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THE

FREE NEGRO QUESTION

IN MARYLAND.

C. W. Jacobs -

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

SLAVERY AND FREE NEGROISM INCOMPATIBLE.—THE DOCTRINE OF EQUALITY EXPOSED AND REFUTED.—ORIGIN OF ABOLITIONISM IN THIS COUNTRY AND ITS AIMS.—VAST DISASTERS ATTENDING FREE NEGROISM EVERY WHERE —MARYLAND MUST ENSLAVE OR EXPEL HER FREE NEGROES, OR CONSENT TO BE RUINED BY THEM.—WHITE SLAVERY AT THE NORTH; AND THE GENERAL DESIGNS OF ABOLITIONISTS TO ABOLISH NEGRO SLAVERY, AND SUBSTITUTE WHITE SLAVERY IN ITS STEAD, AS IS NOW THE CASE IN MONARCHICAL EUROPE.—ABLE LETTER OF COL. C. W. JACOBS ON THIS ALL-ABSORBING QUESTION.

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Slavery and Free Negroism Incompatible.—The Doctrine of Equality Exposed and Refuted.—Origin of Abolitionism in this Country, and its Aims.—Vast Disasters Attending Free Negroism every where.—Maryland must Enslave or Expel her Free Negroes, or consent to be ruined by them.—White Slavery at the North; and the General Designs of Abolitionists to Abolish Negro Slavery, and substitute White Slavery in its stead, as is now the case in Monarchical Europe.—Able Letter of Col. C. W. JACOBS on this all-absorbing Question.

ST. MARTINS, MD., *January 10th, 1859.*

THOMAS J. KEATING, ESQ.,

Editor of the State Rights' Advocate.

DEAR SIR:—I received some weeks ago, through the kindness of a friend, a copy of your paper of the 7th ult., in which you allude to the proceedings of the Eastern Shore Slaveholders' Convention, in general terms, and address your editorial strictures pointedly to the last resolution in the series, which I had the honor to submit to the Convention.

I have not that resolution before me, but its substance is—that the alternative of going into slavery or leaving the State ought to be enforced upon our Free Negroes; and the Counties are invited to act in reference to this question in appointing delegates; and the Convention, when assembled in Baltimore next June, is also requested to consider it as a proposition coming from this Shore.

Your paper found me at the bedside of a sick member of my family, who has since gone to the land of spirits. That event has caused delay on my part in asking the use of your columns for some remarks on the subject; and I now write under chastened and subdued feelings, from a sense of duty not only to myself and the position I occupy, but also to the Convention and the people of this State.

The subject treated of in your paper of 7th ult., (I mean the Free Negro population,) is one of vital importance to the citizens of Maryland, and ought not to be lightly or partially considered. No one of the Southern States of this Union has so fully imbibed the false doctrines of English writers on the subject of Slavery and Emancipation, as has our own State: and no State in the Union has the same cause for alarm at the tendency of Free Negroism in our midst, or greater motives to retrace her false steps and retrieve the position she held at an earlier period in her history.

The notions of universal and unbridled liberty growing out of the French Revolution under Napoleon I, ruined the Island of Hayti by the abolition of slavery there; and Great Britain, at a later period, under the teachings of Wilberforce and Clarkson and Brougham and Mackintosh, and others of less distinction, has effectually ruined all her tropical Colonial dependencies by pursuing the suicidal policy of Negro Emancipation. Nor have the blighting effects of Free Negroism been confined to French and English possessions alone on this continent; but wherever the inhuman practice of liberating negro slaves has obtained, there we witness the most glaring commentaries upon the errors and destructive influence of this false philosophy and worse practice, not only upon the moral and social condition of the liberated slave himself, but upon the material wealth of the country and the well being of the white population. There is not a single exception within the range of my knowledge where those lamentable signs of retrogression in civilization, material wealth and moral culture, have not followed emancipation of negro slavery. The Free States of this Union are not exceptions to this conclusion, for instead of immediate emancipation they warned the slaveholder in time to find homes for his slaves on the cotton and rice plantations of the South, where most of them now are.

The unstable and revolutionary condition of Mexico and Central America, Grenada and Venezuela, results chiefly from the false step in setting their slaves free. At the beginning of the present century, Mexico under the Spanish rule, held at least 1,000,000 of negro slaves; and Grenada and Venezuela were extensive slaveholding colonies. But they all struck for liberty, and, like France, foolishly conferred it upon slaves—a class never recognized by the fair Goddess. What has followed? War upon war, revolution, instability, insecurity, anarchy and ruin now lash and tor-

ment those once prosperous, but now miserable and impoverished countries. They have not elevated the condition of the liberated slave; but have vastly lowered themselves in the scale of civilization as a people. The hybrid races of those countries form so many clans of inimical elements that forbid the supremacy of law and order, till the discipline of slavery shall again be enforced upon them. Torn by faction and strife, their demoralization is complete, their agricultural products dwindled to less than a sustenance, their commerce gone, their rich mines of silver and gold lie dormant in the bowels of the earth, their prestige as a people a hissing reproach amongst civilized nations, while plunder, rapine and murder supersede all law and the restraints of civilization.

Whence comes this phenomenon of the decline and fall of a people in the nineteenth century—surrounded as they are with all the improvements in arts, literature and the sciences, and the general diffusion of Christianity amongst contemporaneous nations? Had this state of things existed in the dark ages, or before the Christian era, it would not be so great a matter of wonder; but in this boasted age of the world, when light and truth (and error too) take to themselves the wings of lightning and penetrate every corner of the globe; when all the appliances of accumulated knowledge are subsidized to the great mission of Christianity, and the power of steam has obliterated space and gone on a missionary tour round the world—thereby diffusing the common progress of the age, and helping all people onward and upward to the attainment of their chief good—when we see a numerous people going back into heathenism in the midst of all this light and knowledge, we should search diligently for some corresponding cause.

Why is it that Mexico and Central America, Grenada and Venezuela, *and all other countries where African slavery has been abolished*, give the lie so palpably to Abolition dogmas? Is it because of the freedom and equality and amalgamation of the Negro race with the Castilian race, which has destroyed all nationality and begotten enervation and imbecility both physical and moral? The same results would follow in Maryland and elsewhere; and all that is wanting to destroy the Southern States, Cuba and Brazil, is to obey the teachings of Abolitionists, set our slaves free, and take our position beside Mexico. True, that would ruin us, and I am equally sure that the cry of misery and the wails of starvation would be heard first in our Free

States and throughout Europe. I know that *some* casuists will say that the ruin of Mexico and those other countries, is not owing to negro emancipation, but is mainly attributable to the prevalence of Roman Catholicism throughout the late Spanish dominions on this continent. But they should remember that Jamaica, under the rule of Protestant England, is quite as low, sunken and degraded, because of Free Negroism, as any part of the former Spanish dominions. They should also remember that Cuba is still under the control of Catholic Spain with negro slavery, and that Cuba is wealthy and highly productive. Brazil, once a colony of Portugal, is also Catholic in her religion; yet Brazil abounds in wealth and maintains the supremacy of law and government—and that too, in the midst of negro slavery. It is evident we must look to other causes, than those assigned by such casuists, for a satisfactory solution of this state of things in Mexico, Central America, etc.

