

liberal common-school education? Defeat—universal defeat! And wherefore? Because the upholders of the *peculiar institution* have been shrewd enough to foresee that if you educate the common laboring masses, you make them dissatisfied with the fate that consigns them to a position in the estimation of society upon a common level with the groveling negro slave! And that, becoming dissatisfied, and being a numerous class holding the balance of political power, they would assume a most dangerous antagonism to the system which enslaves and grinds them down, and perhaps sweep it from existence. Slavery, sir, has had control of our legislation, and with its accustomed tyranny, has frowned down and fettered every attempt to procure the intellectual emancipation of the masses of the people of Maryland. And, sir, I blush to say it, but it is true, as the census will bear testimony, that there were in the State of Maryland, in the year 1850, over 41,000 white adults who could neither read nor write, whilst in free New Jersey, with a white population of more than 130,000 in excess of ours, there were only a fraction over 18,000 who could neither read nor write.

But again, slavery affects spiritual and moral, as well as intellectual darkness and demoralization. This proposition is sustained by the same course of argument and the same array of facts which prove the last. For *moral and spiritual life* have ever been found to exist in about the same ratio with *intellectual light*. As a general rule, an educated community is a moral and religious community; and an ignorant community is an *immoral and irreligious community*. That system, therefore, which restrains and fetters intellectual development—and *slavery is such a system*—encourages and fosters spiritual darkness and licentiousness.

I need not again recur to facts to which reference has already been made in the argument under my second proposition. Those facts speak with a mournfully significant voice, which is equally applicable to this part of my argument. That the system of slavery is demoralizing to all classes within the sphere of its influence, is evident from the following patent facts which I shall content myself with merely asserting—they require no proof or elaboration.

Slavery recognizes no marital or domestic bonds which may not be broken at the option of the master. It throws no protection around the chastity of its unhappy victims. On the contrary, it virtually holds licentiousness at a premium. It fosters an abject, grovelling, stubborn and hopeless servility and self-abnegation in the slave. It invites to the exercise of an inhuman and tyrannical species of self-constituted and arbitrary despotism in the master. It ministers to a hateful and anti-republican aristocracy in what are termed, in slave communities, the upper classes; and

it begets in the non-slaveholding portion of the community, a servile and humiliating obeisance to that aristocracy, which demands a scrupulous and careful suppression of every sentiment against it.

It too often vests the *legislative, judicial, and executive* functions in an irresponsible mob. It extemporizes *rolls, tar and feathers, whipping posts*, and even *gallows*, to meet its summary demands. It inculcates *treason*; and for this purpose educates the Southern mind, fires the Southern heart, until it is brought forth full-fledged and armed with all the malice and spleen which characterized the old arch-traitor in the *first rebellion*, to wither and blast, if possible, with its foul breath, the fairest blossom of political liberty that has ever shed its fragrance on our world! Sir, will the good sense of the American people—the people of Maryland—permit them longer to foster in their midst a system, whose uniform *aggregated* influence has been to poison all the fountains, whence flow our moral, social and political prosperity! May Heaven grant that its tyrannical and demoralizing predominance may be forever hereafter ignored.

A fourth reason why I am in favor of emancipation in Maryland is:

Because slavery 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.

Our Southern children and youth are educated to ease and indolence. They are taught to rely on the labor of hands other than their own for their daily bread or their affluence. Their minds are diverted from those channels that lead to enterprise and usefulness. This is the necessary result of slavery, on the one hand, which prevents the necessity for white labor; and of a slave aristocracy, on the other hand, which stigmatizes the laboring white man as a *mud-sill*; and the consequence is that the majority of the superior race in our political hive are useless drones.

Where are the majority of your seminaries of learning? Where are your great public charities and enterprises? Where are your mammoth mills and factories, giving employment to thousands of artisans, and passing through their ingeniously contrived machinery their millions of property annually? Where do the great and startling developments of science and art, and the vast majority of the useful inventions of the age have their origin? In the free North—educated in literature—educated to free labor and self-reliance, and consequently fertile in all that constitutes a people free, independent, prosperous and happy.

And just at this point, Mr. President, I ask the attention of gentlemen to the following facts and figures which are taken from census reports, and which are designed to show the