

me in personal connection, both family and social connection, and of both sexes, had abandoned their allegiance to this government, and regarded themselves as foreigners to it, simply because under the principles of this institution they had begun to regard themselves as better than other people, and because that fixed in their minds a bond of union between them and the South, and which no other bond of union could crush out of them. I found it was a bond of sympathy based upon an institution, something which they supposed allied them to the better classes of this country. I could not mistake that in their minds, if reason to this government were not produced by a state of mind hostile to the very existence of the form of government of which they were citizens, they had come to the conclusion that this government was too popular in its character, that it did not recognize sufficiently the distinction between individuals; and they clung to the institution of slavery, not from any great moral or political principle, but because it was the only thing to which they could cling which gave them some opportunity to reject these great popular principles, and to ally themselves to something they thought was an entering wedge in that system of government. I know this by personal contact with these people.

I do not profess to speak the sentiments of gentlemen upon this floor; but digressing for a moment, I would say here, that whatever has been the producing cause in their minds, the sentiments I have heard expressed in this Convention are very different from the sentiments I have been accustomed to hear from the people to whom I refer in Baltimore. One of the gentlemen from Prince George's said that if the Convention went to Baltimore he would find a majority of the people there to agree with him and those who sympathize with him. I know those people to whom he refers. I know that to a great extent they have abandoned their allegiance to the government, because they have ceased to believe in the practical existence of republican institutions; because they believe that under the present revolution, if successful, some sort of institution will be developed opposed to free institutions, which would lift them as a class. It is this which has made the female portion of the community the active, unceasing advocates of this rebellion. It is the appellation of Southern gentlemen and Southern ladies, which has carried them away in one mass, in certain classes in society, into conflict with everything their fathers taught. It is because they have been accustomed to regard the people who do not support themselves by labor as the higher class, and the people who do support themselves as below them in everything, because they look with admiration upon the institutions of the old world; and many of them who have travelled abroad and

circulated among the circles of society in Europe, have come back here, and have sympathized with the principles and institutions of the rebels to-day, because they prefer the governments of the old world to the government of this American Republic.

In that terrible time in Baltimore, when I saw the estrangement of friends, the separation of those with whom I had associated, because they regarded me as a Yankee, not by birth but by association, by principle, because I was hostile to this system, as a traitor to the city of Baltimore, a traitor to the State of Maryland, and a foreigner to them; I saw enough to convince me that practically no man who did not bow in humble submission to this new idea would be permitted to live here in peace, but would be driven from those limits with ignominy and contempt. I saw this, and I remember it now; for though checked by the influence and force of circumstances and events, the same feeling still exists in their hearts as strong as any feeling can exist in the hearts of any people, misguided but enthusiastic in the advocacy of their principles.

I say that the institution of slavery is the cause of this rebellion. Whether gentlemen say that the abolitionists or the pro-slavery men precipitated rebellion, makes no difference. It is reasoning through a circle. If there had been no slavery, no such peculiar institution, there could not by any possibility have been any abolitionists. You look in vain among our institutions for any other that could have produced these results. People of all parts of the country have seen their favorite parties go down, without the slightest attempt to resist by a revolution. It is this institution alone, this broad, isolated fact among the institutions of our country, which has been able to evoke this rebellion. There is nothing else in the history of this country, either actual in the past or possible in the future, which could have evoked any such action.

What has it produced elsewhere? In States which were divided nearly equally upon the question of secession, it has produced a perfect unanimity of sentiment and action of people diametrically opposed. While the anti-secessionists believed that secession was unjustifiable, yet they were so bound together in their attachment to the institution of slavery, and so wrought upon by that common bond of sympathy, that they went directly in the support of what their own judgment condemned; and they have bled and died in a cause which their own judgment in the beginning told them, and which their voices expressed, was a cause of injustice. No other development in the history of this country has ever produced such a result, or ever could have divided this country upon the battle field. Do you think that the tariff question as it existed in 1832, without the