

represented them. Who believes that the negro was represented in fact, no matter what the theory of your government is? He never was. He would not have voted for the fugitive slave bill, that when he had fled from Mississippi up to the borders of Canada for his liberty, he should be carried back into slavery. You know he would not. It is folly to argue such a question. The representatives of negroes would have given no such votes for the fugitive slave bill; and gentlemen know it.

My friend from Prince George's (Mr. Belt) said this morning that our fathers made a mistake in not claiming full representation for their slaves, in accepting three-fifths. I say that our fathers made a mistake, and they knew it, and said they knew it; and foremost among them was the good old George Mason. They said they knew they were doing a wrong thing; but they did it for the sake of peace, just as many compromises have been made since for the sake of peace.

Let us now examine the question of representation by facts and figures. Suppose we take my friend's instance, the seven peninsular counties, one of which I have the honor in part to represent, and one of which my friend in part represents—Howard, Montgomery, Prince George's, Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles and St. Mary's.

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. I did not include Howard with Prince George's, by any means.

Mr. SANDS. Howard county is not very anxious to force the association, but still can afford to be brotherly. You cannot get rid of us geographically, whatever you do. I do not remember how many representatives these peninsular counties now have.

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. Fourteen.

Mr. SANDS. And Baltimore city has ten. Now, if my friend will turn to the last census, page 263, he will find that the peninsula, Howard county included, has a population of 58,375 souls.

"Facts are chiefls wha winna ding,
And darena be disputed."

Figures cannot lie. I beg my friend's attention to the fact that this peninsular, with a population of 58,375, has twelve representatives upon this floor to-day, while Baltimore city with a white population of 184,520 has a representation of ten. In other words, persons being the basis of representation, 126,000 men in the city of Baltimore are unrepresented here to-day, in this great crisis in the history of our State. Of course my friends do not lug into the argument, latitude, longitude, soil, climate, or anything of the sort.

Mr. STROCKBRIDGE. Upon this floor and in this body, the representation of these seven

counties is twenty-three, and of Baltimore city it is eleven.

Mr. SANDS. Is it not absurd for me to stand here and talk about our system of government being based upon representation according to population?

Mr. CHAMBERS, (in his seat.) I think it is.

Mr. SANDS. It is, indeed; and I don't think we can deny it. Twenty-three men in this great crisis in the history of our State represent 58,375 men, while there are only eleven here from Baltimore city, to represent her and her vast interests, with a population of 184,520 white souls within her limits. Representation according to population? We have not got near one-third of the population and have more than double the representation.

Then take property as the basis of representation if you please.

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's, (in his seat.) Territory.

Mr. SANDS. Suppose territory is taken as the basis of representation, how many representatives ought Texas to have in the United States? It is big enough to make half a dozen other States.

Let us consider property as the basis: for I assert that in no government pretending to be republican can there be any other than the three basis I have mentioned—persons, property, or a mixed basis of persons and property. Let us try the question as you find it resting upon the basis of property. If my friends will turn to page 12 of the annual report of the comptroller of the treasury, of September, 1863, they will find this statement of facts. The assessed value of the peninsular property, real, personal and mixed, is \$37,227,070. The assessed value of the property in Baltimore city is \$128,596,819. Taking property as the basis of representation, you have this anomalous condition of things here to-day, that thirty-seven millions of property are represented by twenty-three men upon this floor, while one hundred and twenty-eight millions of property are represented here by less than half that number of men. Is your present government then, based in its representative features upon property? Who will dare assert it? If it is, then over one hundred millions of property in the city of Baltimore is unrepresented here to-day. I take it for granted then that gentlemen do not claim that under our existing State government, property is the basis of representation.

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. It is a mixed basis.

Mr. SANDS. If that is it, I would like to have you tell me how you will mix up the personal and property basis of representation to make it what it is here to-day. Upon the mixed basis, 58,000 people and 37,000,000 of property are represented by more than double the number of men who represent