of 1819 with Spain, it was ceded to the United States, slavery existed within it. By the terms tions tending to excite hatred and animosity on ly determined to pursue their scheme of immediate free people of colour in the United States to the of that treaty, the effects and property of the in- the part of the inhabitants of the free states abolition, they should at once set about raising a land of their ancestors. It has the powerful to remove and take them away, if they think pro- gress petitioned? The free states have no more demnify the owners of slave property. And the and if it effects nothing, it inflicts no one evil or were expedient, therefore, to abolish slavery in it, slave states, confided to the exclusive jurisdiction justly assessed upon the free is no necessary hostility between the objects of it could not be done consistently with the treaty, of those states, than they would have to interfere states, if they can persuade them to assent to such colonization and abolition. Colonization deals without granting to the ancient inhabitants a rea- | with institutions existing in any foreign country. | an assessment; for it would be a mockery of all | only with the free man of colour, and that with sonable time to remove their slaves. But further: What would be thought of the formation of justice and an outrage against all equity to levy his own free voluntary consent. It has nothing by the compromise which took place on the pas- societies in Great Britain, the issue of numerous any portion of the slave states to to do with slavery. It disturbs no man's property, sage of the act for the admission of Missouri into the Union, in the year 1820, it was agreed and understood that the line of 36 deg. 30 min. of inflammatory publications, and the sending out of lecturers throughout the kingdom, denouncing and aiming at the destruction of any of the instinorth latitude should mark the boundary between | tutions of France? Would they be regarded as | tionists from further perseverance in their designs, | tary, depending upon the blessing of Providence. the free states and the slave states to be created proceedings warranted by good neighbourhood? the interest of the very cause which they profess which hitherto has graciously smiled upon it. Or what would be thought of the formation of to espouse ought to check their career. Instead And yet, beneficent and harmless as colonization treaty of Louisiana; those situated south of it societies in the slave states, the issue of violent of advancing, by their efforts, that cause, they is, no portion of the people of the United States being slave states, and those north of it free states. and inflammatory tracts, and the deputation of But Florida is south of that line, and consequently, missionaries, pouring out impassioned denuncia- of any species of emancipation of the African race, such unmixed bitterness as do the abolitionists. according to the spirit of the understanding which | tions against institutions under the exclusive con- gradual or immediate, in any of the states. They | They put themselves in direct opposition to prevailed at the period alluded to, should be a trol of the free states? Is their purpose to appeal have done more; they have increased the rigours any separation whatever between the two races. slave state. It may be true that the compromise to our understandings, and to actuate our huma- of legislation against slaves in most, if not all, of They would keep them for ever pent up together does not in terms embrace Florida, and that it is nity? And do they expect to accompish that the slave states. Forty years ago the question within the same limits, perpetuating their animonot absolutely binding and obligatory; but all purpose by holding us up to the scorn, and con- was agitated in the state of Kentucky of a gradual sities, and constantly endangering the peace of the candid and impartial men must agree that it ought | tempt, and detestation of the people of the slaves within its limits. By community. They proclaim, indeed, that colour not to be disregarded without the most weighty states and the whole civilized world? The slavery gradual emancipation, I mean that slow but safe is nothing; that the organic and characteristic considerations, and that nothing could be more to which exists amongst us is our affair, not theirs; and cautious liberation of slaves which was first differences between the two races ought to be be deprecated than to open anew the bleeding and they have no more just concern with it than adopted in Pennsylvania at the instance of Dr. entirely overlooked and disregarded. And, elewounds which were happily bound up and healed | they have with slavery as it exists throughout the | Franklin, in the year 1780, and, according to | vating themselves to a sublime but impracticable by that compromise. Florida is the only remain- world. Why not leave it to us, as the common which, the generation in being were to remain in philosophy, they would teach us to eradicate all ing territory to be admitted into the Union with | constitution of our country has left it, to be dealt | slavery, but all their offspring born after a speci- | the repugnances of our nature, and to take to our the institution of domestic slavery, while Wiscon- with, under the guidance of Providence, as best fied day were to be free at the age of twenty- bosoms and our boards the black man as we do sin and Iowa are now nearly ripe for admission | we may or can? without it.

