

all the wealth, the centre of exchange, the centre of trade, absorbing gradually into herself the whole energies of the population. Adopt the theory of representation according to any basis that will approach the popular basis in this State, and you practically and entirely throw the control of the whole matter into the hands of the city. Not only the monetary control which Baltimore city has, and the influence which she in that way and in other cognate ways, exercises indirectly over the people of this State, but also the control to which I have alluded, which she directly, through her vote, exercises over the politics of the State, is another consideration why she should not control in the legislature by constitutional enactment.

Another source of control is her control over the public works. Suppose they are sold, or not sold—take it either way—who has the controlling, the masterly activity, with regard to the public works? Who is at the head of them? Who gives the impulse to them? Do the people of the State know the extent of that and its influence? I know that in the section of the country they go through, it is an immense power for political and other purposes, which can be exercised through these public works by those who have the general direction and management of them. That is another part of the influence of Baltimore, distinct from her ordinary influence over the politics of the State.

It can be stated then, as a practical proposition, that Baltimore city elects the governor, two members of Congress, at least one Judge of the Court of Appeals, besides every other State officer, who under the constitution is to be elected by general ticket. She has all that control to start with. She actually elects all the executive officers of the State. Practically, through the various influences at work in the community, she has a general control over the politics of the State. If, in addition to all this, you are to superadd such a control in the legislature as will enable her to rule that, you would better, in my judgment, dispense with the legislature entirely, and let the mayor and city council of Baltimore control the legislation of the State.

I say this without the slightest hostility to the city of Baltimore, without the slightest imputation that any respectable portion of the people desire this wrongful and unjust apportionment. I believe I know to the contrary, because for years past, I have been in the habit of coming here from year to year, and I have had, as often as I met them, a candid declaration of opinion from some of the best men in Baltimore city, that that city was never so well represented, or so effectually represented in these halls, as when she had two delegates, instead of ten. And my opinion to-day is, that if you put it to a fair and unrestricted vote of the people of Baltimore city, I believe, as I stand upon this

floor, that they would not vote themselves to have twenty delegates.

To conclude the few observations that I wished to submit upon this question, I will state very frankly, that neither of these reports meets my views exactly. I do not think either of them is based upon the true theory of representation. I propose, before we get through the subject, if we do not finish it before I have an opportunity of writing two or three sections, not yet written, to offer a substitute for both, to bring the house to a vote upon what I conceive to be the true theory for us to adopt. It is not representation according to population that I so much object to, if the true theory of all representation is carried out.

What do you propose to do? To give Baltimore city twenty-one members, not all to be voted upon, it is true as proposed by the majority report, on one general ticket; but divided into three districts, electing seven members in each of the three districts. Every one knows, however, that practically it will be a general ticket. They will all be arranged by the parties on the same night, and the twenty-one will all be nominated and agreed upon in one body. The danger, slavery being abolished, that either the smaller or the larger counties will have to fear from Baltimore city, is not that their people will not be fully represented, upon the very highest standard, but that they will not be represented as political units.

The gentleman from Baltimore city very justly argues, why should not a white man in Baltimore city be the equal of a white man in Prince George's county? True, he ought to be. But the converse is true also. Why should not a white in Prince George's county be equal to a white man in Baltimore city? Upon the theory of the majority report here, every vote of Baltimore city is to have practically the privilege of sending twenty-one delegates here. Every man's vote may be the controlling and casting vote. When he walks up to the polls and deposits his vote, he knows that that single vote may elect twenty-one members. You have the means, the power, the capability, perhaps at every election, by your simple suffrage, of sending twenty-one men to the house of delegates. We, in Prince George's county, can by no possibility, under the same report, send over two. I do not think that is equality. Whether yours is the casting vote or not, you become after the election, properly the constituent of twenty-one members here. Under no circumstances can I be the constituent of more than two. Is that equality?

That brings me exactly to what I regard as the true theory of representation. Apportion it if you please according to population, upon the strict basis of population, counting in everybody. Then divide Baltimore city and every county into as many electoral dis-