From the Thirty-seventh ANNUAL REPORT of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY January 17, 1854

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia.

Mr. President:

I congratulate you, sir, upon your position in this Society, and the Society that you are its President. To succeed such men as have preceded you, is no ordinary distinction; but you, sir, have deserved it from your long and uniform support of the objects of this Society. If the propriety of the selection could be questioned, your address this evening would give the answer. I trust, sir, that it will be extensively circulated, in connexion with all other information of a like kind, which the Society may have in its possession. We still have prejudices to meet and to remove, opposition to encounter and to subdue, and much to do to put this Society and what it has done in a proper view before this nation. It has never had the full sympathy of the American people, and but little of that of the Federal Government. The time has come, when both may be won, if a right course shall be taken to gain them. To do so, we must use freely all of those agencies by which public sentiment may be arrayed in favor of a good cause. The short-hand writer, the telegraph and the press are at our command. They must be employed and paid, to promulgate whatever may be done here, as soon as it is done, and whatever shall happen in connexion with this Society, as soon as it is known. We must do all that our predecessors did, and more. We cannot surpass them in merit, but we may equal them in effort. And we can do more, because the world's apprehension now, of the rights of humanity, whatever may be the color of the man, or wherever he may be found, has removed many difficulties which were in the way of colonizing our free people of color in Africa, when this society was formed. Then every maritime nation in Europe, except
Denmark and England, permitted their subjects to carry on the slave trade from Africa. Their factories and barracoons lined its coast, for more than three thousand miles. Every day's sun rose and set upon the sufferings of victims, added to those of the day before. Now all Christendom denounces such a trade as an odious crime. "From treaties and conventions which have been made by the nations of Europe to abandon it;" it ought henceforth to be considered as interdicted by the international code of Europe and America. It was this trade which made the colonization of our free people of color in Africa, when this Society was formed, most difficult and uncertain. And it would yet be so, had there been merely a passive abandonment of the trade. But it was known, that having been pursued for more than two hundred years, it would be unlawfully continued,—as it has been, and is to this day—unless the nations of Europe and the United States would actively interfere to enforce the prohibition. It has been extinguished upon the Liberian coast and upon all of that Colonized by England; but is still connived at by most of the authorities of the other nations of Europe, which have settlements upon Western Coast of Africa. In consequence of this, Europe is now combined to give life and energy to their treaties upon this subject. The squadrons of England, France, and the United States, enforce them. Severe penalties have been legislatively enacted, by all the nations of Europe and by ourselves, to punish all who shall be caught engaged in the slave trade, or in fitting out vessels for that purpose. This state of things has shown, too, that a richer commerce may be had with Africa than a slave trade. The nations in the interior of it, and the tribes upon the coast, have also found that out, and must pursue it, if the unlawful trade shall be extinguished, as neither Europe nor America will any longer deal with them for slaves. Besides, sir, that man must be blind to the impressions of Providence, during the last forty years, upon the understandings of men, if he cannot see, that their tendency is, to give us a more intelligent view of right, with a disposition to support it, and to move our hearts with kindness towards all of the human race. Such are some of the changes in the last forty years, which
prompt us to be active and earnest in our efforts to advance the
objects of this Society, and which it had not in its favor when
it was formed.

Our domestic condition now increases our obligations to
do so. There are at this time in the United States, three times
the number of free persons of color, that there were when the
Society began to colonize them in Africa. If they are not harm-
less as a class, we know it to be chiefly owing to their necessarily
inferior social and civil condition. They are freedmen without
liberty; are mostly without the privileges of instruction, or the
right to labor as they please; and can never hope that their
posterity here can become more elevated than themselves.

It is useless now to speculate upon the origin of their
condition, or to speak of the policy of those restraints under
which they must always live in the United States. They are imposed
more or less in all of the States.