would be competent to the general government to the white man must govern the black, or the industrious and laborious classes of soannul the prohibition emanating from state autho- black govern the white. In several of those states The proposition in Kentucky for a gradual ciety at the north by a revolting admixture of the rity. Or if the state of Kentucky were to prohibit | the number of the slaves is greater than that of | emancipation did not prevail, but it was sustained | black element? the introduction, within its limits, of any articles | the white population. An immediate abolition | by a large and respectable minority. That minoof trade, the production of the industry of the of slavery in them, as these ultra-abolitionists rity had increased, and was increasing, until the African race among us? Are they forever to government has any authority, whatever, from the instantaneous collisions between the people of that state have chequered from this cause. It will be repeated

regulation, and not prohibition. It is conservative, served, instead of exposing them to the horrible | the question of calling a convention was submitted | ficient to the day is the evil thereof. We have was designed to facilitate and accommodate, not ary ancestors assumed. It is that which, in my influence. When the question was passed upon that this great interest, and all other of our greatest to obstruct and incommode the commerce to be opinion, forms our justification in the eyes of all by the people at their last annual election, only interests, would be put in jeopardy. Although in regulated. Can it be pretended that, under this christendom. power to regulate commerce among the states, A third impediment to immediate abolition is supported a call of a convention. The apprehen- upon the white, it only constitutes one-fifth of congress has the power to prohibit the transporta- to be found in the immense amount of capital sion of the United States. And, tion of live stock which, in countless numbers, which is invested in slave property. The total consideration amongst the people for opposing taking the aggregates of the two races, the Euroare daily passing from the western and interior | number of slaves in the United States, according | the call. But for that, but for the agitation of the | pean is constantly, though slowly gaining upon one to another state, where they are recognized as this time is stated by persons well informed to be to take immediate, bold, and decided ground beyond it, I, too, have ventured on a speculative property, without any hindrance whatever from as high as five hundred dollars each. To be cer- against it.

prohibit the removal of slaves from one state to lars. This property is diffused throughout all | by humane and religious persons. These are all | our posterity. another. These, as I have already intimated, classes and conditions of society. It is owned by now checked; and a spirit of insubordination with ultra-abolitionists are but so many masked | widows and orphans, by the aged and infirm, as | having shown itself in some localities, traceable, our constitution, and afterwards, our patriotic anbatteries, concealing the real and ultimate point well as the sound and vigorous. It is believed, to abolition movements and exer- cestors apprehended danger to the Union from of attack. That point of attack is the institution of mortgages, deeds of trust, and family settle- tions, the legislative authority has found it expe- two causes. One was, the Alleghany mountains, of domestic slavery as it exists in these states. I ments. It has been made the basis of numerous | dient to infuse fresh vigour into the police, and | dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic bondage within them. And now allow me, sir, reliance, in many instances, of creditors within ensue if it were possible to attain it.