The philosophy of Abolitionists is that all men, whether white or negro, are essentially free by virtue of their being, and as coming from a God of impartial justice and equality; hence slavery is wrong—one equal cannot control another equal—one class of the human family has no right to make and hold slaves of another class. So far as I know their creed I have correctly stated it, in order to expose its false and ruinous principles.

Neither in Heaven, Earth or Hell, can I find this principle of equality, upon which they prate so much, either recognized or practiced by God himself; but on the contrary, inequality, diversity and variety exist wherever the impress of Deity is found. In this, His wisdom and glory are the more apparent, and our essential good the better attested. If God had adopted the principle of equality, or if that principle were now enforced as a divine or practical rule of life, the whole human family, masters and slaves, christians and heathens, would cease to exist in less than thirty days; for equals could not subsist upon equals without violating the divine rule. It will not do to abridge this theory and apply it only to the human race, and not to inferior creatures also; for that would destroy the theory itself, and show conclusively that equality entered not into the economy of God's creation.

Without alluding to those inequalities in the worlds above and beneath us, let us confine our observations briefly to earth, where we can read the mind of Deity at every step we take and by every surrounding circumstance in life.

Those of us who do not read this unwritten book of God as well as the Bible, but partially understand his will concerning us, so far as pertains to our respective and reciprocal relations and duties in this world. Man is sophistical and theoretical, and too often absurdly so, while God is eminently practical in all his dealings with us. That theory, which, if put into practice, would conflict with man's temporal good by opposing an established necessity of his being, cannot be founded in sound ethics, or be consistent with the practical designs of God. Of such absurdities does the theory of Abolitionists partake. I know that Abolitionists invoke this principle of equality for a certain limited and defined object—that of equality between the negro and the white races—and would there stay its operations; yet, for this partial purpose they *necessarily* claim and apply the principle as constituting a primary and cardinal intention of God in his creation.

How absurd such doctrines! How impious to trifle with God himself! No wonder the curses and judgments of God have always fallen upon a nation and people who wantonly violate and triflingly sport with his established order of things. No wonder that portion of our country (the New England States) where these heresies are taught and believed by thousands, has been "given over to believe a lie;" having become infidels in faith and practice, and infatuated with their own delusions, they frantically cry after every ism and destructive vice—saying "lo here! and lo there!" as they catch at every floating fantasy of their own distempered minds. No field of missionary labor upon the habitable globe calls louder for the man of God, than do the New England States. And yet they do not see it themselves; they are so busy in attending to the affairs of the world at large, and the South and slavery in particular; so wrapped up in their own self-righteousness—claiming all the religion and all the knowledge extant—that they sing Psalms by preambles and immortal resolutions and go to Heaven upon acts of incorporation. There is enough of isms, enough of pharisaical righteousness, and enough of downright infidelity in those six New England States to call up old Jonah from his grave again; for his Nineveh sermon could not be preached to a more imperiled audience. True, there are some who have not bowed the knee to Baal, but their number, like the select few of Sodom, I fear will not be able to stay the edict—"let them alone, they are joined to their idols."

You, Mr. Editor, cannot publish an idea in your paper; we, the people of Maryland, dare not attend to our own exclusive business as a State, without hazarding the displeasure and denunciation of Northern Abolition Journals. The State of Maryland, and the people of Maryland have the *right* to enslave every free negro amongst us, absolutely and without condition; we have the *right* to banish every one of them from the State unconditionally; we have the *right* to clothe them with the elective franchise and declare them our peers; in short, we have the entire control over that class of our population; and the Northern States and no other State within the Union or out of it has the *right* to meddle with the matter in any way whatever. It is a question which the citizens of Maryland have a right to consider in their primary assemblies and to canvass through the press of their State; and I am glad to see your paper exercising its undoubted right, though you apparently differ from my views. It is by exchanging views that we shall attain a practical end, and I trust the press of our good old State will soon take up this subject in earnest.

But to the subject under consideration. Why is it that the abolition of negro slavery in every instance where it has been attempted on this continent and elsewhere, has proved so destructive to all classes of interests, to all forms of government, and to all codes of morals? The secret lies here; the God who made the earth and gave to it such diversity of climate, surface and texture, also created the human family and all inferior creatures with a wise reference and adaptation to the occupancy and use of every part of the habitable globe. You might as reasonably expect a white bear of the frigid zone to live and perform the functions of nature in the torrid zone, as to expect the naked horse under the equator to perform the offices of the reindeer in Greenland. So it is with the human race; the African negro could not exist, like the Esquimaux, in the frozen regions of the north; neither could the Esquimaux survive the heat where the negro is mostly found. Now, if all mankind were adapted to the north or to the south exclusively, then the remainder of the earth would become a useless waste, and God could not claim the attributes of omniscience; for it would be seen that a part of the globe was unsuited to animal being. But according to the theory of Abolitionists the earth ought to have been either all cold or all hot, all north or all south, all free or all slave; for

they systematize Deity upon the platform of uniformity and equality.

If God stamped the principle of equality upon the human race, so as to have none superior and none inferior, none to command and none to obey, He must also have excluded the possibility of their trespassing upon the rights of each other; therefore, all existing laws and governments ought to be set aside, in obedience to this principle of equality. Again, if God has impressed this principle of equality upon mankind, why so much diversity of intellect, moral attainments, and physical structure? Why are some born blind, idiots, and deformed? Why was Jeremiah sanctified *before he was born*, and Pharaoh raised up a subject of God's wrath? I can see none of this equality that Abolitionists affirm, in the works of God. Oh! monstrous delusion, that is ensnaring so many in our land to their utter destruction! When will truth and reason assert their dominion, and the wisdom of God be vindicated in the overthrow of His traducers?

If equality characterizes the human family, why should the Creator have departed from this rule in creating other beings? for he pronounced all alike to be "good, very good." How comes it that our very being depends upon the destruction of other beings; and those other beings in turn prey upon each other? Is this the law of equality? The lamb has an herbaceous appetite, the wolf a carnivorous one; and yet, by this principle of equality for which Abolitionists contend, the lamb has the same right to feed upon the wolf that the wolf has to devour the lamb—which is no *right* at all. The fox devours the hare, and the hawk consumes the sparrow; the fish of the sea and insects of the earth, all have their being in a great measure dependent upon the destruction of their fellows. Where in all this do we find the boasted principle of equality? The poet, Tupper, has written upon this subject of equality, and beautifully illustrated its origin and fatal end. He says:

Whence cometh the doctrine, that all should be equal and free?
Is it the lie that crowded hell, when Seraphs flung away subjection?
We are equal and free! was the watchword that spirited the legions of Satan,
We are equal and free! *is the double lie that entrapeth for him conscripts from earth:*
Woe unto him whose heart the syren song equality hath charmed;
Woe unto him whose mind is bewitched by her treacherous beauty;
In mad zeal flingeth he away the fetters of duty and restraint,
And yieldeth up the holocaust of self to that fair idol of the damned.

