

A D D R E S S

TO THE

PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY, ON THE SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In August next the duty of selecting delegates to the Convention called to remodel the Constitution of our beloved Commonwealth, will devolve on you. You have already been frequently addressed by those in favor of certain proposed reforms, who have not seen fit to urge on your attention the necessity of reform in relation to the greatest evil under which we labor. We regard slavery as by far the greatest of all the evils now afflicting the people of this State, and are deeply solicitous that some steps shall be taken toward its gradual removal from among us. It is our present purpose to urge you to co-operate with us in the great and good work of Emancipation. We beg you to give us your attention while we proceed to enumerate some of the evils which slavery inflicts on us, and to point out some of the many benefits which would result from its removal.

When we examine American slavery by the light of history, we find it condemned by large and respectable meetings of the citizens in the slave States before the Revolution. We find the deliberate opinions of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Henry and Franklin recorded against it. Commencing at the Revolution and coming down to our own day, we find a very large proportion of our own wisest legislators and statesmen testifying to its blighting and withering influence. In our own State, and in the halls of our own Legislature, it has frequently been characterized as an institution weighing down the prosperity of the State.

We venerate the memories of these men—the lessons of political and moral wisdom they taught us we hope ever to cherish. Their opinions upon the great question of slavery must command high respect from every well constituted mind.

Washington, it is well known, provided for the emancipation of all slaves over whom he

had control, by his will. In a letter to General Lafayette he said:

“The benevolence of your heart, my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous on all occasions, that I never wonder at fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God, a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country! But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly at its last session, for the abolition of slavery; but they could scarcely obtain a hearing.”

In another letter addressed to John F. Mercer, he said:

“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.*”

Mr. Jefferson's abhorance of slavery was often expressed. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, he expressed the greatest indignation towards the British King for capturing and bringing to the colonies “a distant people who had never offended him.” In a letter to Mr. Warville, he gives the following melancholy and yet truthful picture of slavery:

“The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stained by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one-half 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 the slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another—in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry is also destroyed. For in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. 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 of the gift of God?—That they are not to be violated but with 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—that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest.

“What an incomprehensible machine is man! Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must wait with patience the working of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their tears shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing a light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of blind fatality.

“I am very sensible of the honor you propose to me, of becoming a member of the society for the abolition of the slave trade. You know that nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition, not only of the trade but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object. But the influence and information of the friends to this proposition in France will be far above the need of my association.”

That immortal orator and great and good man, Patrick Henry, in a letter to Rob't Pleasants, referring to slavery, says:

“I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil.—Everything we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and our abhorrence for slavery.

If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthestmost advance we can make towards justice, it is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery. I know not where to stop. I could say many things on the subject; a serious view of which gives a gloomy perspective to future time.”

Again, in the debates in the Virginia Convention, he declared:

“I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow beings was emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of Heaven, which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage.”

The late ex-President Monroe, in a speech in the Virginia Convention, said:

“We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union; and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed.”

Another distinguished Virginian says:

“The existence of that scourge of a guilty world, *Slavery*, is the true, the real, the undeniable source, whence springs all the ignorance and much of the vice and immorality which now unhappily afflict the State.

You may sketch out the most admirable plan for educating the poor children, ever devised by the wit of man, but you can never reduce it to practice with the least prospect of success, as long as we cultivate our lands with slaves, and bring them up to trades, (which ought to be confined exclusively to white citizens) thus compelling our people to leave the State, and seek employment elsewhere, or remain here and endure the alternative, so mortifying and repugnant to the feelings of freemen, of being compelled to labor side by side, with the slave, and to have their services estimated by those of the slave.—Thousands of our young mechanics, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Bricklayers, &c., “the bone and sinew” of the land, from this *cause alone*, annually leave Virginia and go to some of the free States of the West. Go to any county in the State, particularly in Eastern Virginia, and you will find nearly all the land, worth cultivating, in possession of the “slaveholding aristocracy,” and almost every man has his own Carpenter, Blacksmith, &c., from among his own negroes. The poor boys, if they are brought up to some hard working and respectable calling, must leave the State to find employment; they cannot afford to stay here and work as cheap as the slave, who fares in the coarsest manner and is compelled to toil in the most arduous and incessant manner, under penalty of the lash, to be inflicted at the discretion of his master. Thousands of poor families leave Virginia every year, principally from the causes which I have mentioned, and those who stay behind, are so scattered and separated, that it is next to an impossibility, to reach them by any system of Education, that

can be adopted, however wise and liberal in its features. We have accounts of great public meetings held to promote the cause of education, but nothing will be done, because nothing can be availably done, until our people see a disposition manifested to get rid of the slaves which have the effect, like a deadly pestilence, of driving the people as far off as they can possibly get."

John H. Pleasants, also a distinguished Virginian, thus writes:

"No community can greatly flourish and prosper where its youth are brought up in idleness, and to regard manual labor and the mechanic trades as dishonorable, because slaves are employed to do the manual labor of the community: This is the great and clinging curse of slavery! It enervates and effeminates the youth of the Republic: It causes them to rely at every turn, even to the bringing of a pitcher of water from the well, or brushing their shoes, upon a *negro*, instead of upon themselves: They grow up worthless in energy, and helpless, and when their patrimony is squandered, as it is almost sure to be, from the habits of idleness and extravagance engendered by the existence of slavery, they become drones here, or emigrate to the West to seek the fortune they rarely or never find, and never deserve to find."

Judge Robertson in a speech which he delivered in the last Legislature of Ky., says:

"Slavery in Kentucky is a social and moral evil."

Mr. Clay, in his late letter to R. Pindell, says:

"Kentucky enjoys high respect and honorable consideration throughout the Union and throughout the civilized world; but, in my humble opinion, no title which she has to the esteem and admiration of mankind, no deeds of her former glory, would equal, in greatness and grandeur, that of being the pioneer State in removing from her soil every trace of human slavery, and in establishing the descendants of Africa, within her jurisdiction, in the native land of their forefathers."

