THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME III. LOUISVILLE KY.: SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1849. WHOLE NUMBER 109.

THE EXAMINER;

Published Weekly, on Jefferson St., next door but one to the Post Office.

TERMS.

TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE. SIX COPIES FOR TEN DOLLARS.

PAUL SEYMOUR, PUBLISHER.

SPEECH OF J. T. BOYLE,

On the Subject of Emancipation in Kentucky, made in the Wayne County Court House at Monticello, on the 23d of April, 1849.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—It was no part of my purpose in coming to your county to address you to-day. My public and professional duties have brought me amongst you. But since my arrival here, I have been requested by some of the citizens of your county to address you and them on the subject of emancipation in Kentucky. I am free to confess I was not reluctant in embracing this occasion to express my opinions upon this subject, and to present to your candid consideration some of those reasons which should induce the people of our State to adopt some system of gradual emancipation. I feel assured that a common country, a common interest, a common destiny and a common desire to promote the welfare of our State, establishes a freemasonry amongst us, which guaranties from this free people an impartial hearing and a candid consideration of what I have to say on this great subject.

Fellow-citizens, it is proposed to remove the negroes from the State of Kentucky by some system of gradual emancipation. Shall this be done? This is the question we are to discuss and deliberate upon to-day. This great question the people are to determine next August. This is the most momentous question the people of Kentucky have ever been called to consider and decide. Fifty years ago it was temporarily settled by our fathers, and now, again we are called to its decision. Each of you, and every citizen of this great State, whether slave-holders or non-slaveholders, are to take part in the adjustment of this vast and important question. The people of Wayne county are peculiarly interested in its decision. You have a fine and beautiful county. The Elk-spring valley, the table plain on the Somerset road and the other vallies in your county, hemmed in by the lofty hills towering into mountains, are rich and fertile, adapted to the cultivation of all the productions of the climate, and capable of sustaining a great and free population. The banks of the Cumberland and the South Fork rivers bordering upon your county for many miles, lined with the finest stone coal, with a new energy and enterprise imparted to the people, may yet prove a source of great wealth to you and the county. But above all, there is your water power surpassed in its strength and location by few in the eastern States and equalled by none in the west. There is your town spring branch turning the elegant and extensive mills of Mr. Phillips, there too is the bold spring letting out from the top of its cliffs with a fall of eighty feet with power to drive thousands of spindles, and there too are the Mill Springs, breaking out upon the very tops of the cliffs of the Cumberland River, uniting into one stream, dashing with the proclivity of a mountain torrent in continuous cataracts for nearly half a mile, offering its great power to be employed in manufacturing purposes, over and over again, not less than twelve times a power superior to the power at the Ellicott Mills or the Falls of the Pasaic in its extent and convertibleness. These streams with the many others in your county would this day supply power to drive all the spindles of New England that are working wonders at which the world stands amazed. There too is the "placid Cumberland" as Volney called it, affording a ready transportation of all the agricultural, mineral, and manufactured productions of the county to market. This exhaustless water-power has not yet been converted except so far as the enterprise and energy of your fellow-citizen, Mr. Parker, have called it into requisition to turn the flouring mills now owned by Mr. Phillips. Indeed all these sources of wealth to your county are but partially developed, and as long as the energies of our State are crippled by slavery we have reason to believe they never will be. No slave State ever has or can manufacture or develope her mineral resources. Then, fellow-citizens of Wayne, this is an important question to you and worthy of grave consideration. Nor is it without great interest to every citizen of this great Commonwealth, and alike worthy of the thorough examination of all.

Fellow-citizens, I perceive I am addressing slaveholders and non-slaveholders. I am glad to see so large a portion of both classes here today. I am a slaveholder myself and, believe me, I am apt to attend to my own interest and defend my own rights, nor am I quick to interfere with those of others. A sense of my own interest, the interest of my country, and the rights of others, have lead me to adopt the sentiments and principles which I am this day invited to advocate before you—I heartily approve of gradual emancipation in Kentucky connected with colonization—I propose to discuss before you the question, 'shall our State be emancipated from slavery and the negro population colonized?'

Whether this question is examined in an economical, political, or religious point of view, its solution is equally easy. It is, however, as a great question of economy that I intend now principally to examine it—in the light of truth and stubborn facts I desire to discuss it.

I maintain, fellow-citizens, that labor is the chief element of happiness, prosperity and greatness, whether individual or national, and that it is the duty of a wise people, as it is of a wise government, to secure the best system of labor. I maintain farther that that labor is the cheapest and best, whose cost bears the greatest disproportion to its productiveness. Again, I maintain further that slave labor is the most costly and least productive of all kinds of labor. Let us then examine into the expense of slave labor in Kentucky. And I now invite the particular attention of my slaveholding friends to an examination of this part of the subject, that they may see whether the thing does not "cost more than it comes to."