Society is natural, but its organization is artificial and
adventitious. It has rarely in its beginning been favorable to
equality of condition. Superiority of mind or of body, or larger
possession of what makes property, have divided all communities at
first into classes. The lower have served the higher for something
to live upon, but as society advanced and labor became more oppressive,
or was more wanted, all classes have been willing to lighten its
burden, by the absoluteness of domestic servitude; if those could be found
who could be coerced to bear it. War, want, crime, climate, peace
and mistaken views of religion, have been the pretexts for reducing
men into slavery. But pretexts as they are, when slavery has become
habitual, and has been for a long time a part of the policy of any
community, its safety may not permit the dissolution of the evil all at
once. Rights grow up under such a system, which cannot with justice
be suddenly taken away. All experience shows that every untimely
interference with it, has produced neither good to the state, to the
master, nor to the slave. When attempted by an external intervention,
out of the sovereignty where it exists, it has always produced bloodshed,
massacre and war. All that a nation can do, in which there is such a
relation, is to deal with it kindly, in such a manner that the integrity
of the state may be preserved. Its real duty is not to permit any other
state or authority to interfere with it.

But, sir, slavery has never existed in ancient or modern times,
nor anywhere, without the allowance of partial emancipation. This
makes another class, larger in numbers, than the relations upon a
superficial view of it, would seem to admit. In our own country, the
number is one-eighth of the whole of our colored population. In the
chapter of Roman civilization, its legislation for this class is one of
the most curious and instructive in the history of man.———It was always
difficult to deal with, but its result was, that the emancipated freedman,
having lost the guardianship of his owner, became the ward of the state.
It gave to him protection but not citizenship, exemption from coerced labor, but only the right to labor in particular employments. The taint of servile blood, though the freedmen of Rome were white persons, followed their posterity to the third and fourth generations. Their children were called libertini, their grandchildren ingenues. Horace was of the latter class;—and if the caprice of the aristocracy, or of the Emperor, admitted some of them at times to the highest social intercourse, the class were never permitted to enjoy its equality until there was no recollection of the servitude of their ancestors.

How much more hopeless is the state of the African freedman in the United States. They never can become here, in social life, more than they are. Living, as they do, wherever they may live in the United States, only by the toleration of the States, they can never have, wherever they may be, exemption from legislative constraint, or the benefit of those sanctions of municipal morality which might otherwise give to them purity as a class.

It was this view of the colored freedman of America which led to the formation of this Society. Its first object was to give them a home, where they would be unprejudiced by color. Africa could alone give that security. There, it was hoped and believed, that their moral and intellectual capacity could be developed to its fullest extent, whatever that may be. That they would rear for themselves a government of law and
order, resting upon liberty and religion. That they would teach to others all they had learned here, and give to the land of their fathers the tone and the habits of Christian civilization.

Experience has shown that the framers of this Society were right in their anticipations, as well as in their benevolence. Acting then upon the existing state of things, and leaving the future to that providence which guides us in mercy, the object of this Society is to colonize the freed man of color. It never meant by its agency, to make any other change in the condition of the colored man of this country. It has adhered to its pledges, and to its particular mission. And we are here this evening to tell you what it has done, and to ask your co-operation to enable us to do more. Our motives for doing so are stronger than they were—our free people of color have increased, and are doing so every day. Their intelligence is larger than it was thirty years since; and this society has provided for them a standing point in Africa, to which they may go, unapprehensive of want, disease, or savage repulse.

Every chance that we have to do good, is a gift from Providence. Let us avail ourselves of this in behalf of the free colored persons of our country. It is no longer so much a matter of choice, as it is of duty. All that is wanted is a corresponding sympathy. Information of what has been done and what can be done, may produce it. We hope for it and do not believe that the sympathy of the American people will be
withheld from this cause. We are assured, that there is in the
American heart a responsive feeling for every wrong and suffering
of humanity. Tough it lightly and it will yield liberally. Approach
it through the understanding, and if there shall be no outward gush
of enthusiasm, there is a well-spring in it to quench the thirst of
all who are wandering in the desert, until they shall reach the
promised land. (Applause) Our ignorance of what this Society
has done would surprise me, if I had not to express what had been my
own, until my attention was called to it by two of my friends. One
of them, early and for a long time an agent of this Society in Africa---
and again sent there as an agent of the Federal Government to report
upon the condition of Liberia, (the Rev. R. R. Gurley)---The other my
venerable friend now in our view, who enjoys the high respect and
consideration of all of us, and whose virtues and integrity have placed
him above the resentments and the touch of party... (Hon. Elisha Whittlesey.)
(Applause) The successful realities of Liberian Colonization are but
little known by a large portion of our country. It is perhaps universally
known, that this Society has been in operation for more than thirty years.
It is also known, that thousands of our free people of color have been
colonized in Africa----but their social and political condition are not
generally understood. It is not at this day generally known that the
Colony has passed from a colonial dependency to a national Sovereignty.
That it has been acknowledged as such by some of the largest powers in Europe. That it has made treaties with them, giving to this African Republic, the protection of all of those international usages and obligations, which regulate the intercourse of nations. Liberia, sir, including the Maryland settlement at Cape Palmas—as you have just told us, has a sea coast of more than three hundred miles—with an average interior of more than forty miles. And there are voluntarily within its territorial jurisdiction, subject only to its control, more than two hundred thousand native Africans. Liberia has also treaties with other tribes further in the interior, founded upon our modern relations of civilization and commerce.---- We may reasonably suppose, when they have experienced their advantages, that other tribes and nations more remote, will seek for a like concession.

