

Resolved, further that the next general election for members to represent the several counties in the general assembly the free holders and others by law authorized, shall elect one representative for every 500 free male inhabitants of full age which the said respective counties shall be found to contain on the taking of such census.

The president having signed the last mentioned acts, they were delivered to the committee for enrolled bill to be laid before the governor.

Mr. Bond from the committee for enrolled bills, reported that they had laid the last mentioned acts before the governor.

The act making appropriations for the ensuing year was read the 2d time, when Mr. Fisher moved to amend the same by adding the following between the 5th & 6th lines 'to the attorney general 100 dollars for the ensuing year,' which passed in the affirmative—on motion, ordered that the rule be dispensed with, and that the same be read a 3d time to day, whereupon the same was read and passed as amended—ordered that the clerk inform the house of representatives thereof, and deliver their concurrence therein.

A message from the house of representatives by Mr. Jones, their clerk.

Mr. President, I am directed by the house of representatives to inform the council, that they concur in the amendment made to the act making appropriations for the ensuing year, and then he withdrew.

A message from the house of representatives by Mr. Jones, their clerk.

Mr. President, I am directed by the house of representatives to inform the council that they concur in the resolutions respecting fugitives from justice, and then he withdrew.

(To be continued.)

FOR THE WESTERN SUN.

To G. W. JOHNSTON, Esq.

SIR,

THE examination of the conduct of a public officer, and the principles and pretensions of a candidate, is not less a right, than it is the duty of every citizen; but it should be done with fairness and candor; and personal imputations should not be substituted for fact or argument—thus impressed, I shall proceed.

I approve the plan of a candidate's publishing, in writing, his principles and views, in regard to the administration of the government, generally; we then perceive his talents as a writer, his knowledge as a grammarian, his learning as a scholar, his skill as a logician, his views as an economist, his principles as a politician, &c.—but I could wish you had given us your opinion respecting the division of the territory, the embargo, & our relations with France and England, they are matters of vast importance; and I am surprised that the sapient citizen had not touched upon them. However, the times are not only critical, but alarming, and it behoves us that we confide authority to no man whose opinions are not distinctly and accurately known.

Sir, the poor must be much indebted to you for becoming their champion; you must be the friend of us all; for aside from four or five persons, there is not a wealthy man in the county. We are all poor, and if we are to be regulated by your principles of political economy, we shall remain so to the end of time. So far as I can understand you, you endeavor to state, that the introduction of slaves, would reduce the price of labour, and thereby injure the labouring poor; secondly, that the slave holder would monopolize the market, to the manifest injury and ruin of every other person; and thirdly, that slavery is inconsistent with religion, &c.

The first is erroneous in fact and principle. The productiveness and low price of lands in the western country, enables every man to realize a sufficiency of land for the support of himself and family. If there are any exceptions, the number is so small as not to deserve attention; for every man, with ordinary industry, may become a freeholder. There are, idle, and consequently poor people, in this, and every other country; but where are your 50 cents-a-day men, for whom you are so feelingly alive? If there are any in this country, they are too few to merit your attention as a legislator, for a moment. We are too proud and independent to be day labourers; and however impoverished we may be, 50 cents will not induce us to sacrifice our pride, & our independence. Sir, there is scarcely a day labourer to be procured at any price;

I speak from experience, and any person that knows any thing about it, knows it to be so. You are therefore mistaken in the fact; and you are also mistaken in the principle.

The price of labour is regulated by the demand for it; and the extent of the demand depends upon two circumstances—first, the number of hands that compete for employment; and secondly, the market for the produce of their labour. Suppose the demand for wheat, tobacco, &c. to be very great; and the number of labourers to be procured very small—the price of their labour would of course be enhanced; but suppose we had no market for our produce, and labourers were numerous—their wages would scarcely be a groat a day. Like water seeking its level, these things regulate themselves. But we have a market for all the surplus produce that can be raised; and whilst that exists, whatever may be the number of slaves or day labourers, the price of labour will be nearly the same.

But admitting that we had a vast population of labouring poor, and who in the service of the wealthy, performed all the menial offices of slaves, as is the case in some of the eastern states, would that be a reason why we should not procure such a number of hands as to reduce the price of labour, or dispense with hired labour altogether? A spinning machine has been invented, the price of which does not exceed 35 dollars, with which a child of 6 or 7 years of age can spin as much as 16 or 18 women, with the ordinary spinning wheels. I suppose you will prohibit the introduction into the territory of this valuable machine, lest it should deprive 16 or 18 poor old women of employment, and must therefore be strongly tainted with federalism and aristocracy! and I suppose you will abolish the art of printing, as it has been eminently disadvantageous to scribes and transcribers!—Sir, your ideas are at war with every invention and improvement of the present, or any past age.