No man will deny that the expense of slave labor resolves itself into the sum which will liquidate the cost of purchase or of rearing the slave, with interest, cost of support in old age, the sum annually expended in his maintenance and extent. In other words, the slave must yield during the productive years of his life, a sum sufficient to pay the original cost of purchase, with cost of insurance, his support during the active years of service, and his maintenance in old age, with interest on these sums, and that which the slave produces above that sum is the profit of his labor. It would be tedious and difficult to estimate, according to these obvious principles, the cost of the labor of a slave for his whole life, and then deduct the sum of the products of his labor from his cost, and ascertain his profit, or more properly speaking, to arrive at his final cost to his owner. We might dispute about prices and other elements of this estimate. But we can take a slave and estimate his cost for a single year, and approximate sufficiently near the cost of his labor to answer the purpose of our present argument. This we believe can be easily computed. Dr. Franklin in his essay on the Peopling of Countries, said the cost of slave labor could be ascertained by reckoning the "interest on the purchase price of the slave, the insurance or risk on his life, the cost of his diet and lodging, his clothing expenses, in sickness, loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, neglect which is natural to the man who is not to be benefited by his own care and diligence, and his pilfering from time to time, almost every slave being from the nature of slavery a thief." Now according to Dr. Franklin's principle of computing the cost of slave labor let us make an estimate.

Interest on cost of slave $600,	$36,00
Average insurance,	21,00
Diet,	36,50
Lodging,	5,00
Clothing,	20,00
Average expenses in sickness,	5,00
Loss of time,	5,00
Neglect of business,	10,00
By pilfering,	10,00
State and county taxes,	1,90
Annual cost of labor of a slave,	$150,40.

It would be proper to increase this estimate of the diet, clothing, loss by neglect of business, &c. at least $10, and also add $20 for the waste and destruction caused by our slaves which would make the annual cost of slave labor $180,40. But I will adhere to the first estimate, the calculation of which is based upon information from slaveholders, and my own observation and experience. The cost of insurance is taken from the Lexington Life Insurance Company for the average insurance of negroes, not engaged in hazardous employments, from the age of 21 to 45 inclusive. I have estimated the cost of diet at 10 cents per day, and I believe this much necessary to subsistence in labor. The physiological laws which regulate the existence of man require it. I have said nothing here of the cost of support of a slave after he passes the productive period and becomes superanuated. You slaveholders will know well how to estimate this item. No estimate can be fixed upon the mental annoyance they cause us. This estimate is believed to be below the actual cost of slave labor. Now I appeal to you to say whether any slaveholder who employs his own slaves can make them profitable. Are there many slaves who yield a profit above this sum? Few, if any. I am frank to admit that hired slaves yield a considerable profit to the owner, but then this heavy cost falls on the hirer. Let us see how this is.

Average annual hire,	$75,00
Diet and Lodging,	41,50
Clothing,	20,00
Expense in sickness,	5,00
Loss of time,	5,00
" by neglect,	10,00
" by stealing,	10,00
Annual cost hired slave,	$166.50

Such is the enormous cost of hired slave labor to our non-slaveholding friends. In every aspect of the case it is an injurious system to the non-slaveholder. It presses heavily upon him. No class of the community is benefited by it. I asked a friend of mine how many slaves he owned—he replied that he belonged to twenty. Mr. Henry Harlan, an intelligent gentleman and one of the worthiest citizens of my county, correctly said "that the negroes were the landed aristocracy of the country, that they had possession of all the rich and fertile lands in the State, and the poor men had to work the hills and barrens; that as long as slavery lasted we must keep them, for a man with a large family and a moderate farm could not divide out his land; he must keep his land to support his negroes and he must keep his negroes to work the land." This excellent citizen has a large family, and some of his sons have had to remove many hundred miles from their family to Missouri, on the frontiers of our great country to get lands to cultivate. Such is the condition of the children of many of our people, and will be the condition of the children of some of us. If we dispose of our slaves and induce our sons to work our lands, we will lose *caste* in the community. But we could not get our sons to do the labor while our neighbors work their slaves, for slavery has degraded labor. This is not right. Labor is honorable, it is godlike, it is an institution of God, and all men should labor. But, fellow-citizens, are not our neighbors and friends driven from our State by the competition of slave labor and the degraded level to which slavery has brought white labor? Is it not palpable that white men are displaced by negroes in proportion as they fill the country? About two hundred thousand negroes now fill the State instead of that number of our own race. In the language of Dr. Breckenridge, an eminent statesman as well as divine, "I am for a union of the white race." I am for the white man first for I love my own race best. I am against this system of slavery because it drives our own kindred and blood from our State and substitutes the negro for him. They are not only exiled from their families and homes, but those of them that remain are driven from labor by the competition of this degraded servile negro labor. The agricultural class is not the only class of laborers affected by it. All mechanical laborers are now brought into competition with it. In the town of Danville every pursuit of the handicraftsman and mechanic is fast being filled by slaves. We have in that small town negro carpenters, blacksmiths, tinners, shoemakers, brick makers, bricklayers, brickmasons, stone masons, plasterers, painters, paper-hangers and tailors. This is the case in almost all the counties in the State. I saw here to-day a large stout dusky negro, and when I asked something about him I was told he belonged to some one whose name I do not now remember, and that he was a tailor in your town. So well filled already are the businesses of the shoemaker and blacksmith with negroes that they will drive the white man from these pursuits, first, by their competition, and next by the degradation which they always bring with their labors. In a little while a free white man will feel such business to be as degraded as a false public sentiment now compels him to feel setting tables, working gardens, &c. to be. The negro, though he makes a bad mechanic, is more profitable to his master as such than as a mere laborer. The slaveholder's interest will induce him to make mechanics of his slaves. Is such a system, can such a system be just to our mechanics? It is the interest of every mechanic and non-slaveholder in the State to assert his rights and cry aloud for the removal of this evil.

