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VOL. 5.

DEN TON, MD., THURSDAY,

AUG, 25, 1864.

NO. 21



DYSPEPSIA, AND DISEASES RESULTING FROM DISORDERS OF THE LIVER AND DIGESTIVE ORGANS, ARE CURED BY HOOFLAND'S GERMAN BITTERS, THE GREAT STRENGTHENING TONIC.

THESE Bitters have performed more Cures; have done more to give better satisfaction; have more testimony; have more respectable people to vouch for them than any other article in the market. We defy any one to contradict this assertion, and will produce a certificate published by us, that is not genuine. Hoofland's German Bitters will cure every case of Chronic or Nervous Debility, Diseases of the Kidney, and Diseases arising from a disordered Stomach.

OBSERVE THE FOLLOWING SYMPTOMS:
Resulting from Disorders of the Digestive Organs:

Constipation, Inward Piles, Fullness of Blood to the Head, Acidity of the Stomach, Nausea, Heartburn, Digest for Food, Paleness or Weight in the Stomach, Sour Eructations, Sinking or Fluttering at the Pit of the Stomach, Swelling of the Head, Headache, and difficult breathing, Flattering at the Heart, Choking or Suffocating Sensations when in a lying Posture, Pinness of Vision, Dots or Webs before the Sight, Fever and Dull Pain in the Head, Deficiency of Perspiration, Yellowness of the Skin and Eyes, Pain in the Side, Back, Chest, Limbs, &c. Sudden Flashes of Light, Farming the Fish, Constant Imaginations of Evil, and great Depression of Spirits.

REMEMBER,
THAT THIS BITTERS IS
NOT ALCOHOLIC,
CONTAINS NO RUM OR WHISKEY,
AND CAN'T MAKE DRUNKARDS,
BUT
IS THE BEST TONIC
In the World.

READ WHO SAYS SO:

From the Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Philadelphia, formerly of the North Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

I have known Hoofland's German Bitters for many years. I have used them in my own family, and have been so pleased with their effects that I was induced to recommend them to many others, and know that they have effected in a strikingly beneficial manner. I take great pleasure in thus publicly proclaiming this fact, and calling the attention of those afflicted with the diseases for which they are recommended, to these Bitters. I know from experience that my recommendation will be sustained. I do this more cheerfully as Hoofland's Bitters is intended to benefit the afflicted, and is not a rum or whiskey.

Yours truly,
LEVI G. BECK.

From Rev. J. Newton Brown, D. D., Editor of the Encyclopedia of Religion, Knowledge, and Christian Chronology, Philadelphia.

Although not disposed to favor or recommend Patent Medicines in general, through distrust of their ingredients and effects, I yet know of no sufficient reason why a man may not testify to the benefits he believes himself to have received from any simple preparation, in the hope that he may thus contribute to the benefit of others.

I do this the more readily in regard to Hoofland's German Bitters, prepared by Dr. C. M. Jackson, of this city, because I was prejudiced against them for many years, under the impression that they were chiefly an alcoholic mixture. I am indebted to my friend, Robert Shoemaker, Esq., for the removal of this prejudice by proper tests, and for encouragement to try them when suffering from great and long continued debility. The use of three bottles of these Bitters at the beginning of the present year, was followed by evident relief and restoration to a degree of bodily and mental vigor which I had not felt for six months before, and had almost despaired of regaining. I therefore thank God and my friend for directing me to the use of them.

From Rev. Warren Randolph, Pastor of Baptist Church, Germantown, Pa.

Dr. C. M. Jackson—Dear Sir:—Personal experience enables me to say that I regard the German Bitters prepared by you as most excellent medicine. In cases of severe cold and general debility I have been greatly benefited by the use of the Bitters, and doubt not they will produce similar effects on others.

Yours truly,
WARREN RANDOLPH,
Germantown, Pa.

From Rev. J. H. Turner, Pastor of Holding M. Church, Philad.

Dr. Jackson—Dear Sir:—Having used your German Bitters in my family frequently I am prepared to say that it has been of great service. I believe that in most cases of general debility of the system it is the safest and most valuable remedy of which we have any knowledge.

