

ADDRESS

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.

In proposing to change that portion of the organic law of the State which refers to slavery, we take the ground that slavery is an evil, viewed in all its aspects—social, moral, political and pecuniary. We cannot name a single interest which we value, and which we would desire to cherish and perpetuate, that would not be promoted and strengthened by the removal of slavery. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that our sister States, with greatly inferior natural advantages, are outstripping us in population, wealth, extent and variety of internal improvements, and in the general diffusion of knowledge. In all those unmistakable signs of prosperity which mark the adjacent free States, our State compares most unfavorably; and we but repeat the observation of thousands of unprejudiced observers, in attributing this unfavorable State of things to SLAVERY.

We are aware that many of our fellow-citizens, who have not examined this subject thoroughly, differ from us in their views of the comparative progress and prosperity of the free and slave States. Even during the short period that the subject of Emancipation has been under discussion in Kentucky, we have seen it

asserted "that it is not true that the Northern States have increased more rapidly than the Southern," and further, that "National wealth and prosperity when predicated of the States of this Union," so far as they may be affected by slavery, is "mere loose speculation, not deserving a serious answer."

We are willing, fellow-citizens, to make this the point on which the decision of this question shall turn. For, if it can be made to appear that slavery is a blessing—if it can be proved to be an element of permanent national wealth—if it increases public security and private happiness—if it elevates the morals, refines the tastes, or develops the resources of a people—then should we at once cease our opposition to it, and labor most zealously and faithfully for its perpetuation and extension. If slavery gives us any advantages which we would not possess in its absence, the advocates of its perpetuation can certainly enumerate them. If the capitalist can invest his money to a better advantage in a slave than in a free State, or if the laborer, the mechanic and the manufacturer can procure higher wages, or hold a more elevated position in society in slave States, the facts can easily be shown. When we are asked to perpetuate slavery we can but ask in our turn, what good has it done, and what good does it propose to do?

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 characterised in terms of eloquent and bitter denunciation. In view then of this concurrent and united testimony

condemning slavery, and after fifty years experience of its advantages, if any there be, are we asking too much of its advocates when we request them to specify those advantages? At this period, 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, unless that evil is mixed with much good, and is in some of its aspects a manifest advantage to the community tolerating it? 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 engraving on that organic law a provision which will perpetuate an institution 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 pressed 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 another we must answer.

We have asserted 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 assertion is based. With Emancipationists this course of procedure is unnecessary. *They* know the evils of slavery, and see the necessity of taking steps with a view to the gradual but ultimate extirpation of those evils. We desire to win over to our views a large majority of 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.

In a country like ours, made up of various States, each one inviting immigration by presenting as many advantages as possible, population will naturally and irresistibly centre where the most numerous and valuable considerations are presented. We may, therefore, safely affirm that a rapid and continuous increase of population, is the most certain measure of public and private prosperity. This proposition needs no proof, for its opposite involves the absurdity that our citizens, when left free to

act, are incapable of appreciating and understanding their own interests. Centuries must roll around before any portion of these States can touch the point "where population presses upon the means of subsistence." That dogma can, therefore, form no element in our present reasonings on the progress and laws of population.

Commencing, then, with Maryland, one of the oldest slaves States, we submit the following statements 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 cultivation. 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 those 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, has 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 slaveholding 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 an aggregate population of 80,256; and Baltimore City includes but 3,212 slaves 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 slaveholding 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 slaveholding States had an 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 a fresh soil to the plough, and to invite settlers from a distance, the increase of population in our chief slaveholding 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 campagna 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 lifeblood 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. The first settlement in Virginia was commenced in 1607, at Jamestown, while the first colony planted in New England, was in 1620, at Plymouth. Both sections may, therefore, 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. Martin, a Virginia geographer, states the area of Virginia at 65,624 square miles; Mr. Darby says, "the area of this State is usually underrated, as by a careful measurement by the rhombs, the superficies are within a fraction of 70,000 square miles."—(The area of England and Wales is but 57,812; Scotland, 25,016; and Ireland, 31,874 square miles.)