My friend, Mr. Gurley, says in his report to the Senate, that the relations of the Liberian government to these African tribes, are peaceful and friendly, and its authority over them salutary and benificent. It has banished the slave trade from all of this district of Africa, settled the differences which separated them, and suppressed the wars which have for centuries spread misery and desolation among them. Some of their most barbarous superstitions have been interrupted, if they are not altogether eradicated. Liberia too has given them incentives to industry, supplied new motives for trade, and incites them to listen and become enriched with the blessings of civilization and christianity. I am not sure that my memory has done justice to the language of the report, but I am, that it has not been exaggerated. Liberia has also a political organization which cannot fail to excite the sympathies of the American people.
Its constitution, as a State paper, is not inferior to that of any other people who have asserted their national sovereignty in the last century. Its statement of the causes which had induced them to assume such a position, are truthful and manly. It has all the forbearance of Christian humility, with the hopes and strength of Christian confidence. And its final appeal "in the name of the Great God, our common creator and common judge; for the sympathy of the nations of Christendom, to which the peculiarities of their condition entitle them"—brings at once this response from our hearts that God has made all the nations of the earth of one flesh. Their government too has been administered by themselves for more than six years with discretion, and with enlarged views of the obligations cast upon Liberia from its position.---

Now the ships of all nations are found in its harbors, receiving in return for the goods which they have carried, African products which the arts and manufactures of modern times cannot do without. Nor must it be thought that Liberia has become what it is, without having encountered all those perils and sufferings which have uniformly marked the colonization of a savage coast. Turn your memories to the land where the war whoops and tomahawk of the Indian were met by the stern resolve of the first settlers of our own coast, and you have the renewal of the same savage wars in Liberia. Were it my privilege to speak to-night the eulogies of individuals, or of the triumphs of battles, enough could be told to excite your surprise and sympathy, for the unsurpassed Christian devotion and heroism of the men, who suffered all and lost all, to establish this new Christian Republic.

Still with all the advantages of Liberia, and its entire fitness for all our free people of color, its resources are not sufficient for the support of its government; and for it at the same time, to act efficiently in maintaining her position in relation to much of Africa, nearest to it. If trade shall strengthen it, it will be remembered that the savage nations about them will
receive from the same source every muniment of war. It needs a large
population of the same cast, color and training with themselves to meet
such an event, and to aid in opening the riches of her soil.--- They can
only be found here. She needs them also to aid in extending her christian
influence, and to suppress the slave trade upon the coast, coterminous with
her own. In such a cause, individuals may do much to aid this Society in
sending to Liberia that portion of our free people of color who are willing
to emigrate. But we should do more. It is our duty to act together, until
we have aroused a public opinion---strong enough, to induce the legislative
power of the Federal Government, to give its aid in colonizing our free
people of color in Africa.