Yours respectfully,
J. H. TURNER,
No. 726 N. Nineteenth St.

PRICES.

Large Size (holding nearly double quantity) \$1.00 per Bottle—half doz. \$5.00
Small Size; 75 cts. per Bottle—half doz. \$4.00

Beware of Counterfeits!

See that the signature of "C. M. JACKSON" is on the WRAPPER of each bottle.

Should your nearest druggist not have the article, do not be put off by any of the intoxicating preparations that may be offered in its place, but send to us, and we will forward, securely packed, by express.

Principal Office and Manufactory,
No. 631 Arch Street,
JONES & EVANS,
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For Sale by Druggists and Dealers in every town in the United States.

SPEECH OF R. W. TODD, OF CAROLINE COUNTY, IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ON 23d ART. BILL OF RIGHTS.

"Hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor, as slaves, are hereby declared free."

I have no disposition whatever to prolong this debate, or to put off action upon the article now under consideration. And if I were satisfied that it is the desire of this House to discontinue the debate immediately, it would be highly gratifying to me, and I should deem it a privilege to give my vote now without any further consideration of this article. I am not willing to be responsible for the continuance of this debate. And if it is the sense of this House, and it can be expressed to me in any way, that we should take the vote without any further discussion, I am willing and anxious to forego any desire I may have entertained to offer any remarks upon this subject.

Mr. Berry, of Prince George's. I will state that this is a very important subject and I know that there are a number of members of this Convention who desire to be heard upon it. We want to have a full and free discussion of the subject, and would like to hear the gentleman from Caroline (Mr. Todd) or any other gentleman who may desire to speak; we will listen to him as long as he may please to address this House upon this subject.

Mr. Todd. Then, as there seems to be an indication that this discussion must be prolonged, I will proceed.

Mr. President, I have taken but a small portion of the time of this Convention, and shall therefore hope for a kind indulgence and a charitable hearing from most of its members. I have already received a token of what I may expect from certain gentlemen, and I rise to-day under the embarrassing impression that I shall be called to the confessional, as on a previous occasion, to answer any personal interrogatories in relation to my private life.

That may be suggested by personal ignominy, or prompted by a warm and characteristic Southern chivalry. Sir, I wish to give notice in the beginning that, as on a former occasion, I shall not stoop to answer personalities; but if gentlemen curious on the subject will call on me privately, it will afford me pleasure to give them an autobiographical sketch of my life, and how I came to be in this Convention.

I have arisen, Mr. President, to present some of the reasons that will influence my vote upon the article, the consideration of which is now pending. And first of all permit me to define my views of slavery. They are not of the extreme character. I cannot agree either with those who contend that slavery is necessary, under all circumstances, sinful—or with those on the other extreme, who claim for it divine authority, and demand of the civilization and the age, its universal recognition.

Sir, were I to contend that slaveholding is, *per se*, morally wrong, I should place myself in opposition to my own convictions, which are the growth of my own observation and experience, and in opposition also to the teachings of that large and influential branch of the Christian church of which I am happy to be a member, which, while it is in its church discipline from its first organization in this country, almost a century gone by, steadily pronounced the question—"what shall be done for the extirpation of the great evil of slavery?" has, at the same time, through all that period, opened its doors of communion to both the master and the slave.

I wish further to qualify what I may have to say on this question, by the assertion that I feel favorable to the proposition to ask the general government to compensate loyal men for the loss and inconvenience they may sustain by emancipation. And further that, I do not wish to be understood as contending for negro equality.

I propose, Mr. President, to discuss the following proposition:

That, in its aggregated existence and influence, slavery is an evil—a great evil—a moral, social and political evil, and ought, in the language above quoted, to be extirpated.

And first, slavery is an evil, because it is the invasion of a natural right.

