

am justified therefore in saying this Convention does not represent the public sentiment, and believing as I do, that this Convention a few days ago, passed an article, the effect of which is to make all white men slaves, and that they are now engaged in what I consider plain, downright robbery—I am opposed to its action. There is one question, it seems to me, and but one, that properly enters into the determination of this question. Will, or will not the interests of the State be promoted by the abolition of slavery? And that question embraces the advancement of the material interests of the State and her status in reference to this unhappy civil war.

I do not believe that her material interests will be best promoted by such abolition.—Gentlemen may boast of the greater pretended advances in the elements of national power claimed for the free States, of their many churches, their school houses, their thrift—greater population, greater industry, greater wealth, &c., but sir, I have not seen it. I do not know it to be so, nor do I believe it to be so. One gentleman has told us that sailing down the Ohio, a blind man could tell you upon which side was the smiling face of freedom and on which the barren waste of slavery.

Some time ago I had prepared some tables from the census of 1860, and from these tables, I think, I can show the Convention that the prosperity of the slave States is greater than that of the free States.

The population of the free States, by the census of 1860 appears to be 19,201,546.

Slave States, free,	8,290,000
Slave States, slaves,	3,950,000
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	12,240,000

Valuation of real and personal property, 1860.

Free States,.....	\$9,325,945,000
Slave States,.....	6,893,671,000

Wealth per capita of free population—

Free States,.....	\$485.50 (about.)
Slave States,.....	824.93 "

Wealth per capita of entire population—

Free States,.....	\$485.50
Slave States,.....	558.40

But deducting from the wealth of the South the value of the slaves, 1,185 millions—estimating them at \$300 per head; (which is higher than their assessed value for purposes of taxation;) and then rating the slaves with the free population, and we have per capita,

Free States,.....	\$485.50
Slave States,.....	461.50

Let us now make a comparison between some of the individual States.

1. The two Western border States, Ohio and Kentucky—

Ohio, per capita,.....	\$510 00
Kentucky, free population,.....	725 00
Kentucky, free and slave.....	576 00

2. The two Eastern border States, Pennsylvania and Virginia—

Pennsylvania, per capita,.....	\$487 00
Virginia, free population,.....	661 00
Virginia, free and slave,.....	496 00

3. The two States where the products of the forest form the leading feature—

Maine, per capita,.....	\$303 00
North Carolina, free,.....	568 00
North Carolina, free and slave,	361 00

4. The two States having the largest shipping ports—

New York, per capita,.....	\$474 00
Louisiana, free,.....	1,683 00
Louisiana, free and slave,.....	850 00

5. The two largest manufacturing States—

Massachusetts, per capita,.....	\$662 00
Georgia, free,.....	1,001 00
Georgia, free and slave,.....	610 00

6. The two States purely agricultural—

Indiana, per capita,.....	\$391 00
Mississippi, free,.....	1,716 00
Mississippi, free and slave,.....	767 00

It is observable in an examination of the census, that wealth is more diffused and equalized in the South than in the North. Whilst there are but few of the colossal fortunes, such as have been realized in the North from commerce and manufactures, there is comparatively but little pauperism in the South, thus the number of paupers in Maine and Massachusetts is equal to the entire number in the fifteen slave States.

When, therefore, gentlemen tell me of the greater prosperity of the North, of their thriving villages and prosperous communities, and I answer that their assertions are not sustained by the census, are not borne out by facts, because, the census, the official authority, shows it is not so. The gentlemen who have preceded me have gone into an investigation as to the quantum of crime, pauperism, immorality, vice and all those other moral evils that usually afflict the human family, with a view of proving that in a slaveholding community they exist in a greater degree than in free communities. And the gentleman who preceded me (Mr. Daniel) read a report with regard to the islands of the West Indies. I might safely leave the argument upon this branch of the subject to the very able argument of my friend and colleague (Mr. Jones) who spoke yesterday. But let us for a moment glance at the review of San Domingo as given by the English historian Alison. "The following table contains the comparative wealth, produce and trade of San Domingo before 1789, and in 1832 after forty years of nominal freedom."

	1789	1832
Population.....	600,000	280,000
Sugar exported....	872,000,000 lbs.	None.
Coffee " " "	86,789,000 "	32,000,000
Ships employed....	1,680	1
Sailors.....	27,000	167
Exports to France..	£6,720,000	None.
Imports.....	£9,890,000	None.