man on this floor with any design or desire to revive that trade, or with any belief or opinion that that trade ought, by any means, to be revived, but I ask whether the tendency of things, in this connexion, is not toward the revival of that trade? It has been avowed in some sections of the country, and very decidedly avowed in many publications in some sections of the country, that this trade ought to be at once revived, and that the law of Congress forbidding the importation of slaves and making the act criminal should be repealed.

If it be granted that it is right for us to legislate slavery into a Territory, or to allow the people, while they are under the control of Congress, to legislate slavery into a Territory, it must be because slavery is right; and if it be right, what makes the African slave trade wrong? Taking a slave from one section of this country into Kansas is transporting him perhaps from a better to a worse situation; taking him, however, from Africa, if he is a slave there, and bringing him here, may not the argument be made very strong that he is certainly benefited. Gentlemen have told us much sometimes of the prevalence of slavery in Africa, of the horrid cruelties practiced by the natives of that country holding each other in bondage, and have also told us that a great share of those brought from Africa —four-fifths or a greater proportion—were slaves in Africa before they were brought here.

If this be the case, what argument is strong enough to resist the revival of the African slave trade? In addition to the claim that it will be a humane institution, which will improve greatly the condition of the blacks, we shall have a further claim that, although Congress has a right to regulate commerce, it is an arbitrary power, and not to be exercised. We shall be told, "Let the General Government repeal its laws and allow every State to act according to its own pleasure; it will be doing then what Congress is bound to do; repeal the law of 1808, forbidding the introduction of slaves; repeal all laws making the slave trade piracy, or punishing it in any wise, and just leave the States of the Union free to embark in this trade or not." It will be said, "The States who embark in it throw no odium on those who do not embark in it; it is a State affair." Then the claim will be, of course, as soon as they are brought into one State, and the property there, that they can be carried into all the Territories and all the States of the Union. Thus we shall have an African population spreading over the whole country, to be held as slaves in all our States and Territories, and the African slave trade revived again as an institution of humanity as a grand means of christianizing the African race.

Mr. President, I am not prepared for this; I trust no gentleman here is prepared for this; but I ask where short of this do we stop if we go on in the direction in which we are now going at high speed? Do we stop at any point short of this? No, sir, we do not; and, indeed, this doctrine in principle, as it seems to me, is even now admitted in certain sections of the country. I read a recent extract from the Richmond Enquirer:

"THE TRUE ISSUE.—The Democrats of the South, in the pending canvass, cannot rely on the grounds of apology and excuse for slavery; for they seek not merely to retain it where it is, *but to extend it into regions where it is unknown.* The Constitution cannot help slavery if it be a violation of the laws of God and of morality. Slavery is older than the Constitution—existed before it, and independently of it. *We derive no right to our slaves from it and weaken our cause by seeming to rely on it.* Nor will it avail us aught to show that the negro is most happy and best situated in the condition of slavery. If we stop there we weaken our cause by the very argument intended to advance it; *for we propose to introduce into new territory human beings whom we assert to be unfit for liberty, self-government, and equal*

association with other men. We must go a step further. We must show that *African slavery is a moral, religious, natural, and probably, in the general, a necessary institution of society.* This is the only line of argument that will enable Southerners to maintain the doctrines of State equality and slavery extension."

Again, this paper, after having given this instruction to the Democrats of the South, says, speaking of the Democrats of the North:

"But, whilst they may prefer their own social system, they will have to admit in this canvass that ours is also rightful and legitimate, and sanctioned alike by the opinions and usages of mankind and by the authority and express injunctions of Scripture. They cannot consistently maintain that slavery is immoral, inexpedient, and profane, *and yet continue to submit to its extension.*"

It strikes me that there is force in this suggestion. Congress having the power over the Territories, as I claim, men cannot consent that slavery shall be extended into the Territory, if it be at all admitted that slavery is immoral, profane, or wrong. If we admit that it is not immoral, but is, as this paper says it is, a moral and religious institution, the captain of a slaver will only be the name for a great missionary. We must, come to that complexion at last, and we must come to it much sooner than gentlemen think. There is no point short of it. The moment we agree that this is a moral and just institution, it is a great deal better to bring the African from Africa here and convert them, through the means of service on a plantation, than it is to send missionaries there. And the men who live a reasonable length of time, unless I mistake, will live long enough to hear these claims made, unless there be a stop put, and that speedily, to the whole question, by forbidding the existence of slavery in all the Territories of the United States.

From the True Union.

COLONIZATION.

MR. EDITOR:—I resume the pen that circumstances have for some time past prevented my using, in behalf of Colonization and the general interests of the African race.

"At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, held in January last, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved 1st.—That there are certain principles which may be considered as settled by time and experience. With no greater facilities, from the General Government, or from any other quarter than have as yet been afforded, it is evident that the American Colonization Society can accomplish comparatively little in conveying a very large emigration to Africa. The chief aim of the Society may be regarded as already attained, is no longer an experiment, but a triumph, viz: evincing the practicability of establishing a successful Colony on the shores of Africa.

Resolved 2d.—That the future efforts of this Society should be directed not so much to increase the number of emigrants at present, as to make emigration attractive, with a view to encourage a great spontaneous movement on the part of the colored population in the United States.

Resolved 3d.—That in order to make emigration more attractive, this Society should endeavor with unflagging assiduity to obtain aid and encouragement from the Government of the United States, at least a treaty of commerce with the Liberian Commonwealth; to strengthen the Institutions of the Colony; to promote commerce by regular lines of packet ships or merchant vessels; to develope the mineral, vegetable, and other resources of the

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