

slavery in Maryland in a totally different light from what I regard slavery in those semi-barbarous countries, where they exist in such large numbers; and where the opportunities of civilization and christianity have not been enjoyed to the same extent that they have been, and will continue to be, in the State of Maryland. Instead of the negroes becoming worthless and degraded, and vagabonds, I anticipate that they will remain with their kind and benevolent masters, those who have protected them through life, and under whose guidance and protection they will still be willing to remain and labor. Gentlemen ask with a sort of an air of false philanthropy—what is to become of the young children and the poor old men and women? Are they to be turned out upon the cold charities of the world to get a living the best way they can? Now, I venture to say, when emancipation occurs in Maryland, if it ever does occur, and as I believe it surely will, when this Constitution is presented to the people for ratification—that the old servants will still remain with their former masters; that the young negroes, that are now about your farm yards, your houses, and in your cities and towns, will still remain with their masters provided they are willing to let them remain upon the condition of receiving a humble and moderate pittance as some return for the labor they may perform for their masters. It will not, in my estimation, dissolve the correlative duty that now exists on the part of the master to the slave. It is true it will dissolve the legal relation. But who is there who has enjoyed the labor and services of an old confidential slave, from the time when his labor was valuable up to this day, who would be willing to turn him out, as he would an old horse on the common, to get through the rest of his life as he best could? No, sir, our instincts are better than that. No such passions, no such opinions, no such emotions will control us. But on the contrary, we would still guard and protect them as we did when they were our slaves.

As a matter of course it will increase the obligation of the slave to be obedient and faithful, knowing that the relation of master and slave is dissolved; knowing that there is no longer the legal duty imposed upon the master to protect, and clothe, and feed, and care for him. He will then have nothing to depend upon except his own good conduct, and that will be a sufficient incentive to fidelity and good behavior. And the same rule will apply to the able-bodied among them. Instead of going abroad and serving up for themselves, they will remain with their masters and continue to labor, though perhaps in a somewhat different attitude from that in which they had been wont to do in former days; will receive perhaps, at least bread, meat, clothing, and protection, if nothing more. That will be the result, in my opinion.

Then if it is necessary to control by stringent laws this race which is about to be let loose in our State, let the legislature pass such laws as may be necessary to confine them within proper limits. I think there is already enough legislation upon the state's book in relation to free negroes. But if it is necessary to bind the cord still tighter, let the legislature at its next session, or at any subsequent session, inaugurate such laws as will more effectually guard against the results contemplated and anticipated by those who are opposing this emancipation scheme. It will place that whole class of our population upon a different basis. They will no longer be governed by the eye of their master, not caring whether they render a return for his kindness and care and protection. But when that relation is dissolved, and when they find they have nothing to depend upon except their own good conduct, and their own fidelity, their actions will be controlled by different influences and different impulses. They will then know, and perhaps for the first time in their existence, will experience and appreciate the reality of self-reliance and the necessity for future probity and fidelity in the new sphere of life upon which they are about to embark, and for the success of which they must mainly depend for their maintenance and support; and by that principle they will be guided and governed in their intercourse with the whites, who they will ever regard as their superiors and benefactors.

I think that with reference to the subordination of this particular race, they are about the same everywhere. I have grown up with the institution in the State of Maryland. I have witnessed its operations, and had some experience of it in the Southern States for a period of fourteen or fifteen years; I have watched its operations there. I have seen it in South America, in Brazil, in Rio Janeiro, and I have seen but little difference in them any where, so far as regards their peculiar characteristics. I have no doubt therefore that the best results can be attained by the adoption of a prompt, firm and humane system of police in the State of Maryland. The same result was my experience in Mississippi, as in Rio Janeiro, where there is a mixed population of free and slave. In Brazil I have seen slavery in all its primitiveness. I have seen there the native African with the tattooed brand upon his cheek, fresh from the sandy wilds of Africa. I have seen the semi-Portuguese among them. I have seen the race in its purity, and in a mixed state, and their instincts seem to be everywhere the same. They can ever be controlled, not by harsh and violent measures, but by a mild and firm discipline. In the city of Rio Janeiro I have seen a long train of freemen and slaves, arrayed together indiscriminately in the evening, counting their "dumps and vinctons."