

of civil war during the time of President Jackson, and first caused at the South sectional alienation and unfriendly feeling towards the Union. 5. That by her ceaseless agitation of the slave question, with her persistent efforts to interference with a subject over which she had no constitutional right of control, coupled with her blasphemous denunciations of the Constitution and the Union, she has been mainly instrumental in inflicting upon the nation the terrible disaster under which we are now suffering. 6. That after wantonly provoking the South into hating and despising her, she is now seeking to wield the whole power of the nation to punish that hate and contempt by Southern extermination, or by preventing a restoration of the Union, under the pretext of fanatical zeal in behalf of human freedom, whilst all indulgence of such frantic zeal, hate and vengeance is in direct violation of her duties under the Constitution. 7. That conscious of her inability legally to inflict upon the South, in any other way, the ruin of immediate, uncompensated emancipation, she now seeks its accomplishment by an amendment of the Constitution.

"To accomplish this purpose New England has to uproot the great fundamental compromise which is the very basis of the whole Federal structure; that exemption of State institutions from Federal control, whose inviolable sanctity was the very object of that equal vote in the Senate, which the Constitution irrepealably guaranteed to her small States."

I wish that to go on the record as conveying my view of what has brought about the present unhappy condition of things, and what I consider to be the relative position of the North and South in this subject. New England, the chief beneficiary of the Union, is the aggressor; New England has it in her power to take the magnanimous position of peace maker.

In conclusion, I would say that this immense debt which has been created by the Federal Government, and which has fallen upon the people of these United States like an avalanche—this crushing weight of debt is to be borne by the laboring man, the mechanics and agriculturists alone of this country. The men of capital and means who can command large sums of money, will not feel one particle of the burdens of this war. Have not the United States Government already issued bonds not taxable? And does not every capitalist in the country put his money into those bonds? And collecting his interest regularly, he goes scot free of this taxation. But the farmer, the man who tills the soil, who has his capital looked up in land; the laboring man has to bear this burden, because they have no capital to put in these bonds. They are the tax payers. So I say it is to the interest of the people of this State,

it is to the interest of the people of this country not to accumulate these debts, not to pile up this mountain of debt that is to fall upon the laboring classes, upon the agriculturists of the country; and not to take away the means of cultivating the lands upon which those taxes are to fall. I have neither heard nor have I seen any suggestion either in this hall or elsewhere, neither in the pulpit, before the people, nor from the pen, as to what substitute there is to be provided for this species of labor.

That is a grave question that gentlemen have to deal with. The land is the foundation upon which all these taxes must rest. It is out of this land, after all, that the Federal Government is to be supported and enabled to carry on this war. It is out of this land that it is to be enabled to protect its integrity at home and abroad. If you accumulate tax upon tax, if you constantly tax your wits to conjure up the ways and means of accumulating these taxes upon the poor man and the landholder, you will finally goad them on to desperation, and there is no telling what will be the consequences. In my humble judgment it will be far greater, far more fearful in its results than anything which has yet transpired within the history of this country.

The Government has laid down a policy to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. It is a policy calculated to break down the laboring man—build up the rich man. Is not that aristocracy, to elevate the rich man and clothe him with purple and gold, and feed him sumptuously every day, and enable him to give his ten or twenty dollars for a bottle of wine, as easily as the poor man could give ten cents for a loaf of bread? And this glorious policy of the Government is to be fostered and encouraged by the people of the State of Maryland.

Now, I think if gentlemen insist upon incorporating this article into the organic law of the State, and then go before the people of the State with that Constitution, no matter how perfect it may be in other respects, unless they go with a company of soldiers behind them, ready to back them up in any position they may assume at the polls or elsewhere, we shall be able to defeat it by overwhelming numbers. And except for the principle that I should violate, I do not know but I might be induced to vote for it as a matter of policy, in order to insure the defeat of the Constitution which may be framed here. The people of Maryland are not yet so lost to every sense of justice, to every sense of humanity; they are not so entirely insane upon all principles of right and wrong, as to suppose that a body of men, some forty, or fifty, or perhaps sixty in number, representing about one-fourth of the people of the State, can come here in Convention, and assume to themselves the power to change the whole organic structure of the State for the last hun-