These, fellow-citizens, are, for the most part, the opinions of our conscript fathers—as such they commend themselves to our approval. We believe them correct. And now, after fifty years experience of the evils of slavery, when we are about framing a new organic law, under which the interests of all the citizens of the State are to be protected, should we be acting wisely, by deliberately using our influence to perpetuate a known evil? We are now acting for future generations—we are to promulgate the organic law under which our children and our children's children are to live and act. Should we then be faithful to ourselves or to them, or should we be acting faithfully toward our beloved Commonwealth, in deliberately engrafting on that organic law a provision which will perpetuate an in-

stitution so obnoxious as slavery? Shall our own experience, and the opinions of the wisest and best men of the present and past generations be entirely disregarded in the settlement of this question, or shall we fold our arms in quiet indifference and permit the great question of the age, now pressing upon us for deliberation and decision, to go by default? Fellow-citizens, these are important questions which force themselves upon our attention at the present juncture, and which in one way or the other we must answer.

We believe that slavery is a positive evil viewed in all its aspects, and we feel it due to those who differ from us on this question to enumerate the facts upon which this belief is based. We desire to win over to our views those who honestly and sincerely differ from us, and we therefore ask a candid examination of the facts and statistics we are about to offer.

Increase of population in a State depends upon increase in the means of living; and is, therefore, the most certain measure of public and private prosperity. Whenever the three great branches of productive industry, agriculture, manufactures and commerce, or any of them, continue to yield increasing products, the population will increase at the same rate; because then industry produces a surplus beyond the present wants of the people, and more families can be supported. This is the general rule—the exceptions to it can only be temporary in their occurrence.

In this country, where emigration to new countries is so easy, whenever the means of living fail in their native place, the people are sure to relieve themselves by emigration. Without some pressure of this sort, attachment to their native land is ordinarily sufficient to prevent men from emigrating; indeed, it is a maxim with all political writers that if the wages of labor in any country be such as to enable the poor classes of people to live with tolerable comfort they will not emigrate.

We may therefore lay it down as a general rule, that the quantity of emigration from a State is a pretty accurate index of its comparative prosperity. If few leave it, we may justly infer that its industry is thriving—sufficiently so to support the natural increase of its population, and to make nearly all contented at home. But if a large and perpetual stream of emigrants is pouring out of it in search of better fortune elsewhere, it is an infallible symptom of one of two things; either that the country has no more

natural sources from which industry may draw increasing products—or that the people are deficient in enterprise and skill to improve the resources of their country.

Apply this rule to Kentucky or Virginia, or any of the older slave States, and how do they appear? The people in them, no doubt, multiply naturally as fast as the people of other States—that is, at the rate of 33 1-3 per cent. in ten years—so that, if none emigrated, the number would be increased by one-third in that period of time. Kentucky in 1820 had a population of 364,317, and in 1830 her population was only 387,917; whereas, if she had kept up her natural increase it would have been 752,422. In 1840, her population was only 779,828; but if she had kept up her natural increase, it would have been 1,003,227. Thus Kentucky lost in the twenty years, from 1820 to 1840, no fewer than 223,399 her people—or about three times the whole population of Arkansas in 1840.

Applying the same test to Virginia, we find that in the *ten* years from 1830 to 1840, she lost by emigration no fewer than 375,000 of her people. East Virginia, where slavery chiefly abounds, 304,000, and West Virginia, 71,000. At this rate Virginia drives off from her borders to the West, every ten years, a population equal in number to the population of the State of Mississippi in 1840. No one pretends to assign any cause for this result other than slavery.

Fellow-citizens, it is a humiliating fact, one that should penetrate the heart of every Kentuckian, that from the year 1820 to this time, Kentucky has sent, or we should rather say, driven, from her bosom, nearly twice as many of her free white citizens as the present number of slaves within her limits. Most of these have shunned the regions of slavery, and settled in the free States. They were generally enterprising, industrious, laboring white men, who found by sad experience that a country of slaves was not the country for them; who would not remain where slavery degrades the workingman; who saw that, for some reason, neither they nor their country were prosperous; and who thought of adding to their own prosperity by uniting their destinies to the not far off prospering States.

We will again recur to this view of the subject, but will now proceed at once to a general survey of the comparative condition of the free and slave States.

Commencing, then, with Maryland, one of the oldest slave States, we submit the following state-

ments and statistics, taken from a pamphlet published in Baltimore, in 1846, entitled, "*Slavery in Maryland, briefly considered.*" This pamphlet was written by John L. Carey, Esq., a distinguished member of the Baltimore Bar. After a well considered introduction, Mr. Carey thus speaks of the blighting effect of slavery in his own State.

For years past our cotton growing states have been exporting their soil; and with that improvidence which slavery generates, that love of present indulgence, careless of what may follow, the South has received in return the means of enjoyment only—nothing wherewith to renovate the outraged ground. Such a process long continued must, in the end, ruin the finest lands in the world. Its effects are apparent in the Atlantic States, in the south-west operating irresistibly to draw the planters of Carolina and Georgia from their worn out fields.

The same general observations will apply to our slave-holding sections in Maryland, and to many parts of eastern Virginia too, if it were necessary to pursue the investigation there.—Emigration to the west has kept pace with the impoverishment of our lands. Large tracts have come into the hands of a few proprietors—too large to be improved, and too much exhausted to be productive. But this is not the worst.—The traveller, as he journeys through these districts, smitten with premature barrenness as with a curse, beholds fields, once enclosed and subject to tillage, now abandoned and waste, and covered with straggling pines or scrubby thickets, which are fast overgrowing the waning vestiges of former cultivations. From swamps and undrained morasses, malaria exhales, and like a pestilence infects the country. The inhabitants become a sallow race; the current of life stagnates; energy fails; the spirits droop. Over the whole region a melancholy aspect broods. There are everywhere signs of dilapidation, from the mansion of the planter with its windows half-glazed, its doors half-hinged, its lawn trampled by domestic animals that have ingress and egress through the broken enclosures, to the ragged roadside house where thriftless poverty finds its abode. No neat cottages with gardens and flowers giving life to the landscape; no beautiful villages where cultivated taste blends with rustic simplicity, enriching and beautifying; no flourishing towns alive with the bustle of industry—none of these are seen; no, nor any diversified succession of well cultivated farms with their substantial homesteads and capacious barns; no well-constructed bridges, no well-constructed roads.—Neglect, the harbinger of decay, have stamped her impress everywhere. Slavery, bringing with it from its African home its characteristic accompaniments, seems to have breathed over its resting places here the same desolating breath which made Sahara a desert."