It is but little palliative of the injustice of this system that it is urged that wages are better here, than where slavery does not exist. The enlightened and patriotic artisan and agricultural laborer, if such be a fact, can readily understand it. From all departments of labor our citizens are driven by the blighting social effects of slavery. Our young men are above work and they betake themselves to idleness and dissipation. Hundreds and thousands in Kentucky are content to make a bare living. They work a season, and then they act the idle gentleman for a season to wear of the degrading effects of their labor. Besides such paltry considerations do not compensate the laboring man for the loss of education to his children and the loss of that high social position which he and his children after him would attain by their moral and intellectual culture, but from which slavery forever debars them. The laboring man is not so dull as not to see all the inevitable evils in the train of slavery:

> "The potent rod
> Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
> Waved round the coast,"

never brought upon the realm of impious Pharoah a more withering, blighting curse.

Fellow-citizens, slave labor is not only more costly than free white labor, but it is less productive. Let us examine the comparative productiveness of the two kinds of labor. What does each man engaged in agriculture in Ohio produce? What does each man in Kentucky produce? What does each acre of land in these respective States yield? These facts can be ascertained. I make my statements from the United States census made by authority of Congress, and from the statistical tables of an extreme Southern paper, the N. O. Commercial Times;

	Ag. prod. in 1848.	*No. persons in Ag.*	*Each produces.*
Ohio	$49,000,000	272,579	$179 76
Ky.	28,000,000	197,738	141 60
	No. acres.		*Produce per acre.*
Ohio	28,160,000		$1 75
Ky.	25,600,000		1 09

The agricultural laborers of Ohio produce *per capita*	$179:76
Those engaged in agriculture in Ky. produce *per capita*	$141:60

Each man in Ohio produces over *twenty-five* per cent more than each man in Ky. If each man employed in agriculture in Ky., made as much as they do in Ohio per head, Ky. would have annually in her agriculture alone, $7,545,-682 08. The land of Ohio produces over fifty per cent more then the land in Ky., though it is not more fertile and has a less genial climate. Estimating the amount of products from the census and the per cent is much larger in favor of Ohio. I find there is even a greater desparity than this between the old free States and the old slave States. According to Dr. Ruffner and Judge Tucker, a pro-slavery man, both of Virginia, the persons employed in agriculture in the old free States produce over *Two hundred* dollars per head, while those in the old slave States produce only *one hundred and forty dollars* per head. These results are consistent with the very nature of things. Few men will have the hardihood to deny that a free intelligent white man is a better and more efficient laborer than an ignorant negro. The white man has intelligence, has knowledge, he, therefore, works with skill, works faster and does better work. He gets the wages of his labor, he works for a fair compensation, his interest, his character, all induce him to labor efficiently, with a light heart and good spirits. On the other hand, the negro is stupid and ignorant, gets no wages for his work, is without skill and with no stimulant but the brute force of the lash to drive him to work. He labors with a heavy heart and crushed spirits. Is it a wonder, then, that there is such a great disparity between the products of the free and slave States?

But slavery cripples the other energes of our State. Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1792 and Ohio in 1802. Kentucky had ten years the start of her. But Ohio has outstripped her, for in 1840, Kentucky had a population of 779,828, and Ohio had a population of 1,519,-467, nearly double the population of Kentucky. Ohio is literally checkered with railroads and canals, while Kentucky has almost none. Ohio is engaged much more extensively in manufactures than this State, yet she has not greater manufacturing resources. Here, in your own county, your have the greatest water power, pouring itself in magnificent waste from the hills and vallies, for the want of that capital and enterprise which slavery has made torpid. But the *gentleman enquires who wants manufactures in Kentucky? Who will raise the produce and raw material if everybody goes to the factories? Now, fellow-citizens, I do not expect nor do I wish Kentucky to become an exclusively manufacturing State. She will always be to a great extent an agricultural country. But you and all of us must desire to see a fair division of labor in Kentucky, that we may be more independent of our sister States for what we eat and wear and work with. And we are told that this is a northern movement in Kentucky, and the North is abused as drawing support from the Federal *pap*, while the South pays the taxes for the support of government. Now, this abuse of the North may be just or unjust, but it certainly must sound harshly on your ear coming from the distinguished gentleman, to whom for the last ten years as the champion of the principles of the Whig party in this section, you have listened so often with enraptured silence. You would shrink from the task of reckoning the number of high wrought eulogisms you have heard from that gentleman on the great American system. Instead of abuse of manufactures, the operatives and the North, the gentleman four years ago was defending them and pronouncing panegrics on the Lowell girls. Sirs, Kentucky will need no tariff of protection. She needs protection from slavery. Renounce slavery and you secure to Kentucky the wisest and best protection to her enterprise and industry, a great and free people ever enjoyed.