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	4,800,000
Rhode Island,	1,306	870,400
Connecticut,	4,674	2,991,360
Total,	63,026	40,336,640

It is thus shown that Virginia is superior to New England in extent of territory; the advantage must also be conceded to her in climate, in fertility of soil, in the variety of agricultural productions, in her natural position, in the extent of internal navigation, thus affording avenues to market, with equal facilities for foreign or domestic commerce. It might also be shown that Virginia possesses great advantages for manufacturing, and that in minerals she is superior to any other State. "Few countries," says Martin, "possess greater advantages than Virginia for success in manufacturing; she has labor cheap and abundant, inexhaustible supplies of fuel, and almost unlimited water power." "In minerals, and fossils," says Flint, "Virginia is considered the richest State in the Union. Quarries of the most beautiful marble and freestone, blue limestone, pit coal, and iron ore, are found in inexhaustible abundance, and in places too numerous to be designated. Black lead, lead ore, rock crystal, amethysts, and emeralds, are discovered. Porcelain clay and chalk are common, and almost all the useful fossils. The extensive belt of hill and mountainous country, in which gold is found in every form, commences in this State, nearly in the midland regions, and extends S. W. many hundred miles."

We have alluded to these natural resources of Virginia, to show her capabilities of employing a large population in manufacturing and mining, and thus to diversify the industrial pursuits of her inhabitants.

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 manu-

factures 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,	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	112,210
Banking capital in 1840,	62,134,850	3,637,400

ESTIMATES OF THE ANNUAL PRODUCTS, BY PROFESSOR 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	491,489

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

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 1,578,391 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 facts I have shewn. 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*."

Since these remarks were written, the census of 1840 has been published, shewing that New York has increased during 10 years, 515,413 inhabitants, while Virginia has increased only 28,525—all of which is in the western part of the State where there are but few slaves, and the ruinous effects of the system are less severely felt.

Furthermore, the census of 1840 has developed the important and alarming fact that the population of Eastern Virginia, is less by 26,106 inhabitants than it was in 1830. The population of the Union has increased during the same period 32 7-10 per cent., which applied to the population of Eastern Virginia in 1830, say 8,330,048 would give 1,105,454 as the number of inhabitants there ought to be in this section of the State, but deducting from this, the actual population shews that Eastern Virginia has, in 10 years, fallen short of the general advancement by the number of 298,512 inhabitants. If the ratio of the increase of population and the value of Real Estate be considered as tests of the prosperity of a State, then it is evident that the Eastern section of Virginia is the reverse of prosperous. This conclusion is further corroborated by the mournful silences

that reigns in her dilapidated villages—the large quantity of exhausted land that is lying waste, and the forests of pine and cedar now waving over a soil that once rewarded the labors of the husbandman.

We thus perceive that slavery produces the same melancholy results 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.

Before the convention for amending the Constitution of Virginia, called in 1830, Charles Fenton Mercer, of Loudon county, made the following remarks, which drew tears from the eyes of members of the convention:

"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 Raleigh, 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!"

Since the time at which Mr. Mercer spoke, freemen have been invited to come and take possession of these lands, and the wolf is again beginning to fly to his mountain den. Slavery had so poisoned the soil that slavery itself could not live upon it. It fastened its teeth upon the soil, and never let go its vampyre hold while life remained in its victim. But as if to show that slavery has no sorrow that freedom cannot cure, the land is again reviving. The beautiful plains are again rejoicing in the smiles of freedom, and send forth their welcome in herbs and flowers. The country will acquire more than its former glory, if slavery is not again permitted to enter like another serpent into the garden of Eden.

The enlightened public sentiment of the age is uncompromisingly hostile to slavery. The testimony of the Conscript Fathers of the Republic, those great and wise men who laid the foundations of our government, is also against African slavery. There is scarcely a great man who flourished in our revolutionary history, who has not taken occasion to record his opinions against slavery. In proof of this assertion listen to the following great men:

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 abhorrence 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 times!”

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.”