Mr. Carey next gives a detailed statement of the population of each county in Maryland

commencing in 1790, and bringing it on in regular decades to 1840, exhibiting in the aggregate the following remarkable results :

"In nine counties in Maryland the white population has diminished since 1790. These are the counties : Montgomery, Prince George, St. Mary's, Calvert, Charles Kent, Caroline, Talbot and Queen Anne's. The aggregate white population of those counties in 1790 was 73,352; in 1840 it was 54,408. Here is a falling off of nearly 20,000; if the account were carried to the present year the falling off would be more than 20,000.

"These nine counties include the chief slave-holding sections of the State. In five of them taken together, to-wit : Montgomery, Prince George, St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles, the number of slaves exceeds that of the white population. These are chiefly the tobacco growing counties, together with the county of Frederick.

"The counties of Alleghany, Washington, Frederick, and Baltimore, and Baltimore City, are the portions of the State in which slavery has existed but partially. That is to say, Alleghany, with an aggregate population of 15,704, has but 811 slaves; Washington, in a population of 28,862, has 2,505 slaves; Frederick has 6,370 slaves to a population of 36,703; Baltimore county, 6,533 slaves in aggregate population of 80,256; and Baltimore City includes but 3,212 in its population of 102,513.

"Now taking these four counties and Baltimore City out of the account, it will be found that the aggregate white population of the rest of the State has diminished since 1790. In other words the increase of our population, which is about one hundred and fifty thousand since the first census, has been mainly in those counties where slavery has been least prominent. In those portions of the State where slavery prevails most prominently, the white population, during the last fifty years, has diminished."

He then sums up, by the following comparison of a portion of the free and slave States, which exhibits the latter in a painfully humiliating contrast :

"The contrast presented by the progress of the free States, within fifty years, and by that of the slave-holding States for the same period, is so familiar that it would be useless to burden these pages with statistics to illustrate it. It may be sufficient to state, in respect to the increase of population, that in 1790 the free States, including Massachusetts and Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania had a population of 1,971,455; while the slaveholding States, Delaware, Maryland, with the District, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, contained 1,852,494 inhabitants. In 1840 the same free States numbered a population of 6,761,082, and the same slave-holding States had entire population of 3,827,110. The former increased in a ratio more than double as compared with the latter.

"In our own State, however, where we do not grow cotton, sugar, or rice, and where there are no new lands to present afresh to the plough, and to invite settlers from a distance, the increase of population in our chief slave-holding counties has been nothing at all. There has been a decrease, and a very marked one. How has this decrease happened but by a process similar to that which rendered desolate three hundred thousand acres in the campaign of Naples, in the days of slavery among the Romans—which made Italy itself almost one wilderness, re-inhabited by wild boars and other animals, before a single barbarian had crossed the Alps!

"Let us not conceal the truth from ourselves. Slavery in Maryland is no longer compatible with progress; it is a dead weight and worse; it has become a wasting disease, weakening the vital powers—a leprous distilment into the life-blood of the commonwealth."

This, then, fellow-citizens, is the result of the continued existence of slavery in one of the older States. We shall presently see that the deleterious effects of slavery are palpable in Kentucky as well as in Maryland.

We will now turn to Virginia, "*Old Virginia*," the State that we proudly claim as our mother, and let us see if the picture of slavery has there a brighter side. And first we give a comparative view of the progress and development of the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of New England and Virginia, as gathered from the best authorities within our reach. Both sections may be considered as nearly of the same age in point of settlement, both were settled by Englishmen, and there is a striking similarity in extent of territory.

Mr. Howison, in his late history of Virginia, thus contrasts the natural advantages of Massachusetts and Virginia, and what is here said of Massachusetts will apply equally to all New England:

"Massachusetts was first settled in 1620—Virginia in 1607—Massachusetts in winter has a cold, harsh atmosphere—Virginia has at all times a temperate and pleasant climate—Massachusetts has a hard, sterile soil, little grateful for attention—Virginia has a soil generous even to prodigality, and repaying twenty-fold the labor of the husbandman; Massachusetts is watered by small streams, and has but one river that may claim the first dignity—Virginia has six of the finest rivers, whose waters reach the Atlantic. . . . Massachusetts has some iron and granite, but beyond these, her minerals are as nothing—Virginia has iron, lead, copper, gold, salt, and coal in quantity, which no one has yet ventured to estimate—Massachusetts has indeed splendid harbors, and everything essential to the expansion of shipping—but Virginia has an inland sea and harbors that might be made

as good as any in the world. Massachusetts has 7,800 square miles of surface—Virginia has 66,000 square miles of horizontal area.”

From this statement of familiar facts, we infer that if Virginia has not equalled New England in progress, the fault is in her people and institutions, and not in her physical condition.

The area of the New England States is thus given by the best authorities, viz:

	Square Miles.	Acres.
Maine,	30,000	19,200,000
New Hampshire,	9,280	5,939,200
Vermont,	10,212	6,535,680
Massachusetts,	7,500	4,890,000
Rhode Island,	1,206	870,400
Connecticut,	4,674	2,991,360
Total,	63,026	40,336,640

The relative condition of New England and Virginia, at the present time, is shown by the following statements. They present a comparative view of the substantial elements of prosperity, as well as of moral and intellectual improvement, in these two sections of the United States—the one a population of diversified industrial employments, and improving all their advantages—the other a population chiefly agricultural, its manufacturing, mining, and commercial advantages but partially developed, importing from abroad a large portion of the manufactures necessary for the supply of its inhabitants, most of which could readily and advantageously be made within its own borders.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF
NEW ENGLAND AND VIRGINIA.

