

districts as it shall be entitled to send delegates, and let the people in each district send one man. That is my plan. That is the system I will vote for. That is the system which is right. That is the system which, more perfectly than any other, will give a direct straight forward representation of the people. I do not, as a representative of one of the smaller counties, fear the representative of Baltimore city. The danger we have to fear, and I am perfectly frank about it, the danger all the smaller counties have to fear, is not in the number of representatives Baltimore is entitled to send here, but the fact that by the constitution of the State they are organized into a great political unit.

Let a county have 10,000 votes. Then 5001 can send here ten delegates, and the rest of the county is disfranchised, and has no voice. Suppose Baltimore city has 30,000 votes; then 15,001 can send the whole twenty-one delegates here, and the rest are disfranchised. In my own county it operates in the same way. There is a part of my county—it is all wrong, and I want it corrected—which has not been properly represented, which has not been represented at all in these halls for ten years, and never can be if elections are held upon general ticket; for the remainder of the county will control and send all the representatives.

But arrange it otherwise; district the city of Baltimore, and give her twenty-five delegates if you choose; district the counties, and give Prince George's three; and let each district vote for one man, and that brings us upon an equality. It makes a white man of Prince George's, and a white man of Baltimore city equal to one another; because you vote for one man as your delegate, and you become the constituent of one man only; and you cannot control under that system of election, more than one man.

The great advantage is that it brings the people into an immediate, direct, and I might almost say, neighborhood representation. It is so in all the counties. What I have said with regard to my own county applies to every county in the State. I am for dividing up the city and the counties, so that every section of every county shall have its voice here, whether or not they agree with the majority of the people of the county. That is the system upon which I am desirous that we should adjust this question.

Mr. CLARKE. It occurs to me, that if we go through the second reading of this report, section by section, and adopt in sections, it will not then be in order to offer a substitute.

The PRESIDENT. No, sir.

Mr. CLARKE. I have drawn up a substitute expressing my views of the proper basis of representation. I heartily indorse nearly everything said by my colleague, who has just taken his seat. When I came to this convention I had supposed that there would

certainly be one question here which would rise above the mere trammels of party; that in view of the fact that it ought to be the desire of this convention to frame such a constitution as would be lasting in its character, however you might deal with the question of slavery—however you might deal with the duty of the citizens of the State to the federal government, looking to the general welfare of the State, it would be the aim of gentlemen coming from different sections of the State to frame a representative system which would be true and sound in principle—which would not be brought in here as a mere arbitrary rule for which no particular reason has been or can be assigned, why it should be adopted rather than any other system, which would not be devoid of or wanting in principle, except that one principle that it starts out in the first place on a wrong basis, namely, the basis of the white population as the sole representative basis, excluding from any representation here, in this hall, that large population in the State, 90,000, who have been free negroes for years and represented, and excluding further from representation some 80 or 90,000 more negroes who will be set free.

It is very plain why this system has been adopted here. It has been said upon this floor that the negro is a man, that he is born with the same rights—all men being created free and equal—the same rights to liberty, and the enjoyment of peace and property, with any other man. The gentlemen announcing this doctrine come in here, and not only exclude from representation those who are placed from a state of slavery into a state of freedom, but deny representation to those who were free before and entitled to representation.

The chairman of this very committee (Mr. Abbott) offered an additional article to the bill of rights, announcing, if it means anything, I think the true doctrine, that this class of people are entitled to representation. I so construed it. Yet when you come to parcel out the representation you ignore this principle which you have announced, you depart from it, and you not only exclude the class which you have carried from a state of slavery to freedom, but you exclude a large class who have been represented heretofore.

It is not that suddenly, so soon as you remove slavery, these gentlemen become negro-baters. I do not believe it is based upon that principle at all. But there are a certain class of persons in the State, and certain localities in the State, to which their hatred is greater than their love for the negro. The principle is departed from which they have upon every other occasion announced. And this was to do what? That those counties which have been slaveholding, and where there will be this population may be shorn of their representative rights; that those who