

But protesting against the effort to deprive me of an inalienable right, entertaining as I do the profoundest contempt for that policy which would build up its supporters by such unworthy means, I am forced to the alternative of either surrendering all my rights of franchise, or else take this oath of paramount allegiance which prescribes my political opinion. After the argument I have presented as to the nature of an oath, no one will doubt what course duty will point out for me to pursue.

Then away with your oaths, which but cumber up a constitution, which violate the first principles of good government and justice, upon which men entered into society, which are contrary to the spirit and genius of our institutions and only intended to entrap the unwary and deprive good men of their rights. And with it down with this watch-word of party, "loyalty," in whose name and behalf more injustice has been done, more crime committed, than ever the bloodiest tyrant conceived of before.

If loyalty means to obey the constitution of the United States and of this State, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, then the constituency whom I have the honor in part to represent, are among the most loyal of the land. If to cherish the declaration of independence, baptized by the blood of our revolutionary sires—if to reverence and plead for the sacred provisions of our old bill of rights, be an evidence of loyalty, then we challenge comparison with the most scrupulous. But if, on the contrary, to laugh and scoff at all that it cost our ancestors so much of privation and bloodshed to establish—if to adopt the maxim that the end sanctifies the means—if to violate all the rights both of person and property, be prerequisites to constitute one of these latter-day loyalists, then I am thankful to say I represent the views of no such people.

We are a peace-loving, law-abiding people. We are in favor of everybody having his rights, without fear or favor. We are for the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof, first, last, and all the time. And if the Union cannot be restored but by the slaughter of whole hecatombs of our friends and relatives, and the devastation of their entire country, and the bankruptcy of our own, (and we verily believe it cannot,) then we are for peace on the terms of separation and State equality. If this be not loyalty, make the most of it.

As german to the subject, let us inquire why it is that the bastiles of the United States have been crowded from the beginning of this war with prisoners, not of war but State prisoners? Well may the American blush when asked if his constitution has been repealed—if those provisions prohibiting the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and prohibiting general search warrant, guaranteeing a republican form of government to each

State, and the trial by jury, and reserving to the States respectively, all those rights not expressly delegated to the general government or denied to the States, have been blotted out of his political vocabulary.

I will not say, like Seneca of old, that the noblest spectacle which God can behold is a virtuous man suffering and struggling with afflictions; but this I will say, that the second Cato, driven out of the forum and dragged to prison, enjoyed more inward pleasure, and maintained more outward dignity, than they who insulted him, and who triumphed in the ruin of their country.

I hope I shall never see the time when not only a single person, but a whole country, and, in effect, the entire collective body of the people, may again be robbed of their birth-right by a proclamation of the President, or a vote of Congress, or the order of a military commander.

In the name of loyalty all this is done; in the name of loyalty your prisons to-day overflow; in the name of loyalty the spirit of the constitution is violated, its essence destroyed, to preserve its *mutilated* form; in the name of loyalty civil liberty is put to the torture. Does not every Marylander remember that the gallant secretary who boasts that sitting in his seat at Washington he can, by a touch of his bell, cause the prison doors to fly open or close up in the remotest parts of the United States, did, by an exercise of this despotic power, insult the dignity and usurp the sovereignty of this proud commonwealth in the persons of those members of her legislature, whom he sentenced to dungeons on a mere suspicion? Does not every body remember the fate of Carmichael, that pure and upright judge, whom neither taunts, nor threats, nor jibes, nor military violence, could drive from or cause to swerve in the line of duty? A man whom the good people of this State will delight to honor, and whose memory will be most fragrant, when his persecutors will have been forgotten forever, or else only remembered to be execrated. Does not every Marylander remember with scorn and detestation, and a burning feeling of revenge, how the bloodhounds of detraction hunted the footsteps of one of Maryland's most gifted and favorite sons, Henry May, and at last, when they could find no act approximating treason upon his part, from fear of his persuasive eloquence and forcible presentation of the truth, the gallant secretary seized his person and confided him to the filthy casemate of a fortress, until his health had so far given way, that his life was in danger? Do we not all, each one of us remember some innocent, inoffensive, upright citizen, dragged from his home, his business, his weeping and almost heart-broken wife and children, to some prison and there confined for weeks, nay months, without ever hearing of the nature of the charge against him; and