If we make a more general comparison of 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 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 sev-

enteen, and, in the State of Virginia one to every twelve and a half, of the white inhabitants. 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!

The evils complained of are not confined to any one State—they extend to all sections of our country where a large proportion of the population is composed of slaves. 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 performs a part toward the grand result; and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories and canals, and railroads and edifices 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. It is useless for us to hold conventions and listen to the best means of preserving the balance of trade—for the balance will always be against us while capital and labor are shut out by a general contempt for labor.

It must then be evident that the want of enterprise, the aversion to labor, and the absence of general education, so often complained of by Southern men as existing to a deplorable extent in the Southern States, can be attributed only to the system of slavery; which, to use 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." In viewing the effects of slavery on some of the richest sections of our country, we are reminded of the language of the Prophet when speaking of the ravages committed by locusts: "*The land before them is as the garden of Eden—behind them is a desolate wilderness.*"

To conclude our general view on the productive capabilities of the free and slave States, we subjoin the following table, taken from the census of 1840:

	Slave States	Free States
Hardware and Cutlery	\$373,162	6,078,804
Cotton Goods	3,724,447	42,625,506
Silk do	3,096	116,820
Woolen do	1,376,184	19,420,819
Glass of all kinds	189,500	2,700,393
Leather	5,219,780	12,163,249
Shoes, Saddlery, &c.	4,574,469	28,569,841
Paper and Playing Cards	528,204	5,590,202
Precious Metals	122,520	4,612,440
Other do	834,260	8,875,176
Musical Instruments	22,878	901,052
Carriages and Wag's	2,515,665	8,312,220
Furniture	1,301,504	6,193,798
Lead, Gold, Silver, and Copper	6,756,808	26,344,703
Machinery	2,285,212	8,694,368
Drugs, Medicines, dyes and paints	635,469	3,894,935
Soap and Candles	1,557,156	4,405,210
Rope	1,658,206	2,360,040
Tobacco, chewing and smoking	3,634,742	2,167,142
Sugar, Chocolate and Confectionary	1,322,883	3,256,282
Granite, Marble and other stone	391,831	3,304,655
Iron	6,539,461	17,187,434
Coal, (anthracite and bituminous)	3,122,000	11,412,176
Brick, Stone, and Wooden Houses	14,421,391	27,496,960
Bricks and Lime	3,541,022	6,201,090
Hats, Caps and Bonnets	905,074	9,215,768

Flour, Oil and Plank	23,454,809	52,120,485
Distilled Liquors	2,807,113	11,521,502
Other articles not enumerated	14,216,125	52,162,220
	\$107,934,996	\$397,965,552
Produce of the South		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	- - - 11,830
" 1800	- - - 40,343
" 1810	- - - 80,561
" 1820	- - - 126,732
" 1830	- - - 165,213
" 1840	- - - 182,258

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 in the next twenty years it again was doubled; and from 1830 to 1840 exhibited still an additional increase of 27,045 slaves.

What the increase has been since 1840 we have very imperfect means of ascertaining, but the probability is, that we now have in our State from 190,000 to 200,000 slaves. This table 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'n.		Original stock 61,247	
1790	61,247	In'c fm 1790 to 1800	119,365 or 194 8 pr ct.
1800	180,622	do. 1806 to 1810	145,338 or 80 5 "
1810	325,950	do. 1810 to 1820	111,635 or 34 2 "
1820	437,585	do. 1820 to 1830	85,119 or 19 4 "
1830	522,701	do. 1830 to 1840	74,766 or 14 3 "
1840	697,670		

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 nearly equals that of Ohio; our way to market 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. pop. in Con.	Ohio. pop. —	Rep. Indiana. pop. —	Rep.
1790	61,227	a wilderness.	a wilderness.	—
1800	180,612	6	45,365	1
1810	325,950	9	230,760	6
1820	437,585	12	581,434	14
1830	522,704	13	937,903	19
1840	597,570	10	1,519,467	21

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.

