

over 2,339,511. Yet no man can deny that all the advantages were in favor of Virginia. I challenge any man to come forward upon this floor, and prove to the contrary. Virginia had, in the first place, the finest harbor on the continent, magnificent lands, every variety of land, unbounded mineral resources, and greater than all, she had the wise men of the nation. She has been justly called the mother of States and statesmen. She had all the wisdom of most of the fathers of our country. Yet, in spite of all her advantages, where was she before this war broke out? She had not in all her borders a single town that was fit to be called a city. With one of the finest harbors for commercial purposes in the world, with 15,000 square miles of coal fields, and iron without limit, with the advantages of a climate far superior, and with able men to steer her fairly and keep her properly guided in the race, she has not today within her limits a solitary city worth calling a city. Richmond, in 1860, had a population of 37,910, while Cincinnati had a population of 161,044. You could almost lose Richmond in the city of Cincinnati. I ask reasonable men, what is the cause of this difference? I challenge them to show that it is anything else than slavery—all the conditions, excepting that one alone, being in favor of Virginia over Ohio. I need make no further comparisons whatever. In defence of the system it is claimed, first, that there is no other way of making the negro population available. The expression that free negroes will not work is used on every hand. Many men who otherwise would have no objection to freeing them have heard this statement so often repeated that they believe it, and are staggered by it. Is it true? Is there anything in their nature to justify it? and do the facts sustain it? I believe not! The chief end of man, black or white, is to secure his own happiness, and the best expression of temporal happiness is to be found in its social development. In my judgment there is no race or caste of men who are as capable of, and appreciate as fully, the enjoyment of social intercourse as the negro race. See them at camp-meeting or any other meeting in which the law allows them to assemble; they find some opportunities for social enjoyment even in slavery, and the gloom of their dark prison-house is relieved by the flashes of their occasional joy, their laughter in tears; now given a strong tendency to social enjoyment; what necessarily follows but a desire to secure the means for that enjoyment? Then they have the same rivalries, the same fondness for display, for dress, in shirt for success; there is but one road to success; it leads through labor. No man can show, or has shown here or anywhere, that the negro race as a race are so deficient by nature in those natural attributes which induce men to labor as to justify the wholesale

statement that they will not work unless driven by the lash. It is the slaveholders' plea for brutality, and is unworthy of a free man.

Do the facts justify the statement? There is a great difference in men of all races in respect to work, so it is true many negroes are lazy and avoid work as much as possible, but I need no other evidence than my own eyesight to convince me that they work better when free than they do as slaves, as I have seen both classes at work, and being a workingman myself, have long since decided that as a mere matter of fact the free blacks at work as contrasted with slaves at work furnish another evidence of the truth that the greatest inducement to toil, and the only relief to the heavy burdens of life, is the reflection that thereby we secure our own happiness and that of those around us; and fulfil to that extent the destiny for which we were created.

Again, what are the facts in those countries where slaves have been freed? They tried an apprentice system in the West Indies after slavery was abolished, and abandoned it because the free labor system was preferable. How is it in our State where some of the negroes who work are free?

(The hour having expired, the hammer fell.)

On motion of Mr. BARR, of Prince George's, The speaker was allowed to conclude his remarks. Mr. PUGH proceeded. The second point urged by slaveholders is this, that the labor of free negroes will come in competition with white labor. It has always occurred to me that this cry was raised simply for the purpose of political effect. The wonderful fund of political power which has always been held and mercilessly wielded by this institution is not yet exhausted, though this is probably its last draft upon the popular credulity, its last appeal to the basest prejudices of our nature. Let me assure the gentlemen it will fail, utterly fail! I know some white men who could be insulted by such a suggestion; others, wiser ones, in my judgment will only smile at, or pity the folly that prompts it, recognizing therein the last evidence of the fallen majesty of the patriarchal institution. Mr. Stuart, at Richmond in 1861, is the authority given with considerable parade. Mr. Stuart, at Richmond in 1861, is poor authority for this body.

Mr. EDLER explained that he said Mr. Stuart's speech was delivered at Richmond in '59. Mr. PUGH: Well, then, Mr. Stuart at Richmond in 1859, developed into the traitor of 1861, is poor authority for this body. What else but heresy could be expected from a heretic? What can a man who sustains this infernal rebellion be supposed to know touching the rights of white people? What patriot in the prospect of his country's ruin seeks coun-