

ferred upon them? You make them an excluded class when your basis of representation comes to be considered.

According to the language of the gentleman from Cecil (Mr. Pugh), they are to be set free among their enemies. If that be true, where is the sympathy and the feeling for them, and the protection for them which their friends, the majority of this convention, have manifested? They are to be set free among their enemies: among those who will oppress them, who will not care for them! Then what is to become of the helpless, the aged, the poor, the weak, the hungry and starving, the houseless and homeless—what is to become of them? A proposition was made here in the spirit of humanity that provision should be made out of the State treasury for their comfortable maintenance and support; but it was voted down. Who are their friends, then? What is the friendship manifested for them by those who have contented themselves with severing the relation of master and slave, taking them away from their natural protectors, those whom Providence has hitherto assigned to them? They are taken under your protection, and the protection you extend to them is permission to die of starvation, of cold and hunger. And that is the liberty extended to them throughout the whole of this mad scheme of emancipation which has been inaugurated by the administration, which has been forced unwillingly upon Mr. Lincoln by the clamor of the demon abolition of the north. I regret, with all my heart, that he had not the firmness to adhere to his own good sense as manifested in his repeated refusals to recognize that policy. And when finally he was driven to it by what he says was the inevitable necessity of his position, he said—“I trust in God, I have not made a mistake.” You could see the misgivings with which he was forced into it by this mad spirit of abolitionism.

And what has been the result of that policy? You can see it in the accounts written from the camps, from the whole region of the Mississippi, in which it is stated that the negroes are forced to live in a few log huts, not a sufficient shelter to keep out the rain; nothing in the world to protect them, dying by hundreds around Vicksburg after the federal control was extended over it; dying of all sorts of diseases and of starvation, for it was impossible to feed so many.

Well, these people are here in our State, and they are not to be represented in any shape, manner, or form. They are to be left to their “enemies!” Their “enemies!” will take care of them as far as they are able, if they conduct themselves with any sort of propriety, if they show any sort of disposition to labor, as I trust they will. Those who have been brought up to habits of labor will not, I trust, so readily fall into habits of

idleness, especially if they are not in the neighborhood of grog-shops and other places of temptation. But I fear that thousands of them will fall into this temptation and become a burden to society.

Sir, Ohio early protected herself by passing a law that every free negro who entered her State should give bond and security that he would not become a burden on the State, and hence those who could not give this bond and security had to leave her borders. Indiana and Illinois had to adopt a similar policy, so that they are not burdened with this population. We will have to keep them and take care of them. They will keep white labor out; they will keep down our white population.

And the result of it will be that the smaller counties which have interests to protect, and whose interests are not identical with those of the great city of Baltimore; but which have contributed to build up and enrich Baltimore in all her magnificence, splendor, wealth and power—these counties will be stripped of their political influence, and their power to protect themselves, and be bound hand and foot. This is the very last opportunity they will ever have to protect themselves: They lost largely in the last convention; their influence was then shorn down to a very small comparative amount.

Sir, I not only have no desire that the city of Baltimore should not, in the councils of the State, have her full influence, such as in a well regulated community a very large city ought to have in the legislature of the State. I rejoice in her numbers, in her wealth, as much as any can. When I represented in the legislature the county I now represent here, one of the small counties in no way whatever to be benefitted by the great works of internal improvement, it was my pleasure to advocate upon this floor those great works, and to give Baltimore city the aid of my voice and my vote for the appropriations necessary to build them. They have enriched her. And she has been enriched by every production of our counties; our tobacco, wheat, corn, all the products of the western shore have gone to enrich her. Oats, corn, wheat, wood, lumber, all the products of the eastern shore have gone to enrich her. Her merchants have had our exclusive trade. And when the time comes that we shall be shorn of our power to protect ourselves, what will be the result? Self-interest governs communities, as well as and even more intensely than individuals. You may talk as you please about the sentiment of patriotism, and liberality, and principle and all that sort of thing; of justice, moderation, prudence, and all the virtues that may be appealed to in the affairs of government and of communities. But I have never known it to fail that, when masses of men get together, their self-interest, heedless of their views as