

relative position of slave Maryland and free New Jersey. I have selected New Jersey to bring into this comparison, because these two States are somewhat similar in size, soil, climate, and natural advantages, with a large preponderance, however, in favor of Maryland. Now, what are the facts? They are as follows: That while Maryland has 3,149 square miles of territory more than New Jersey, yet New Jersey has 130,781 more white people than Maryland; that while Maryland, a *slave* State, had, in 1860, over 83,000 free negroes, New Jersey, a free State, had only a little over 25,000 free negroes; that while the aggregate value of real and personal property in Maryland in 1860, was only \$376,919,944, in New Jersey it was over \$467,918,000; that while the population in Maryland, from 1790 to 1860, increased only 53 per cent., free New Jersey increased over 70 per cent.; that whilst in Maryland the average value of land is only about \$35 per acre, in New Jersey it is worth \$92.70 per acre. In New Jersey there were over 91,000 children who attended school, while in Maryland there were only 62,000. In Maryland there were over 41,000 white adults who could neither read nor write, whilst in New Jersey there were only a fraction over 18,000 who could neither read nor write.

And now to make the contrast yet stronger, let us come nearer home, and compare the 14 slave counties of our own State with the 7 comparatively free counties, and see what the result will be. It will be shown from the census reports that, while the population of the slave counties increased from 1790 to 1860 only 14½ per cent., the population of the free counties—exclusive of the city of Baltimore—increased in the same period 120 per cent. That while the real and personal property in the slave counties was worth only a little over one hundred millions of dollars, it was worth in the free counties over *three hundred millions of dollars*. It will be found further, that the farms in the slave counties averaged 153 acres each, worth \$3,433, while the farms in the free counties averaged only 102 acres each, and were yet worth \$4,935. Free land was worth \$48 per acre, slave land \$23 per acre.

These, Mr. President, are stubborn facts and figures which cannot be ignored. Gentlemen must meet them, and meet them honestly. And when we reflect that the same comparison may be instituted between Maryland and any other free State than New Jersey, though Maryland has the advantage by position, soil and climate, the same humiliating disproportion will be found to exist against Maryland. We assert boldly, without fear of successful contradiction, that it is slavery and slavery alone which is responsible. These facts and figures prove that wherever this institution of slavery exists, "it undermines and enervates all those principles of public and individual enterprise and self-reliance, which lie at the

basis of all true political and material prosperity."

I will just here beg leave to state that I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. Creswell for the facts and figures which I have read. I have not been able to get here the full census reports from which I could get them.

A *fifth* reason why I shall vote for emancipation in Maryland is, because the legislation demanded for the protection of slavery and slaveholders, is arbitrary and unjust, and oppressive to the people.

I do not mean, Mr. President, to elaborate this point very extensively, *first*, because I wish to take as little of the time of the Convention as possible, and, *secondly*, because the mere announcement of a proposition, the truth and applicability of which is so generally felt and acknowledged, is, of itself, sufficient for all the purposes of a legitimate argument.

I cannot, however, content myself to pass from this point without referring to a few facts in the legislation of our State, which, without any extended citations, will serve to put this portion of my argument beyond the shadow of a doubt.

And *first*, the slave code wrests from the non-slaveholding portion of our citizens an undue and unequal proportion of the public taxes. The entire property, real and personal, of the non-slaveholder is assessed by a sworn officer at a fair valuation, and the taxes are exacted to the utmost farthing. But the man who may be the owner of a slave, or a hundred slaves, can be taxed, at the utmost in any case only \$300, or it may be \$400, though they be worth under ordinary circumstances four times that amount.

And *again*, the master who owns a slave who commits a felony or murder and whose life pays the forfeit under the sentence of the law, receives from the commonwealth a restitution to the full value of his negro; while the family of the outraged or slain victim are left to mourn and repine, perhaps in poverty or disgrace, without the least remuneration for their sad deprivation and bereavement. It may be the husband, or the only son of a widow who was dependent upon that son for her support; who was the staff of her old age, the prop of her declining years, and yet she is compelled, under the laws of the State of Maryland, to pay her portion of the taxes to remunerate the master for the loss of the slave who killed her son.

And once more, the deprecating nuisance of a negro slave, whose nocturnal raids and pilferings have outraged the community for miles around, is at last shot while attempting to elude the officer; and the code of a *mild and generous chivalry* levies a tax to pay the master his full valuation upon the very community whose peace and immunities the outlaw has ravaged and outraged for years. Sir, I dare to say that these provisions in the