I grew up from my cradle surrounded by, and under the influence of, slavery, and was taught to justify it—to believe it right. But I remember, as amongst the warlike reflections of my unsophisticated mind, the query, "how can it be that I have a right to the body and soul, flesh and blood and muscle, time and labor and service of a human being?—that I have a right to control and regulate his very volitions and turn them in any channel at my will?" And I must confess that, not only did the reason of childhood fail to answer in conformity with the generally received notions and traditions fostered by this institution, but that the honest reflections of maturer years have taught me, that the instincts of innocent childhood were but in accordance with the

great principles of natural right and justice which lie at the basis of God's moral administration in the affairs of men.

It is true that because a human being is born in Africa, and with a black skin, a man born in Europe or America, and with a fair skin, has the right to enslave him—to deprive him of his God-like and God-given liberty? Is it true that because, as a race, his intellectual status and culture falls below that of some other races, therefore a race superior in these respects, possesses the right to coil the fetters of perpetual bondage around that attribute that raises him above the brute and reflects, however feebly, his Creator's image? Sir, he that claims that slavery is not a violation of natural right, must answer these questions affirmatively.—More than this—he must override and trample into the dust, the very principle which constituted the foundation of American independence and liberty, and whose development, under the guardianship of heaven, wrought for us our civil and religious blessings. In that immortal document, the annunciation of whose doctrines sent a thrill to the oppressed of every land, and made tyrants tremble and their thrones to totter, certain truths are held to be self-evident, among which is this: "that all men are created free and equal, and have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

It is true, sir, the gentleman from Prince George's (Mr. Berry), in advance of the argument on this question, has attempted, by what he evidently considered a masterly and triumphant movement of logical strategy, to compel us to the evocation of this high and commanding position, and reduce us to the humiliating alternative of fighting this battle on ground of his own selection. But, sir, let us recognize the ground a few moments, and I think we shall find that the marshaled hosts of freedom have not yielded one inch; and that the flag of those hosts, first unfurled to the astonished gaze of tyrants, on the 4th of July, 1776, though oft insulted, still floats majestically and defiantly over the scene of the conflict.

The newly-announced, expressly manufactured for the occasion, and laboriously dragged by a superannuated team to the charge, though heavily loaded with solid shot, was manifestly charged with the powder of a defunct sophism, and the only harm done by the big balls which slipped lazily from the muzzle, was that occasioned by their gravitation down hill, to the lower limbs of the assailing columns.

The gentleman, assuming to speak for the intelligent framers of that masterly document, asserted that they only meant that all white men were equally free to enjoy the rights of civil government.

Mr. Berry, of Prince George's. I think the gentleman has misrepresented me; I am sure not intentionally.

Mr. Todd. Not intentionally. Mr. Berry, of Prince George's. I stated that this was a government of white men; that the Constitution of the United States was framed for their government, and their government alone.

Mr. Todd. Then what I have stated follows legitimately from what the gentleman has now reiterated. He asserted that they could not be understood as asserting that all men are alike in their mental and physical organization—a proposition no one disputes—that they differ, to use his beautiful and appropriate metaphor, as one leaf upon the waving branch differeth from another.

But the gentleman accidentally omitted to trace out to their legitimate results the points presented in his simile. He will not think unkindly of me for relieving him of the task. It is true, sir, that the leaves differ. They differ in form, size, color and feature. But are they any the less leaves on that account? Are they not all composed of the same organic substances? Are they not all supported by the same parent stock? Do they not all alike breathe the same atmosphere and gaseous nutriment? Are they not all equally blessed with the same pearly dew-drops, and with the same bright, blessed sunshine, which paints alike their pure and pollens robes with the same bright beautiful colors? Did not the same Omnipotent hand fashion them all?

Thus, sir, I find that the points of resemblance are not only more numerous than the points of diversity, but paramount—the gentleman will pardon me the use of that term. The same is true of mankind; and I conclude, with George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and all the illustrious galaxy, that our whole race, coming from the same Creator, redeemed by the same precious sacrifice and bound to the same destiny, are entitled to the same natural inalienable and inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And permit me just here to refer to what the immortal Washington and others have said upon this subject; those same illustrious fathers of our republic, who placed their hands to that immortal document that declared us free.

Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, after showing the evil effects of slavery on the masters, says:

"And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting

one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and the *amor patrie* of the other; for if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to love and labor for another. * * * And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God; that are not to be violated, but by His wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events.— * * * The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

Washington, in a letter to John F. Mercer, already quoted here this morning dated September 9, 1786, says:

"I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery, in this country, may be abolished by law."

And in addition to these I may remark that the immortal Franklin, one of our representatives abroad during the Revolution, was the first President of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.

Mr. Berry, of Prince George's. From what does the gentleman read?

Mr. Todd. I read an extract from a newspaper, which quotes from the authorities, and I have seen these very extracts in books I have read.

I but reiterate the self-evident declaration of those honored men when I say that slavery is the invasion of a natural right. This proposition requires no further argument, and I proceed to the discussion of the second reason which occurs to my mind to prove that slavery is a great evil and ought to be abolished, and it is this:

2. Because it can only exist in violation of the most sacred and most sacred social and domestic ties.

What is my slave, according to the laws of the State of Maryland? A mere chattel, which I may dispose of as I may of a horse or any other piece of property, at my option. I may regard his feelings and his wishes or not just as pleases my caprice. By a mere whim I may compel him to celibacy; or, if he have one who stands to him in the endearing relation of wife—a partner of his joys and sorrows—though I believe the slave code does not recognize any such legal relation as husband and wife among its unhappy subjects—I may, with an arbitrary disregard to all the finer sentiments of human nature which reside even in the breasts of savages, tear him from the bosom and embrace of his weeping and ecstatic companion, deprive his innocent little ones, who have learned to call him father, of the affection, and the little protection which he, as a slave, may be able to afford them, and transport him to a land foreign to him; where, with the hopes and affections of his heart all crushed and bleeding, he is left to mourn with no earthly prospect to cheer or comfort him; and with the torturing memories of the dearest ties, rudely and hopelessly sundered, to lacrate forever his wounded and despairing soul. This, sir, is no fancy sketch. Most of us have stood by the auctioneer, where human flesh and blood and life and service, have been exposed to public sale, and looked upon living pictures, of which this sketch is but an indistinct photograph.

I forbear, sir, except by simple allusion, to refer to the, if possible, more revolting scenes, where licentious power, armed with the mere authority of corrupt will, invades the sanctity and privacy of the domestic circle, and violates the protective restraints thrown around chastity by the common instincts of the commonest humanity. On this point, let the facts that stare us in the face everywhere in the slaveholding States, utter their decisive voice.

A third reason which influences my vote on this question in favor of emancipation in the State of Maryland is:

3. Because slavery ministers to the demoralization of all classes within the sphere of its influence.

This proposition is proven in part by what I have already said. But more particularly—this institution ministers, first, to the intellectual demoralization of all classes. It does this, so far as negroes, both slave and free are concerned, by discouraging, to an extent that amounts to a prohibition, all literary education. The protectors and propagandists of slavery have seen and felt the force of the fact, that education is incompatible with the existence and benefits of slavery—that if you educate the negro, you create in him the thirst for freedom, or, at least develop it; and hence your statute books, and the history of your State abound with facts going to show that every precaution has been resorted to to prevent the light of literature, even in its most elementary branches, from shining into the enslaved mind of the African in our land.

But the same principle affects also, and to an almost equal extent, the poorer classes of the white population. What has been the fate of all bills introduced in the Legislature of our State for the promotion of general and liberal common school education? Defeat—universal defeat! And wherefore? Because the upholders of the peculiar institution, have been shrewd enough to foresee that if you educate the common, laboring masses, you make them dissatisfied with the fate that consigns them to a position in the estimation of society upon a common level with the groveling negro slave! And that, becoming dissatisfied, and being a numerous class holding the balance of political power, they would assume a most dangerous antagonism to the system which enslaves and grinds them down, and perhaps sweep it from existence. Slavery, sir, has had control of our legislation, and with its accustomed tyranny, has frowned down and fettered every attempt to procure the intellectual emancipation of the masses of the people of Maryland. And, sir, I blush to say it, but it is true, & the census will bear testimony, that there were in the State of Maryland, in the year 1850, over 41,000 white adults who could neither read nor write, whilst in free New Jersey, with a white population of more than 130,000 in excess of ours, there were only a fraction over 18,000 who could neither read nor write.