Fellow-citizens, it is not for dollars and cents alone that I desire the removal of slavery—it is the highest duty of States as it is of individuals, to educate their children. Kentucky has not performed the first duty of a good parent, nor can she do it while slavery continues here. No slave State I believe ever has perfected or can be perfect and carry out a system of common schools. Kentucky is far behind Ohio in her educational prosperity. Kentucky expended last year in common schools about $10,000, and in 1848 Ohio apportioned to her common schools $289,985,25. Last year in our State there were but a few hundred (and a large proportion of them in your county and Pulaski) children at our schools, while Ohio during the same period had at her schools 63,838 children. But the gentleman says when he was in Congress the new States always received every sixteenth section of public lands for education purposes, and in this way Ohio got the start of Kentucky; that Kentucky received no such aid. But the gentleman did not tell you that Arkansas and other slave States received the same quantum of lands and yet have made no progress. He did not tell you that Massachusetts, which received no donation of lands from the government, paid annually $670,628,13 for the education of 178,776 of her children in her common schools. But, gentlemen, it is not true that such is the source of the school fund of Ohio. Her school fund yields $86,218,16, and the remainder of over $100,000 the State pays by taxation. That the people of Kentucky voted the *two cents* tax for schools, was generous, was noble. But this tax with the proceeds of tolls on the rivers will be of no avail while we have slavery. In the rich slave counties the population is too sparse for schools—that section is dense with negroes and their children. The more thickly populated districts will not adopt it, if it is not general—they will not be dependent on their rich slaveholding neighbors for a charity education. They believe, whether it is true or not, that the large slaveholder is not willing to send his children to a *common* school. Give us a free State and we will have common schools and universal education.

We are told, however, fellow-citizens, that although Kentucky does look to be considerably behind her neighbor, nevertheless the truth is, though it has been but seldom seen, that she is before her neighbor and is much more prosperous. It is declared that the whole wealth of Kentucky divided out among all her citizens will give to each about $500, and the whole wealth of Ohio divided out among all her citizens will give to each about $250—and *therefore* Kentucky is more prosperous than Ohio. Well, now I venture to assert that my friend here is not the original author of this sapient logic. The discovery of this astounding fact, and the inference from it, was made by a mono-maniac in Ohio called Ellwood Fisher. It looks very much like somebody had northern allies, or at least was very ready to use them. I want nothing to do with these fanatics of the north which ever side of the question they may be on. I say to them as our old friend Charley Semple did, 'stay on your own side of the river,' but I will not do as he did, bow and thank them for small favors and take their help. I prefer to depend on myself and investigate the authentic statistics for myself. Now, fellow-citizens, is it true that Kentucky is now more prosperous than Ohio, because the aggregate of the State divided will give to each citizen a much larger sum than the aggregate wealth of Ohio will divided out to each of her citizens. Look at the absurdity of this proposition. Here is the town of Stanford in our State, one of the oldest towns we have, with a population of 300, or 400. She is making no progress in improvement, though she has a clever and respectable population, in fact it is jocularly said of her that she is the only town that *ever was finished*. Now take the wealth of this town and divide it out among her citizens, and she will give more in the division to each of her citizens than the city of Louisville will to each of her citizens, and therefore Stanford is more prosperous than Louisville. Take Danville, take most of the towns in the State, and the same result will be found. Yet nobody will pretend to say that Stanford is as prosperous as the great city of the Falls. Rome at the time of her decline, stretching from beyond the Pillars of Hercules to the Caspian Sea, embracing a great part of central Europe, had a population of over a hundred million, millions of them slaves belonging to the patrician and noble order. And in her worst and least prosperous days before her fall, the aggregate wealth of the empire would have divided to each free citizen hundreds of thousands of dollars. Kentucky wants no such prosperity. It is true, wealth is one of the elements and indexes of prosperity—wealth and population, the right kind of population, an intelligent, educated, moral population, constitute the great elements of national prosperity.

It is announced here to-day that liberty and free government are a nuisance—that all free States are filled with crime and pauperism—that the slave States are exempt from these evils. This gentleman is another *Fisherism*. Where are our thousands of pauper idiots, paupers in the county poor houses and supported by the committees of our county courts, and the long list of superanuated, decrepid pauper negroes in those poor houses on our farms, the negro cabins?

We must remember too that the long lists of prosecutions reported from the great cities are evidence rather of a more rigid code of criminal and penal laws than extent of crime. Few comparatively of these offences are felonious to property or person. They are for violence to person and property chiefly. Our prosecutions are not reported, and indeed hundreds of offences are punished in the great cities that are not known to our laws as offences. The immense number of offences committed by the negro slaves are not misdemeanors by our law, and he receives his punishment in his master's kitchen or at a more public whipping post. There are but two or three offences for which a slave can be prosecuted under our laws. Common schools, universal education in our State, I am apt to think, will not increase crime and pauperism.

The figures and statistics of Ellwood Fisher, who has fallen so desperately in love and gone crazy about General Quattlebum, remind me of the anecdote told of Mr. Haggin, the great lawyer but eccentric man "*who was not to be hastened.*" Mr. Haggin went to St. Louis on professional business, and expecting to be absent for a considerable length of time, he entered into a contract with the hotel keeper, in substance that he was to pay them four dollars per week for board, and it not being fair to charge him with board during his absence, the good natured landlord stipulated to make a reasonable allowance to him for each meal and each lodging he was absent. When the time come for Mr. Haggin to leave for home after boarding at the hotel parts of several weeks, the unsuspecting landlord approached him with his bill, a long line of figures and calculations—"Yes," said the lawyer, "I was just thinking of settling," drawing his account against the hotel keeper, crediting himself 25 cents for each meal he was absent, "I have both accounts and taking yours from mine, you owe me just exactly one dollar and a half."—"Good heavens! Sir," exclaimed the landlord, "but you are wrong."—"No sir," calmly replied the lawyer, drawing out the contract between them, "here is the principle on which the calculation is made; there are the figures. No mistake, figures don't lie."

