United States stand charged with the fate of these poor children of the woods, in the face of their common Maker and in presence of the world. And as certain as the guardian is answerable for the education of his infant ward, and the management of his estate, they will be responsible here and hereafter for the manner in which they shall perform the duties of the high trust which is committed to their hands by the force of circumstances.

Hitherto, since the United States became an independent Power among the nations of the earth, they have generally treated the Indians with justice, and performed towards them all the offices of humanity. Their policy, in this respect, was vindicated during the negotiations at Ghent, and the principles which guided them in their relations with the Indians were then promulgated to all Christendom. On that occasion, their representatives, holding up their conduct in advantageous contrast with that of Great Britain and the other Powers of Europe, said: "From the rigor of this system, however, as practised by Great Britain and all the European Powers in America, the humane and liberal policy of the United States has voluntarily relaxed.

"A celebrated writer on the laws of nations, to whose authority British jurists have taken particular satisfaction in appealing, after stating, in the most explicit manner, the legitimacy of colonial settlements in America, to the exclusion of all rights of uncivilized Indian tribes, has taken occasion to praise the first settlers of New England and the founder of Pennsylvania, in having purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate, notwithstanding their being provided with a charter from their sovereign. It is this example which the United States, since they became, by their independence, the sovereigns of the territory, have adopted and organized into a *political system*. Under that system the Indians residing within the United States are *so far independent* that they live under *their own customs, and not under the laws of the United States;* that their rights upon the land, where they inhabit or hunt, are *secured* to them by boundaries defined in *amicable treaties* between the United States and themselves; and that whenever those boundaries are varied, it is also by *amicable and voluntary treaties*, by which they receive from the United States ample compensation for every right they have to the land ceded by them. They are so far dependent as not to have the right to dispose of their lands to any private person, nor to any Power other than the United States, and to be under *their protection alone*, and not under that of any *other* Power. Whether called subjects, or by whatever name designated, *such* is the relation between them and the United States. That relation is neither asserted now for the first time, nor did it originate with the treaty of Greenville. These principles have been *uniformly recognised* by the Indians themselves, not only by that treaty, but in *all the other previous as well as subsequent treaties* between them and the United States." Such was the solemn annunciation to the whole world of the principles and of the system regulating our relations with the Indians, as admitted by us and recognised by them. There can be no violation of either, to the disadvantage of the weaker party, which will not subject us, as a nation, to the just reproaches of all good men, and which may not bring down upon us the maledictions of a more exalted and powerful tribunal.

Whether the Indian portion of the inhabitants of the United States will survive or become extinct, in the progress of population, which the European race is rapidly making from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the

Pacific ocean, *provided they are treated with justice and humanity*, is a problem of less importance. The two races are not promiscuously mingled together, but are generally separate and distinct communities. There is no danger to the whites, or to their purity, from the power or from the vices of the Indians. The case is widely different with those who form the immediate object of this address.

The African part of our population, or their ancestors, were brought hither forcibly and by violence, in the prosecution of the most abominable traffic that ever disgraced the annals of the human race. They were chiefly procured, in their native country, as captives in war, taken, and subsequently sold by the conqueror as slaves to the slave trader. Sometimes the most atrocious practices of kidnapping were employed to obtain possession of the victims. Wars were frequent between numerous and barbarous neighboring tribes, scattered along the coasts or stretched upon the margin of large rivers of Africa. These wars were often enkindled and prosecuted for no other object than to obtain a supply of subjects for this most shocking commerce. In these modes, husbands were torn from their wives, parents from their children, brethren from each other, and every tie cherished and respected among men was violated. Upon the arrival at the African coast of the unfortunate beings thus reduced to slavery, they were embarked on board of ships carefully constructed and arranged to contain the greatest amount of human beings. Here they were ironed and fastened in parallel rows, and crowded together so closely, in loathsome holes, as not to leave room for action or for breathing wholesome air. The great aim was to transport the largest possible number, at the least possible charge, from their native land to the markets for which they were destined. The greediness of cupidity was frequently disappointed and punished in its purposes, by the loss of moieties of whole cargoes of the subjects of this infamous commerce, from want and suffering and disease, on the voyage. How much happier were they who thus expired, than their miserable survivors!

These African slaves were brought to the continent of America and the islands adjacent to it, and formed the parent stock of the race now amongst us. They were brought to the colonies, now constituting the United States, under the sanction and by the authority of British laws, which, at an early period of our colonial existence, admitted and tolerated the trade. It is due to our colonial ancestors to say, that they frequently and earnestly, but unsuccessfully, remonstrated to the British crown against the continuance of the practice. The introduction of slavery into this country is not, therefore, chargeable to them, but to a Government in which they had no voice, and over which they had no control. It is equally due to our parent State to advert to the honorable fact, that, in the midst of the revolutionary war, when contending for her own independence and liberty, she evinced the sincerity of the spirit in which those remonstrances had been addressed to the British throne, by denouncing, under the severest penalties, the further prosecution of the slave trade within her jurisdiction. And I add, with great satisfaction, that the Congress of the United States passed an act abolishing the trade as early as by their Constitution it was authorized to do. On the second day of March, 1807, the act was passed, for which it was my happy lot to vote, the first section of which enacts, "That, from and after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States, or the Terri-

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XIV. Books

2. Report of Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland
H.R. report no.283, 27th Congress
3rd session, Washington, D.C. 1843