But again, slavery affects spiritual and moral, as well as intellectual darkness and demoralization. This proposition is sustained by the same course of argument and the same array of facts which prove the last. For moral and spiritual life have ever been found to exist in about the same ratio with intellectual light. As a general rule, an educated community is a moral and religious community; and an ignorant community is an immoral and irreligious community. That system, therefore, which restrains and fetters intellectual development—and slavery is such a system—encourages and fosters spiritual darkness and licentiousness.

I need not again recur to facts to which reference has already been made in the argument under my second proposition.—These facts speak with a mournfully significant voice, which is equally applicable to the *truth of my proposition*. That the system of slavery is demoralizing to all classes within the sphere of its influence, is evident from the following patent facts which I shall content myself with merely asserting—They require no proof or elaboration.

Slavery recognizes no marital or domestic bonds which may not be broken at the option of the master. It throws no protection around the chastity of its unhappy victims. On the contrary, it virtually holds licentiousness at a premium. It fosters an abject, groveling, stubborn and hopeless servility and self-abnegation in the slave. It invites to the exercise of an inhuman and tyrannical species of self-consolidated and arbitrary despotism in the master. It ministers to a hateful and anti-republican aristocracy in what are termed, in slave communities, the upper classes; and it begets in the non-slaveholding portion of the community, a servile and humiliating obedience to that aristocracy, which demands a scrupulous and careful suppression of every sentiment against it.

It too often vests the legislative, judicial, and executive functions in an irresponsible mob. It extemporizes rails, tar and feathers, whipping posts, and even gallows, to meet its summary demands.—It incite treason; and for this purpose educates the Southern mind, fires the Southern heart, until it is brought forth full-fledged and armed with all the malice and spleen which characterized the old rebel traitor in the first rebellion, to withdraw and blast, if possible, with its foul breath, the fairest blossom of political liberty that has ever shed its fragrance on our world! Sir, will the good sense of the American people—the people of Maryland—permit them longer to foster in their midst a system, whose uniform aggregated influence has been to poison all the fountains, whence flow our moral, social and political prosperity! May Heaven grant that its tyrannical and demoralizing predominance may be forever hereafter ignored.

A fourth reason why I am in favor of emancipation in Maryland is:

Because slavery undermines and encroaches all those principles of public and individual enterprise and self-reliance which lie at the basis of all true political and material prosperity.

Our Southern children and youth are educated to ease and indolence. They are taught to rely on the labor of hands other than their own for their daily bread or their affluence. Their minds are diverted from those channels that lead to enterprise and usefulness. This is the necessary result of slavery, on the one hand, which prevents the necessity for white labor; and of a slave aristocracy, on the other hand, which stigmatizes the laboring white man as a mendicant; and the consequence is that the majority of the superior race in our political hive are useless drones.

Where are the majority of your seminaries of learning? Where are your great public charities and enterprises? Where are your mammoth mills and factories,

to an almost equal extent, the poorer classes of the white population. What has been the fate of all bills introduced in the Legislature of our State for the promotion of general and liberal common school education? Defeat—universal defeat! And wherefore? Because the upholders of the peculiar institution, have been shrewd enough to foresee that if you educate the common, laboring masses, you make them dissatisfied with the fate that consigns them to a position in the estimation of society upon a common level with the groveling negro slave! And that, becoming dissatisfied, and being a numerous class holding the balance of political power, they would assume a most dangerous antagonism to the system which enslaves and grinds them down, and perhaps sweep it from existence. Slavery, sir, has had control of our legislation, and with its accustomed tyranny, has frowned down and fettered every attempt to procure the intellectual emancipation of the masses of the people of Maryland. And, sir, I blush to say it, but it is true, & the census will bear testimony, that there were in the State of Maryland, in the year 1850, over 41,000 white adults who could neither read nor write, whilst in free New Jersey, with a white population of more than 130,000 in excess of ours, there were only a fraction over 18,000 who could neither read nor write.

