

to make it similar to any other people in the world as an organized existence, is higher than any moral obligation to preserve any State Government.

I say that what makes me a citizen of a nation among the nations of the earth, is the highest privilege I can claim, the assertion of which is my highest duty except my duty to save my soul. I say that the people, by the mode in which they re-distributed that power, imposed upon the people of the United States a greater obligation to maintain the General Government than they had to maintain the State. This is perfectly consistent with the very well distributed and regulated powers given to each. I do not argue that the States are rendered unnecessary by this General Government. I believe that the division into States, is, as far as we can see, necessary to promote happiness, convenience, and perhaps the liberty of the people. But I believe that the want of the existence of a National Government is absolutely incompatible with the preservation of any kind of liberty either personal or political.

The gentlemen upon the other side, not of this House but of this war, have themselves recognized the very theory that they have denied. While they have separated from this Government under motives and feelings I think it unnecessary to allude to, they have not formed a parcel of separate States, but have gone together into a government which endeavors to carry out through its written Constitution the States' rights theory, but yet a government with the same general powers given to this government, and having a form, which, whether it is the action of Mr. Jefferson Davis, or the action of the whole power of the Government, they call their country. The president of the confederation constantly appeals to the people to defend their country. He does not mean that Virginia is their country. It is a consciousness which no man who lives can get rid of, that he must have some country. It is an exemplification of this doctrine that Jefferson Davis, speaking of the Confederate States, calls it their country.

There is not a man who crosses the line of bayonets that bounds the limits of his dominion, that is not asked to take the oath of allegiance, not to the proud old mother of States and Presidents, but to the Confederate States of America. They have too much sense down there in the practical exigencies of this war, to carry out States' rights theories. They seceded with States' rights theories in their mouths as the apology for their secession; and the very moment they accomplished the fact of their secession, they uprooted their secession theories as dangerous and fatal, until throughout the whole country, swayed by their power, there is not to-day remaining a vestige of State rights. Does not everybody know that some obstreperous individuals, like the Governor of Georgia,

have remonstrated at and talked against the interpretation placed practically upon their Constitution? And the Governor of North Carolina very wisely and sagely said to his people a short time ago, that although they had seceded because they claimed a right to secede, and although it was generally understood that the confederacy of the States amounted to that, practically it amounted to no such thing. It was a right which it was absolutely impossible to exercise in that condition of things. If it did exist, North Carolina could not exercise the right and declare herself independent of Virginia, because if she did so, Virginia would fight her and destroy her right of secession.

There is no refuge from the Government. You have either got to have one nation on this continent, or you have got to have several nations; not several nations with distinct and separate delegated powers, not several nations with separate State lines and definite State powers, but separate nations distinct by their numbers, but each of them consolidated in its own individual existence. If this war terminates in the separation of this country into two; the government of those States which had been the Federal Government, or the Northern States, if gentlemen choose so to call them, will become vastly more consolidated than it ever was before; and the States represented by the South will become a consolidated government exceeding any consolidated government which ever existed on the face of the earth, unless destroyed by that fatal institution which remains under its corner-stone like a powder magazine at the bottom of the most massive edifices that have distinguished the genius and the labor of the world.

Gentlemen have asked what is the propriety of placing this article in the bill of rights. In the first place, it is said that it is no part of the bill of rights, that it is not the declaration of the rights of the people of Maryland. As I have just said, I consider the right of the people of Maryland to the existence of the National Government, to the preservation of the Union, and to the perpetuation of the Supreme Court of the United States to be not only one of their rights, but so far as government can be a political right, the very dearest right that they possess.

Gentlemen have also asked if it was not necessary to exclude from this article any reference to any allegiance at all, why is it necessary to put in the word paramount? My friend from Prince George's referred to the Constitutions of the different States, and said that no one went further than to require an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. I admit it. I admit that the language of this article is novel, although its principle is old. Its necessity results from the fact that in the transmutations of time, a question has grown up as to the