As to your second position—the way in which you state it, makes perfect nonsense; for you suppose the slave holder will be enabled to undersell your 20 cents a day men, who according to your own showing are too miserably poor to bring a single thing into market! I state it however, as I suppose you intended it; but you are still mistaken. We have no monopolies: the rich and poor are upon the same footing; the market is open to all; the price of produce depends on the demand and the quantity in market; the poor man for his barrel of pork or a hoghead of tobacco, gets the same price with the man who has a thousand; and it would be as correct for you to say that the poor would prejudice the sale of the produce of the wealthy, as that the latter could injure the former.

As to the further introduction of slaves being contrary to religion, &c. I shall say but little about it. You are understood to have been elected upon the principle that you were in favor of slavery; and that not 17 months since, you made a long speech in the legislature to that effect. I now sincerely congratulate you on your miraculous conversion; and that God Almighty, notwithstanding you was so lately in favor of that 'notorious policy,' did not rack, torture, nay shake you, but, in the fullness of his mercy, has spared you with your hands, arms and eyes, to illuminate us with the 'vivifying rays' of your resplendent genius! You say that a 'rational mind' must 'contemn the principle; had you, or, had you not a 'rational mind' 17 months since? And what greater security have you, that you now possess a 'rational mind,' than that you had one then, in supporting that which you now disapprove? But you are ashamed that, we have so 'little charity, religion, and republicanism.'—God help us! I hope you have not received the last, of his mercies, and that in his own good time, he will, without racking, torturing or shaking, bring us into his fold, with found hands, arms and eyes. What say you to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, holding large numbers of slaves? They were the 'children of God,'—or to God's giving the Jews a law regulating slavery? They were 'the people of his choice,' and, under his authority, held slaves for life.—But you say that 'every principle of humanity and republicanism' would be 'shook to the centre' were you to 'countenance such nefarious policy.'—Heavens preserve us! upon what a brittle thread hangs our destinies! and how fortunate, the world was not convulsed, 17 months since, when you spoke so largely in favor of slavery!

Sir, you, together with others, who are violently opposed to the further introduction of slaves, have blacks in your employ, whether for life or years, I know not, nor do I care.—You have said that the 'purchasers' of slaves 'are accessories' to the first importers, who were 'thieves.' In what a pitiable condition have you placed yourself and friends?—Sir, according to your rule, you, and some of your worthy compeers, have been the receivers of the descendants of some poor stolen African,—yes, you and they are fattening on the remnants of theft,—you have added 'cruelty to dispossession,' in countenancing the 'nefarious policy,' and sir, will you bluster about religion, morality, and republicanism, when at this moment you are steep'd to the eyes, and receiving the fruits of the very guilt, with which you so liberally charge your opponents? and what says the sapient citizen, upon the consistency of acts and professions? Sir, discharge your blacks from your kitchen, and let other worthy gentlemen follow the example, before you venture again to lip our want of moral and political rectitude—at present it will not do,—and I too will cry shame—yes sir, 'it is a burning shame.'

If I have mistated you, or drawn an inference which is not plainly to be deduced from your piece, it was not intentional.—I neither wish to misrepresent, or to be misrepresented. The question respecting the further introduction of slaves, is acknowledged to be an important one; but can you re-peruse your piece and candidly assert, that you have either done yourself, or your opponents, as men and christians, justice?—It is not every man that cries, 'Lord, Lord, who shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.' Look again into yourself and your piece. Sir, you will find much to amend. Mete to us the same justice, you expect yourself. I never owned a slave for life or years; and it is doubtful whether I ever shall—I am very poor; but I am not like 'the dog in the manger.' If others are able to acquire servants, I shall not repine at their superior good fortune. I would advise you to give slave holders a lecture upon the proper treatment due to slaves. This would be an act of justice and of humanity. If you think it possible to emancipate the million now in the United States, give us your scheme.—I think it impracticable; and as you and your associates are so feelingly alive to their hapless condition, I should suppose that your charity, &c. would induce you to endeavour to rescue a few thousands from the southern country where they subsist, by the week, upon cotton seeds. Here we have bread and meat in abundance,—and they would be well fed, and well clothed.—Establish the office of Censor of slave holders.—I would move your appointment, and if you live, and may God preserve you life many years, who would dare to mistreat a slave, when he subjected himself to you inquisition, and to the lash of your satire?