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Where are the majority of your seminaries of learning? Where are your great public charities and enterprises? Where are your mammoth mills and factories,

giving employment to thousands of artisans, and passing through their ingenious contrived machinery their millions of property annually? Where do the great and startling developments of science and art, and the vast majority of the useful inventions of the age have their origin? In the free North—educated in literature—educated to free labor and self-reliance, and consequently fertile in all that constitutes a people free, independent, prosperous and happy.

And just at this point, Mr. President, I ask the attention of gentlemen to the following facts and figures which are taken from census reports, and which are designed to show the relative position of slave Maryland and free New Jersey. I have selected New Jersey to bring into this comparison, because these two States are somewhat similar in size, soil, climate and natural advantages, with a large preponderance, however, in favor of Maryland. Now, what are the facts? They are as follows: That while Maryland has 3,149 square miles of territory more than New Jersey, yet New Jersey has 180,731 more white people than Maryland; that while Maryland has a slave State, had, in 1860, over 85,000 free negroes, New Jersey, a free State, had only a little over 25,000 free negroes; that while the aggregate value of real and personal property in Maryland in 1850, was only \$367,919,944, in New Jersey it was over \$467,918,000; that while the population in Maryland, from 1790 to 1860, increased only 53 per cent., free New Jersey increased over 70 per cent.; that while in Maryland the average value of land is only \$45.62 per acre, in New Jersey it is worth \$92.70 per acre. In New Jersey there were over 91,000 children who attended school, while in Maryland there were only 62,000. In Maryland there were over 41,000 white adults who could neither read nor write, whilst in New Jersey there were only a fraction over 18,000 who could neither read nor write.

And now to make the contrast yet stronger, let us come nearer home, and compare the 14 slave counties of our own State with the 7 comparatively free counties, and see what the result will be. It will be shown from the census reports that, while the population of the slave counties increased from 1790 to 1860 only 14 1-2 per cent., the population of the free counties—exclusive of the city of Baltimore—increased in the same period 120 per cent. That while the real and personal property in the slave counties was worth only a little over one hundred millions of dollars, it was worth in the free counties over three hundred millions of dollars. It will be found further that the farms in slave counties average 153 acres each, worth \$8,432, while the farms in the free counties averaged only 102 acres each, and were yet worth \$4,935. Free land was worth \$48 per acre, slave land \$23 per acre.

These, Mr. President, are stubborn facts and figures which cannot be ignored. Gentlemen must meet them, and meet them honestly. And when we reflect that the same comparison may be instituted between Maryland and any other free State than New Jersey, though Maryland has the advantage by position, soil and climate, the same humiliating disproportion will be found to exist against Maryland. We assert boldly, without fear of successful contradiction, that it is slavery and slavery alone which is responsible for these facts and figures prove that wherever this institution of slavery exists, "it undermines and encroaches all those principles of public and individual enterprise and self-reliance, which lie at the basis of all true political and material prosperity."

I will just here beg leave to state that I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. Crosswell for the facts and figures which I have read. I have not been able to get here the full census reports from which Todd got them.

A fifth reason why I shall vote for emancipation in Maryland is, because the legislation demanded for the protection of slavery and slaveholders, is arbitrary and unjust, and oppressive to the people.

I do not mean, Mr. President, to elaborate this point very extensively, first because I wish to take as little time of the Convention as possible, and, secondly, because the mere announcement of a proposition, the truth and applicability of which is so generally felt and acknowledged, is, of itself, sufficient for all the purposes of a legitimate argument.

I cannot, however, content myself to pass from this point without referring to a few facts in the legislation of our State, which, without any extended citations, will serve to put this portion of my argument beyond the shadow of a doubt.

And first, the slave code wrests from the non-slaveholding portion of our citizens an undue and unequal proportion of the public taxes. The entire property, real and personal, of the non-slaveholder is assessed by a sworn officer at a fair valuation, and the taxes are exacted to the utmost farthing. But the man who may be the owner of a slave, or hundred slaves, can be taxed, at the utmost in any case only \$300, or it may be \$400, though they be worth under ordinary circumstances four times that amount.

[To be continued in our next.]