	New England.	Virginia.
White population, 1840,	2,212,165	740,968
Free col'd do do,	22,633	49,872
Slaves, do,	23	448,987
Total pop. in 1840,	2,234,821	1,239,827
Persons employed in		
Agriculture,	414,138	318,771
In Manufactures,	187,258	54,147
In Mining,	811	1,995
In Commerce,	17,757	6,361
In Navigation,	44,068	3,534
In Learned Professions,	11,050	3,866
Whites over 20 years of age who cannot read and write,	13,041	58,787
Students in Colleges,	2,857	1,097
Do in Academies,	43,664	11,083
Scholars in Primary Schools,	574,277	35,331
Capital employed in		
Manufactures,	\$86,824,229	11,360,861
In Foreign Commerce,	19,467,793	4,299,500
In Fisheries,	14,691,294	28,383
In Lumber Business,	2,096,041	113,210
Banking capital in '40,	62,134,850	3,637,400

ESTIMATES OF THE ANNUAL PRODUCTS, BY PROF.
TUCKER, OF VIRGINIA, ON THE BASIS OF
THE CENSUS OF 1840.

Annual products of		
Agriculture,	\$74,749,889	59,085,821
Of Manufactures,	82,784,185	8,349,211
Of Commerce,	13,528,740	5,299,451
Of Mining,	3,803,638	3,321,629

POPULATION, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF
1830 AND 1840.

White persons in 1830	1,933,338	694,300
Colored do 1830	21,378	517,105
White do 1840	2,212,165	740,908
Colored do 1840	22,657	498,829
Increase of whites in fifty years,	1,219,384	298,853
Increase of colored persons in fifty yr's,	5,613	192,636
Increase of total population,	1,224,997	494,189

The per centage of increase on the total population in fifty years, in New England, 121 3-10; in Virginia, 65 6-10.

We have given above the estimates of the comparative products of New England and Virginia, made by Prof. Tucker. We subjoin those of Dr. Ruffner, who is also a Virginian, because we believe them more correct. He says:

“By estimating the value of the yearly products of each State, and dividing the same by the number of persons employed in making those products, we find the average value produced by each person: and by comparing the results of the calculation for the several States, we discover the comparative productiveness of Agricultural labor in the States. This is what we want for our argument.

Professor Tucker, la'ce of the University of Virginia, in his useful book, on the Progress of Population, &c., has given in detail a calculation of this sort. He was certainly not partial to the North in his estimates. We have carefully examined them; and think that his valuations of products are in some particulars erroneous. We think, also, that he has omitted some elements necessary to an accurate result. We have therefore in our own calculations arrived at results somewhat different from his; yet so far as our argument is concerned, the difference is immaterial. We can therefore assure you, fellow-citizens, that no sort of calculation founded on any thing like truth or reason, can bring out a result materially different from ours.

We have not room here for the particulars that enter into the calculations: we can only give the results themselves.

The general results, according to both Mr. Tucker and ourselves are as follows:

In New England, agricultural industry yields an annual value, averaging about one hundred and eighty dollars to the hand, that is, for each person employed.

In the middle States of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the average is about two

hundred and sixty-five or two hundred and seventy dollars to the hand.

And in the old slave States, South of the Potomac, the average is about 130 dollars to the hand. This, according to our calculation, is rather above the average for East Virginia, but below that for West Virginia. The average for all Virginia is about 138 dollars.

Thus it appears by the best evidence which the case admits of, that the farmers of the middle States, with their free labor, produce more than twice as great a value to the hand, as the farmers and planters of the old slave States; and that even the New Englanders, on their poor soils and under their wintry sky, make nearly forty per cent more to the hand, than the old Southerners make in the 'sunny South,' with the advantage of their valuable staples, cotton and tobacco.

In Maryland, the result is intermediate between the average of the North and that of the South; and this agrees strikingly with her condition as a half-slave State; for lower Maryland is cultivated by negroes, and has a languishing agriculture, as well as a stationary population; but upper Maryland is cultivated by free labor, and has a thriving agriculture with a growing population.

These results, founded on the best evidence, and confirmed by general observation, are for substance indubitably correct, and cannot be overthrown.

Now it is admitted on all hands, that slave labor is better adapted to agriculture, than to any other branch of industry; and that, if not good for agriculture, it is really good for nothing.

Therefore, since in agriculture, slave labor is proved to be far less productive than free labor—*slavery is demonstrated to be not only unprofitable, but deeply injurious to the public prosperity.*

We do not mean that slave labor can never earn any thing for him that employs it. The question is between free labor and slave labor. He that chooses to employ a sort of labor, that yields only half as much to the hand as another sort would yield, makes a choice that is not only unprofitable, but deeply injurious to his interest.

If we now compare Virginia with New York, the disadvantages of slavery will appear in a still more striking point of view. One of the citizens of our State, Thomas F. Marshall, in a pamphlet published in 1840, draws the following comparison between Virginia and New York:

"In 1790, Virginia, with 70,000 square miles of Territory, contained a population of 749,308, New York, upon a surface of 45,658 square miles contained a population of 344,120. This statement exhibits in favor of Virginia a difference of 405,188 inhabitants, which is double that of New York and 68,000 more. In 1830, after a race of 40 years, Virginia is found to contain 1,211,405 souls, and New York 1,918,608, which exhibits a difference in favor of New

York of 707,203. The increase on the part of Virginia will be perceived to be 453,187, starting from a basis more than double that of New York. The increase of New York upon a basis of 340,120 has been 1,578,301 human beings.—Virginia has increased in a ratio of 61 per cent., and New York in that of 566 per cent. The total amount of property in Virginia, under the assessment of 1838, was 211,930,508. The aggregate value of Real and Personal property in New York, in 1839, was \$654,000,000, exhibiting an excess in New York over Virginia of \$442,066,492. Statesmen may differ about policy, or the means to be employed in the promotion of the public good, but surely they ought to agree as to what prosperity means. I think there can be no dispute that New York is a greater, richer, more prosperous and powerful State than Virginia.

What has occasioned the difference? There is but one explanation of the fact I have shown. The clog that has staid the march of her people, the incubus that has weighed down her enterprise, strangled her commerce, kept sealed her exhaustless fountains of mineral wealth, and paralysed her arts, manufactures and improvement, is *Negro Slavery.*"

We thus perceive that slavery produces the same melancholy result in Virginia as we have pointed out as existing in Maryland. But bad as the condition of Virginia is, a still more gloomy state of things is before her. She now gains her support principally by selling slaves to other States. This trade, in the present state of things, is to her of the most vital importance, but it places her at the mercy of the States with which she carries on the traffic. These States have drained off the dark waters which would have overwhelmed her. But now some of them show an inclination to shut out the stream from themselves, It must then roll back and spread desolation over the face of that ancient Commonwealth. She will be reduced to a condition worse than any which her worst enemies could wish for her. Sooner or later this state of things *must* come. Too many of her citizens seem to think that they can keep off this dark cloud by shutting their eyes. If they continue to do so, its thunders will burst upon their ears when it is too late for them to avoid the storm.