No combination is necessary in such a cause, but a sense of what is
right, and what the interests of the United States require. We need no
party interference or league, and should reject them; for the men of all
parties in our country have the same impulses of humanity. But it is true
that the human heart does not readily yield to its more generous propensities:
and its indifference to all that does not immediately concern ourselves must
be overcome by persuasion and kind remonstrance, before it will act to remove
an existing evil or to redress a public wrong.---Revolutions move with a quick
step---reformation with a slow foot. Still, if there be a real cause of
reformation, its march will be sure. So it has been in all cases, where the
aid of Government has been asked for a good cause, not immediately connected
with its political administration. In such instances, there must be co-
operation to obtain it. A single person has often produced it. Nay, have
not all the reformation of our own, and of other days, begun with some one
individual, who perceiving that one was wanted, did not shrink from attempting
its accomplishment. Infusing his own spirit into others, they became a part of
himself, and afterwards moved as a mass, making a public opinion in favor of
his cause, where there was none before—Need I remind you that the first movement in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, was owing to the benevolent, bold and persevering efforts and remonstrances of Clarkson. Though his King and the avarice of a long established trade were against him, he subdued both unto humanity. Was not the heart of all Europe hardened against the sufferings of prisoners until the philanthropy of Howard softened it into commiseration. And do we not see in our own country hospitals and asylums for suffering humanity reared by Government, from the persuasive instigations of a female, who womanly as she is, is stronger in her purposes of benevolence than any one of us—Miss Dix.

(Applause) I have said that the aid of the Federal Government must be sought. Fortunately it can be constitutionally given, and our national interests coincide with its power. But I pray you in advance, if in the discussion of this point, some things may be said which have the appearance of being political, not to suppose they are meant to be so. I am incapable of doing so at this time, and at this place.

The constitutional power of our Federal Government to aid in colonizing our free people of color, rests upon the connexion which the States of the Union have had with slavery before and since the Declaration of Independence. It began in our colonial condition: the importation of slaves into them from Africa, having been a part of the policy of the mother country. When the Revolutionary war began, slavery existed in every State, and slaves were considered and used by all of them as property. They descended by inheritance as they do now where slavery continues; and were transferable at the will of their owners by purchase and sale, without any limitation as to the manner of sale. There was however this difference in the condition of the states. In some of them an early cessation of slavery was anticipated. In the larger number it was certain that it would continue for a longer time. This difference however had no influence upon the proceedings
of the Congress of the colonies, but some feeling was excited, when it prohibited the importation of slaves. Not that under the circumstances, it was not thought proper, but it was considered by some of the delegates as having been prematurely done, with the intention to introduce it into the articles of confederation; which Congress designed to form as soon as the Declaration of Independence should be made. But every difference then yielded to the exigency of the times. All knew, that without the union of all the colonies, that independence could not be won. Our independence was declared and the articles of confederation were formed, without any clause relating to the powers of the States concerning slavery, but in the general admitting its existence in the States. In the articles of confederation and the acknowledgement of our independence Congress had acquired for the United States, by cession from the States, the northwestern territory. It had been resolved by Congress as early as seventeen hundred and eighty, that such relinquishments of lands by the States should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and should be formed into Republican States, and...to become States of the Union, with the rights of sovereignty. In a little more than three years after peace had been made, Congress passed an ordinance for the government of that territory. Then for the second time, the subject of slavery was brought into political discussion; but not with the angry feelings which have since been manifested. On the contrary, moderation, forbearance and a proper view of the existence of slavery among us, gave the first great triumph to our national humanity. Two stipulations were made in that ordinance; the larger, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the territory. The lesser:—"Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person
claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid." This was the original of that clause in our present constitution to the same effect. In less than two years afterward, the convention was called to frame that constitution. Slavery became again the subject of discussion, and it was essential that some compromise should be made with the consent of all the States, before our Union, as it is, could be formed. What was it? It was the incorporation into the Constitution of the fugitive clause from the ordinance, with a still greater triumph of humanity, that the Congress of the United States should have the power within a given time to prohibit the African slave trade. This of course was a limitation upon the increase of slaves in the United States. The lesser provision was satisfactory to all, particularly to the states most interested in its execution. And there was one harmonious humm of thankfulness throughout our country, that our nation had been the first among the nations of the earth to provide for the extinguishment of the greatest curse that man had ever inflicted upon his fellow man. Both of these clauses in the Constitution were meant to be grants of legislative power. They have always been acted upon as such.--- At first and for more than thirty years always in harmony, or without producing excitement of any kind. In seventeen hundred and ninety-three---as soon after the legislative organization under the new Constitution had been enacted as it could be done, Congress acted upon the lesser clause concerning fugitives from labor. It comprehended the States and territories in the north west or south of the River Ohio also. In the next Congress, under the larger clause relating to the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States themselves shall think proper to admit; an act was passed prohibiting the slave trade from being carried on from the United States, to any foreign place or country---also prohibiting American ships from transporting slaves from foreign places, to other foreign ports. The ship was to be forfeited, and those concerned in giving a vessel such a destination were subject to heavy pecuniary
penalties. In eighteen hundred, a more efficient law was passed. It prohibited our citizens, and all other persons residing in the country who were not so, from holding any property in a vessel which was to be employed in the transportation of slaves from one foreign port to another foreign port. Neither citizens, nor other persons residing in the United States, could be employed on board such vessels. They were made liable to capture by any commissioned vessel of the United States. Then in eighteen hundred and three, some of the States having by that time declared that slaves should not be brought into them, Congress passed an act to aid in enforcing the prohibition. Finally the act of eighteen hundred and seven was passed, prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States. Thus consumating those great purposes of humanity; which the Constitution was meant to accomplish and guard—all happening under those compromises in the Constitution relating to slavery; just as it was anticipated they would do, and as those who framed the Constitution, and as the people who ratified it, meant they should do. My narrative of the connexion of the Federal Government with slavery is not yet done. I will now show what its practice has been under that clause of the Constitution prohibiting the importation of slaves, from which we may gather its power and its obligation to aid in the removal of our free people of color from the United States.

