

You tell me that I owe paramount allegiance to a Government that in time of peace can afford me at my home no sort of protection, not even for the enjoyment of life, liberty and property; that has not an organization, a court, or an officer to whom I can appeal for protection when my rights are invaded. Where have the citizens of Maryland from 1776 down to 1860—for I do not intend to allude to the unfortunate difficulties that have occurred since that period, any more than may be absolutely necessary, as I do not look upon the exciting topics which have been touched upon by other gentlemen as growing out of this subject, or as appropriate to this discussion—where have they looked for protection to life, liberty and property? If I were the owner of ships engaged in commerce upon the high seas, and my rights had been invaded by foreign nations, I should look to the Federal Government for protection; and why? Because that Government has been instituted by the authority of the sovereign State of Maryland, and has had powers delegated to it by Maryland and other States, for these external purposes, to demand redress of foreign nations, and protect me in the enjoyment of my rights as a citizen. I am taxed to support that Government; and it owes me protection because of the delegated powers which the State of which I am a citizen has given to it.

Gentlemen talk about restrictions being placed upon the States. Who placed the restrictions upon the States? Will any gentleman tell me that any authority outside of the State has placed restrictions upon the State of Maryland? She put the restrictions upon herself, in adopting the Constitution of the United States, freely and voluntarily, by the vote of the people. She never acknowledged the right of any other power, since she separated from King George, to bind her in the least, beyond what the sovereign people of the State have agreed upon and plighted their faith to uphold. There is no tie, no bond, no sanction, that requires any obedience on the part of the citizens of the States to any other government, except what has been conceded and agreed to by the people of the States in their adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

We have a State government clothed with full authority to afford protection to life, liberty and property. We have an executive; we have a judiciary extended throughout the State; we have civil officers, sheriffs, and all that are necessary for a perfect government, with full powers delegated to it by the people. It was to that government and to those officers, that during the period to which I have alluded, prior to 1860, the citizen looked for protection. If their lives had been assailed, the law of the State of Maryland was vindicated by the punishment of the offender. If property was invaded, they looked

to the jurisdiction of the State of Maryland to put them in possession of it. If real property, or personal property, or personal reputation, were invaded, they looked to the State government to protect them. The Federal Government was powerless to do it. In all those home privileges involving life, liberty and property, they looked to the State government. It was only in the case of a ship upon the ocean, and for protection abroad, that the Federal Government afforded the slightest protection to the citizen of Maryland since the formation of the Constitution.

When a citizen thus lives under the protection of his own State, does he not owe allegiance to that State? Can it not command him, and all that is his, whenever the public exigencies require it?

Mr. SANDS. If the gentleman will permit me, I will ask him this question. Does he agree to the statement that the slave property of the State of Maryland was worth fifty millions of dollars? To whom did you look for the protection of that species of property, to the State or Federal Government, in case it took wings and flew beyond the limits of the State? Who returned it, the State or the Federal Government?

Mr. JONES, of Somerset. For any invasion of the right to that or any other species of property within the State, we looked to the State government for protection and for redress. When that property escaped and went into the free States, we looked to the Federal Government, under the sanction of the Constitution that Maryland herself had adopted, and looked to the good faith of the North plighted to her that it should be restored.

Mr. SANDS. That is, you looked to the General Government.

Mr. JONES, of Somerset. And whether the North has kept the faith she plighted, I submit to the gentleman.

Mr. SANDS. As the question is submitted to me, I will say—

Mr. JONES, of Somerset. There will be another occasion for comparing notes with the gentleman upon that subject, as I do not propose to touch upon it now. It is in a different article of the Constitution, and when that comes up we will talk about it.

Mr. SANDS. Very well, sir.

Mr. JONES, of Somerset, resumed: My colleague (Mr. Dennis) this morning gave the history and assigned the true reason why the States were not named in the Constitution.

But I intended to give the reason for the incorporation into the Constitution of this provision, that "this Constitution and all laws which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made by the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." Before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the States had Constitutions and laws conflicting with the powers that