

recognized as a protection so complete, that no other government on earth has been able to obtain from despotic governments that measure of protection for its citizens which the American Government by the inherent power of the principles on which that government is founded, has controlled for its citizens. And yet, would gentlemen give that up? Would they eschew it by saying that their paramount allegiance is not due to that government upon which they call when in a foreign land and protection is most needed? Do they call on the Governor of Maryland to save them, when haply they need assistance? Did the Governor of Maryland free American citizens from the dungeons and prisons of Morocco? It was to the Government of the United States to which the cry for help was borne up, and it was the Government of the United States that stretched forth its arm to save.

Yet the sovereign State of Maryland in the sense which the gentleman gives to sovereignty, is such as to overshadow the sovereignty of the General Government. A sovereign State which may not emit bills of credit; which may not make war or peace at its discretion; which may not coin money; which may not enter into any treaty or agreement with another State or power; a sovereign State which is bound by treaties made by a portion of the United States Government. It is sovereign in municipal affairs, but in broad, national affairs it is not sovereign. Why, sir, after the cessation of the revolutionary war, before the Government of the United States was established, while the States retained their sovereignty, and Great Britain had made a solemn treaty to deliver up to the United States certain forts and armed places, she refused to deliver them up because there was no government which she recognized as having authority to receive them. And for that purpose, and to form a more perfect union, "We, the people of the United States" decreed this sovereign government which Great Britain could recognize.

And the gentleman scorns and scorns the idea of any man calling this a consolidated government. Now as for me, though I throw myself under the crushing weight of the gentleman's sarcasm; and though I may be borne down by the weight of many tomes which he may bring here of men whose authority I do not recognize, yet I tell him that the last three years has shown a consolidation of government in this country, the like of which the world has never before seen. It has shown us thousands and hundreds of thousands of armed men wielded and controlled by that government for its purposes; it has shown us the agents of that government going into your house and mine and drafting you and me as individuals—not as portions of a State but as individuals—for

the common defence of the country. Not consolidated? Not strong? I tell you that for three years there has been exhibited here a consolidation and power which has been the wonder and the fear of the world. So consolidated that when you come to talk of States, when you come to talk of the State of Maryland, you dream of some glorious tradition of the past, and wonder where the State of Maryland may be. How do we know it? We know it because we have heard of South Mountain and Antietam, because our homes have not been made desolate, but the hosts of the invader have been hurled back foiled and discomfited by the power of the General Government. As for any power in the State of Maryland to have saved us, we know it not. For any consolidation of power we go to the strong central government.

For seventy-four years we lived, hardly knowing that we had a government. For seventy-four long years we let our representatives in Congress vapor as they would of State sovereignty; it concerned us not. Peace, happiness, prosperity, plenty, spread all over our land, and we knew not that we had a central government. But the hand of the heathen was laid on the ark of the Almighty, and the enemies of the nation went down. Then you knew you had a government, the strong hand and the outstretched arm which told you that your government was not powerless to save—that it did not recognize the principles which made it provide for its own self-destruction. It told you that the men who lived long ago, were not utter fools and blind; but that they had given an elasticity and comprehensiveness to the government which they established, that until it was necessary to be used we happily knew not of. But when the time of emergency came, we found that the glove was an iron gauntlet; that the band which we had been accustomed to see tremulously swayed hither and thither by the voice of petty politicians, became a strong cable which bound the good ship of State to the tug which hauled it out of the stormy waters into the harbor of peace and safety, from which with the blessing of God, she will never depart. And every opponent shall be beaten down until all shall declare what Maryland declares to-day, that the paramount allegiance of all her citizens is due to the Government of the United States.

Gentlemen start at the word "government." But why? What is government but the organized expression of a State. You cannot hold allegiance to a State except through its organization. It is not alone the people of the State, or of the United States, that constitute the government. All we can recognize is the organized expression of the people, which we find in the government.

And does the gentleman remember when he talks of laws of the United States, not made