Look upon the gloomy picture of the ultimate effect of slavery on all classes, drawn by Gov McDowell, of Va. in the speech which he recently delivered in Congress. He says:

"Not only is the increase of the black race greater under all circumstances than that of the white, because of the absence, in their case, of all prudential restraint, but when no emigration is allowed to keep down that excessive growth, will follow, of course, that that race will ab-

sorb all the occupations upon which the laboring part of the white one can live, and they, as a consequence, will be driven away. When all the field labor, when all the handicraft-trades, such as Carpenters, Coopers, Blacksmiths, Shoemakers, are engrossed by the slave, and taken away from the resources of the laboring white man, when in addition to this the hopes and means of common education are all cut off by contiguous settlements of slaves over whole districts of country; when this comes to pass, what earthly consideration can prevent a laboring man so situated from instantly picking up his family and going to some other community where he might hope to improve and better their condition? Nothing could prevent him. Thus throng after throng of this class, amongst the very soundest and best of all, would pass away from amongst us, almost as numerous and unreturning as the passengers to the tomb, and so they would continue to pass away, until by and by, in the course of a few generations, the whole population of our slaveholding States would be reduced to the slaves on the one side, and the masters and managers on the other—a disproportion so great, so palpable to every eye—so suggestive to the slave himself of the fearful secret of his gigantic physical power, that nothing could take from his heart the temptation to try it, and try it he would, no matter what the consequences; and thus catastrophe would follow catastrophe, and our sunny and happy South would be covered over with scenes of conflict and of weeping.”

Read the remarks of Charles Fenton Mercer, the founder of the American Colonization Society, made in the convention called in 1830, for amending the Constitution of Virginia:

“Mr. Chairman, as I descended the Chesapeake the other day, on my way to this city, impelled by a favoring west wind, which, co-operating with the genius of Fulton, made the vessel on which I stood literally fly through the wave before me, I thought of the early descriptions of Virginia, by the followers of Randolph, and the companions of Smith. I endeavored to scent the fragrance of the gale which reached me from the shores of the capacious bay along which we steered, and I should have thought the pictures of Virginia which rose to my fancy, not too highly colored, had I not often traversed our lowland country, the land not only of my nativity, but that of my fathers—and I said to myself, how much it has lost of its primitive loveliness! Does the eye dwell with most pleasure on its wasted fields, or on its stunted forests of secondary growth of pine and cedar? Can we dwell without mournful regret on the temples of religion sinking in ruin, and those spacious dwellings whose doors once opened by the hand of liberal hospitality, are now fallen upon their portals, or closed in tenantless silence? Except on the banks of its rivers, the march of desolation now saddens this once beautiful country. The cheerful notes of population have ceased, and the wolf and wild deer, no longer scared from their ancient haunts, have descended from the mountains to the plains.

They look on the graves of our ancestors, and traverse their former paths. And shall we do nothing to restore this once lovely land? There was a time when the sun in his course shone on none so fair!”*

Extending our view still farther South, into whatever quarter of the country we may, where a large proportion of the population is composed of slaves, and the picture becomes more and more gloomy. In proof of this, we cite the language of the eloquent ex-Senator Preston, of South Carolina. In a speech delivered some years since at Columbia in reference to a proposed railroad, he says:

“No Southern man can journey (as he had lately done) through the Northern States, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the spirit which they exhibit, the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is rendered comfortable and respectable, without feelings of deep sadness and shame, as he remembers his own neglected and desolate home. There no dwelling is to be seen abandoned, not a farm uncultivated. Every person and everything perform a part toward the grand result; and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories and canals, and railroads and edifices

* A gentleman by the name of Elwood Fisher, of Cincinnati Ohio has come to the rescue of the pro-slavery party in Kentucky, and has shown that there prevails a universal mistake as to the wealth of Virginia. He has proven that Virginians know nothing about themselves—that in spite of all they say Virginia is highly prosperous—that in fact her people are the wealthiest in the world!

Mr. Fisher estimates the whole property of Virginia at \$600,000,000, he does not say that this is the assessed value but gives it as the estimate of Mr Dew made in 1831.—Why does Mr. Fisher go so far back as 1831 for the value of the property of Virginia? Has Virginia not improved? The reason is plain. Prof. Dew was a speculator in internal improvement schemes, and he made the estimate of the wealth of Virginia which best suited Mr. Fisher's purpose. But let us look a little at Mr. Fisher's ciphering. In the note to page 5 of his pamphlet he says:

“That (the property) of Virginia was computed at the amount now assumed in 1831 by Prof Dew. I have seen no official statement. But if she Taxes other property as high as negroes, the total must now far exceed that estimate, as in 1817 she taxed 252,317 adult slaves at \$80,741 who are worth about \$40,000,000, and taxes her other property, real and personal, \$354,451, exclusive of merchant's stock.”

If 252,317 Virginia slaves are worth as Mr. Fisher says \$40,000,000—then each slave is worth \$155.30(!)

The truth is there is no assessed value of property in Virginia as there is in Kentucky. Nothing is taxed there *ad valorem* except land. Slaves, horses and every thing except land are taxed specifically—just as gold watches are in Kentucky. Slaves in Virginia are taxed 32 cts. a head, horses 10 cts., and so on. This Mr. Fisher must have known—for the American Almanac to which he refers shows it. Giving the number of slaves and the tax paid on them—Mr. Fisher has undertaken the wonderful problem as ascertaining their value! This reminds us of the boy who was working away at the following sum—“If a pound of butter costs six pence how much does a pound of soap come to?”

