

their affections, and stimulated their patriotism. I am sure there is not a man in the State of Maryland who would not give his life on the altar of his country at any time. I have loved this Union, perhaps with a love scarcely felt by any one. I had hopes for the Union in which scarcely any one participated. The greatness of this country was a never-ending theme with me; and I could enjoy it, and feel that this proud heritage of ours was not only for me but for my children and grand-children after me. Such a country never was possessed by a people before. Look at your soil, your climate, the wealth and internal resources of the country. Look at the happiness and prosperity under which we have lived so long. Look at the growth of the country in wealth and everything pertaining to wealth.

Who is it that cannot shed the tear of sorrow from the inmost recesses of his heart, when he looks down at the sad change that has taken place in the condition of our country? If I could bring my country together again in all its integrity, in the purity of its institutions, as established by our revolutionary and patriotic sires, offering protection to every citizen in every portion of the country in all of his rights, I would at any moment lay down my life to bring about such a result. But how sad the change! No man can reflect upon it without feeling that all is lost. There is nothing except the Providence of the great I Am, who holds in his hands the destinies of nations, which can avert the difficulty and the dangers that now threaten this land. I hope they may be averted. I would like to see this country again united, not only under one Constitution but in one bond of brotherly affection which should be as stable as the everlasting hills which neither time nor storm can assail.

The question immediately under consideration is whether we, in adopting the organic law for the State of Maryland, shall put into it the 4th article, which declares that a paramount allegiance is due from the citizens of Maryland to the General Government. It seems singular to me that this should have been suggested to the fruitful mind of the Chairman of the Committee, because I cannot find a parallel to it in the Constitution of any State in this Union. Is it the province of the people of Maryland in making their organic law, to declare what rights they have not. Is it not rather their province to declare and maintain the rights which belong to them? It is a new feature in the formation of organic law to declare what rights we have not. It is a new feature in the formation of organic law to over ride all precedents, without any practical reason assigned for so doing, except that assigned by the gentleman from Baltimore city, (Mr. Cushing,) that he is in favor of a concentrated government. I really admired the gentleman for that statement. I

believe it is in the hearts of all you gentlemen of the majority, but he had the boldness to speak out. He gave us the key to your actions. You want a consolidated government. You want to do away with all State lines. If that is the case, what do you look for in the future? What is the next step?

First of all, we have now a military despotism. The gentleman wants a concentrated government. The next step is a monarchical government, which you will have established over you, and a king proclaimed without your consent. I am for holding to the old land marks. Shakspeare said, "it were better to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." I have lived under this system of government so long and so happily that I am willing to die under it. I do not want any of these changes. Mr. Lincoln says it is very dangerous to make changes in time of war, and that military necessity demands no change now. I am for peace. I hope that under the Providence of God, peace will be brought to this distracted land ere long. Are we then to take the lead, and as the gentleman says we ought, proudly take the lead in declaring ourselves in favor of a concentrated government, without being asked, and lay down our allegiance as a boon at the feet of the powers that be, a commencing point, to extend from State to State until every State in this Union will bend in humbleness before the feet of majesty, not of the law, because I hold that there is a majesty in the law to which we should bow, but of a usurped power that the American people never intended to vest in any one man?

The gentlemen contend that this is not a government of States, that we owe paramount allegiance to the Federal Government. Is that so? The Federal Government has no sovereignty whatever. I do not mean to detain the Convention by reading authorities. I am speaking from recollection of what I know to be contained in the books. The Federal Government has no sovereignty whatever, beyond the sovereignty it has over the ten miles square composing the District of Columbia, over the forts and arsenals built with the consent of the States within the confines of the different States. What is the logical conclusion? That the Constitution of the United States never intended to vest in the General Government any powers except those expressly given in the Constitution. If gentlemen will refer for a short time to the original grants of those States, they will find that they were originally granted for various purposes, at various times, and under various circumstances. When these States came together, it was for a specific purpose declared in the Articles of Confederation:

"Art. 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the se-