If the mute tongue of creation stamps the lie so flatly upon this Abolition creed, what may we expect from the

revealed word of God? I have read the entire Bible through three times, and studied it carefully with reference to this abolition question. My sole aim was to learn the truth and see what was required of me. I determined that no matter where my material interests might be, I would follow the Bible, lead me where it might. The result of my thorough investigation upon the subject is, that I have found the institution of slavery all through the Bible from Genesis to Revelations, I find the word *slave* in numerous pages; and *bound servant* and *homeborn slave*, frequently used. Nor have I found one single passage in the Bible that condemns slavery at all; but on the contrary, I find rules and regulations laid down for both masters and slaves throughout. Abraham must have owned 1,500 slaves at the time he rescued Lot. Our Saviour found slavery all around him while on earth, and yet he never condemned it. The apostles had constant intercourse with slavery, were raised with it, and familiar with it in all its phases; and yet they never condemned it, but always spoke of it as one of the cardinal relations of life; and Paul, speaking prophetically of modern Abolitionists, positively denounces them in his epistle to Timothy, and tells us to withdraw ourselves from them, because they are "destitute of truth and dote about strife, envy and perverse disputings." Tim. chap. 6. And mark my word, Mr. Editor, and you too, reader, neither do Abolitionists condemn slavery—*provided it is white slavery to capital!* Slavery may fasten its fangs upon the white man, and satiate its gormand appetite, and it is all right in the eyes of Abolitionists; but oh! the jewel of a negro must be exempt.

It is useless for me to recite in detail those passages of the Bible on the subject of slavery; they are conclusive to my mind, and all the Abolitionists on earth and devils in hell may rant and fume on this subject of abolition to their hearts content—I shall be satisfied with the word of God and conscience both on my side. I wish all persons would do as I have done—read the Bible and study it on this subject. It is the last book where the reader will ever find any thing like Abolitionism. But as long as people pin their faith to the sleeve of ignorant and designing Abolitionists, so long may we expect them to be led into error. What has abolition ever done for the negro in this country? What can it do for him? It can only load him with infamy and send him to his grave prematurely. What has abolition done for the civil government, but threaten its destruc-

tion and learn our people to hate each other with perfect hatred? What has it done for the promotion of good morals and vital piety in the land? It has rent asunder the M. E. Church—M. P. Church—New School Presbyterian Church, and the Baptist Church! Have those Churches been benefited by the schism? Has one soul more been saved? It is to be feared that thousands of our northern people and preachers have tumbled into hell with both hands hold of the horns of this abolition god—crying, "O Baal! O Baal! hear us!"

But why should I extend my remarks on the Bible evidence in favor of slavery? The informed Abolitionists are familiar with all I have said or might say on this subject. They know there is nothing in the Bible that favors Abolitionism, and they dare not bring their creed to the test of Holy Writ. Hence, at a meeting held in Boston where Hon. Anson Burlingame and Hon. Henry Wilson, both spoke, they prayed for an "anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God!" thus acknowledging their creed condemned by those three authorities. That is pretty good authority against abolition, coming from two members of Congress from the great State of Massachusetts, and both leaders of the abolition party.

Now if the unerring finger of God points to nothing in creation that favors Abolitionism; if his revealed word condemns abolition emphatically and unequivocally; if there is nothing in heaven above, or earth beneath to favor this rotten, damnable heresy, that has been hatched in this nineteenth century, and never before known since the world had a being—whence comes it? Ah! "the fool has said in his heart there is no God." What angels and demons shudder at, infidelity embraces as a truth; the more monstrous and revolting the creed, the warmer infidelity embraces it. That is the source from whence abolition comes. Where do we find infidelity and atheism most prevalent in our country? In the north, in those six New England States. That accounts for the majority of the great whore of Abolition.

But we have practice added to precept on this subject—let us see if their conclusions are the same.

We have no historic data of the time *when* the negro race was enslaved. All authentic history concerning them as a people, speaks of them as *slaves*. The fact existed far back of time to which the memory of man extends. Nor have we any record evidences of the *circumstances* connected

with their enslavement. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that in their own native Africa *they were born and held as slaves, and the bringing of them here did not make them slaves*—it only perpetuated the true normal condition in which they were found. We can afford to leave the rest to God and his providence, without torturing our minds to pry into the deep mystery of his ways.

This country after its discovery, was apportioned between England, France, Portugal, Spain and Germany, and all of them engaged largely in the African slave-trade. It was called the slave-trade *because they were bringing slaves from Africa*, and not because the bringing of them here made them slaves. At the date of our revolutionary war in 1776, such a thing as systematic negro freedom was not dreamed of. All those nations held large possessions here, and all had them well stocked with slaves. Modern rose-water philanthropists and infidel sophists had not then made their appearance. England, who had been foremost in the slave-trade, had now lost her thirteen colonies and her slaves too; and soon discovering the rapid strides we were making in agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and that civilization and christianity operating upon our slave population, made them reliable aids in developing our immense resources—determined to frustrate, if she could not destroy, our rapid advancement in wealth and power. To this end, George Thompson, an ex-member of Parliament, came over to this country in 1832, established presses, employed agents, and formally organized the New England Abolition Society.

In 1833 England, being fully enlisted in this crusade against us, bought all the slaves on the Island of Jamaica for \$100,000,000, and apprenticed them out to planters till 1838, when they became absolutely free. This step on her part was necessary to effect her object; she could then say to us a-ha, I am holier than thou, imitate my example or I will proscribe and denounce you as a barbarous and unchristian people. We did not follow her example and she has denounced and abused us ever since, because we would not ruin ourselves and slaves, as she has done in Jamaica. Finding she could not seduce us to our ruin, and still steady in her purpose to effect the object in one way or another, England, or the abolitionists of England, have continued to send over to this country large sums of money to control the press as far as possible, and to aid generally in fomenting strife between the North and South. It is this money

that publishes abolition papers, gets up abolition meetings, makes abolition speeches, organizes abolition parties, and sends abolition agents through the South to steal our slaves. It was this money that organized Kansas aid Societies, bought Sharps rifles, and caused tears of blood to flow at the mere mention of Kansas in 1856. It was this money to the amount of \$158,750, aided by \$38,162, from New England, making in all \$196,912—that induced Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware, to expose his books at the anniversary of the New England abolition Society in May, 1857, held at the city assembly rooms in New York, and there show by record where he and his agents had stolen from Maryland and forwarded to the free States 2,059 of our slaves. It is expected by New England and Old England abolitionists that this money will sever the Union of these States and plunge us into a civil war—the very end for which it is contributed. I know there are many abolitionists in our land who never had any of this money; alas! poor soft headed dupes, they have been hooked without a bait, and are playing second to a game they know nothing of.