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

The examples we have given prove incontrovertibly that the presence of slavery in a State retards its growth, checks the advance of popu-

lation, and in a few brief years brings on it the marks of premature decay. Where slavery is the badge of labor, every man shuns labor as an evil. Necessity alone can compel a man to toil by the side of his neighbor's slave, and under this compulsion the freeman becomes discontented with his social rank and directly seeks a new home where such annoyances may be avoided. This influence has been steadily going forward throughout the last thirty years, and it has withdrawn from this Commonwealth thousands of her most energetic sons, who would gladly have remained under other circumstances. It has turned from the State capital, industry and genius seeking investment, employment or the path of fame among the States of the Mississippi Valley. Who will fix his destiny, (other things being equal,) and the fortunes of his children in a slave State, in preference to one where slavery does not exist?— Surely not the laborer; surely not the manufacturer; surely, not the man who expects to eat his bread in the sweat of his face.

Slavery has a direct tendency to place the best lands in the State in the hands of a few proprietors. The large landholders widen their possessions, and drive out the farmers in moderate circumstances. This operation is seen continually in progress in Kentucky. Fayette is one of the oldest and richest counties in the State. In 1787, Fayette had nine hundred voters, about a tenth of all the voters in the State. In 1798, she gave 2,247 votes on the convention question, and since that time, she has scarcely increased her voting population.— In 1796, her representatives in the Legislature were about one-fifteenth of the whole; in 1813, it was one-twenty-third; in 1828, it was one-thirty-third, and now it is equal to only one-fiftieth of the whole. She has been continually losing her influence in the councils of the State, owing, in part, to the stationary character of her voting population. In 1840, her white population was 9,863, and her black population was 11,709, a difference in favor of the latter of 1,846. A similar state of things has prevailed in Bourbon county—her voting population having remained almost stationary for the last fifty years. These counties contain some of the finest land on this continent, and it has been monopolised by large slaveholding proprietors. Had the State been free, these counties would now be peopled densely by a thriving, industrious population, devoted to a variety of pursuits, and incalculably more valuable

than they can ever become while the blighting shadow of slavery rests upon them.

One more comparison of statistics and we leave this part of our subject.

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

The amount of capital invested in Manufactures in 1840, as stated in the census was as follows:

Ohio,	\$16,905,257
Kentucky,	5,945,259

Difference in favor of Ohio, \$10,959,998
Nearly three times as much capital invested in Manufactures in Ohio.

Compare the capital invested in Commerce:

Ohio,	\$22,200,210
Kentucky,	10,322,301

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,	\$2,069,859
Forest,	500,000

\$2,569,859

Kentucky.—Mines,	\$1,242,062
Forest,	200,000

\$1,642,062

Difference in favor of Ohio, \$927,797

To reduce the whole matter to a smaller compass, let us give the per cent. estimates:

Excess of the population of Ohio,	94 per cent.
“ of the capital invested in Manufactures in Ohio,	185 per cent.
“ of the capital invested in Commerce in Ohio,	115 per cent.
“ of the products of Mines and the Forest,	60 per cent.

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 we have, 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 1844, 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.	15,369,000	3,974,000
Barley, “	191,000	14,000
Oats, “	20,393,000	11,901,000
Rye, “	840,000	2,316,000
Buckwheat, “	792,000	13,000
Indian Corn, “	48,000,000	47,500,000
Potatoes, “	4,847,000	1,371,000
Tobacco, lbs.	6,888,000	57,555,000
Cotton, “		880,000
Silk, “	31,500	5,810
Sugar, “	4,380,000	2,447,000
Hay, tons.	1,876,000	164,000
Flax & Hemp “	1,000	12,000

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 all those products, only exceeded by one-fourth, the value of 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 Manufacturing 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.

Kentucky contains about twenty-five millions of acres of land, and, according to the Auditor's Report, the value of all the slaves in the State is a little over \$50,000,000. If, by emancipation, the average increase in the price of land should be two dollars an acre, that increase would pay for all the slaves in the State. We have no doubt that, if our Commonwealth were rid of slavery, the enhanced value of the soil 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 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 high-

est 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.