Fellow-citizens, we are told at this late day, that Kentucky has no power to emancipate the slaves and send them off, without first rendering a compensation to the owners, that emancipation would be in violation of the clause of Art. 5, Constitution of the United States, which declares, "nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." In the case of Barrow vs. the Mayor of Baltimore in 7 Peters 243, the Supreme Court of the United States decided "the provision in the above amendment declaring that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation, is intended solely as a limitation on the exercise of power by the government of the United States, and is not applicable to the legislation of the States. Limitations of power, if expressed in general terms, unnecessarily applicable to the government created by the instrument, and not to distinct governments framed by different persons and for different purposes." See note to Con. U. S. 1 Stat. Law 36. Here the highest judicial tribunal in the nation has settled this question, and we might let it rest. But we have a precedent in the history of our States, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In 1799, New York adopted a system of Emancipation to take effect gradually and prospectively after the 4th July, 1799.—Chancellor Kent gives a history of this proceeding, and comments on constitutional questions in his notes, Kent's Com. 2 vol. 256, and yet this eminent jurist did not discover that such a proceeding interfered with vested rights and was unconstitutional. Amidst all the legislation relative to slave property in New York subsequent to '99, this constitutional question, so far as I can learn, was never mooted. Gen. Washington, in his letters, has expressed an ardent wish to see Virginia emancipated from slavery; he had great fears it would not be done in his day, he believed it would be done sooner or later, but he never declared that it was unconstitutional, though he was a member and the President of the Convention that framed the Constitution. Mr. Jefferson desired to see Emancipation in Virginia, but expressed no constitutional scruples. It is plain, however, in another view that the slave owner is compensated. He gets common schools for his children, and the price of his land is greatly enhanced. The average price of land in Kentucky is now $6,50 per acre, and the average price of land in Ohio is over $11,00, although her soil is better, and her climate worse, than ours, with as much hilly and swampy territory as we have of hills and mountains. This additional increase in the value of our land will more than compensate for the withdrawal from taxation of the $60,000,000 in the removal of the negroes. Besides this amount of property is not to be withdrawn at once. It will be done gradually and almost unperceptibly, without effecting sensibly the sources of the revenue. So gradually is it proposed to remove the slaves that little room will be left for the influx of that foreign population so odious and hateful to the gentleman. Our own children instead of being driven off will fill up and occupy the State.

Mr. Clay proposes to leave in slavery all slaves now on the soil and to be born before 1855 or 1860, to be kept here, or sold or removed at the pleasure of the owner, and all born after the period fixed upon to be free at twenty-five years of age, and then to be hired out until they produce a sum sufficient to remove them to Africa. It will cost from $50 to $60 to transport and subsist them at the colony—this is what Mr. Clay says it will cost, and Judge Underwood, in a speech in the Senate of the United States, declared the same, upon the reliable information of the Rev. Mr. McClain, Secretary of the Colonisation Society. I heard of some silly person saying it would cost $180, but it is not now a subject of speculation for the Colonisation Society have demonstrated it by experience. If we can emancipate them, the removal of them will be practicable.

But, my christian countrymen, there is another view of this great subject that rises high above all figures and calculations. The degraded and oppressed negro for whom we are soon to legislate, for weal or woe, like ourselves has an immortal destiny. He comes from the plastic hand of the Creator, endowed with the same elevating religious sensibilities, and enduring nature. Godlike in image and spirit, his soul will live forever. He lives under the same divine government and is accountable to the same great Judge. For him, as for us, God revealed himself to man: For him, as for us, Christ died. Shall he not, then, have this revelation? Shall he not know of this redemption? Is it not due to him, to ourselves, to God, that he have that which God gave him? which Christ purchased for him? Who shall take it away? Am I told that these he already has, that his humane master sees to it that he has this knowledge, this religious instruction? How few of the thousands of negroes in Kentucky have these advantages? How many thousands in our State who do not know that God has revealed himself, that Christ died for them? Look over the country, look at the past, and tell me, are we not as certain to fail to give religious instruction, as if it were absolutely impossible to do it? And if we give it, how will they receive it from us, in the relation we sustain to them? God made His revelation in the form we have it, He has preserved it by His Providence in that form, and He intended that all should have it in that form. Every human being dwelling upon the earth of God is entitled to the Bible. And it is the duty of every man to see that every other man, as God has given him ability, has it, and can read it, and understand it, and know the will of God. Who will gainsay it? But here in this christian land of Bibles, the negro man has never received it, he has never been taught to read it. He has not the right, by our laws, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. His master may allow it—he seldom forbids it—but he has the right to convert him into a Devil Worshiper, to make him bow down and worship the evil spirit, and mar the sacred relation he sustains to his Creator.—It is our duty to teach him to read the Bible. But it is not safe to teach him here in our midst; it is not practicable. This does not alter our duty. Let us exert the mighty energies of freemen and of christians, remove him from amongst us, and put the Bible in his hands. Let us secure to ourselves and our country all the blessings of the unity of our race and free government. Let us give to the negro freedom and his fatherland. Let us give him the Bible and we shall make him free with "the glorious liberty of the children of God." In this great cause, let us live for ourselves, our country, our God.

* Hon. Sherod Williams addressed the people at the same time and this contains the substance of the opening speech and the reply to Mr. W.

OXEN AND WOLVES OF HERZEGOVINA. We were informed that this part of the valley is occasionally infested with wolves, who come down from the upper country; but the animals understand the business of defensive war in their own way just as well as the Sirdar and his pandours: the oxen form a circle, with the calves within, and gore outwards; while the horses join their heads inwards, and kick outwards in a ring. *Paton's Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic.*

Thoughts on Slavery.