Eight years after the date of the act, which put an end to the importation of slaves, we had passed through our second war with England. In the 10th Article of the treaty of peace, we find the slave trade denounced as irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and both nations contracting to use their efforts to promote its entire abolition. I do not know what other persons think about it; I do not know that I am right; but I have sometimes thought, with the glories of that war upon our national escutcheon, in proud companionship with those of the Revolution, that such a tribute to humanity was worth to both nations all the cost of the war. (Applause.) The
United States, true to the obligations imposed by that treaty, passed an act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade; and another making it piracy for our citizens to be engaged in it. It is to the first of these two acts to which I wish to call your attention: Because it discloses how the powers to regulate commerce and to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States, have been exercised by Congress. It shows further that the Federal Government has already colonized Africans in Africa, and that it may, if our commerce can be advanced by doing so, aid in the colonization of our free people of color. That act declares, that the armed vessels of the United States, may be employed to enforce the acts of Congress which prohibit the slave trade, and it authorizes the President to make arrangements to remove beyond the limits of the United States all negroes and persons of color, who may be brought into the United States; and that he may appoint agents to reside in Africa to receive there such persons. And one hundred thousand dollars were appropriated to carry the law into effect. Under this act the President appointed agents for its purposes, sent laborers to prepare for the reception of such Africans as might be liberated from American slave ships; chartered a ship to carry them to Africa, on board of which the first colonists of the Society went, accompanied by a ship of war, commissioned for that purpose.---And under the act the government has done the same in other cases. England no less sincere, has kept her faith, at a cost which the finances of no other nation could have borne. No vulgar views of interest prompted the action of either nation. It was a great and positive illustration of the age, how Christianity influenced the practices of nations as well as the consciences of individuals.---And if its purifying efficacy was not sufficient, when it put an end to white slavery in Europe, to prevent African slavery from succeeding it, it can only be accounted for from the fact, that but a short time before the mariner's compass "had opened the universe," and given to Europe a new continent of enterprise.---All of us know, that the
discovery of America corrupted at first the desires and the habits of Europe: and that in the eagerness of its natives to possess its mines and work its lands, that all of them compromised their consciences, by adopting the old Greek and Roman barbarism, that barbarians might be enslaved.

