

each county, and one from the city of Baltimore, which is purely territorial; and in every scheme for representation in the House, except that spoken of by the gentleman from Baltimore city, (Mr. Brent,) the territorial principle is to be discerned more or less clearly. In the particular scheme, I am now considering, it is to be found in that feature, which secures to each county at least two members, in all events.

And here, Mr. President, allow me to make a remark necessary to prevent misapprehension. I have seen the idea advanced, that the government of Maryland, is a confederation of counties. I hold no such opinion. The counties, as such, possess no sovereignty. They are mere municipal divisions of the State, established for the convenience of government. I claim representation to be apportioned in part on these territorial divisions, only because it will ensure the representation of every interest, and give to the people of every section a check upon the action of other sections, injurious to their interests; a measure I deem essential to their protection and happiness.

Here then, Mr. President, is a principle lying at the foundation of our government, which comes down to us, crowned with the experience of two centuries. Under the direct agency of this principle, Eden, the last and proudest of the Imperial Governments, was driven from our soil, and the sons of Maryland, assumed the privileges and responsibilities of freemen. Our fathers, amid the din of arms, and with their garments red with the blood of that revolution, which was commenced and prosecuted to achieve civil liberty and constitutional government, engrafted it in our organic law, and under its benign influence, we have lived and prospered. Generations have risen and flourished, and passed away — Maryland has grown from a poor and feeble colony to a rich, populous and independent State. The foot prints of oppression and tyranny have never marred the beauty of our soil. Life, liberty, property and labor, have found here a sure and safe asylum. The meanest and mightiest have alike shared its benefits. Then, why shall we abandon it? Why set at nought the teachings of time, and venture on new experiments whose best promise, if realized can never exceed the frustration of the past, whose slightest failure will entail ruin on the future?

Mr. President, it may not be in our power at this late day, to recall all the reasons which gave rise to this rule. We cannot travel back through the long lapse of years, and describe all the motives which induced our forefathers to incorporate the element of territory into their scheme of representation; nor can we trace the motives which, under all circumstances, have induced an adherence to it. Some of the reasons have, doubtless, in the change of time and circumstances, ceased to operate; but others continue in full force to this day, and new ones have arisen which imperiously require the smaller counties to retain their present representation, to

preserve them from absolute dependance upon the larger counties and the city of Baltimore.

If we look to the geography of Maryland, we find her peculiarly situated. The Chesapeake flows through the entire length of the State from north to the south dividing the State into unequal portions. The Eastern Shore is now, and always must remain, an agricultural region. It is adapted to the use of slave labor. The Western Shore is also divided into two sections; one of which may be called the tide water section; and that above the water may be called the western section. These two sections are very different. The tide water section is a grain and tobacco region; slave labor is exceedingly productive, and the number of slaves is nearly equal to the number of the whites. This section has no minerals, and is not adapted to manufactures. In many of its characteristics, it is like the Eastern Shore; and to some extent their interests are the same. The western section stretches along the southern border of Pennsylvania, and its inhabitants partake in a great degree of the character of the inhabitants of that State. In this region slave labor is not productive, and the number of slaves is comparatively small. The country is hilly and in parts mountainous and while it contains large tracts of fertile land a large part of its surface is not adapted to agriculture. It abounds in water power, and a large part of its capital and labor is devoted to manufactures, which are annually increasing. The extreme west is a rich mineral region. The supplies of coal and iron are inexhaustible; and these now afforded a cheap and convenient outlet by means of the public works constructed at the expense of the State, are attracting, and will continue to attract, capital and immigration. Allegany is destined, at no distant day, to be the most populous, and richest county in the State. Her lands are not adapted to agriculture. Her population, which must soon be immense, will be exclusively engaged in mining and manufacturing. Slavery scarcely exists in that county; the whole number of her slaves is but seven hundred and twenty-four. From the character of the country, and the direction given to labor, slave labor never can be profitable there. Slavery must therefore rapidly diminish and soon entirely disappear.

Another striking feature in the condition of Maryland, is the large commercial and manufacturing city of Baltimore, which already numbers a population nearly equal to one third of the entire population of the whole State and is rapidly increasing. That city exercises a large influence in the affairs of Maryland, and is destined hereafter to increase still greater in influence. Her relations to the rest of the State, and the policy she is likely to pursue, will presently be particularly considered.

It is to be remembered too, that the different classes of population are very unequally distributed.

I have compiled from the last census the following table, which shows the inequality in the several divisions of the State already referred to: