of the delegates from the Border States?

"We regard your plan as a proposition from the nation to the States to exercise an admitted constitutional right in a particular manner, and yield up a valuable interest. Before they ought to consider the proposition, it should be presented in such a tangible, practical, efficient shape as to command their confidence that its fruits are contingent only upon their acceptance. We cannot trust anything to the contingencies of future legislation. If Congress, by proper and necessary legislation, shall provide sufficient funds and place them at your disposal, to be applied by you to the payment of any of our States or the citizens thereof who shall adopt the abolishment of slavery, either gradual or immediate, as they may determine, and the expense of deportation and colonization of the liberated slaves, then will our States and people take this proposition into careful consideration for such decision as, in their judgment, is demanded by their interests, their honor, and their duty to the whole country."

And that was signed by five of the Maryland representatives in Congress, viz: J. W. Crisfield, Francis Thomas, Charles B. Calvert, O. L. L. Leary, and Edwin H. Webster. That was the President's proposition, and the response of the Border States to it, within two years past.

Now, look about us. The proposition here is immediate emancipation, without compensation of any sort, and without removal. That is the proposition we have submitted to us for our consideration, and which we are told has been decreed by the popular voice to be carried into effect. I think my friend from St. Mary's (Mr. Billingsley) does not agree in that statement. I think there is a very broad issue between him and the gen-