

that so? Will they be benefited by the change? Will they not rather become paupers and outcasts from society and an incubus upon the State that years will not enable us to rid ourselves of? Are they capable of self-government? Have they any governmental capacity?

Mr. President, I may well ask are we capable of self-government? I had thought, until these troubles came upon us, that the long-mooted problem had been solved and exemplified in the complete success and perfection of our institutions as applicable to a state of freedom. But the experience of the last four years has, in my mind, settled the problem forever. I now am convinced, sad as must be the reflection to all intelligent minds, that the white man with all his higher mental organization, created so by the great I Am in the economy of nature, is utterly unfit for self-government. What then must be the condition of the black man in a state of freedom, when you consider his inferior mental organization? What has been and is now the condition of the *black man* in every State and country in which he has been freed? Instead of improving his moral and mental condition, he has, in all cases, sunk lower and lower in the scale of degeneration, until he has become an outcast and a burden upon the government in which he lives.

Is it for the true interest of the slave that the gentlemen on the other side so zealously urge the passage of this measure? A measure, which, if passed, will result in more harm, both to the master and slave, than can now be conceived of. Are they prompted by the interest they feel in the future condition of the slaves? I deny that they feel the interest which their course here would indicate. It is a catch-word. It is thought now to be popular and will lead to *peace*. They have been caught up in the whirlpool of fanaticism which is now making desolate our land. And it would be as well for the gentlemen to reflect for a moment upon the future condition of this race. A general, who was engaged recruiting negro soldiers in my section of the State, was asked by a gentleman in my county, how many negro recruits have you in your camp? He answered about ten thousand. How many died whilst in camp? About a thousand. How many do you suppose would have died had they remained home with their masters pursuing their usual course of life? I suppose from forty to fifty, and added that these inquiries were of very little consideration, the war would result in the abolition of slavery; it was necessary that they should take part to bring about this result even if the race was exterminated. This is the interest which you gentlemen feel in the welfare of the slaves, and it is only carrying out the manifest destiny doctrine of Mr. Seward that the two races cannot exist together.

Have not their condition been improved by their intercourse with the white man although they have lived here in a state of slavery? Were they not brought from a land where savage barbarity prevailed? Where civilization and christianity had never been able to penetrate and raise them above a state of savage nature? Have not their minds been enlightened here by the teachings of civilization and religion in their intercourse with intelligent beings? Have we not had in them many examples of true Christian piety, although an inferior and inappreciative race? We are told by some naturalists, that the dog in his natural state cannot bark, but whines, and they only learn to bark from being brought in contact with human beings. If this is so of the dog, how much more so can this principle of imitation be applied to the African race who are human beings and are admitted to have a low order of intellect? I insist then that they have been benefited by having been brought among us; they have been civilized and christianized, and afforded all the lights of the Gospel, and their intercourse with the white race has elevated their minds and made them more intelligent. It was a step under the direction of the Controller of the universe by which they were brought into a state of civilization and within the pale of religion, and He now looks down approvingly upon the institution and the success attending the change in their condition. It has done more, sir. It is well known that many of those who were found to be capable of receiving mental culture have been converted here and received into the churches, and afterwards sent back to their native land to try and civilize and give religious and mental instructions to those living there in a savage state. It is well known that Maryland has for years past appropriated large sums of money in support of a colony there, and offered many inducements to those who became free here to return to their native land and take part in this great work of civilization, but up to this time all efforts in this behalf have failed of success. No practical good has resulted from it, and the last Legislature of the State, composed as it was of a large majority of the boasted friends of this race, many of whom are now members of this Convention, refused to make further appropriation for the purpose.

Mr. SCOTT. Will the gentleman allow me to make an inquiry? I should like to know by what process they are brought to a knowledge of the Gospel when they are denied the means of instruction.

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. Sir, it is a foul slander upon slavery as an institution to make such a charge.

Mr. SCOTT. There is scarcely a slave State in which slavery has not forbidden the teaching of persons to read in Sunday Schools. I know in Virginia, men have been sent to the