I need not follow this part of the subject further than to say, I have authentic documents to sustain the truth of every thing stated above and vastly more.

Slavery then, being the true normal condition of the negro, his happiness lies only in that direction. To free him is to inflict the greatest possible injury, for by that you expose him to the higher cares, duties and responsibilities pertaining to citizenship, and for which he never was fitted by nature and to which he cannot attain by practice. It will not do to say the negro can perform the duties and responsibilities of a free man in this country. He has never been subjected to the test, and never can be, surrounded as he is with the constant example of the white man. In Vermont, where every free negro is surrounded by 436 busy, active whites, he cannot do otherwise than follow the finger-board of life there. In Massachusetts every free negro has 100 white prompters to keep him straight. In New York, every free negro leans upon 62 whites for support. Pennsylvania employs 42 whites to pilot one free negro on his way, and a miserable one it is in most cases. The free negro must be isolated and left to his own energies before any solution of this problem can be made. Where this has been attempted, they have always failed.

In slaveholding Maryland we have 1 free negro to 5

whites throughout the State. If you leave out Baltimore City and go to the counties, you find the proportion of free negroes to the whites much greater. In my own county (Worcester) we have 1 free negro to 3 whites; in your county (Queen Ann's) you have 1 free negro to 2 whites; in Kent (the county above you) they have 1 free negro to $1\frac{2}{3}$ whites. And so I might go on with similar proportions in most of the counties. In 1850 we had 75,000 free negroes in the State, and according to the last rate of progression and increment we cannot now have less than 90,000, and will probably have 100,000 in 1860. Maryland is a small State, and yet by the census of 1850, her free negro population exceeded that of New York by over 25,000: and outnumbered that of Pennsylvania by over 21,000. The small county of Caroline alone, contains more free negroes than the three States of Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire combined! What a contrast! What conclusive evidence that *freedom* is foreign to their tastes, and slavery congenial with all their habitudes and nature.

The *relative* increase between the whites and free negroes in most of the counties is equally significant. Take the above three counties for illustration: During the ten years between 1840 and 1850, Worcester increased 59 whites, and 520 free negroes; or, while the white increase was only one half of one per cent., the free negro increase was seventeen per cent.—the free negro increase being thirty-four times greater than the white increase in that time. In Queen Anne's county your white increase was fourteen per cent., your free negro increase was thirty per cent. during the last census decade—or more than double the white increase. In Kent county the whites actually decreased 18 in number; the free negroes increased 641—which is twenty-six per cent. upon their numbers! Nor are those counties exceptions in our State: but the above proportions of free negro increase over the whites will hold good in most of the counties. The whites have increased upon their numbers more than those figures show, but they have been crowded out of the State by free negroes, as I shall presently show.

The City of Baltimore, with all her natural increase added to her supplies from our own State and other States, and the influx of foreign whites, could only increase a double per centage of whites over free negroes between 1840 and 1850. That city must now contain over 30,000 free negroes; it had 24,625 in 1850. As waiters in hotels, coachmen, boot-blacks, barbers, venders of small wares,

and laborers by the hour or job, they no doubt render some service: but if the products of agriculture, to which they contribute little or nothing, were cut off, then there would be no need of hotels, coaches, and all those means of living to which they incline. For all other pursuits derive their vitality from the labor of the farmer. Besides, there are in all our large cities and towns, enough poor and needy whites to perform the little handy jobs that free negroes monopolise.

Persons living in our towns and cities do not fully see the useless character and hurtful influence of our vast free negro population. Those free negroes congregate mostly in or around such places, and are *now* constant in their zeal to serve the Doctor, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanic and all other local pursuits—*by the hour or job*; but the time will soon come when it will be otherwise, and they will keenly feel, if they do not sink under, the weight of the free negro incubus that is gathering around them.

Maryland is almost exclusively an agricultural State; and valuable as her coal fields and iron mines may be; highly important as her manufactures and commerce are to her wealth; yet it is upon the agricultural interests we may chiefly rely in the hour of need. And that state of things which deranges the *basis* upon which our material interests are founded, is equally hurtful to all diverging and secondary interests; when the basis gives way the superstructure must fall into ruins. In other words, whatever tends to the injury of agriculture, must also injure all other pursuits. Thus it is seen that our interests as a State are so blended and ramified that they cannot be separated, and the Convention at Cambridge acted wisely in recognizing that unity of interests, by calling a Convention of the whole State to meet in the city of Baltimore next June.

I now propose to show that the great agricultural interests of the State of Maryland suffer for the want of labor, and that our free negroes cannot be relied upon as laborers under their present loose government—hence, their present relations to the white and slave population, must be altered so as to make them profitable and subservient to the common good.

As before hinted, the people of Maryland, years past, imbibed in a great degree, the false doctrines of English writers on the subject of negro emancipation: but we now see a radical change in public opinion on that subject, and the prevalent sentiment of our people throughout the State is,

that free negroism is a curse to both whites and the free negro himself. Those writers, who had spent their lives on the Island of Great Britain, knew about as much of the temperaments and characteristics of an African slave, as a blind horse does of the color of the moon. Our Yankee philanthropists, who have seen only a few straggling runaway slaves, are quite as ignorant of the negro as their English brothers. Indeed, the negro is an object of as much amazement to them as the elephant is to our little folks; and the rarity of the sight stirs up a devotional sympathy in them quite akin to that which Othello excited in the foolish heart of Desdemona. But such is not the case with the Southerner, who has been raised with his slaves, drew suck from the same breast, shared his early sports with them, and has hung for hours around old aunty or old uncle, as they told him long yarns of real or imaginary events long passed away.