tion of the United States creates a limited govern- object without convulsion, revolution and blood- and south-western states. And what a dreadful The other cause, domestic slavery, happily the ment, comprising comparatively few powers, and | shed? leaving the residuary mass of political power in I know that there is a visionary dogma which | recollections of the past, by the unconquerable our harmony, continues to exist. It was this the possession of the several states. It is well holds that negro slaves cannot be the subject of prejudices which would prevail between the two which created the greatest obstacle and the most known that the subject of slavery interposed one property. I shall not dwell long with this specu- races, and stimulated by all the hopes and fears of anxious solicitude in the deliberations of the conof the greatest difficulties in the formation of the lative abstraction. That is property which the vention that adopted the general constitution. And adjusted in a spirit of harmony and patriotism. of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified negro over the whites, would be the sole alternative. the deepest anxiety by all who are sincerely desiever was granted to the general government in ment which have existed upon this continent such a contest, vast numbers, probably, of the of his country, in his last affecting and solemn respect to domestic slavery, but that which relates | during that long space of time-under the British | black race would migrate into the free states; and | appeal to his fellow citizens, deprecated, as a most to taxation and representation, and the power to government-under the colonial government-unrestore fugitive slaves to their lawful owners. der all the state constitutions and governments- labouring classes in those states! All other power in regard to the institution of and under the federal government itself-they slavery was retained exclusively by the states, to have been deliberately and solemnly recognized States is geographical; the free labourers occu- of slavery, as a power not necessary to the plan of be exercised by them severally, according to their as the legitimate subjects of property. To the pying one side of the line, and the slave labourers | union which it devised, and as one with which respective views of their own peculiar interest. | wild speculations of theorists and innovators stands | the other; each class pursuing its own avocations | the general government could not be invested The constitution of the United States never could opposed the fact, that in an uninterrupted period almost altogether unmixed with the other. But without planting the seeds of certain destruction. have been formed upon the principal of investing of two hundred years' duration, under every form on the supposition of immediate abolition, the There let it remain undisturbed by any unhallowed continued for a single day if the exercise of such | been held and respected, have descended and been | nishing the wages of their labour, and augmenting | the possibility of dissolving this happy union. a power be assumed or usurped.

It is to liberate three millions of slaves held in | debts contracted upon its faith, and is the sole | laws which regulate the conduct of the slaves.

transferred, as lawful and indisputable property. the hardships of their condition. But it may be contended by these ultra-aboli- They were treated as property in the very British

eight, and, in the mean time, were to receive the white, on the same footing of equal social The next obstacle in the way of abolition arises preparatory instruction to qualify them for the condition. Do they not perceive that in thus The next instance in which the exercise of the out of the fact of the presence in the slave states enjoyment of freedom. That was the species of confounding all the distinctions which God himpower of congress is solicited is that of prohibiting of three millions of slaves. They are there, dis- emancipation which, at the epoch to which I self has made, they arraign the wisdom and goodwhat is denominated by the petitioners, the slave persed throughout the land, part and parcel of our allude, was discussed in Kentucky. No one was ness of Providence itself? It has been His divine trade between the states, or, as it is described in population. They were brought into the country rash enough to think or propose of throwing loose pleasure to make the black man black and the abolition petitions, the traffic in human beings originally under the authority of the parent go- upon the community, ignorant and unprepared, the white, and to distinguish them by other between the states. The exercise of the power | vernment whilst we were colonies, and I repulsive constitutional differences. It is not neof Congress is claimed under that clause of the importation was continued in spite of all the amongst them, that as each of the slave states had cessary for me to maintain, nor shall I endeavour constitution which invests it with authority to remonstrances of our ancestors. If the question a right exclusively to judge for itself in respect to to prove, that it was any part of His divine intenregulate commerce with foreign nations, and were an original question, whether, there being the institution of domestic slavery, the proportion tion that the one race should be held in perpetual among the several states, and with the Indian no slaves within the country, we should introduce of slaves compared with the white population in bondage by the other; but this I will say, that tribes. The power to regulate commerce among them, and incorporate them into our society, that that state, at that time, was so inconsiderable that those whom He has created different, and has the several states, like other powers in the consti- | would be a totally different question. Few, if a system of gradual emancipation might have | declared, by their physical structure and colour. tution, has hitherto remained dormant in respect any, of the Citizens of the United States would be been safely adopted without any hazard to the ought to be kept asunder, should not be brought to the interior trade by land between the states. found to favour their introduction. No man in it security and interests of the commonwealth. And together by any process whatever of unnatural It was a power granted, like all the other powers | would oppose, upon that supposition, their admis- I still think that the question of such emancipa- amalgamation. of the general government, to secure peace and sion with more determined resolution and con- tion in the farming states is one whose solution But if the dangers of the civil contests which I harmony among the states. Hitherto it has not scientious repugnance than I should. But that is depends upon the relative numbers of the two have supposed, could be avoided, separation or been necessary to exercise it. All the cases in not the question. The slaves are here; no prac- races in any given state. If I had been a citizen amalgamation is the only peaceful alternative, if which, during the progress of time, it may become | tical scheme for their removal or separation from of the state of Pennsylvania, when Franklin's | it were possible to effectuate the project of aboliexpedient to exert the general authority to regu- us has been yet devised or proposed; and the true plan was adopted, I should have voted for it, tion. The abolitionists oppose all colonization, late commerce between the states, cannot be inquiry is, what is best to be done with them. In because by no possibility could the black race and it irresistibly follows, whatever they may conceived. We may easily imagine, however, human affairs we are often constrained, by the ever acquire the ascendancy in that state. But protest or declare, they are in favour of amaicontingencies which, if they were to happen, force of circumstances and the actual state of if I had been then, or were now, a citizen of any gamation. And who are to bring about this might require the interposition of the common | things, to do what we would not do if that state | of the planting states—the south- | amalgamation? I have heard of none of these authority. If, for example, the state of Ohio of things did not exist. The slaves are here, and would ultra-abolitionists furnishing in their own families were, by law, to prohibit any vessel entering the here must remain, in some condition; and, I continue to oppose, any scheme whatever of or persons examples of intermarriage. Who is to port of Cincinnati, from the port of Louisville, in | repeat, how are they to be best governed? What | emancipation, gradual or immediate, because of | begin it? Is it their purpose not only to create a Kentucky, if that case be not already provided for is best to be done for their happiness and our the danger of an ultimate ascendancy of the black pinching competition between black labour and by the laws which regulate our coasting trade, it own? In the slave states the alternative is, that race, or of a civil contest which might terminate white labour, but do they intend also to contami-

