

earth but hostility to slavery and to slaveholders.

Slavery is abolished; those who were slaves are entitled to all the rights of freemen. What is to be done with them? Do you suppose these men will not ask or think what is the next thing to be done? Will they not think that they ought to have some interest in the land? that they should have something to say about what is to be done? They begin to talk now about the land being divided up among them; that idea has been preached to them for many days. And it is raising a spirit of insurrection and insubordination; they have no respect for the white man; no indulgence for the powers that be, except as they may be used for the purpose of carrying out their own ignorant views of what is right for themselves.

Now I say you cannot in justice either to the slaveholder or to the slave himself, turn him loose upon the community; take away all this property; weaken the force and strength and influence of these counties in the legislature of the State. You cannot in fairness and honesty do all this injustice unless you give the slaveholder the means of being heard by the whole State. And the only way he can be heard, the only hope I see left for him, the only possible hope is contained in the proposition of my colleague (Mr. Clarke.) Give him a voice and let him be heard freely and fairly; and he will always, as he has always been, be willing to submit to an issue presented fairly to the people of the State, because he has never demanded anything that the people of the State have not always seen the justice of.

I appeal to you not to run hastily through this matter; not to apply your fifteen minute rule to the consideration of a principle which has been contended for for years and years. There is a great deal in it that I have not been able to investigate; a great deal in it of which I know nothing, because it was the last principle that I thought the gentlemen of the majority would reject. I thought it was something that we could all rally around, if there was any proposition that could be presented to us which would meet the views of all parties. I thought that upon this there could be no division of opinion. If, however, I am mistaken, if it has been predetermined in secret conclave that all fair propositions shall be voted down if they come from slave counties and from slaveholders—that all such propositions must be treated as if there was some design in them, something wrong, something unjust, no matter how fair they may appear upon their face—if I say, all this has been predetermined upon, then there is no other course, it seems to me, left for the minority of this convention but to leave it.

Mr. STOCKMIDON. I really am at a loss today to know whether I am a conservative or

a radical. It seems to me that what has plumed itself as conservatism heretofore now out-radicalizes radicalism by a great many degrees. And what is now the proposition for which conservatism contends I do not clearly understand. I had supposed that the minority report was their view of what was fair and just and right. But this morning we are told that a very different thing, in the shape of the proposition of the gentleman from Prince George's (Mr. Clarke,) is that which is just and right. Those two things read very unlike one another.

Now this question of representation is one which seems never to have been clearly and distinctly understood. Representation means representation, not a substitution of an agent for any person against the will of that person; but a representation where the person represented selects the person to represent him; and where the person so selected goes to represent the person who has selected him, not to represent somebody else. Now what is the true method of arriving at a correct result in a representative body? The only true method, as I apprehend, is just this: first determine what is to constitute your government, who is to govern. In other words, fix the elective franchise, and say who has the right to vote. Then every man who has the right to vote, who possesses the qualifications which you have fixed, is the peer of every other man possessing your designated qualifications.

The only really fair method, the only correct principle, in my humble judgment, is enunciated in neither of the propositions before the house. The only really correct principle, the only invariable one, and one which will give a permanent government is one based upon the voting population. A certain number of voters are entitled to be represented by a representative.

Then this difficulty springs up; what becomes of your minorities? There must be minorities everywhere. There will always be fractions when you come to make divisions of your voting population. There will always be minorities when you come to take your vote. And it has always been the great study of political philosophers to ascertain how, without trampling upon the rights of the majority, you can give some voice to the minority. Every one I suppose is familiar with the plan proposed by Lord John Russell so as always to give a minority a voice.

The idea was this: that the voters should be divided into such classes or divisions that there should always be three delegates elected for each election district; then each voter was to be allowed to vote for, not three delegates, but two, in which case the minority would always have a chance to elect one, if it was a minority equal to one-third of the voters of the district.

But when we come to fix it in this State,