we advise that they shall be required to leave the State if they wish to retain their freedom, and that laws be passed to allow them to enslave themselves voluntarily to our citizens, and that failing to leave the State or go into slavery within the time limited, they and their posterity be sold slaves for life to our citizens.

Resolved, That all bound or apprenticed free negroes, or slaves held to service for a term only, be placed under the same restrictions and subject to the same laws as are indicated by the preceding resolution, when their several terms of service shall have expired.

Resolved, That the Legislature be also requested to inaugurate an efficient black police system throughout the State, whose duties shall extend to all classes of negroes, slaves as well as free, till the latter become extinct in the State.

Resolved, That in adopting the foregoing resolutions a prudent discrimination should be made in the case of meritorious and aged free negroes.

Under a firm conviction that the interest of Maryland, in every aspect in which they may be viewed, sanctions the adoption of this report, I shall give to it my earnest and conscientious support.

If there is one gentleman on this floor, or within the limits of Maryland, who claims to be the negro's friend, I think I have a right to that appellation. My earliest recollections, and, indeed, my entire life, have been intimately associated with the negro; and their character, moral, mental and physical, has been to me a subject of deep and profound research. This interest in the negro has been increased of late years, since a modern school of philosophers, under the name of Abolitionists, has sprung up in our Northern States, who claim for the negro equality with the white population in all the civil, social and political relations of life. It is remarkable the negro never made this discovery for himself, ground down and oppressed as he is said to be for the last three centuries in this country. It is remarkable this fact was not known to our patriotic ancestors, or to the Christian Church, until within a quarter of a century past; and it is still more remarkable that the teachers of this philosophy do not practice it themselves, and have only partially succeeded in Massachusetts with weak, deluded women, where some two or three hundred of such silly creatures have recently amalgamated with negro fellows to generate a race of mulattoes.

However ridiculous this idea of negro equality may be in the eyes of the civilized world—for in Europe, Asia, Africa and throughout North America, except in the New England States, Central America and Mexico, and some of the West India Islands, no such pretensions have ever been set up for the negro,—I say however absurd this claim may be, we, the people of the South, have no right to meddle with it, so long as those philosophers confine their teachings and practices to their own people and seek not to force them upon us. Under our free institutions, though a man has no moral right to divest himself of reason and become a crazy fanatic, yet he has the legal right to effect his own destruction in his own way, provided he does not injure others.

In the North the question of negro equality is nothing more than an impracticable theory, for the free negro population is only about 5 to every 436 whites in some of those States, while in the South the white and negro population is nearly equal in many of the States. In Maryland we have one free negro to every five of our white population throughout the State, and in the small county of Caroline there are more free negroes than in the State of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont unitedly. Those three last-named States have a white population of 1,212,671, and only 2,594 free negroes, while Caroline county, the smallest in our State, has but 6,996 white population, and 2,788 free negroes. Now this report proposes, not to banish, not to force our free negroes to leave us, but it fixes limits and lays down conditions upon which alone they can remain here. And in the event our ninety thousand free negroes should leave us, I trust they will find a hearty and kind reception with those in the North who possess so much love for them. If those free negroes prefer to stay here and acquire the rights and protection of slaves, they shall choose their own masters within a time limited, and failing to select for themselves they shall be sold to our own citizens by proper officers—slaves for life. There is no other way to manage this question, to my mind, so full of justice to our white population and so full of humanity to those free negroes.

There is a fine opportunity for those abolition philosophers to practice what they preach, and reach out the helping hand to our 90,000 free negroes, and provide them with homes, with clothing, and provisions, and fuel, and white wives, and citizenship, and all the concomitant blessings set forth in their creed. Will they do it? Consistency demands it. Will our free negroes give them a trial? That is another point, but judging from the past history of free negroism in Maryland, we doubt it; indeed if they are prudent and prefer not to be exterminated, it is the last thing they will do. But are the Northern States likely to permit our free negroes to settle amongst them? We think not—the indications are that, so soon as we give the principles of this report legislative vitality, the Northern States will pass laws to prohibit our free negroes going there. During the last session of the legislature of Pennsylvania, numbers of petitions were sent to that body, praying for the passage of a law to forbid free negroes going into that State.

In New York, in July last, a Convention was held to persuade the free negroes there to leave them—if this fails, the next thing will be to drive them. This Convention was held—"to consider the propriety of migrating to some region where they can enjoy more privileges than are accorded to them in the free States!" Addresses were made by Rev. W. Holley, of New Haven, Connecticut, in favor of Hayti, as a desirable country. T. M. Chester presented the advantages of Liberia; Rev. H. M. Wilson, Rev. M. A. Thompson and others spoke. A Committee of three was appointed with power to investigate the subject and call further meetings. Rev. H. H. Garnett was present; and a letter from Rev. Theodore Bourn, of the Compensation Emancipation Society, "warmly approved the project."

I give these facts to show the hostility of the white population of the North to their free negroes, notwithstanding their loud and hypocritical professions of regard for them. Those negroes will soon be elbowed out of New York, the work is begun and will steadily progress till consummated.

In Vermont a similar feeling of hostility to the free negro is developing itself. Vermont has but 718 of those precious colored fellow citizens—all told—not a drop in the bucket. And yet the Vermont Patriot, speaking the sentiments of their people on this subject, says: "What is to be done with this class of our population, is the point to which the attention of philanthropists and statesmen should be directed. The entering wedge to all action, is the inauguration of some system by which a certain stop will be put to the illegal introduction of colored persons into the free States. In other words, a log must be laid across the track of the underground railroad. This would prevent a large yearly increase of that class of population, which is hanging like a millstone around the neck

Maryland Historical Society

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