We shall not urge at present those very important considerations which a faithful examination of the moral and social influences of slavery cannot fail to awaken. If we wished to make the picture of slavery dark, appalling, and revolting in the extreme, we might easily do so by depicting its effects on the moral and social relations of the community as they are manifested wherever it is permitted to exist.

The advocates of slavery, unable to answer the statistical facts which are so abundant and prove so clearly that slavery retards the growth of population, 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, within the next century, 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.

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 sentiment, and bringing the altar within convenient distance of all. We presume that but few will hazard a denial of the value of these agents and instrumentalities of the public good, and there are not many who would not regard the disemboweling of the mineral riches of the State, the multiplication of works of internal improvement, a general diffusion of the blessings of education, and a great increase in the number of churches as full compensation for all the advantages, real and fancied, of our system of negro slavery.—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 largely 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. By increasing our population and by infusing into our now languid public spirit that enterprise which has caused the neighboring free States to surpass our Commonwealth in the race of prosperity, we shall greatly multiply all the benefits of civilisation. It cannot be doubted that, if any one of the slave States was surrounded by a wall, and thus isolated and debarred from the mental light and health that come from abroad, it would first gradually, and then rapidly yield to the destiny

of decay, and finally relapse into the moral and intellectual death of barbarism. 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 it droops and decays. It palsies the hand of industry, hermetically seals up the riches of the earth, dries up the sources of wealth, robs the land of its beauty, enervates mind, and extinguishes the rays of light and knowledge which the past has bequeathed to the present as the most priceless of its legacies.

To talk of prosperity in the presence of such a terrible evil, is to talk demonstrated absurdity. No slave State is prosperous. There are no affinities between slavery and prosperity. They cannot live together. Wedlock between them is impossible, for nature forbids the banns.

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 by 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 lumber, 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.

REUBEN DAWSON,
JAMES SPEED,
WILLIAM E. GLOVER,

The friends of emancipation owe it to their cause and to their State to be vigilant. The advocates of slavery intend, if they have the power in the Convention, to throw restrictions around emancipation and to fasten the system of slavery forever on the State. In order to counteract the designs of the pro-slavery men, and to keep our beloved Commonwealth from decrepitude and premature decay, it is incumbent on the friends of emancipation to be active and energetic. They have a wily foe to contend with, a foe that relies for success on wealth and the influence it gives, instead of reason and common sense. The pro-slavery men are striving to produce the opinion that the question of emancipation is to be abandoned. They have undertaken to kill it off by legislative resolutions—to resolve it into chaos. They have arrogantly commanded the public mind to keep silence in regard to the greatest question of the age. Arise, fellow citizens, before it is too late, and assert your right as freemen to think and to speak your honest thoughts at all times and in all places with all the force that belongs to you. Will you keep silent, as commanded? Will you hush your thoughts as ordered? Will you shackle your tongues, for fear they may use too large a charter and speak words that haughty and purse-proud men have dared to denounce as treasonable?—Trample upon all such restrictions on your rights; such impertinent interference with your Heaven-derived privileges! If you are ready to wear the livery of your would-be masters—if slavery has infected your souls and made them servile—if its contamination has enervated your hearts—if you too are slaves, then bow submissively to the arrogance of those who presume to command your obedience, and pass your wretched and degraded necks into the yoke prepared for you.

We earnestly call on you, fellow citizens, to meet us in Convention, at Frankfort, on Wednesday, the 25th day of April next; then and there to take into consideration the whole subject of slavery and to decide on what is right and proper to be done after a full and intelligent survey of the exigencies of the times. We call upon you to hold meetings in your different counties and to appoint numerous delegates to the proposed Convention. That Convention ought to be very large and attended by the most distinguished and capable friends of the cause in the State. It will depend on you, friends of emancipation in Kentucky, to decide on the size and character of that Convention, whether it shall be insignificant in numbers or majestic in its strength, weak in its effects or as influential as any other assemblage that our State has ever seen.

WM. P. BOON,
BLAND BALLARD.