

sovereignty from one government and invest them in another, just to suit their purposes. In the manner prescribed by them in the Constitution, if the people saw proper, if they thought that the State governments were overborne by the General Government, that the General Government was too strong, too powerful for the proper working of the State governments, they could call a Convention and divest the General Government of a part of its powers, and re-invest them in the State governments.

But the Union is the great casket in which the people of the United States have lodged their jewels, among which is the first and greatest jewel, the sovereignty of the people. And here let me say that where the treasure is, there will the heart be also. That is as true now as of old. The people have invested their greatest treasures in the good old Union, symbolized in the flag that floats over us from the dome of this capitol. And our hearts are there because our treasure is there, and there is our allegiance due.

There is another reason why it is very fitting that the people of Maryland should engrate this provision upon their bill of rights. It is sneered at here, because it is novel, because no other State has it. And least of all did I think the gentleman from Anne Arundel (Mr. Miller) would have gone to Massachusetts in search of a model. But he did, and because he does not find such a declaration in the bill of rights of Massachusetts he concludes that it would not be good for Maryland. The people of Massachusetts doubtless looked upon its being understood as a matter of course; that nobody would doubt it. They have free schools in Massachusetts; the people are all educated there; and there is no need there for a ten days' discussion to prove where a man's allegiance rightfully belongs. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, with a view to show what our fathers thought on this subject, I will read the preamble of an act passed in 1777, before the Constitution of the United States was formed. It begins in this way:

"Whereas, in every free State allegiance and protection are reciprocal, [mark the words,] and no man is entitled to the benefit of the one who refuses to yield the other; [that is very logical,] and as every inhabitant of this State enjoys the protection and benefit of the Government and laws thereof, and it is reasonable that every person should give testimony of his attachment and fidelity to this State and the present government thereof as now established."

That is the way they reasoned about it; that, as the Government protected them, they were bound to obey it, and not only to obey it, but to give some manifestation of their attachment.

Now, on that theory, Maryland, of all the States, ought to adopt this article in her bill

of rights. While the storms of war are surging all around us, devastating whole districts of country, what but the arm of the Government of the United States has saved our fields from devastation, and our towns and cities from destruction? We scarcely know practically that there is any war in the land. The giant arm of the Government of the United States has been thrown around this State, and has shielded it from harm, notwithstanding all the efforts of State rights agitators in and around it. If those gentlemen had had their way—not that they meant it at all; I do not mean to insinuate that, [laughter,] because they all profess to be good Union men, and we must take them at their own valuation—but the legitimate consequence of their teachings is, that the States have the right at any time to throw off the control of the General Government. And had they done so, there was an army on our frontier ready at any moment to march across and lay waste the country, and cut the throat of any man who dared to speak a word in favor of the flag of his country. And instead of gentlemen being here to-day discussing whether we should put this or that article in the bill of rights or in the Constitution, we should have been, if left alive, in some dungeon, some Libby prison. And shall we, who owe everything we have to the protection of the General Government, who in consequence of that protection have been enabled to rest as quietly and peacefully as an infant sleeping upon its mother's breast, without thought of danger, or fear of harm, shall we be told that it is sycophantic and beneath the dignity of a sovereign State to put in the bill of rights the declaration that we have received this protection and owe allegiance to the Government that has given it to us? Shame on the man who receives so great a favor, and then refuses to make a grateful return for it. [Loud applause.]

Yes, sir, it is the strong arm of the Government of the United States that has protected us, and we owe allegiance to it for that reason, if for no other; for "allegiance and protection are reciprocal," and go hand in hand. And when my honored friend from Howard (Mr. Sands) said the other day that we owed our safety to the people, if he had just qualified it by saying, "the people that came down with General Butler," I would have believed every word of it. [Applause.] It was to them that we owed our safety. For the people of Maryland, the people of Anne Arundel, and their neighbors, destroyed your locomotives, tore up your railroad tracks, cut down your telegraph poles; and they did the same in Baltimore. And if they had had their way, instead of your being a proud sovereign State, as gentlemen say we are, to-day we would have been dragging at the tail-end of the Jeff. Davis Confederacy; a spectacle to excite the derision and ridicule of the