This want of knowledge of the real negro, on the part of Old England and New England abolitionists, makes them contemptible in the eyes of the Southerner, and serves only to irritate. Their abstractions years ago on the subject of negro emancipation, ensnared many superficial minds; and it was seldom they met with any rebuff from the South. It was under this torpid state of indifference on the part of Southern men, that the abolition virus infused itself through many channels into the bosom of our own State. Our laws at one time favored emancipation; but in 1832 we had too many free negroes upon our hands, and the Colonization enterprise (another great humbug) was started to get rid of them. By direct taxation, voluntary contribution and profits in trade to the coast of Africa, we have contributed over half a million of dollars to this fruitless enterprise within the last twenty-seven years. We bought a strip of country on the African coast surrounding Cape Palmas, which we called Maryland. There we proposed to found a colony of free negroes from our own State. We have labored zealously and long enough to prove its fallacy. We never succeeded in getting more than three or four hundred free negroes to go. Slaves have been sent in larger numbers, but both put together in the whole time of twenty-seven years, have not exceeded 1,500. The natives rose on the colonists in 1857, burnt their houses and murdered numbers of them, and this State of Maryland in Africa is nothing more than a county in Liberia now. Liberia itself, with the efforts of all the States in the Union since 1817 to

the present time, contains only 12,000 free negroes, who are surrounded by 200,000 hostile native Africans. The free negro cannot be induced to go to Africa, and he much prefers slaveholding Maryland to any of the free States. We have passed laws forbidding emancipation, except upon condition of removal from the State; and at the last session a law was passed to sell them into slavery for certain crimes. Thus we have labored by every possible means, but in vain, to get rid of them. *Some of them* are industrious, but the vast majority are so much dead weight upon the State and her resources. They will not labor for an honest living, but are vicious and depraved, and impose heavy burdens upon the taxable white population. That large class of our farmers who rent land, and all others who do not own slaves, know how hard it is to hire a free negro by the year: the shortest term of labor that will do for the farmer. On the first day of January past, I attended at our town of Berlin, where contracts for labor by the year were made for some four or five hundred white men and slaves. It is the product of that labor that freights our grain schooners, employs our sailors, and fills our stores with merchandise from the cities: indeed, that labor furnishes the basis for all monetary contracts of whatever kind, for the current year, and without it business of all kinds would cease: for there would be no basis upon which to make contracts. At the same time and place I suppose there were three hundred free negroes also, but I did not hear of *a single one who hired himself by the year*; if, however, there should be one to do so at all, he generally selects a home where he can do as he pleases and get a large additional bounty in the shape of a corn-patch, half of every Saturday, extra fine clothes and a horse, and often a carriage, at his command. The perquisites generally exceed the amount of wages, to say nothing of the amount stolen through the year. As a general thing our free negroes will not hire for a longer term than a day or month, or by the job. That kind of service may suit our town people as above stated, but no prudent farmer will hazard his crops upon such uncertain labor: he must have constant labor by the year or he cannot afford to risk his time and capital in agriculture. But the free negroes must live as well as others, and that, too, without labor. How do they do it? Mostly by intermarriage with the slaves, and living by stealth and otherwise upon the toil of the white man and his slaves. All of us in Maryland are familiar with this state of things, and are trying to protect

ourselves from such intolerable evils. But hard-headed Englishmen, and whining Yankees, who write about abolition, are as ignorant of them as the man in the moon.

I have just said that some of those free negroes are industrious, and I would not get at a hundred evil doers by trampling down one innocent man. I now state who they are and how they effect our white population. They are generally those free negroes who are in the first stage of freedom, and have been born and raised slaves, and taught habits of industry and morality under the discipline of slavery. In an evil hour, and perhaps on a dying bed, the master or mistress has been approached by disguised abolitionists and taught the way to heaven would be easy if they would only free their slaves. Satan, you know, ruined our race by a similar suggestion to Eve. So ruin follows negro emancipation, wherever it has been tried. Such wicked deeds often occur in the hour of death, and the slaves then set free, compose the small number of our industrious free negroes. But strange as it may be, even they will not allow, or rather compel, their children (in the second stage of freedom) to labor, and so their offspring swell the tide of indolence and depravity so inherent with the free negro.

Those few industrious ones often rent farms, and by that means, displace an equal number of our native whites, and drive them out of the State to seek homes under more favorable circumstances. That is the cause why our white population in the counties remain stationary or on the decline. This has been going on for years, and its baneful effects are seen and felt throughout the State. The young white man as he grows up with a strong arm and vigorous constitution, looks around him with the view of marrying and settling on the soil of his native State. Fortune has not blessed him with wealth so that he can purchase land, but health and industry, aided by the assistance of his parents, qualify him to rent a farm and rear up a family of useful citizens.

Now, my position is, that ours is a government for the use and benefit of the white man, and the only relation the negro ought to bear to him is that of slavery. But how is it practically in our State? Here is an industrious free negro on the one hand, and a white citizen of equal industry and superior sagacity on the other hand. They both want to rent a certain farm of the land-holder, and he has to make choice between the two. (It will be seen in this case I am making the strongest possible supposition in favor of the industrious free negro, in order to shut the door against the thousands

of our free negroes less worthy; and in order also to give the former the full benefit of an impartial decision as between him and the white man.) Well, the decision must be made, and one of those applicants must get the farm to the exclusion of the other. How would the abolitionists decide? Yankee like, he would decide one way for himself and another way for us. He would advise us to let the free negro have the farm, for he says the free negro is fully equal, and a little superior to the white man. But the treatment Randolph's free negroes met with in Ohio some years ago, when they were driven out of the State by abolitionists; and that clause in the Topeka Constitution of bleeding Kansas (made by abolitionists) which forbade free negroes from going there; and the constitution and laws of many of the free States forbidding the free negro from entering their limits—all show the decision he would practically make for himself.

But how will the Maryland landholder decide? In too many cases, I regret to say, he will decide for the free negro—but from far different motives than the abolitionist ever dreamed of. As before stated, that small class of our free negroes now under consideration, has but recently been set free, and the land-holder often happens to be a member of the family where the negro was born and raised a slave. He feels a warm family tie for the negro, and regards him still as a family appendage, and those feelings secure his favor. Another class of land-holders prefer the free negro because he cannot, under our laws, confront him before our courts of justice, and so has the advantage in any matter of dispute where their separate interests are involved. But the latter class I believe to be very few in number in our State.

Well, right or wrong, consistent or inconsistent, the decision is given in favor of the industrious free negro. What follows? The white man turns off in sorrow, and finding his hopes gone for a settlement here, leaves his home and native State for the far West or South; there to reproach, with shame and indignation, his unnatural mother, who has discarded him and taken to her affections a free negro! Who is injured by this constant drain upon the bone and sinew of Old Maryland? The State itself and her material interests suffer in so many ways that I need not go into details. Does the negro we retain compensate for the loss of the white man? Certainly not. The position vacated by the white man is not filled by the free negro, either socially or politically. We are, by this dangerous policy,

strengthening an alien element in our midst that only wants numbers and a leader to prove its hostility to the dominant power of the white man. And when the State shall need the strong arm of the white man to repel her enemies, protect her firesides and her altars, she will find her "worst enemies those of her own household;" and like Samson, she will also find her power and prestige shorn by this Delilah of free negroism. Such is the inevitable tendency of this course on our part, and such the conclusion *a priori*.

