

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 patriæ* 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 they 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 dearest 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 sensibilities of human nature which reside even in the breasts of *savages*, tear him from the bosom and embrace of his weeping and frantic 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 constantly recurring memories of the dearest ties, rudely and hopelessly sundered, to lacerate 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