

exist as a question of *property*, if not as a *very valuable* species of property. The slaveholders have rights, rights of property recognized by the Constitution of the United States, by the Constitution and laws of the State, and rights which, while they may be torn from them, I hope they will never, by their assent yield except upon terms honorable to themselves and consistent with their dignity as free American citizens. They cannot be deprived of these rights of property *without compensation*, except in violation of all those principles which are the *basis or foundation* of right of property in *lands, merchandise and securities, public and private*.

The first and fundamental principle therefore, Mr. President, in dealing with this question, is the recognition of the fact that the master has a *property* not in the *soul* of his slave, for this is *immortal and spiritual*—not as property in *man*, but in the right to the labor of his slave—just as the northern man who holds an apprentice has property in the labor of his apprentice for so many years, five, ten, twenty, or all the days of his life, the principle in both cases being the same. I will not insult the intelligence of this Convention by arguing a question so universally admitted until now. This right was recognized by the *common law of England* to which the citizens of this State are entitled, by the Constitution of the United States, by the laws of Congress, by decisions of the Supreme Court, by treaties, (one of which secured from Great Britain compensation to our citizens for the loss of their slaves during the war of 1812,) and by the executive branch of the Government even as administered by Mr. Lincoln. In confirmation of this I refer to his messages of December 1, 1862, of March 6, 1862, and of December, 1863. In his annual message of December 1, 1862, Mr. Lincoln says: "In a certain sense the liberation of slaves is the destruction of *property*—property acquired by descent, or by purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object this

property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge?"

This is the language of the standard-bearer of the Republican party, of a man indorsed by the party, and although gentlemen may stand up here and claim to be his supporters and deny that the slaveholder can have property in his slave, the *people* by re-nominating him have expressed a different verdict. I take the opinions of the fathers of the Republic, and of the President indorsed *by the people*, and put them against such opinions as have been announced upon this floor by mere *fledgelings* in the knowledge of constitutional principles and legal propositions. This right is further recognized as inviolable by the present Constitution, and is maintained by the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the State Government in every possible form—in the adjudication of the rights of widows, minors, and creditors, and the division of estates and settlement of legal controversies. This property was worth, in 1860, over \$85,000,000, as shown by the accompanying table, which is an under estimate of its value.

VALUE OF SLAVE PROPERTY IN MARYLAND IN 1860.

The compendium of the census for 1860 does not give the ages of the slave population, but merely the aggregate number and sex, viz:

Males ..... 44,818  
Females ..... 42,876

87,180

The aggregate for 1850 gives the number at 90,868, and classifies the ages as well as the sex; the returns for 1860 show a decrease in ten years of 3½ per cent.

In order, therefore, to arrive at the value of the slaves for 1860, it is only necessary to take the classification of ages in 1850, with a reduction of 3½ per cent. The estimate of value is based on what it was generally recognized to have been five years ago:

	Male	Female	No.	Estimate.	Total
Under 1 year	1,243	1,203	2,446	\$25	\$61,150
1 to 5 "	5,961	5,931	11,892	50	594,600
5 to 10 "	5,902	6,712	12,614	150	1,042,100
10 to 15 "	5,963	6,400	12,363	300	4,008,900
15 to 20 "	5,648	5,446	11,094	600	6,665,400
20 to 30 "	8,092	7,443	15,535	800	12,428,300
30 to 40 "	4,289	4,500	8,789	800	7,15,200
40 to 50 "	2,953	2,931	5,884	500	2,942,000
50 to 60 "	1,928	1,850	3,778	200	1,755,200
Over 60 "	1,992	1,983	3,975	.....	.....
					\$6,612,550
				Deduct 3½ per cent.....	1,281,429
					\$5,331,121