If then, it is impolitic on our part to encourage this supposed industrious few of our free negroes to the extent indicated, the argument derives increased force when applied to the vast numbers of our worthless and depraved free negroes. They will not leave us voluntarily, and I am opposed to forcing them out of the State, though I believe a large portion of our people are ready for coercive measures. It is not the negro's fault that he is cursed with freedom: it is the fault of the State, and I would have the State redress their wrongs by restoring them to slavery again. Our climate suits them admirably and we need their labor. Maryland suffers for a want of labor, and we have enough to meet the demand if all bore their share. Nor can we afford to tax the labor of the white and slave population in order that 90,000 lazy and debauched free negroes may eat up their substance, fill our jails and penitentiary, and load us with taxes to pay court charges for their criminal outrages upon our peace and property. Both human and divine laws forbid this criminal indulgence on our part. What says our Bill of Rights? "*The Legislature ought to encourage the diffusion of virtue, the promotion of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and the general amelioration of the condition of the people.*" Art. 41. Have our Legislature never felt their responsibilities under this enumeration of their duties? Do they suppose they are redeeming their sacred oaths to support the Constitution of this State, while derelict in the fundamental duties for which government is instituted? How can those great interests of the body politic be promoted while 90,000 vagrant and useless human beings listlessly prowl about in idleness, retard progress, and war against virtue? The power to act is ample: what sayst the 21st Art.—"*The Legislature shall pass laws for the government, regulation and DISPOSITION of the free colored population of this State.*" So much for human laws. What says the Bible on this subject? "*We commanded you that if any would not work, neither should he*

eat." Again: "*There are some among you disorderly, working not all, but are busy bodies.*" Need we any more authority from God or man to enforce useful labor as a condition upon all who may compose our population? All our people will respond to these suggestions in the affirmative, but many of them do not see how the object is to be effected. They would attack the evil in a round about series of laws full of provisos and conditions, that even our lawyers, much less the free negroes, can hardly interpret. The result is, such laws become a dead letter, and the evil goes on. Our people have not come up to this question with that boldness, vigor and simplicity that suits the free negroes. They know the meaning of slavery; but when you declare them free and then attempt to control them, they cannot and will not reconcile their freedom with your restraints by law. Their logic is: if they are free they are not subject to the will of another, and the law that restrains that freedom is a usurpation of their rights. But when you inform them that their freedom is merely nominal, subject to the DISPOSITION of the State, and that you intend to resume sovereignty over them by putting them back into slavery—why, then they respect you for your candor and acknowledge your authority. This free negro question cannot be dealt with in any other way. We may omit this remedy and try various subterfuges, but in vain; the evil will go on from bad to worse at every returning session of our Legislature.

Freedom with them is synonymous with idleness, idleness begets vice to an alarming extent. Just this moment I learn two negro fellows have had a fight, and one of them has dashed out the brains of the other with a club. One of them lies in the grave, the other in our county jail. Who suffers from the outrage thus committed? The peace and dignity of the State. Who pays the expenses of meeting out justice to the surviving free negro? The taxable whites. These crimes by free negroes are so common in our midst that we scarcely take note of them. It was but a short time ago that a negro wench killed her husband (both free) with a fence stake. She suffered the penalty of the law and left us to pay the bill. Since then another negro wench threw a white boy down the well and drowned him; she was tried and condemned, and as usual the whites had to foot the bill. Still later, two athletic negro fellows, in the dead hour of the night, entered the humble cottage of a poor, defenceless white widow, surrounded by her three

helpless children, one of them sick at the time; they brutally forced her and violated her person in the most shocking and fiendish manner. True, they expiated the crime on the gallows, but the injuries to that poor woman and her helpless children can never be atoned for. These acts occurred in our own county and within a short time past.

The history of Free Negroism in Maryland, is a history of indolence, vice and crime throughout: often stained with the blood of their fellows, and frequently our white population is victimized to their hellish deeds. Freedom in their hands is a deadly poison, which they understand to mean cessation from labor, and full license to do as they please. They have no other conception of freedom, and will learn no other. Servility with them is ingrain, natural, and coherent; it was planted there by God himself and cannot be eradicated by man. They make good slaves, because the principle of slavery is the predominant element in their nature; they abuse freedom, because they have no rational conception of its uses.

The points I have discussed, and the conclusions arrived at, are in harmony with the resolution adopted by the Convention in Cambridge at my suggestion. After discussing that resolution in your paper of the 7th ult., you conclude as follows:—"Colonel Jacob's proposition, then, is in one alternative impracticable, and in the other detrimental to both slave-holders and non-slave-holders." In reply, it is strange I should have proposed a measure injurious to the very classes whose benefit I had in view. Indeed, I was then, as now, only actuated by the sincere motive of advancing the common good of our State by a measure which I believe would confer blessings upon the free negro, as well as those other classes. It is evident that we cannot long live in harmony as two distinct races with numbers so nearly equal, and our freedom practical and theirs nominal. A rupture must come, and a struggle for the mastery ensue, unless we amalgamate with them—a thing too monstrous to be thought of. And yet, by a prospectus of "The Anglo-African Magazine"—a paper just started in New York city—this very doctrine of amalgamation, equality and full citizenship, is to furnish the chief *pabulum* for its columns. This prospectus has just reached me through a friend, and I would give its contents in full but for fear of extending my remarks beyond limit. It is the advance move for 1860, aided, no doubt, by that same British gold, at the instance of Seward. Those sheets will be sent to the free negroes of

Maryland in great numbers; for the editor, Thomas Hamilton, 48 Beekman street, New York, says—"On the condition and prospects of free colored men, by common assent, rest in a great degree the condition and prospects of enslaved colored men." "Their claims for citizenship of the several States, and of the United States," is to be prominently declared and zealously defended. It would be well for the people of Maryland to take warning in time.

The conclusions you draw from my resolution are very different from my own. Upon this question, every thing depends upon the stand-point we may take. You seem to think if the alternative, of going into slavery or leaving the State, was placed before our free negroes, the vacuum caused by those who might prefer extermination, would be filled by immigrant whites who would oppose slavery. That was the argument years ago, and it prevented our people taking the bull by the horns then. It might apply to a very limited extent under present circumstances; but I doubt it. The other side of the picture will show that *the free negro himself is now doing the very mischief you apprehend from the supposed white immigrant.* Take the case of Sam Green, of Dorchester, for illustration. But where would the free negro go to? Ah! there's the rub. He wouldn't go to Africa, nor would he go to the free States. A free negro is the last being an abolitionist would encourage to go north. Then, where would he go? *Where could he go and do so well as to remain in Maryland, choose his master, and go into slavery?*

My honest conviction is that, three out of every four of our free negroes would remain and go into slavery. Upon this point the editor of "The Worcester Shield," of the 30th of October past, has given views so consonant with my own, and so full of details, that I will submit some extracts. He says:—

"We confess, that after a careful study of the subject in all its bearings, we can think of no plan that carries with it more justice and humanity, than to fix a limited time in which the free negro, if he wish to remain, shall choose his master and go into voluntary slavery; or if he wish to retain his freedom, shall be required to leave the State; and that if they refuse to make any election within the time limited, the State shall have them sold to our citizens, slaves for life, they and their offspring—so that at the end of the appointed time there shall remain no free negroes

within our State, except aged and infirm ones, whom we are already obliged to provide for."

