

erty members, and to the fourteen eastern or tide water counties but thirty-three members; thus putting the fourteen in the power of the seven and the city. Nor was it consistent with itself. It professed to be based on federal numbers, and yet to catch the weaker brethren from some of the smaller counties, it admits a slight infusion of the territorial principle, and guaranties to every county at least two members. It proposed an equal distribution of political power according to federal numbers; and yet it encouraged the general ticket system, by which one man, in the city of Baltimore, where his single vote might elect ten members, exercises just five times as much power as the same person could do in Kent, where his vote, under no circumstances, would elect more than two members. It proposed six thousand as the ratio entitled to one member; but so soon as that ratio exhausted the population of the county where this scheme comes from, we find the rule requires thirty-two thousand for a ratio. A rule producing consequences so irreconcilable, and inequalities so glaring, all in one direction and tending to the advantage of a particular section, cannot be right in itself, or have been framed to promote the common benefit. It is founded on no general principle, it is partial and unjust in its operation, and can be sustained by no fair reasoning. No scheme could have been devised to give Washington and Allegany counties, a larger influence; none having the show of moderation, could be more destructive of the political influence of the eastern sections.

And gentlemen tell us this is a compromise. The gentleman from Allegany, (Mr. Weber,) told us this was not all. He thought western Maryland ought to have; but he would go for it as a compromise! A compromise of what? Had they yielded any thing? What had the west given up? The counties which now had forty-five members in the House, were to be cut down by this distribution to thirty three; and the counties and city which now had thirty seven, were to be increased to forty. Those which now have a majority of eight, were to fall into a minority of seven! And what do they give for it? Nothing whatever. We yield every thing, and receive no compensation. Sir, this is no compromise; it is a capitulation. A compromise implies mutual concession; each yields something for the common good; but here the yielding is all on one side. We are required to pull down our flag, yield up our sword, and surrender at discretion. Gentlemen will pardon us; we are not ready for that yet. They are not quite strong enough to justify the demand; and our condition is not quite so desperate, as to require submission.

Mr. President, the leading feature of the scheme proposed by the gentleman from Washington, (Mr. Fiery,) is federal numbers. It provides that representation shall be apportioned among the several counties and the city of Baltimore, according to their several numbers, as shown by the last census, "which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of

free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, three-fifths of the slaves."

In support of this feature, we are referred to the examples of other States of this Union; we are told that in some of the southern States, where slavery exists, federal numbers have been adopted as the basis; and it is argued here, that it will also be suitable for us. It is admitted that where slavery exists in so small a degree, that its weight is not materially felt in the distribution of political power; or where it is so generally diffused over the whole State, as that a diminution of its weight would be equal every where, and the same relative proportions be preserved, it is a matter of no consequence whether federal numbers are adopted as the basis of representation or not, or whether the slaves are entirely excluded from the computation. But where slavery is unqually diffused, the rule, if applied, would work great injustice. I am not informed of the condition of the States in which the rule has been adopted; nor do I know the particular reasons which induced them to adopt it. Doubtless it was for reasons which satisfied them, that their interests and happiness would be promoted by it. To the people of Maryland it is a matter of no consequence, what may have been done elsewhere in this respect. The institutions of another people are not to be adopted by us, unless they are suitable to our condition. We must form our Constitution to suit our condition. We must look to the ends to be accomplished, and the dangers to be avoided. If the adoption of federal numbers as a rule, would not do equal justice to all; if it would work unfairly and leave any part exposed, without adequate means of defence, it ought to be repudiated, no matter what may have been done elsewhere.

We have had our attention directed to the General Government, in which representation is apportioned according to federal numbers. But I cannot perceive any analogy between the cases, or feel the force of the argument, which is attempted to be thence deduced. Previous to the formation of the Federal Government, the States were equally free, equally sovereign, and equally independent; each possessing its own peculiar institutions. In some, slavery existed, and prevailed to a great extent; very large proportions of their population were made up of slaves. In others, slavery had been altogether abolished; and in many the number of slaves was so small, that if counted, their influence would be scarcely appreciable. The States came together as equals, to form a new government for the joint benefit; and it was soon discovered, that the existence and unequal distribution of slavery, was one of the chief difficulties to be overcome. If allowed its numerical strength, it would have had a controlling influence, and have rendered those States in which it did not exist, subservient to its power; and on the other hand, if slaves had been entirely excluded from the count, the States in which slaves were numerous would have been utterly paralyzed. Those who framed the Federal Constitution deemed it a fair subject of a compromise. The slave States agreed, that