BY CHANNING.

It is often said, that the slave does less work than the free laborer; he bears a lighter burden than liberty would lay on him. Perhaps this is generally true; yet, when circumstances promise profit to the master from the imposition of excessive labor, the slave is not spared. In the West Indies, the terrible waste of life among the over-worked cultivators, required large supplies to keep up the failing population. In this country it is probably true, that the slave works less than the free laborer; but it does not therefore follow, that his work is lighter. For what is it that lightens toil? It is Hope; it is Love; it is Strong Motive. That labor is light which we do from the heart, to which a great good quickens us, which is to better our lot.—That labor is light which is to comfort, adorn, and cheer our homes, to give instruction to our children, to solace the declining years of a parent, to give to our grateful and generous sentiments the means of exertion. Great effort from great motives is the best definition of a happy life. The easiest labor is a burden to him who has no motive for performing it. How wearisome is the task imposed by another, and wrongfully imposed! The slave cannot easily be made to do a freeman's work; and why? Because he wants a freeman's spirit, because the spring of labor is impaired within him, because he works as a machine, not a free agent. The compulsion, under which he toils for another, takes from labor its sweetness, makes the daily round of life arid and dull, makes escape from toil the chief interest of life.

We are further told, that the slave is freed from all care, that he is sure of future support, that when old he is not dismissed to the poor-house, but fed and sheltered in his own hut. This is true; but it is also true that nothing can be gained by violating the great laws and essential rights of our nature. The slave, we are told, has no care, his future is provided for. Yet God created him to provide for the future, to take care of his own happiness; and he cannot be freed from this care without injury to his moral and intellectual life. Why has God given foresight and power over the future, but to be used? Is it a blessing to a rational creature to be placed in a condition which chains his faculties to the present moment, which leaves nothing before him to rouse the intellect or touch the heart? Be it also remembered, that the same provision, which relieves the slave from anxiety, cuts him off from hope. The future is not, indeed, haunted by spectres of poverty, nor is it brightened by images of joy. It stretches before him sterile, monotonous, expanding into no refreshing verdure, and sending no cheering whisper of a better lot.

It is true that the free laborer may become a pauper; and so may the free rich man, both of the North and the South.—Still, our capitalists never dream of flying to slavery as a security against the alms house. Freedom undoubtedly has its perils. It offers nothing to the slothful and dissolute. Among a people left to seek their own good in their own way, some of all classes fail from vice, some from incapacity, some from misfortune. All classes will furnish members to the body of the of the poor. But in this country the number is small, and ought constantly to decrease. The evil, however lamentable, is not so remediless and spreading as to furnish a motive for reducing half the population to chains. Benevolence does much to mitigate it. The best minds are inquiring how it may be prevented, diminished, removed. It is giving excitement to a philanthropy which creates out of misfortune new bonds of union between man and man.

Our slaveholding brethren, who tell us that the condition of the slave is better than that of the free laborer at the North, talk ignorantly and rashly. They do not, cannot know, what to us is matter of daily observation, that from the families of our farmers and mechanics have sprung our most distinguished men, men who have done most for science, arts, letters, religion and freedom; and that the noblest spirits among us would have been lost to their country and mankind, had the laboring class here been doomed to slavery. They do not know what we rejoice to tell them, that this class partakes largely of the impulse given to the whole community; that the means of intellectual improvement are multiplying to the laborious as fast as to the opulent; that our most distinguished citizens meet them as brethren, and communicate to them in public discourses their own most important acquisitions. Undoubtedly, the Christian, republican spirit is not working, even here as it should.—The more improved and prosperous classes have not yet learned, that it is their great mission to elevate morally and intellectually the less advanced classes of community; but the great truth is more and more recognised, and accordingly a new era may be said to be opening on society.

It is said, however, that the slave, if not to be compared to the free laborer at the North, is in a happier condition than the Irish peasantry. Let this be granted. Let the security of the peasant's domestic relations, let his church and his schoolhouse, and his faint hope of a better lot pass for nothing. Because Ireland is suffering from the misgovernment and oppression of ages, does it follow that a less grinding oppression is a good? Besides, are not the wrongs of Ireland acknowledged? Is not British legislation laboring to restore her prosperity? Is it not true, that, whilst the slave's lot admits no important change, the most enlightened minds are at work to confer on the Irish peasant, the blessings of education, of equal laws, of new springs to exertion, of new sources of wealth? Other men, however fallen, may be lifted up.—An immovable weight presses on the slave.

But still we are told, the slave is gay.—He is not as wretched as our theories teach. After his toil, he sings, he dances, he gives no signs of an exhausted frame or gloomy spirit. The slave happy! Why, then, contend for rights? Why follow with beating hearts the struggles of the patriot for freedom? Why canonise the martyr to freedom? The slave happy! Then happiness is to be found in giving up the distinctive attributes of a man; in darkening intellect and conscience; in quenching generous sentiments; in servility of spirit; in living under a whip; in having neither property nor rights; in holding wife and child at another's pleasure; in toiling without hope; in living without an end! The slave, indeed, has his pleasures. His animal nature survives the injury to his rational and moral powers; and every animal has its enjoyments. The kindness of Providence allows no human being to be wholly divorced from good. The lamb frolics; the dog leaps for joy; the bird fills the air with cheerful harmony; and the slave spends his holyday in laughter and the dance. Thanks to Him who never leaves Himself without witness; who cheers even the desert with spots of verdure; and opens a fountain of joys in the most wither'd heart! It is not possible, however, to contemplate the occasional gaiety of the slave without some mixture of painful thought. He is gay, because he has not learned to think; because he is too fallen to feel his wrongs; because he wants just self-respect. We are grieved by the gaiety of the insane.—There is a sadness in the gaiety of him whose lightness of heart would be turned to bitterness and indignation, were one ray of light to awaken in him the spirit of a man.