Oh, Oh, Mr. Fisher, you live in a free State and mistook your calling when you began to estimate the value of slaves. We in Kentucky think our slaves are worth more than those in Virginia—but we value ours at an average a little more than \$300 apiece. You make the Virginia slaves worth five times as much as ours! If you will but let us estimate the wealth of New York as you have the slaves of Virginia, her wealth instead of being \$632,699,993 will be nearer \$3,163,499,965!

and towns and cities. We of the South are mistaken in the character of these people, when we think of them only as pedlars in horn flints and bark nutmegs. Their energy and enterprise are directed to all objects great and small within their reach. Their numerous railroads and other modes of expeditious intercommunication knit the whole country into a closely compacted mass, through which the productions of commerce and of the press, the comforts of life and the means of knowledge are universally diffused, while the close intercourse of business and of travel makes all neighbors, and promotes a common interest and common sympathy.

"How different the condition of these things in the South! Here the face of the country wears the aspect of premature old age and decay. No improvement is seen going on, nothing is done for posterity. No man thinks of anything beyond the present moment."

This picture, drawn by the hand of a master, is unhappily too true! Its fidelity cannot be questioned, and it is in vain for interested politicians to attribute it to any other cause than that of slavery. And how can it be otherwise, in a land where one half the population is reduced almost to the condition of beasts of burden—intentionally and systematically shut out from every means of improvement, and when a large portion of the other half is nurtured from infancy in habits of idleness and extravagance?

It is in vain to tell us that railroads and canals will secure our prosperity, for they cannot change the character of our population nor the habits of our people. Neither railroads nor canals nor any other works of internal improvements can ever exist, to any great extent, where there is that sparseness of population, aversion to labor and want of enterprise, which has characterized every slave country, from the beginning of the world. It is useless for Southern men to be holding conventions to devise the best means of promoting Internal Improvements. We never can have improvements while slavery is among us and capital and labor are shut out by a general contempt for labor. If we have but few internal improvements—if we want enterprise—if we have no system for the education of the masses—if our laboring citizens are not prospering, but are annually driven off by thousands in search of better homes—if, in short, we are not progressing as the world around us—there is but one cause for it all—slavery—slavery, which, in the language of a distinguished Virginian, is "a mildew that has blighted in its course every region it has touched from the creation of the world."

We have seen how Virginia stands in comparison with New York, or New England, but we have only to compare the products of South Carolina—slave-loving South Carolina—with those of any free State in the Union, and we have the comparative productiveness of free and slave labor, so strikingly presented that he must be blind who does not see its significance.

The census returns of 1840, give not only the population of the States, but a complete view of the agriculture in each. Many errors undoubtedly exist in those returns, partly from

wrong estimates of farmers, partly from the negligence of the Deputy Marshals who took the census—but it is just as likely that those errors were committed in our State as in another—it is just as likely that the products of New York were estimated too low as those of South Carolina—upon the whole, these returns are incomparably the best evidence that exists upon the subject, and their substantial correctness is confirmed by all sorts of evidence, so far as any exists.

The census returns show that in 1840, South Carolina had 198,363 persons employed in agriculture. And according to our estimates based on those returns, the value of the whole of her agricultural products does not exceed \$11,000,000. These estimates were carefully made, and no sort of calculation founded on any thing like truth or reason, can bring about a result materially different.

In New York the produce of the dairy alone was worth \$10,496,021, and the single item of hay—estimating it at \$6 per ton—was worth \$18,762,282.

By dividing the value of the products by the number of persons in making those products, we find the average value produced by each.—In South Carolina then, agricultural industry yields an annual value averaging something less than \$55 to the hand.

Now, if we take the estimate by Dr. Ruffner of the productive industry of New England and New York, we find that each man in New England produces three times as much, and each man in New York five times as much as each man, in the same pursuit, in South Carolina.

We have not space for the tables showing in detail the comparative productive industry of all the free and slave States. The following statement presents at once the most concise and comprehensive statement we have seen.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY OF THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES, ON THE BASIS OF THE CENSUS OF 1840.

Slave States.	Free States.
\$107,934,996	\$397,965,552
	107,934,996

Balance against us, \$290,030,556

If to this we add the excess of the agricultural products of the free over those of the slave States, viz: \$52,707,913, we have the entire balance against the latter of \$342,738,469.

We now turn to our own home, to our own State, to Kentucky, and we ask the serious attention of our fellow citizens to some arguments and statistics, collected by a distinguished gentleman of this State, and first published in 1845. Their general correctness will not be questioned:

The number of slaves in Kentucky, at various periods, may be stated thus:

	Slaves.
In 1790	11,330
" 1800	40,313
" 1810	50,661
" 1820	126,732
" 1830	165,213
" 1840	182,238

From this table it appears that in the first ten years the slave population was more than trebled; in the next decade, again, more than doubled; and from 1830 to 1840 exhibited still an additional increase of 27,045 slaves. From 1840 to 1849 there is still an increase. This table further shows that in half a century the slave population has multiplied upon itself nineteen times.

In the period we have considered, what was the advance of the free population of Kentucky? The answer includes both white and free colored persons.

Free pop'tion.	Original stock
1790 61,217	61,217
1800 180,652	1790 to 1800 110,365 or 191 8 pr ct.
1810 325,950	do 1800 to 1810 145,338 or 80 5 "
1820 437,685	do 1810 to 1820 111,632 or 34 2 "
1830 522,701	do 1820 to 1830 85,119 or 19 1 "
1840 597,570	do 1830 to 1840 74,766 or 14 3 "

By an examination of the foregoing table, it will be perceived that though the free population of Kentucky continues to increase, yet in every period of ten years since 1810, the rate has been gradually diminishing, and in a fearful degree.

The proportion of free persons to slaves in 1790 was as 5 18-100 to 1; in 1840 it was only as 3 28-100 to 1, making it manifest that in the half century under consideration, the slaves in Kentucky have increased vastly on the whites!

The next conclusion to be deduced from the facts stated is, that the presence of slavery has retarded the flow of population to Kentucky, and checks the growth, and power, and the development of the abundant resources of the State.— This is apparent from the decreasing decennial increase of our free population. It will more readily appear that slavery is the cause, when we compare the growth of Kentucky with the growth of adjoining free States.

Our productions are the same as those of Ohio and Indiana. Our area is greater than that of Indiana, and about equals that of Ohio; our way to market is as easy; our soil as rich and prolific; our climate as propitious and healthy; our institutions (with the sole exception of slavery) similar, and as perfect and free, and our population as quick, apt and intelligent.

