

lows. The principles of the administration will be the same as now; the measures the same; the mode of applying the principles and executing the measures will be slightly altered—no more. It is plain that another such administration would ruin the country for men like those of Middlesex county, Massachusetts. I don't think the people will see themselves conquered by 350,000 slaveholders, headed by an old bachelor! If Buchanan is elected, I don't believe the Union holds out three years. I shall go for dissolution."

And then in another letter addressed to Prof. Desor, during the same year, 1856, he says:

"But if Fremont is not elected, then I look forward to what is worse than civil war in the other form, viz: a long series of usurpations on the part of the slave power, and of concessions by the North, until we are forced to take the initiative of revolution at the North. That will be the worst form of the case, for then the worst fighting will be among the Northern men—between the friends of freedom and the hunkers. I expect civil war, and make my calculations accordingly."

That was three years before the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. Again, in a letter to John P. Hale, dated October 21, 1856, he says:

"If Buchanan is President, I think the Union does not hold out his four years. It must end in civil war, which I have been preparing for these six months past. I buy no books, except for pressing need. Last year I bought \$1,500 worth, this year I shall not order \$200 worth. I may want the money for cannons."

"Have you any plan, in case we are defeated? Of course the principles and measures of the administration will remain unchanged, and the mode of execution will be more intense and rapid."

Then he wrote in his diary, on the day on which James Buchanan was elected President:

"This day is not less critical in our history for the future than the 4th July, '76, was for the past. At sunrise there were three alternatives:

"1. Freedom may put down slavery peacefully by due course of law.

"2. Slavery may put down freedom in the same way.

"3. The friends of freedom and its foes may draw swords and fight.

"At sunset the people had repudiated the first alternative. Now America may choose between Nos. 2 and 3. Of course we shall fight. I have expected civil war for months; now I buy no books for the present. Nay, I think affairs may come to such a pass that my own property may be confiscated; for who knows that we shall beat at the begin-

ning—and I hung as a traitor? So I invest property accordingly. Wife's will be safe. I don't pay the mortgage till 1862."

He has an eye to the main chance, even in such a contingency.

Now one more quotation from Mr. Parker, from a letter written to Miss Hunt, in Europe:

"At New York and elsewhere, Banks said the election of Fremont would settle the slavery question, and stop agitation for thirty years.

"I opened my eyes when I went out west, and saw that the hands of the republicans are not yet quite clear enough to be trusted with power. There has a deal of bad stuff come over the republican party. I am more than ever of the opinion that we must settle this question in the old Anglo-Saxon way—with the sword.

"There are two Constitutions for America—one writ on parchment, and laid up at Washington."

That is the Constitution our fathers made. What is the other?

"The other also on parchment, but on the head of a drum. It is to this we must appeal, and before long. I make all my pecuniary arrangements with the expectation of civil war."

Now, who prepared for civil war? who made preparations for civil war? who were ready to begin civil war? who sent John Brown to inaugurate civil war and insurrection at Harper's Ferry, when Virginia and the South were in profound peace, resting as they supposed under the aegis of the Constitution, and under the protection of the laws, and the pledged faith of the North? Sir, there are two sides to this question, if gentlemen will but examine it. And when they talk of the ambitious men of the South who desired separation for self-aggrandizement and the reopening of the African slave-trade—although, unfortunate for that theory, one of their first acts was to put a provision in their constitution prohibiting the African slave-trade forever—when they put themselves upon trial before the jury of the world as to the causes for their separation, whatever may be said of them, they are in the midst of that trial now. But I beg gentlemen to look at those who not only afforded the pretext, but were themselves hurrying on the engines of destruction, and who said if they were not successful at the ballot-box, they were prepared for civil war, even to be hung as traitors. If this picture commends abolition to the contemplation of the people of Maryland, and to this Convention, all I have to say is that the days of mad fanaticism have not yet passed over, as we have seen here in our midst, unfortunately for us, under circumstances that bring sadness to my heart when I look at them.

Thirty-one years ago and upwards, when