to glance at the insurmountable obstacles which and without the stave states, for the payment of overcome the insurmountable obstacles which lie in | ral separation. That danger has vanished before lie in the way of the accomplishment of this end, the debts due to them. And now it is rashly the way of immediate abolition, let us briefly con- the noble achievements of the spirit of internal and at some of the consequences which would | proposed, by a single fiat of legislation, to anni- | template some of the consequences which would | improvement, and the immortal genius of Fulton. hilate this immense amount of property! To inevitably ensue. One of these has been occa- And now, no where is found a more loyal attach-The first impediment is the atter and absolute annihilate it without com- sionally alluded to in the progress of these remarks. | ment to the Union than among those very western want of all power on the part of the general pensation to its owners! Does any considerate It is the struggle which would instantaneously people, who, it was apprehended, would be the government to effect the purpose. The constitu- man believe it to be possible to effect such an arise between the two races in most of the southern first to burst its ties. struggle would it not be? Embittered by all the | sole remaining cause which is likely to disturb constitution. It was happily compromised and law declares to be property. Two hundred years extermination of the blacks, or their ascendancy it is this subject that has ever been regarded with According to that compromise, no power what- slaves as property. Under all the forms of govern- Prior to the permanency of our Union. The father what effect would such a migration have upon the | calamitous event, the geographical divisions which

the general government with authority to abolish of human legislation, and by all the departments | black class, migrating into the free states, would | hand. the institution at its pleasure. It never can be of human government, African negro slaves have enter into competition with the white class, dimi-

tionists that their object is not to stimulate the example, which is so triumphantly appealed to as oppose all separation of the two races. I confess | The country will testify that, if there be any thing action of the general government, but to operate | worthy of our imitation. Although the West India | to you, sir, that I have seen with regret, grief, | in the history of my public career worthy of recol-

on the water side is Cuba, a slave island. This simple statement of its geographical position should of itself decide the question. When, by the treaty of itself decide the question. When, by the treaty of itself decide the question. When, by the treaty of itself decide the question. When, by the treaty of itself decide the question. When, by the treaty of itself decide the question. When, by the treaty of itself decide the question is characterized are the slave states wantonly and cruelly assailed? habitants are secured to them, and they are allowed against those of the slave states? Why is Con- fund of twelve hundred millions of dollars, to in- recommendation that whatever it does is good; per to do so, without limitation as to time. If it power or right to interfere with institutions in the taxes to raise that enormous amount can only be mischief upon any portion of our society. There seeks to impair no power in the slave states, nor