Contrast the condition of the world now, with what it was when England and the United States made their treaty to use their efforts to put down the slave trade. Then every maritime nation in Europe sanctioned and pursued it. Now it has been abandoned by all of them, under the influence and under the example of England and the United States. Both nations have kept the object constantly in view. In our last treaty with England—familiarly known as the Webster-Ashburton treaty; both nations have stipulated to employ portions of their naval marine on the coast of Africa, to capture vessels unlawfully engaged in the slave trade; and further, they bind themselves to remonstrance against its continuance by any nation then permitting it. France has since made a like treaty with England. Indeed the United States has always readily met every direct proposal for the abolition of the slave trade. Our refusal to give a right of search of our ships upon the ocean for that purpose, stands upon different grounds. We did not do so, because we were unwilling that a strict right of war should be converted into a practice in peace. Because such a right in peace could not be given without its being unequal in its execution between the nations conceding it, as the larger nation would more frequently interrupt the commerce of the lesser; and because such a practice in peace would be likely to lead to war. Such has been the course of the Federal Government to suppress the slave trade, without its constitutionality having been questioned.

What shall be the next step in the march of our national humanity? It should be to adopt any additional means which gave the strongest promise, to accomplish the hitherto unexecuted purpose. Let the nationality of Liberia be acknowledged. It does not imply unrestrained intercourse. That may be
regulated by treaty, subordinately to the differing condition and interests of the States. It has been shown that the Federal Government has colonized slaves in Africa, under its power to regulate commerce, and its power to prevent importation of slaves. The statute under which it was done is still unenacted. It may then be done again. It obligation implies that the ways and means for discharging it, may be any which the expediency of such an occasion may require. We may unite with Liberia as we have done with England to extinguish the slave trade. We may have an agent there for the extension of our commerce with Africa. Or we may purchase territory there and colonize it with the same view, and strengthen it by sending such of our free people of color as may be willing to emigrate; whether they have become so under the influences of this Society or otherwise. There is no indirection in the suggestions which have been made. All of them have the sanction of those men of the early days of this Republic, to whom we still look as guides to direct us as to what the Constitution forbids or allows.

Mr. Jefferson, as early as eighteen hundred and one, expressed views upon this subject, from which I will repeat extracts in his own words. The House of Delegates of Virginia in 1800, requested its Governor, then Mr. Monroe, to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of the United States, whether persons obnoxious to the laws, or dangerous to the peace of society, may be removed.

Mr. Jefferson, then the President of the United States, in his letter in reply to Mr. Monroe's communicating the resolution, approves the object of it, and says: "The plan of relegation may be executed with the aid of the Federal Executive." Mr. Monroe sent his letter to the General Assembly, but being doubtful as Mr. Jefferson was, what persons were contemplated by the resolution, he asks the Legislature to be more precise in that particular. His language is, "It remains therefore, for the General Assembly to explain more
fully the description of persons who are to be transported." It answers, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which such free negroes and mulattoes, and such of them as may be emancipated, maybe sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum; and that it was not the wish of the Legislature to obtain the sovereignty of the place. Thus matters stood, until 1804, when Mr. Jefferson resumed the subject of the resolution of 1800 and 1804. In a letter to Governor Page, he says, I have it not in my power to say that any change of circumstances has taken place which enables me yet to propose any specific Asylum for the persons who are the subjects of your correspondence. I beg you to be assured that having the object of the House of Delegates sincerely at heart, I will keep it under my constant attention, and omit no occasion which may occur to give it effect— as Mr. Jefferson had stated in his letter that there were objections to the places to which his mind had been directed for the asylum; with a suggestion that it might be made in the remote parts of Louisiana. The General Assembly passed another resolution, instructing its Senators in Congress and requesting that its Representatives do exert their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of the territory of Louisiana, to be the residence of such people of color as have been, or shall be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety. Afterwards, in 1811, Mr. Jefferson received a letter from a private person asking him to give his opinion upon the practicability of establishing a colony on the western coast of Africa. In his answer he gives an account of his official action upon the resolves of the Virginia Legislature. He says that he had proposed Sierra Leone, and if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America, expressing it however as his opinion that Africa was preferable. He further states, that he had written to our Minister in London, Mr. King, "to endeavor to negotiate with the
Sierra Leone company to receive such of these people as might be colonized thither." Further, that the effort which he had made with Portugal to obtain an establishment from them, proved also abortive. And in reply to the question, whether he would use his endeavors to procure such an establishment, he says, "Certainly I shall be willing to do anything I can to give it effect and safety," and again, "that nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves, undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa." He adds, "exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all expenses," Mr. Monroe partook fully of the views of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Madison entertained the same opinion, and expressed himself in favor of the removal of our free people of color, as a question truly of a national character. I might cite the names of several of our distinguished men of that day, who expressed the same opinions and wishes. When subsequently petitioned Congress for aid, the committee to which the subject was referred, reported that nothing was more desirable or worthy of the pecuniary resources of the country, than to provide for the removal of our free people of color. Several of the States have passed resolutions in favor of its being done by the United States. Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. I do not misstate the number, when I say that twelve of them have done so. Why then may it not be done, and be better done, through the agency of Liberia and of this Society than any other way. The situation of the first, and of this Society, recommend them. Liberia has become what it is, from the efforts of this Society. It now rejoices, confidently believing the prospect to be cheering, that it has given to Africa, through the instrumentality of our free people of color, all the advantages of our entire civilization, with our christian belief and our christian life. Should the christian world view correctly, all that this Society had done, and what Liberia is, it will not fail to make it the chief point for its future missionary efforts for Africa. No one doubts the constitutional
right of our National Government to colonize either a newly discovered country where such a discovery has been made by our own ships, commercial or military. Or that it may purchase territory for the same purpose.