That there are those among the free, who are more wretched than slaves, is undoubtedly true; just as there is incomparably greater misery among men than among brutes. The brute never knows the agony of a human spirit torn by remorse, or wounded in its love. But would we cease to be human, because our capacity for suffering increases with the elevation of our nature? All blessings may be perverted, and the greatest perverted most. Were we to visit a slave country, undoubtedly the most miserable human beings would be found among the free; for among them the passions have wider sweep, and the power they possess may be used to their own ruin. Liberty is not a necessity of happiness. It is only a means of good. It is a trust which may be abused. Are all such trusts to be cast away? Are they not the greatest gifts of Heaven?

But the slave, we are told, often manifests affection to his master, grieves at his departure, and welcomes his return. I will not endeavor to explain this, by saying that the master's absence places the slave under the overseer. Nor will I object, that the slave's propensity to steal from his master, his need of the whip to urge him to toil, and the dread of insurrection which he inspires, are signs of anything but love. There is, undoubtedly, much more affection in this relation than could be expected.—Of all races of men, the African is the mildest and most susceptible of attachment. He loves, where the European would hate. He watches the life of a master, whom the North American Indian, in like circumstances would stab to the heart. The African is affectionate. Is this a reason for holding him in chains? We cannot, however, think of this most interesting feature of slavery with unmixed pleasure. It is the curse of slavery, that it can touch nothing which it does not debase. Even love, that sentiment given us by God to be the germ of a divine virtue, becomes in the slave a weakness, almost a degradation.—His affections lose much of their beauty and dignity. He ought, indeed, to feel benevolence toward his master; but to attach himself to a man who keeps him in the dust and denies him the rights of a man; to be grateful and devoted to one who extorts his toil and debases him into a chattel; this has a taint of servility, which makes us grieve whilst we admire. However, we would not diminish the attachment of the slave. He is the happier for his generosity. Let him love his master, and let the master win love by kindness. We only say, let not this manifestation of a generous nature in the slave be turned against him. Let it not be made an answer to an exposition of his wrongs. Let it not be used as a weapon for his perpetual degradation.

But the slave, we are told, is taught Religion. This is the most cheering sound which comes to us from the land of bondage. We are rejoiced to learn, that any portion of the slaves are instructed in that truth, which gives inward freedom. They hear, at least one voice of deep, genuine love, the voice of Christ; and read in his cross what all other things hide from them, the unutterable worth of their spiritual nature. This portion, however, is small.—The greater part are still buried in heathen ignorance. Besides, religion, though a great good, can hardly exert its full power on the slave. Will it not be taught to make him obedient to his master, rather than to raise him to the dignity of a man? Is slavery, which tends so proverbially to debase the mind, the preparation for spiritual truth? Can the slave comprehend the principle of Love, the essential principle of Christianity, when he hears it from the lips of those whose relations to him express injustice and selfishness? But suppose him to receive Christianity in its purity, and to feel all its power. Is this to reconcile us to slavery? Is a being, who can understand the sublimest truth which has ever entered the human mind, who can love and adore God, who can conform himself to the celestial virtue of the Savior, for whom that Savior died, to whom heaven is opened, whose repentance now gives joy in heaven—is such a being to be held as property, driven by force as the brute, and denied the rights of man by a fellow-creature, by a professed disciple of the just and merciful Savior? Has he a religious nature, and dares any one hold him as a slave?

ARTIFICIAL MAHOGANY.—The following method of giving any species of wood of a close grain, the appearance of mahogany in texture, density, and polish, is said to be practised in France, with such success that the best judges are incapable of distinguishing between the imitation and mahogany. The surface is first planed smooth, and wood is then rubbed with a solution of nitrous acid. One ounce of dragon's blood is dissolved in nearly a pint of spirits of wine; this and one-third of an ounce of carbonate of of soda are then to be mixed together, and filtered, and the liquid in this thin state is to be laid on with a soft brush. This process is to be repeated, and in a short interval afterward the wood possesses the external appearance of mahogany. When the polish diminishes in brilliancy, it may be restored by the use of a little cold drawn linseed oil.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

MISSIONARIES IN CALIFORNIA.—The Crescent City, arrived at this port from Chagres, brings late intelligence from the various missionaries there. Rev. T. D. Hunt is at San Francisco, where he is preaching on a salary of $2,500 per year. He pays $100 per month for a one story house with two rooms. Rev. J. W. Douglass is at San Jose, where the American residents have employed him at the annual sum of $2,500. The Home Missionary Society is thus relieved from his expenses. Rev. Mr. Willey is at Monterey, teaching and preaching. Rev. Mr. Woodbridge is at Benicia, a new place above San Francisco; and Rev. Mr. Wheeler, and also Rev. Mr. Williams, who had just arrived at the last dates, were at San Francisco. The missionaries are all cordially received by the people, and are respected even by those who are not professors of religion.

