

recommend the reading of the third chapter of Story's Commentaries, to gentlemen who are unenlightened as to the views of that learned jurist upon the question of National and State sovereignty; and if that does not enlighten them, then all I shall say will be—"Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone."

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. To what school of politics did Story belong?

Mr. SANDS. Well, the fact is, I know more about Chief Justice Taney's politics than I do about Justice Story's. [Laughter.]

In 1832, those men who planted the seeds of this heresy, ran mad over it then, and away down in a mighty South Carolina they passed an ordinance of nullification, and Mr. Clay, in this speech, referred to an instance related by an eye witness. At a meeting held in Charleston, shortly after the ordinance of nullification was passed, one of the speakers declared that if no other State joined them, South Carolina would draw her sword unaided—at that point, some poor, demented individual in the crowd was so carried away by his enthusiasm that he cried out—"Yes, and if South Carolina does not do it, I will." [Laughter.]

Mr. CLARKE. That is reliable?

Mr. SANDS. That is reliable, I suppose. In 1832 the little great State of South Carolina sent on to Maryland her ordinance of nullification, the practical result of this doctrine of States' rights, and asked Governor Howard to lay it before the Legislature of Maryland, and asked that body to co-operate with her in it. Governor Howard said that under the circumstances he felt himself bound, from mere respect to the State of South Carolina, to submit the ordinance to the Legislature of Maryland, but he did so with this language accompanying it:

"Upon the subject of disunion, I would speak in still stronger language. Such a topic a few years back would have been received everywhere with execration."

There may be some gentleman here—I do not undertake to say that there is—but there may be some gentleman here who was at that time present in this hall when this document was read. If so, then he will remember that the Governor used no mincing language about it: language which, as I said before, I would not choose to utter here myself, on account of older members present. This is the language of Governor Howard:

"Such a topic a few years back would have been received everywhere with execration; it is here still considered as sacrilege, a severance of the union of soul and body."

And I commend this now to the consideration of gentlemen as the winding up:

"And only to be thought of by desperate men, or unfortunate maniacs." (Applause.)

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. Was that State sovereignty, or nullification?

Mr. SANDS. State sovereignty.

Mr. CLARKE. Gentlemen will remember that I quoted from that myself last winter, and commented upon it.

Mr. SANDS. Well, I will read it over again, it is so good, (laughter), and so fully expresses my views.

"Such a topic a few years back, would have been received everywhere with execration; it is here still considered as sacrilege, a severance of the union of soul and body, and only to be thought of by desperate men or unfortunate maniacs."

Such were Governor Howard's opinions of the South Carolina school of politics.

Now in reference to what the gentleman from Prince George's (Mr. Clarke) styles the binding of poor Maryland hand and foot, and laying her down, like a lamb before the butcher, or a sheep before the shearer, I want gentlemen to understand that that is not my style. I have as good a right to the title of Marylander as any man who sits upon this floor. My grandfathers, on both sides, were soldiers of Washington, and their bones now lie buried in Maryland soil. And many bound to me by ties of blood, brothers and sisters, now sleep in Maryland soil. I love her glorious old memory. I know her worth, and I would have her, as she ought to be, a bright star in the glorious galaxy of States revolving around that great sun, our central government. (Applause.) That is the position which I desire for Maryland; not bound, not humiliated; but exalted, bright, beautiful. And she can only be that by acting in harmony with the laws of her being. Suppose some planet in your solar system should proclaim and assert its independent sovereignty and rush out of its own proper sphere; where would it go? To darkness and ruin. And the same law that holds good in physics, holds good in morals, in ethics, in politics. Let Maryland act up to the full measure of her State sovereignty, but let her properly obey the paramount authority of the Government of the United States, the central arm of our political system. Let her do that, and you will have her moving forward in harmony, and peace, and glory, and happiness in her proper sphere.

It is my duty to apologize to the Convention for detaining them so long. Still, in justice to myself, and to the people I represent, I could say no less. I would say to my friend from Prince George's (Mr. Clarke)—and I say it in no disrespect to him—I never intend to follow him through the line of argument that he pursued yesterday. I would just as soon think of wading the Dismal Swamp.

Mr. CLARKE. I think you could do the one as well as the other.

Mr. SANDS. I have no doubt of it, for the gentleman left no clue behind him to guide me. In either case I should be wandering in