The subjoined table shewing the free population of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana is full of significance:

Kentucky.	Rep.	Ohio.	Rep.	Indiana.	Rep.
pop.	in Con.	pop.	—	pop.	—
1890 61,227	a wilderness.	1	a wilderness.	2	—
1800 180,612	6	45,396	1	4,872	none
1810 325,950	9	230,760	6	21,521	a delo
1820 437,685	12	681,432	15	147,173	2
1830 522,701	13	937,903	19	343,031	7
1840 597,270	10	1,519,467	21	685,856	10

Slavery has caused Kentucky to lag in the race of prosperity, while Ohio and Indiana have outstripped her; and unless the heavy burden which weighs so oppressively on the energies of our Commonwealth is removed, she must be content to see her younger sisters on the other side of the Ohio leave her at an immeasurable distance behind.

From the census returns of 1840, we have compiled the following tables:

The amount of capital invested in Manufac-

tures in 1840, as stated in the census was as follows:

Ohio	\$16,905,257
Kentucky	6,916,249

Difference in favor of Ohio, \$10,969,998
 Nearly three times as much capital invested in Manufactures in Ohio.

Compare the capital invested in Commerce:

Ohio,	\$22,200,210
Kentucky,	10,323,301

Difference in favor of Ohio, \$11,877,909
 One million and a half more than twice as much capital invested in Commerce in Ohio.

Take next the products of the Mines and of the Forest:

Ohio—Mines	\$2,060,869
Forest,	600,000

Kentucky—Mines	\$1,212,062
Forest,	200,000

\$1,642,061

Difference in favor of Ohio, \$927,797

It is seen at a glance, that so far as these items are concerned, not only is Ohio as a State far richer than Kentucky, but there is much greater wealth relatively to the population in Ohio than in Kentucky. Were no more capital invested in commerce and in manufactures in the former than latter, relatively to the population, it would be not quite twice as much as in Kentucky—that is, only \$32,000,000; but the real amount invested, is, \$39,105,467!

But it may be said that what Ohio gains in manufactures and commerce is lost in agriculture. This, too, is easily tested, and we submit the following table, taken from the report of the Commissioner of Patents, made in 1847—which is believed to be as accurate as the census of 1840, and brings the comparison nearer to our own time:

	Ohio.	Kentucky.
Wheat, bushels,	16,800,000	6,000,000
Barley, "	210,000	18,000
Oats, "	26,500,000	14,100,000
Rye, "	1,000,000	2,650,000
Buckwheat "	1,200,000	26,000
Indian Corn	61,000,000	62,000,000
Potatoes "	4,611,000	1,810,000
Hay—tons.	1,100,000	130,000
Hemp "	600	15,000
Tobacco—lbs.,	9,000,000	65,000,000
Cotton "	—	2,400,000
Silk, "	35,000	4,400
Sugar, "	5,000,000	3,000,000

It is needless to go into an estimate of the aggregate values. The table shows, at once, that Ohio possesses double the agricultural wealth of Kentucky. Her Indian Corn and Wheat alone are worth the whole of the products of Kentucky, as set down in the foregoing table. The aggregate value of those products are but little more than double the simple item of Hay in Ohio.

When to all this we add that Kentucky is at least equal to Ohio in all natural resources; was settled at an earlier period, and had a population of 73,000, when Ohio was a wilderness; while now, after a race of forty years, Ohio has twice the population, three times the Manufac-

turing and Commercial wealth, and more than double the Agricultural, then we are prepared to form some estimate of the comparative value of the free-labor and slave labor systems.

According to the census of 1840, Ohio had 272,579, and Kentucky 197,738 persons employed in agriculture. We have no means of ascertaining the number in 1847. Taking these numbers as the basis, and the foregoing table, then according to our estimate—and we are sure that no calculation founded on anything like truth can bring out a materially different result—*every person engaged in Agriculture in Ohio produces as much as every person engaged in the same pursuit in Kentucky, and half as much more.* The same estimate shows that if each white person engaged in agriculture in Kentucky, produces as much as each white man in Ohio, then each white man in Ohio produces three times as much as each slave in Kentucky.

But, fellow-citizens, it is useless to furnish you with further facts showing the unproductiveness of slave-labor. We all know that *indolence* and *slovenliness* are the universal characteristics of slaves—and how could it be otherwise, when they have no other incentive to work than the fear of the lash from their lenient Kentucky masters? Adam Smith, in his great work on the "Wealth of Nations," says:

"The experience of all ages and nations, I believe, demonstrates that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, is in the end the dearest of any. A person who can acquire no property, can have no interest but to eat as much, and to labor as little as possible."

But let us take other examples, in which we may compare slave States that have made the most rapid growth. For example, look at Arkansas and Michigan:

	Arkansas.	Michigan.
1830,	30,388	31,639
1840,	97,574	212,267

And yet another in the case of Alabama and Illinois:

	Alabama.	Illinois.
1830,	191,978	157,455
1840,	337,224	476,183

If we make a more general comparison of the the slave and free States, we still find the facts against slavery. For example—it appears from the last census that the number of white persons over twenty years of age, who cannot read and write compared with the whole white population is, in the New England States, one to every five hundred and eighty-five; in the State of New York one to fifty-six, and in Pennsylvania one to fifty, whereas the number in the slave States averages one to seventeen, in the State of Virginia one to every twelve and a half, in Kentucky one to every fifteen, of the white inhabitants. The census shows the lamentable fact that of the 91,105 persons who voted in Ky at the Presidential election in 1840, about twenty thousand could not read and write**

*The census shows that in 1840 there were 40,018 white persons in Kentucky over 20 years of age, who could not read and write. Our estimate supposes that one-half of these were males.

In addition to this, when we take into consideration that nearly the whole of the colored population in the slave States are without the privilege of education—what a mass of ignorance do we find within their borders!

In New York the average price of land per acre is upwards of \$20—in Ohio it is about \$11.50—in Kentucky it is according to the Auditor's report \$6.57. Now if by emancipation, the increase in the price of land should be two dollars per acre, that increase would pay for all the slaves in the State. We have no doubt that, if our commonwealth was rid of slavery, the enhanced value of the land alone would be more than equal to the assessed value of all the slaves.