WESLEYAN METHODISTS.—Of the 32 districts in the English connection, 25 report an increase of more than 9000 members, 3 report a decrease of 700, of whom 600 are lost by the extensive emigration in Cornwall; and the others have not held their annual meeting. The question who shall be next President of Conference, is already agitated; and it is understood by the Patriot that—

"Rev. Thomas Jackson, Theological Tutor at Richmond is the tory candidate; and the Rev. Joseph Fowler, the present Secretary, is the liberal one. As Dr. Newton, now President, declines any farther official appointment, Dr. Hannah, Theological Tutor at Didsbury, will probably be chosen Secretary."

THE BIBLE HALF OPEN.—At the meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, the Earl of Carlisle (Lord Morpeth) referred to the magnificent celebration of the new French Republic which has just taken place in the capital of France, where was upon the steps of the altar a statue of Religion, with a Bible half-open.

"I am sincerely glad, to read of any such disposition, and such tendency—(cheers); but I would remark that it is the glory of this country, and the special interest of this Society to display the Bible, not half, but wholly open, to all the people." (Loud Applause.)

FREE PRINCIPLES IN ITALY.—A letter from Pisa, of March 14, published in a Boston paper, says: "All custom-house duties are taken off foreign books at Rome, and all restrictions are removed. Achilla is printing the Epistle to the Romans, with notes, at Rome. Also an edition of Diodati's Bible, is being printed there. An edition of Martini's Bible has been printed in Florence, and one of Diodati's will shortly be printed at Pisa."

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS OF OUR COUNTRY.—A writer in the New York Observer gives some statistics, from which he educes the following results:

He says that in 1829, the members of the evangelical churches in the country, numbered more than a million, which was one-twelfth of the whole population, and that now the number of church members is 2,845,000, that is, more than one-eighth of the whole. So that the increase of church members has not only kept up with the increase of population, but has gained upon it more than one million. Our population is twice as great as it was twenty years ago, while the membership of the churches is three times as great.

BAPTIST MISSIONS.—The Baptists, it is stated, have in contemplation the re-establishment of their mission at Ava, in India. For this object they are about to send out Rev. E. Kincaid and his brother-in-law, Dr. Dawson. Dr. Dawson lived in India from childhood, is perfectly familiar with the Burmese and other Eastern languages, was for many years connected with the British East India Company, as Assistant Surgeon, and has a complete medical education. He was also, with his wife, converted and baptised on heathen ground. No two men in the country, says the N. Y. Recorder, could engage in the missionary work in Burmah with greater prospects of efficiency and success.

AGRICULTURAL.

From the American Agriculturist.

SALTING HAY.—We have often cautioned farmers against salting their hay too profusely.—No more salt should be put on hay, than animals would voluntarily consume while eating it if the salt was given to them separately. We are astonished to find, in a valuable agricultural journal, advice to add ten or twenty quarts of salt to a ton of clover hay, which will aid in preserving it, if rather green.

The largest quantity—twenty quarts to the ton—would be about twice the amount given to a horse in a year, at the usual allowance of an ounce per day, or half a pound per week. Four quarts of salt to a ton of hay, is as much as animals commonly consume when they have their own choice. Hay is greatly injured by the use of large quantities of salt to save it, when put into the mow only partially cured; and in some cases, diseases and death among stock have been the consequences of a too liberal use of salt as a preservative.

How would a man like butter with four ounces of salt to the pound, in order to save it without the trouble of working out the buttermilk? We have been particular on this subject, as dealers inform us that much hay brought to this market is injured by over-salting, for the purpose of saving it when housed too green.—*N. E. Farmer.*

GREEN SWARD FOR ROOT CROPS.—Most farmers have tried green sward for potatoes and found it highly successful. Few, however, have tried them with beets, carrots, turnips, &c.; for which the sward is equally beneficial. The only preparation needed, is to add long manure enough to afford a supply of vegetable food below; then turn over a good growth of grass, burying it deeply, and follow with the subsoil plow; and on the surface scatter well-rotted manure, guano, ashes, or plaster, and harrow thoroughly lengthwise of the furrow. The surface is thus well prepared for the seed, and the rotting of the manure, grass and roots. Keep the under soil loose, while the preparation from the subsoil plow will give a greater extension to the roots. Let some of our readers try this plan at the present season, no matter if the sod is not turned over before the 15th of June.—Try it and let us know the result.

CLEARING LAWNS.—The most effectual method of clearing lawns and pleasure grounds of snails, grubs and worms, that we have ever tried, is to allow fowls to run at liberty in the autumn, and early spring. They will pick every blade of grass clean; scratch around the roots of trees and shrubs, fly into the branches, and clear them of larvæ and chrysalides, hunt under the edges of stones and fences, and drag them to light; and finally they greedily eat the seeds of weeds, and such flowering shrubs as become almost a nuisance by springing up by thousands, if you neglect to gather the seed vessels in the fall.

FRIED POTATOES.—The French cooks at the large hotels are making this dish very fashionable. The potatoes are peeled, wiped, and cut into thin slices, then thrown into a frying-pan containing an abundance of hot lard. As soon as they become brown and crispy, they are thrown into a collader to drain, then sprinkled with salt, and served up as hot as possible. It is used at breakfast.

The crop of wheat is much injured by rust. Our farmers sow wheat too late by a month or six weeks. The recent rains have "brought out" the corn crop amazingly; and the prospects of an average yield is very flattering. Hemp, as a general thing, looks badly. There is a good field here and there. Of oats there will be an average crop.

Shelby News.