The "Shield" then goes on to give his views of the proper details for such a law; and I concur with him in these respects also. He says:—

"Should our State enact such a law as we have suggested, there are some conditions to the details we would like to see embodied in it. 1st. No person holding a certain *limited* number of slaves should be eligible to become the owner of any of these conscript slaves. 2d. No one person should become the owner of more than a certain fixed number of such slaves. 3d. The price of those slaves should be so graded that persons in very moderate circumstances could pay for them. 4th. An exemption law should protect such slaves from being sold under execution or for debts. Such restrictions would plant slavery in every family, and our humblest tenants would be enabled to own their own labor, instead of giving the high prices for hirelings they now do, to large slave-holders. The conscript slave would have a certain home, be well clothed and fed, and would know that no law could free him from his master, unless convicted of a criminal offence. Labor throughout our State would be increased a hundred fold, and thousands of acres of swamp and worn out lands would be reclaimed, and Maryland would soon become one of the first farming States in the Union. Our court charges and county taxes would be greatly reduced, and the demoralizing elements now flowing from our large free negro population, would be staunch; and life, vigor, wealth and prosperity would give to our proud old State that position she held in past days, and which she has forfeited by her deplorable encouragement of the free negro system—a system which has always, and will always, prove fatal to any State or community."

Our renters are the persons that mostly need labor, and the views of the "Shield" in suiting the details of the law to their necessity, are eminently proper.

To this we must come at last or do worse; it is folly to parley and trifle with a subject of such magnitude. Those half-way measures that adorn our statute books so copiously, will never reach the evil or redress the wrong. They only tantalize our citizens and irritate the free negroes. A bold, plain and practical measure, that shall cut up the evil root and branch, will be more acceptable to our citizens and free negroes also.

The Mexicans have not only set their slaves free, but

they have accepted the doctrine of equality as laid down by abolitionists, and have amalgamated with their freed slaves, they have become a nation of imbecile mulattoes, and are ruined as a people.

England has discovered her false step at a late day, and is vigorously engaged in the slave trade to save her colonies from utter ruin. But she is too false hearted to call things by their right name, and persists in her old tricks of deception, by covering this slave trade under the name of *apprentices*! The great and available argument for the abolition of slavery by England was that the freed negroes would become *slaves to capital, like the liberated white serfs of Europe*, and would work cheaper and harder after emancipation than before. The principle of humanity never entered into the measure, and the sequel proves how little they know of the negro character; for they refused to work at all, and retired to the forests and hills, where they could sustain life on the wild fruits without labor. England at once saw the error, and scarcely had the old slaves of Jamaica been manumitted, ere she began to introduce new slaves from India, China, the Madeira Islands and Africa. She calls these slaves *apprentices*, but *they are in fact the veriest slaves on earth*; for Chinese Coolys are sold and bought in China just as African slaves are. We find by English papers that upwards of 150,000 Cooly slaves have been imported to Mauritius within a few years past. It is also stated that, on another of their colonies there were 20,000 male Cooly slaves, and only 3 females! For the last ten or fifteen years Sierra Leone has been a mere slave depot. The English colony of Jamaica, where they set their slaves free twenty years ago, has recently enacted what they call a *vagrant law*, the design and operation of which is *to reduce those free negroes to slavery again!* After this, we trust New England will not censure our course, since we only follow the lead of Old England abolitionists, after testing free negroism to their ruin.

The French are also engaged in the African slave trade to a considerable extent, and have carried large numbers of negro slaves to their colonies in Martinique and Guadeloupe, and Cayenne. We presume France too, will soon pass a *vagrant act* for Hayti, to re-enslave her vast hordes of free negroes there, and to atone, in part, for the fearful horrors of the memorable night between the 22d and 23d of August, 1791. Louis Napoleon has just instructed his Minister of Algeria "to come to an understanding with the Minister

of Foreign Affairs to resume with the English Government the negotiations which were entered on a few months ago, *to substitute the slaves of Indian Coolys instead of the negroes.*" This arrangement has been made at the instance of England, and to avoid a difficulty between France and Portugal, growing out of the capture by the latter, of the French slaver Charles et Georges.

We thus see that the European powers are rapidly giving up the rotten, cobweb, sickly theories on free negroism, that have nearly ruined their tropical colonies, and are again vigorously entering upon the slave trade.

I now propose to advance some thoughts and state some facts that appeal to our own people who do not own slaves. You, gentlemen, have been taught by Seward and his satellites, that negro slavery is injurious to your interests; and that you ought to unite with them in putting it down wherever it exists. They tell you if negro slavery were abolished, you would get much higher wages for your labor, and that a kind of paradisaical system of labor, *which they call free labor* (an absurdity) would then be introduced! Those men show you one side of the picture, but adroitly conceal the other. It is my duty, as an honest man to exhibit the other side of the picture also, and to warn you in time against the seductive influence of those Syren songs.

History tells us Rome retained the *name of a Republic* many years *after* she had become the veriest despotism on earth; and that it was the policy of her rulers to allow the people to enslave themselves *in the name of freedom*. So it is in our country; a certain class of designing men in the Northern States are always harping on freedom and liberty; denounce *negro slavery* with so much vehemence, that many men believe them sincere, and are liable to be ensnared by the trick. They will tell the slaveholder in Maryland, that white slavery is cheaper than negro slavery; they tell their dupes up North, that negro slavery enriches their owners only, and the poor slave is wasted and worn by unrequited toil. Thus they kindle fires on both spurs of the mountain, and cry out to the belligerent North and South to charge upon their enemies, while they skulk away in the dark. The inauguration of white slavery here is so desirable to English abolitionists, that our abolitionists hope to accomplish it *in the name of freedom*, through the agency of the poor white man himself.

Let us see if I am right.

Mr. Seward, the acknowledged leader of the abolition

party in this country, in his Rochester speech, October 25th, 1858, says:—"The laborers who are enslaved are all negroes, or persons more or less purely of African derivation. *But this is only accidental.* The principle of the system is, that labor, in every society, *by whosoever performed, is necessarily unintellectual, grovelling and base:* and that *the laborer, equally for his own good and for the welfare of the State, ought to be enslaved!* *The white laboring man, whether native or foreign, is not enslaved, only because he cannot as yet, be reduced to bondage.*" That is a bold, manly declaration of Mr. Seward: and however much we may abhor the sentiment, we respect him for the honesty of its utterance. But we are indebted to Gerrett Smith for the disclosure, just on the eve of the Gubernatorial election in New York. The laboring white man cannot, *as yet*, be reduced to bondage, and that is the *only reason* why he is not a slave—so says Mr. Seward. But I fear the laboring white man will be enslaved *if he follow Seward's teachings.* It is the South, and negro slavery in the South, that prevents these abolitionists from enslaving the laboring white man. The Barons of England secured Magna Charta; the Southern people will not allow white slavery where they have the power to prevent it.

