

ago? To attempt it would require a police in the nature of a standing army.

And away with the despicable trash of maintaining the idea in violation of all the instincts of human nature, that these people will not work when they can and cannot work when they will. This class has arrayed itself upon the battle-field to the number of 100,000 men. They have many of them left comfortable homes for the purpose of asserting and gaining their liberty. Such an absurdity never entered the brain of man, as the supposition that having shown that determination, having waited with so much patience before taking any action upon their own part, but now, whenever the flag of the United States waves, obeying the signal to them to follow over every obstacle, every degree of pain and suffering, they can be refused the rights of freemen and brought back to their former condition.

What is the reason these poor degraded people have left their homes? It is because they desired to flee from slavery. Do you suppose that a negro ever ran away from the place where he was born for any other reason? Any man who can give any other reason than that they fled from slavery, must apply a process of reasoning to which I am a stranger. Are we then to frame a new Constitution, and let this institution go on in the condition in which we find it to-day?

Gentlemen say they do not want immigration; that the system of free labor is no more productive than the system of slave labor; and they talk about there being slaves in Europe, and a system of white labor of the poorer classes which is another species of servitude. Do they know that remarks of that kind are as much a reflection upon my constituency as upon the men of New England and New York? Do gentlemen pretend to say that the operatives in manufactories, the workmen in workshops, mechanics, agriculturists, and day laborers, are upon a political, moral, or any other kind of equality with slaves? I represent here a large class of men who own no property, except the furniture in their houses, and yet who in manly uprightness stand before God, as men and citizens, as high as anybody in the limits of the State, who have families around them, whom they support by honest labor, but who are not taxable men. They are men who are compelled to work for their support; and yet they are as far removed from the condition of negro slaves as the kings of the earth are removed from their people in political position.

If we get rid of this institution, why should we not take the place of other States where free labor exists? I should like to have gentleman point to any reason why this State may not maintain the position of Pennsylvania. Why is it that the position of Pennsylvania is better than the position of Maryland? I do not believe that the hospitality

or cultivation of gentlemen owning large tracts of land is any higher than that of those owning smaller tracts of land. I do not believe that condition which prevents the growth of towns, prevents the care of roads, which prevents the distribution of all that kind of wealth which divides while it multiplies, is better than the system of free labor in the Northern States.

What is the natural effect of slave labor, as shown by its past history, and what must be its effect now? What has prevented immigration into this State? And what has driven young men out of the State? Is it not simply the reason that in a slaveholding community there is no way in which a young man raised without property can live. A father who in a slaveholding country provides his son with an education, but has no land to bestow upon him, makes it necessary that he should go to some Northern State to obtain his subsistence. The necessary result is that the State of Maryland is sending her population into the Western country or to the North, simply because of this fact.

Every one knows that the value of real estate in the slaveholding parts of Maryland, is decreasing not increasing. Property in fine locations, and cultivated estates are depreciating. Instead of there being more houses, they are becoming less. Instead of the farms being divided into homesteads, every census return shows that the number of homesteads in those parts of Maryland is decreasing. They must decrease, because slavery requires it. If a man has to buy his labor, he must not only have a capital to buy his land but also to buy the labor; and the consequent tendency is in a slaveholding community to have the land held in few hands. It is a system which produces towns sometimes, but not cities. It is a system which prevents education; for the few who will give education to the many; when the many have no power to assert their rights. What is the reason that counties so ably represented upon this floor stand in some respects where they stood fifty years ago? What is the reason that St. Mary's to-day is not equal to what it was in 1790? Can any man say that the soil is cursed in any other respect or by anything else? Has anything but the system of slave labor produced these results?

There can be no building of villages or towns to any considerable extent, no development of tracts, where one man controls and provides for five hundred people; when he buys everything for them, and distributes it to them. But when those five hundred people feed themselves, and clothe themselves, and are forced to buy for themselves, villages necessarily grow up to supply them. Under no system where one man provides for numerous laborers, can there be villages growing up, as when they provide for themselves. When we see that the institution produces