We might add to the statistics we have now given, and thus pile proof on proof of the fact that slavery is hostile to all the industrial and other interests of a State. But we have adduced enough to satisfy any man of candid mind, that slavery has greatly retarded the growth of our Commonwealth, and prevented the development of the resources with which she is so richly endowed. Remove this incubus from her fair bosom, and she will speedily become quickened with a new life, and enter with spirit on a career of the highest prosperity and renown. As a free State, she would resound from her centre to her extremities with the busy sounds of enterprise—her population would soon be doubled and trebled—her immense mineral treasures would be opened up to the light of day—works of internal improvement, facilitating transportation between different and distant points would spring into existence—habits of activity would banish the languor that is now felt in every vein—cheerfulness would displace despondency—school houses and churches would be greatly multiplied—and the hum of industry would rise to heaven from every hill side and smiling valley like an anthem of praise from a happy and thriving people. When we reflect on what Kentucky might be, we cannot too deeply lament that infatuation which has so long perpetuated a system so detrimental to all her interests. Slavery has not yet exhausted her fertility, and brought desolation on her fields, but such will be her melancholy experience, unless she casts off her shackles before it is too late.

The advocates of slavery, unable to answer these statistical facts, are prone to ask whether Kentucky is not populous enough, and whether a dense population is not to be deprecated rather than desired. To fortify their position, they refer to the vices which prevail in large cities, and the difficulties experienced by the masses in getting along in the most densely populated countries on the globe. It is sufficient, perhaps, in reply to such logic, to say that in no State of the Union, is there the least probability that, for ages, the population will press on the means of subsistence, for we have an area of public lands, embracing over fourteen hundred millions of acres—more than an acre and a half for every human being on the face of the earth. With such a boundless public domain, it is not at all likely that any of the United States will, for generations to come, be

afflicted with the evils of over-population.— Those gentlemen, therefore, who affect to think that if Kentucky should emancipate her slaves, she will soon be too densely populated, may as well quiet their apprehensions. There can be no doubt that, when slavery shall be abolished in our Commonwealth, there will follow a very large increase in our population, and that is precisely what Kentucky needs to develop her resources, and to insure to her an eminent and continued prosperity.

Let any one look around him and twenty years back and ask himself, why his land has risen in value? why facilities for transportation and travel have increased? why school-houses are more abundant, and the blessings of education more generally diffused? why, in short, society and everything are improved, and there is but one answer, viz: the population of the State has increased, and its consequent productive industry and wealth.

Every good citizen is anxious that the mineral treasures of the State shall be opened and rendered available to enterprise—that the facilities of inter-communication shall be greatly multiplied—that education shall visit its blessings on the mind of every child in the State, and that churches shall be increased ten-fold, bespeaking the universality of the religious sentiments, and bringing the altar within convenient distance of all. Our statesmen and philanthropists have for many years been laboring to bring about such desirable results, and their labors have been fruitless, because slavery rears its dark and forbidding front and frowns down every attempt to introduce great public and private enterprises. But let slavery be abolished, and then our population will be increased, and we shall soon have our immense mineral riches brought to light, and works of internal improvement, schoolhouses, and churches will be greatly multiplied; so that every farmer and manufacturer will be convenient to a good market, and the benefits of knowledge and religion will abound in every neighborhood, to enlighten the cloud of ignorance that now wraps our State, in common with the other slave States, as with a pall.

Slavery blights everything it touches. It breathes its pestilential breath on mind and morals, and they become languid and dull—its influences pass over the verdure of the fields, and and it droops and decays.

But it is said the present time is unpropitious to the discussion of plans of emancipation, and that there are so many other subjects of constitutional reform before the people that they cannot give the requisite attention to slavery. Now as emancipation contemplates a reform infinitely more important than any and all others that have been suggested, it is utterly unwise to postpone it that matters of less moment may be looked into. Moreover, we feel assured that far more attention has been given to the question of emancipation in the State than to any other question that has been proposed, and the people are as ready to vote intelligently in regard to it as to any other reform.

We are told that we ought to wait a little longer. We have waited too long already, and the longer we wait the greater the evil becomes. It is becoming more unmanageable every day. Slavery has always been insisting that people ought to wait a little longer. The cry is perfectly characteristic of the system.— With the sluggard spoken of by the wisest of the Jewish monarchs, it is in favor of “a little more sleep, a little more slumber, a little more folding of the hands together.” It never was and never will be ready for any sort of activity. It always favors the policy of masterly inactivity. In 1792, the question of emancipation was agitated, but postponed to a more convenient season. In 1798, it was again agitated and again postponed. Since that period, half a century has gone by and the system is not better prepared to be tried before the people than it was at that time. The truth is, what the pro-slavery men call the proper time will never arrive. It will never overtake us, we must overtake it.

The insincerity of these men is in every way apparent. The last Legislature—the most pro-slavery one ever assembled in Kentucky—regarding slavery as a blessing, and desiring to perpetuate it—repealed the wholesome provisions of the law of 1833—and thus almost as far as they could, encouraged the flooding of our beloved Commonwealth with the refuse jail negroes of other States. Had they possessed the power they would, perhaps, have repealed all our laws which declare the slave-trade piracy, and opened the whole continent of Africa to the merciless avarice of the negro-trader. Shall we still be quiet? No, fellow-citizens—by all the pride we feel in the fair name of our State—by the desire we have for her prosperity—by all her interests and glory—by the love we bear our children and our children's children—in short, by all the terrible evils of slavery—never let us rest while that abominable repealing statute remains upon the statute-book.

And now, fellow-citizens, in view of all the facts and considerations which we have presented, we invite you to co-operate with us in engraving upon the new constitution some scheme of Emancipation which will ultimately relieve our beloved State from the incubus of slavery. It is now no longer a matter of conjecture, but of demonstration, that a scheme can be devised which, not suddenly disturbing the relation of master and slave—not materially affecting private rights—will not only extinguish slavery, but remove the whole colored population to a far better home—without any cost to individuals or the State.

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Those persons who wish to contribute to the fund for printing Emancipation documents, will please remit their contributions to Wm. Richardson.

BLAND BALLARD, Sec'y.
LOUISVILLE, Ky., April, 1849.