In the North, where the Southern man can have no voice, the meshes of slavery are entailing the poor whites in so many ways, that I will give the evidences of this truth. The "New York Courier and Enquirer" of Nov. 1857—a good abolition paper—makes the following "Appeal to Farmers, Mechanics, Housekeepers, and others who need labor, in the State of New York *and elsewhere.* All persons requiring labor, will please direct their *orders* as follows:

"For children of both sexes—To A. C. Percy, Juvenile Asylum, 23 West 13th street, New York.

"For girls and women—To *Home of the Friendless*, 30th street, New York." [What a bleak and cheerless home that must be: thank God, we have no such homes in the South.]

"For children and young women—To C. L. Brace, Children's Aid Society, Astor Place, New York." [Our Southern mothers are the only aids our children need.]

"For children, young men and women, Families, Mechanics and Laborers—To L. M. Pease, Five Points Mission, New York." Signed R. M. Hartley, Secretary of the *As-*

sociation for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 39 Bibb House, Astor Place, New York.

Here is slavery, white slavery, unequivocally; but it is covered up with so many nice, humane allusions, that the casual reader would hardly see through the veil. This Northern *Slave Pen* far exceeds any thing of the kind I ever saw in the South, both in numbers and variety of its *chattels*. I need labor, but never sent any *orders*, because I am opposed to white slavery. The abolitionists of the North must have *ordered* pretty freely, for I find by the "Independent," a newspaper published in Jamestown, in the State of Wisconsin, that in March following, a lot of those white slaves was sold in that town, in the following manner, the "Independent" says:—"The price for each slave was \$10 cash. The Free Church was thrown open, the young females occupying the seats in rows, *some of them crying!* Customers then walked among the ranks with perfect coolness, examining their condition one by one, and, as they found one suitable, they planked the cash and carried off the prize."

Oh! what unfeeling, cold hearted slavery this must be; to seize upon young white men, women and children, and sell them into slavery for no other crime than poverty. What sacrilege! to pollute the sacred altar of God with their offerings to the devil. Our Saviour once expelled from his temple a similar gang of traders, saying, they had "made it a den of thieves." The cargo of 300 negro slaves landed at Charleston the past summer, from the ship *Echo*, did not cost per head, quite so much as those white slaves—the negroes averaged from \$5 to \$10 per head, on the coast of Africa, only.

To show that this trade in white slaves is a brisk and profitable one, a communication to the "Journal of Commerce," May 6th, 1858, says:—"An interesting lot of fifty boys and girls may now be seen at the House of Reception, (why not call it barracoon,) No. 23 West 13th street. They have been selected from about four hundred, to supply the Illinois market. They are met at a central point, a bill of sale is signed, and they are taken to their new homes. Disposition of fifty more has been made to go out in June." A Mr. Percy appears to be largely engaged in this white slave trade.

I see a card in the "Courier and Enquirer" of October 27, 1858, signed by J. H. Ranson, 39 Dey street, John Stewart, 35 Veasey street and Samuel B. Calwell, 20 Old street, in which they advertise to the public, that they "in-

tend to engage in this traffic of running white slaves to the Western markets."

I also find by a communication in the "Journal of Commerce" of October, 1858, that "four thousand of such slaves have been disposed of in like manner, and that persons engaged in the traffic gave notice they would regularly offer for sale in the market, fifty head once in every two months."

These Northern speculators in white slaves, call it a benign institution, for without its interposition the great majority of these slaves must evidently become adepts in crime." Again:—"After a thorough acquaintance with the *practical working of the Institution*, its objects and plans have every thing to recommend them to the practical philanthropist." Courier and Enquirer, Oct. 27, 1858. This last paper, of the 20th of March, 1858, calls this trade "a work of pure, disinterested mercy, which would command the sympathy of any being with a remnant of humanity in his bosom."

Such is a brief citation of the proofs that *white* slavery at the North, is a part of their domestic economy. I am aware that abolitionists cover up this trade with the honeyed terms of humanity. So much the worse; perversion of terms to improper uses does not affect the principle involved. They have established agents in the Western States to receive and peddle out those live cargoes of white human beings, torn from their native homes to do the bidding of their Western masters. What is this but parting mothers and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives?

But we are told they are enslaved for their good, and are commanded to take their word for it. And is it possible, that free society is so degraded as to demand the enslavement of one portion to save the other portion? Oh! I understand it perfectly well. Northern humanitarians have borrowed the machinery of monarchical Europe with which to enslave their fellows. They yelp and cry freedom in every synagogue, and all the while are enslaving thousands under the stern law of necessity. They manage the moneyed institutions of the country, and beget pressures and panics at their pleasure, to enslave the poor white man. Whence came the cry last year of "Bread or Blood?" From the North. Where do thousands of women yearly go into prostitution to escape starvation? In the North. Where were thousands turned out of house and home at the edict

of abolitionists, and then caught up and sold into slavery because they were poor? In the North; in the land of soup houses and cold charities. Reader, these are no fables, but stern realities, which we gather from the Northern press. Truly we may thank God our lot was not cast amongst those hypocritical freedom shriekers. Negro slavery at the South is a paradise compared to such freedom.

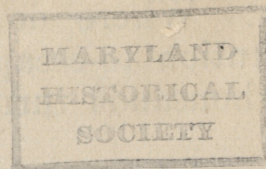
We however, have no right to meddle with white slavery at the North; neither have abolitionists any right to meddle with negro slavery at the South. The State of Maryland and the citizens of Maryland, will dispose of this free negro question themselves, without seeking advice beyond her limits. My conviction is that no choice of election should be given those free negroes, who have been set free and have remained here since the passage of the act of 1831. But they should be remanded into slavery by law. Many of our citizens who have set their slaves free, are now convinced of the impropriety of the act, and would take them back into slavery again. It appears just and right, where that is the case, that an enabling law to that effect, should also be passed. All slaves held for a term less than slaves for life, ought to go into slavery for life, or leave the State, in one year from the expiration of their term of service. The balance of our free negroes might be placed on their election of slavery or freedom.

The action of the Convention having been commented on pretty generally by our own press, I ask it as a matter of courtesy and justice, that our editors will also give this letter in part or in whole, a publication in their respective papers.

With these remarks, I would respectfully suggest to the press in our State, the propriety of a suspension of opinion on the merits of the case, till the committee shall have time to get out their address—which will be at as early a day as practicable.

I am, very respectfully, &c.

C. W. JACOBS.



W. H. Deelman
Sept - 1829.