

I tell you it simply comes to the question whether the Union men of Maryland shall control the State, when we shall have peace and quiet, or whether the secessionists shall be permitted continually to disturb the State. It comes to the question whether you will give to the loyal people of the State of Maryland the power of the State, or whether you will allow the secessionists to force them to the wall and make them give up all their rights under the constitution and the government, or drive them from the State. For one, as a Union man, holding my allegiance to the government straight through, I prefer to be one of the men that shall live in Maryland.

MR. CHAMBERS. The gentlemen who have addressed the Convention have made various statements with regard to the conduct of individuals, of which I have no more knowledge than a man that is ten thousand miles distant. With regard to the lists of names of persons to be assessed, I never heard of it before; with regard to going out and dining, I never heard of it before; and so with regard to various instances of outrage, they are new to me. But with regard to them all I have this question to ask: How do they affect the great fundamental principles recognized as operating through all time and in every condition of society?

I do not understand that because violations of law, of the grossest description, exist, therefore all law is to be disregarded. I do not understand that because the worst criminals that ever lived and disgraced the earth, are flagrantly pursuing their nefarious and infamous proceedings, therefore great and fundamental principles, that have been consecrated by the universal consent of all time, of all ages, and of all sages, should be disregarded.

Again, sir, those gentlemen have treated the remarks which I had the honor to submit, as a design to exculpate individuals who are guilty of treasonable or other offences against their country. Have I said one word to justify such an imputation? Let the crime be described. Let the offence be made known. We have the power. The Legislature has endeavored to execute it. It has been composed of men of the proper sort, according to the estimate of these gentlemen. Make known the law. Announce it. Constitute the crime of what materials you please. Put together any statement of facts, or any particular act of individuals, and convert it into an indictable offence. Prosecute it to the last degree. Let every offender, whoever he may be, come within the pale of punishment. I am not for letting anybody escape punishment who deserves it. But I do protest, whether there be a crime or some facts now for the first time charged to be crime, or facts which gentlemen choose to call crime, that do not amount to any moral turpitude, a charge of

any sort. I protest and object to having a charge thus made, and placed in the hands of some military officer, from a major general or lieutenant general, down to an ensign, with power to seize the party, to judge of his offence, to determine upon the question of his punishment, and forthwith to execute it.

The gentleman says this is not the time. Sir, the principles of right and wrong have existed just so long as that Eternal Being has occupied his throne, and will endure just so long as time and eternity continue. What is fundamentally right, what is sound, serious, fundamental principle, remains unchanged by time, place, and circumstance. It is not for Mr. A. B., or Mr. C. D., or for any other person, who may wish to perpetrate an offence, to say that principles are changed.

I was surprised at an expression which escaped from the learned gentleman from Howard (Mr. Sands,) that when these principles were declared eternal and immortal, not to be violated at any time, or in any place, or under any circumstances, he did not know that the house of the governor was to be burned, and the enormities that were to be committed. If the enormities and the sins of the people of the State of Maryland are such that they are not entitled to the benefit of these general fundamental principles, let a motion be made to repeal them. Will any gentleman here to-day be willing to negative any one of these assertions that I have read from the bill of rights? Would any gentleman here, even after the bitter experience, the impassioned experience, the prejudicing experience of the last fortnight—which, permit me to say, has been very much calculated to blind the judgment—be willing to say that no man is entitled to the trial of the facts, that no man should be protected in his right, that any aid, charge, tax, burden or fees, may be rated or levied without the consent of the Legislature? Would gentlemen be willing to negative those provisions of the bill of rights?

MR. SANDS. Will the gentleman pardon me for interrupting him, for he misunderstands me? It is precisely that all these provisions may be enforced, that this order was offered. I understand that these people against whom the order is to operate, are to suffer the consequences of their misconduct, that these provisions may be strictly enforced. It is precisely to enforce the principle that no man shall be stripped of his property, that no man's house shall be burned, that no man shall be deprived of personal liberty in the State of Maryland, without due process of law, that I offered this order.

MR. CHAMBERS. Does the gentleman understand the use of language? For a military officer to assess at discretion, without a jury, without an indictment, without a witness—will the gentleman tell me that that is in pursuance of these principles? Will the gen-