

cordance with which legislative power should be distributed—which would be the case if the theory of representation according to population was the true one—for the rights appertaining to the person are the same every where, and the personal rights of a citizen of Baltimore are just as safe in the hands of the delegates from St. Mary's, as in those from Baltimore itself—for in protecting their own personal rights, they protect those of the citizen, not only of Baltimore, but of every other part of the State. The rights of property—those rights from which arise the conflicting interests of the different portions of the State—should furnish the basis upon which should rest the distribution of legislative power—such a distribution as would give proper protection to all the interests that would come under its control. Can this proper protection be afforded to all interests, when the rights and interests of any part of the State, however small are placed at the mercy of any other portion of the State?

I ask, can it be possible, in a case like this, for the minority to have equal rights with the majority, when their peculiar interests and institutions depend entirely upon the will of the majority without any means of self-protection. In such a state of things the minority would remain in constant dread that the majority would trample upon the rights which they had not the power to defend. Is this the peace and security which government should afford to all its citizens?

Let us look at the peculiar position of Maryland, and see whether this would not be the condition of a portion of her people if the basis of representation advocated by reformers, (as they please to call themselves) should be engrafted upon our Constitution. She has a small territory in the midst of which a great city had been built—built up too, be it remembered, by the generosity of that very people whom they now wished to trample under foot. It was growing and increasing so rapidly, that, before many years, it would contain, within its limits, a majority of the whole people of the State. Its mighty works of internal improvement were stretching out in every direction, drawing wealth from every part of the country, with this mighty reservoir; and soon, sir, it will become entirely independent of Maryland, and its government. It will be more bound to Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, save perhaps by some lingering ties of filial affection, than to the State that has built it up. Her interests therefore are different from the interests of the counties, and this the reform counties acknowledge in their unwillingness to give to her what they claim for themselves; upon what principle, they have not as yet told us. And, sir, there is a decided difference of interests between the two great sections of the counties of the State. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad seems to be the dividing line between them. In the city of Baltimore and in the western portion of the State, the institution of slavery is gradually dying away, and their place will be supplied by people who will bring with them—deep in their hearts—a hostility to this institution. And, sir, this feeling will gradually diffuse itself,

if it is not there already, through the minds of the whole people of that section. The people of the lower part of Maryland might well feel anxious then, as they see the political power of the State about to be transferred to a section from which they might expect hostility to this institution. An institution interwoven with all their interests and their feelings, to them so valuable, and to which they are so deeply attached. Take this away—to use a quotation of the gentleman from Worcester, (Mr. Jacobs) and you take that which not enriches you, but makes them poor indeed."

We do not wish to rule Baltimore city, or the upper part of Maryland. The past experience might teach them not to fear us if we did. All we wish is to have a *substantial* power, under the Constitution, of self-protection—a power to defend our peculiar institutions whenever they should be attacked. This is what we justly claim and will consent to nothing less.

But gentlemen said, that there was no danger. There might not be now. Every man here, I believe, is southern in his feelings. I do not desire to impute to any gentleman here hostility to this institution. But when this institution shall have disappeared, entirely from the western section of the State, and its place shall have been supplied by a population hostile, from every consideration that can operate upon the human mind, to this institution, then the hour of danger would come. Then Maryland would witness the same struggle that had agitated this Union, from one end to the other, and had almost divided us into two people; then I say will be the fearful time for the people of the lower part of the State—fearful indeed if the power of self-protection is to be taken away from them. Then is it strange that we should struggle against this direful consummation so firmly and warmly?

What does the constitutional guarantee which we have passed amount to, when we hear gentlemen openly say, that they expect nothing from this Constitution, and that it will not be long before they will have it in their power to make just such an one as they want. Then where can our rights and our interests look for protection. You take from us the power now, which you will use hereafter to destroy us.

Then I appeal to the delegates from lower Maryland, to take a firm and manly stand against this thing. I appeal to them by the fearful evils which this loss of our power will surely entail upon us in the future. And, sir, if I thought it would be of any avail, I would appeal to the liberality of the rest of the State to leave this power of self-protection in our hands.

But long speeches were ever wearying in this body. I have done what I wished to do. I merely wished to say to the delegates from the smaller counties, that we should firmly unite to ward off the wrong with which we are threatened. I offer you, as a delegate from a small county, the hand of fellowship. I will stand by you as long as mind and body last. I will give you a helping hand to protect your rights and interests, let the consequences be what they may. I be-