inhabitants of the state of Ohio, the general propose, would be followed by a desperate struggle abolitionists commenced their operations. The remain in bondage? That question was asked government might, by its authority, supersede | for immediate ascendancy of the black race over | effect has been to dissipate all prospects whatever, | more than half a century ago. It has been anthe state enactment. But I deny that the general | the white race, or rather it would be followed by | for the present, of any scheme of gradual or other | swered by fifty years of prosperity but little constitution, to abolish what is called the slave | which would become shocked and alarmed by these abolition | fifty or a hundred years hence. The true answer trade, or, in other words, to prohibit the removal | end in the extermination or subjugation of the one | movements, and the number who would now | is, that the same Providence who has hitherto of slaves from one slave state to another slave | race or the other. In such an alternative, who | favour a system even of gradual emancipation is | guided and governed us, and averted all serious can hesitate? Is it not better for both parties probably less than it was in the years 1798-'9. evils from the existing relation between the two The grant in the constitution is of a power of that the existing state of things should be pre. At the session of the legislature held in 1837-'8, races, will guide and govern our posterity. Sufnot destructive. Regulation ex vi termini implies | strifes and contests which would inevitably attend | to the consideration of the people by a law passed | hitherto, with that blessing, taken care of ourthe continued existence or prosecution of the thing an immediate abolition? This is our true ground in conformity with the constitution of the state. selves. Posterity will find the means of its own regulated. Prohibition implies total disconti- of defence for the continued existence of slavery | Many motives existed for the passage of the law, | preservation and prosperity. It is only in the nuance or annihilation. The regulation intended in our country. It is that which our revolution- and among them that of emancipation had its | most direful event which can befal this people about one-fourth of the whole voters of the state | particular districts the black population is gaining states to the southern, south-western, and Atlantic | to the last enumeration of the population | the African portion. This fact is demonstrated states? The moment the incontestable fact is little upwards of two millions. Assuming their had no right, in the opinion of the people of by the periodical returns of our population. Let admitted, that negro slaves are property, the law increase at a ratio, which it probably is, of five Kentucky, to interfere in the matter, the vote for us cease, then, to indulge in gloomy forebodings of moveable property irresistibly attaches itself to per cent. per annum, their present number would a convention would have been much larger, if it about the impenetrable future. But, if we may them, and secures the right of carrying them from | be three millions. The average value of slaves at | had not been carried. I felt myself constrained | attempt to lift the veil, and contemplate what lies theory, with which I will not now trouble you, tainly within the mark, let us suppose that it is | Prior to the agitation of this subject of abolition, | but which has been published to the world. Ac-But, Mr. President, I will not detain the Senate only four hundred dollars. The total value, then, there was a progressive melioration in the condilonger on the subjects of slavery within the District | by that estimate, of the slave states. In | hundred and fifty or two hundred years hence, but and in Florida, and of the right of congress to United States, is twelve hundred millions of dol- some of them, schools of instruction were opened few vestiges of the black race will remain among

Mr. President, at the period of the formation of ocean from those who found their outlet in the And now, Mr. President, if it were possible to Gulf of Mexico. They seemed to present a natu-

it might produce. The convention wisely left to Now the distribution of labour in the United | the several states the power over the institution

Sir, I am not in the habit of speaking lightly of The senate knows that I have deprecated allu-This is not all. The abolitionists strenuously | sions, on ordinary occasions, to that direful event. upon the states themselves in which the institu- planters had no voice in the united parliament of and astonishment, their resolute opposition to the lection, it is the truth and sincerity of my ardent tion of domestic slavery exists. If that he their the British isles, an irresistible sense of justice project of colonization. No scheme was ever pre- devotion to its lasting preservation. But we should