It may do so by a direct purchase and transfer, under the form of treaty. It may be done under the war power, by treaty, in anticipation of what our national defences may suggest to be proper, or we may take territory as one of the incidents of successful war. It may do so, under the power to regulate commerce. And there is a great constitutional conservative obligation upon the National Government to remove a national evil, when it press upon the general welfare of the United States, and when it can be done without interfering with the rights of private property, or with those institutions allowed by the states, and which were meant to be guarded by the constitution of the United States. That conservative obligation will be found in the first clause of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution. It is, "the Congress shall have power to lay, and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, to pay the debts and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." In this I suggest no new or loose interpretation of the Constitution. I reject, myself, the employment of all means, which are not essential to the execution of a substantively granted power, in the Constitution. That no means shall be legislatively used to enforce a grant of power in the Constitution, which do not concur with the intent of the power and with the extent of the obligation which it imposes. And that such intent and extent may only be inferred by giving to the language of the grant, just that meaning which each work of it has in its common use and acceptance to the English language. Let me be not confounded with those who have resorted to the preamble of the Constitution, in which the same words, "provide for the common defence and general welfare," are found; to infer a legislative ability in Congress, out of the particular grants in the Constitution. The difference between those words in the preamble, and in the clause to which
reference has been made, is this, that they are in the first a recital of
the motives which induced the people of the States to ratify the Constitution—and in the clause, they recognized it as a grant of power for which national revenue might be raised and applied.—But there is to be found an analogous practice in the legislation of this Government, which has no other constitutional authority than such as have been mentioned, to shew how its powers may be used to colonize our free people of color in Africa. I mean the colonization of the Indian tribes. Have not these tribes from the beginning of the National Government been colonized? Except in the clause to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, and in that which apportions the representation of the States in Congress, the word Indian is not to be found in the Constitution. But as the Indian tribes, whether within, or beyond the territorial limits of the States, were considered by us, (as they have been by all the nations of Europe which colonized any part of the American continent) as independent nations, with a right of occupancy of their lands, but without the power to sell them, unless permitted to do so, by the sovereignty within whose territorial limits their lands were; within that policy of the general welfare of the United States, which for our interest and their own, required that they should be removed at the cost of the United States. The Federal Government made a compact with the State of Georgia, to buy from the Indians in Georgia, their right of occupancy to their unceded lands in that State, with an obligation to remove them from the State, when the purchase could be made. It has been done. A treaty was made in 1825, with the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi to colonize them at the cost of the United States, in another part of Arkansas, than where they were.—Haton and Coffee's treaty with the Mingoes and and the warriors of the Choctaw Nation, provided for the removal of them at the cost of the United States. General Cass afterwards made a treaty with the Creek Indians for the cession of all their lands east of the Mississippi, with a stipulation that they would be removed to
the west of it at the expense of the United States.

