

at all. I have this conviction, that when it was permitted that from the Supreme tribunal of the United States should come a doctrine so horrible as this; that the negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, it was then predetermined that there should be war and calamity upon this nation.

Mr. BRISCOE (interposing.) Will the gentleman tell me when the Supreme Court ever made such a decision?

Mr. SANDS. They came very near it in the Dred Scott case.

Mr. BRISCOE. It is not there. The Abolitionists of Massachusetts put that in.

Mr. SANDS resumed. The assertion that the negroes have no rights in Massachusetts is met by the fact that they vote there, and do other things which I do not intend they shall do here. That is not the Massachusetts estimation of the negro. I am sorry in all cases to see the unwillingness to acknowledge the humanity of the negro. My view is this on the subject of the separation of the races, a subject I have considered to my entire satisfaction. I believe if there ever comes about what I long for and pray for, a complete separation of the races, it is to come from emancipation and from colonization. Free them; give them equal human rights, the rights of husband and wife and parent. Give the negro the rights of a man, of a husband and father. Give him the right to labor and to receive an equivalent for that labor. Give him the right to educate himself, if he can, and his children. Bring him to the point where he will desire to take a part in the civil government of the land, and let him know that he can never do so; you will then have brought him to the point where the emigration of this race will begin in a perfect flood-tide. When he has become sufficiently educated to desire a voice in the government, and finds that here he can never be received as the equal of the white man, it is then that he will seek for himself a new country.

This is the history of colonization everywhere. Look back over the history of the human race. Who have been the colonists in all time? They have been men cut off from the exercise of the political rights which they coveted at home. Whether white or black, that is their history. Now that we, the white men of the United States, have brought matters to the pass at which they stand to-day, in my humble judgment it does not become us to say that we dread the poor powerless negro. We must educate him for colonization. Then how is that colonization to be brought about? Who will furnish the ships to carry the negro to a distant land, or the means to establish himself there, unless you allow him to work for the means to carry him there? He must colonize himself. Yet he cannot find a foot of soil on which his own feet can rest. Are we to colonize to-day

the thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, turned loose by the chances of war? How are they to get to another land? How are they to acquire the means to carry them there? I trow not, from the complexion of the views urged upon us here. I only ask that we shall give them a chance, give them time and opportunity to earn the means to carry themselves and their families there. When they have reached that position that they will desire to take part in the civil government of the land in which they live; when they find that the white man will never admit them to a share in the government here; and when they have had time to earn the means of going elsewhere; when you have excited in the negro the ambition of being a ruler, then, I say, is the time that the emigration of this race will commence in flood-tide.

As to the reference of this order I shall not object to it, for I will not object to the reference of any order. But I could not let the occasion pass without putting on record my humble views in regard to our duty as a State, upon this subject.

Mr. CLARKE. I will merely say that when I offered the order I hoped it would go to the committee without one word being said upon this occasion. But the gentleman from Howard (Mr. Sands) reminds me of a young colt the first time he is put in the harness. A simple order cannot be offered without the gentleman's taking occasion to give us the information that he has formed all his opinions upon all these questions, and is very anxious to place himself on the record. I have no objection to it whatever. But I must say that I came here to be instructed by consultation, and to consider all these questions gravely and calmly.

I do not propose to follow the gentleman either into his argument in reference to what produced this war, or in regard to anything in connection with war or slavery. I wish simply to bring the Convention down to the simple proposition embraced in this order. And when the time arrives for the consideration of that subject, the gentleman will find those that have brought it up for discussion as willing and as free to extend a helping hand to the negro as to the white man. When the gentleman attempts to measure with me, action according to the principles of humanity and charity, I shall not yield in any respect, upon any ground of action which is dictated by those high principles.

What does the proposition I have offered embrace? Turning all the negroes who are in the State out of it? No, sir. It says that no free negro or mulatto shall come from outside of the State of Maryland into the State to reside in the State. Does it touch one who is here now? Not at all, sir. It then goes on to provide penalties for those who may employ such as come here from outside of the State into the State. And in re-