

by citizens of non slaveholding states to interfere with the institutions or domestic relations of slaveholding states. Upon the Border States, and above all, upon Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, would fall the terrible weight of the calamities of war in case of dissolution; — a war between people of the same language, liberty, laws and race — between brethren — a civil and servile war — a war of extermination, the most frightful and devastating the world has ever seen. Our soil would be the battle field; our homes the scenes of violence and excess and plunder. Surely these states have the very highest, the very dearest interest in this question; and yet it is precisely they who are disregarded by the headlong action of those who in supposed avoidance of imagined evils, or of those they pretend to apprehend, would secure to themselves, and to us also, utter destruction and ruin.

The people of Maryland in my judgment will never agree to disunion of the states for any cause. They may be compelled to submit to disunion — to the dismemberment of this Government, when, in fact, (not in anticipation or from fear) this Union shall become actually the instrument of destruction to their rights and peace and safety; but until that time arrives they demand their rights, under the Constitution, in the Union; and they can only see with the profoundest sorrow any Southern State desert her sister states, and withdraw her vote and influence in Congress, her wealth and population and resources, from that position where these all aid in securing and maintaining her own rights and those of others like hers.

The Congress of the United States offers the only mode authorized by the Constitution, for consultation and agreements among the several states. To the Congress I still look with confidence for such enactments as shall secure our just and equal rights, and shall satisfy all except those who are determined to be satisfied with nothing but revolution and the hopes that arise to them from anarchy and confusion. The people of Maryland can see no remedy for any present grievance in disunion. To this state it is ruin: — ruin for which she sees no relief in a new confederacy, depending on the will of any one of its members, and founded on the right of secession. Any new confederation to her offers far less security than the present Union, to secure which she, one of its original founders, freely contributed the substance and blood of her sons. Rival interests, local prejudices, low ambitions, demagogues and fanatics, would as certainly attempt and might secure as easily, in any new league, the temporary control of its government, corruption and intrigue; the lust of power and the pride of place, would as certainly bring the new nation to the verge of ruin as these have now brought this Union.