In the year 1834, Congress passed an act designating territory in the United States to which the Indians might be removed, declaring that it should always thereafter be deemed the Indian country. Several tribes are now there under the protection of this Government, with the promise that the humane policy of the Government will be illustrated by their civilization. If any one wishes to see that policy about to be further carried out, it will be found in the very interesting report of Mr. Wanyenway, the present efficient Commissioner of the Indian affairs, accompanying the message of the President to this Congress.

If then the Congress of the United States has made appropriations of money to remove and colonize Indians and Africans, the Constitutional powers exerted for doing so, apply equally in favor of appropriations of money to aid in removing and colonizing our free people of color whenever Congress shall think it rationally expedient to make them. This must be so, unless the Government’s power to colonize, is particular as to persons, and not general. If any one shall say so, to exclude the free man of African origin from the benefit of the powers, he interpolates into the Constitution an exception which is not there, and will exclude himself from that class, which has hitherto guarded that sacred instrument, by giving it a rational and limited interpretation in opposition to those whose sinister tendency has been to give to it legislative ability in cases where the power has not been delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or when powers have been asserted by the Legislation of the United States, which were reserved to the States respectively or the people.

Mr. President:—My object in all that I have said concerning the power of the Federal Government, has been constitutionally to aid this Society in colonizing our free persons of color, and to present the claims of Liberia to the intelligent consideration of our legislators. A few more words at this late hour,
and I shall be done.

The colonization of our free persons of color is not a local interest. It is national, because they are in every State of this Union in a hopeless condition of inferiority, without any possibility that they can be made partakers of the political and civil institutions of the States, or of those of the United States. They number now more than four hundred and fifty thousand. A larger number than all of the Indians within our limits. Their numbers will increase, from emancipation beyond that of a natural production, though that will not be less than it has been. Such a caste, without civil privileges, implies discontent and hostility. Whether the last shall be so or not, it will be thought to be so, and the restraints upon them, will be multiplied. They have seen, sir, and are here enjoying their best day in the United States. The natural increase of our white population, the additions to it already by emigration from Europe and such as are surely to follow, even in larger numbers than have yet come, will drive them into the most degraded offices of civilized life if not from employment of every kind. The object of the Society is to place them out of the reach of such a result. It designation is the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States. It object, as it is expressed in its Constitution, is to colonize them with their consent, in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, and to act in co-operation with the general Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject. The South and Southwestern States where slavery is a part of their domestic condition, are not more interested in this matter, than the rest of the Union, except as they may give larger numbers to be sent to Africa. The inconveniences and interferences of emancipated colored persons in them, they can control. But their philanthropy makes them wish to avoid the use of their power, and they look to this Society and to the Federal Government to aid them in making that philanthropy efficient.
The condition of the Southern States in this matter, and in every other concerning them, in any event, is one of strength, and not of weakness. Commanding as they do by their products a large portion of the world's industry and its interests, without any cause for apprehending that it will be less and with every reason for believing that it will be larger, they have as strong a bond of union between them as any which unites the same population in any part of the world. Let come what may, they have confidence in their future. They know that their coasts may be pillaged but that their interior cannot be successfully assailed. Abounding in every thing which in ordinary times can be enjoyed and sufficient for any exigency which may happen, they feel that they are secure.

But they do not wish to rely upon such considerations, and they do not indulge them, remembering the old times of their fathers, in every part of this land, and that God strengthened them together, to escape from a common tyranny. Their heart's wish is to enjoy the blessings given to our nation in patriotic fraternity. Prompted too by a holier sentiment, our common christianity and its influences upon their consciences and their practices, they think that a sufficient guaranty that their rule at home, will be regulated accordingly. Unaffected in their sensibilities by either the exaggerations of fiction or the assaults of fanaticism, they have neither resentments to express nor contempt to bestow. They are conservative too for this nation. The excesses of un-christian and revolutionary innovation, have no countenance there. If they cannot prevent them from being felt in other localities, they mean to prevent them from becoming national.

Standing upon the good sense and strong sympathies of the American people, they hope for a long course of national quietude and happiness, confidently trusting whatever may affect our general welfare, that it will be under the guardianship of our National Constitution.

END