SLIM SIMON.

Feb. 7th, 1808.

To a Citizen of Vincennes.

I regret sir, that I have again to address you. It involuntarily produces those feelings of disgust, which are excited by the approach of some noxious reptile. A man is pardoned an error of judgment; but he is to be detested when he wilfully utters that, which he knows to be untrue. You cannot plead ignorance, as an apology for your shame—the facts are too plain and notorious to be controverted.

In regard to the propriety of holding, or the further introduction of slaves, into this Territory, there is a difference of opinion; and I trust it is an honest one; for I am not disposed to believe a man dishonest, because his opinion differs from mine. The people of the Eastern States are generally opposed to holding slaves; those of the Southern States are generally in favor of it.—certainly, very lately, there was a majority of the good people of S. Carolina, of that opinion. Some make it a part of their moral and religious creed to oppose it in every shape; there are others, equally honest and upright, who believe that it infringes on no moral or religious principle whatever; and they all in the same forms offer their adoration to the same God.

But you say it is "a question of vast moral and political importance."—The question is important, but in an opposite point of view from that in which you have presented it.

The true question, so far as regards the

Territory, is not whether slavery is right or wrong in the abstract.—Slavery exists in the U. States & here; but as the further importation has been wisely prohibited, and as, it is said, the situation of the slaves is deplorable, and the Southern states are exposed to no small hazard from their numbers, the enquiry for every politician and moralist is, what way are those now in the U. States to be disposed of, that they may be least prejudicial to the community at large, most beneficial to their owners, and by which their condition would be most ameliorated? This is the true question; what is to be done with them? Would you banish them to Africa? the cruelty of the act would not be exceeded by that of their original importation;—or would you colonize them in the Louisianian wilds, to fall a prey to hunger, disease and the ferocity of the merciless savage? or would you emancipate them with a dash of the pen, and turn loose upon the country, upwards of a million of persons, nine tenths of whom are in the Southern states, without the means of subsistence, and by which you would expose our property to pilage and our persons to assassination?—Or would you adopt a gradual abolition? That is considered in Virginia, & I believe in the other Southern states, as dangerous and impracticable as an immediate emancipation. I have thought it a dictate of sound policy, that their owners should be permitted to remove with them whereforever they pleased; and that in the course of the present century, considering the vast emigration to the Western territories, they would be so dispersed, that they could be emancipated with the same ease and safety, that they have been in N. England. It is the only feasible plan of which the case is susceptible; it is one that ought to be adopted by every emancipator; and it is one that is sanctioned by every sentiment of justice, policy and humanity.

But it would deprave the morals of the people.—This is a matter of opinion; and I do not think that experience verifies the fact. There are men in this county, who, tho' violently opposed to slavery, have as many, either for life or years, as they can procure,—they must have somebody to assist in the drudgery of the kitchen and the farm; and who so convenient or cheap as a slave? And will those persons concede that their morals are thereby corrupted or impaired? Or will any one dare to charge them with the fact? And are the morals of the people of the Southern states less pure, than those of Pennsylvania, or their religion, less orthodox and sincere, than that of the people of N. England? There are people here from all the different parts of the Union,—let them answer.

But it is of vast political importance and those who are in favour of it are aristocrats. Have already touched upon this. Will you say that the people of the Southern states, the whigs of '76 were aristocrats? Are the people of Kentucky, or the old volunteers, who for a series of years defended our frontiers, federalists and aristocrats? Do the people of the state of Ohio occupy a higher grade of moral, political and religious virtue and excellence than those of Kentucky? Will you brand a minister of the gospel with a want of morality and religion because he possesses a slave? The idea would be preposterous; and fact and experience are in the teeth of the supposition.

I had proceeded thus far, when Mr. Johnston, upon your invitation, came forth with his confession of faith. I shall shortly pay my respects to him; and, in the mean time, will leave you and him to reconcile acts and professions. I will not enquire whether the measure was preconcerted between you and him; it is needless; the readiness, however, with which he has attended to your invitation, will, I am fearful, cause him much trouble and vexation; there will be other calls; and many doubts and difficulties to develop. And if any soreness should be felt from the examination, you may blame yourself; you have provoked the scrutiny; and rest assured sir, your wounds shall be probed.

And it is come to this, that our brains

*I am aware that comparisons are odious; but you have provoked them; and if there are men, holding slaves, in this county, so lost to all sense of decency, as to countenance your outrageous insolence, I will push the comparisons further.—I will make them personal. This is not an empty threat; I have ample materials; the portraits will be easily drawn.