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AMERICAN

# ANTI - SLAVERY REPORTER.

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VOL. I.]

JANUARY, 1834.

[NO. 1.

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AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

Six numbers of a periodical with the title, *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, have been issued during the last year gratuitously, and extensively circulated. This number commences a new series which will be published by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Though issued in February, it is dated, January, for the sake of conforming the volume to the year. The number for February will be issued during the month, and hereafter the work will make its appearance as near the first of each month as practicable. It will be filled with original essays, and authentic matters of FACT, adapted to probe American Slavery to the core. It will have nothing to do with Slavery "in the abstract." We are not at war with innocent imaginations but with wicked realities. May God grant us wisdom, energy, perseverance and courage enough to hold up, in its own meanness and cruelty, the system of American Slavery to the scorn and indignation of all honest men. For not till Slavery shall be made odious, as the consummation of *theft and robbery*, will it be exploded from this tyrant-ridden world. We have nothing to do with *dead* slaveholders,—we are not their judges,—but to the *living* we must speak plainly. We feel for them as fellow men; we are their *best* friends. But we must not apologize nor flatter. If they do not choose to enter the door of eternal infamy which is opening before them, let them have the magnanimity to be JUST. Let them cease to make merchandize of God's image, and to "fare sumptuously every day" upon the avails of unrecompensed toil! We take for our motto the language of the prophet, as expressive both of the duty and the consequences of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION: "If thou take away from the midst of thee the YOKE, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; THEN SHALL THY LIGHT RISE IN OBSCURITY, AND THY DARKNESS BE AS THE NOON DAY."

For the terms of subscription see the last page.

## R E V I E W

### OF THE SPEECHES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE RECENT ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THROUGH the laudable zeal of the Editors of the N. Y. Evangelist and the N. Y. Observer, the public has been favored with very full reports of the late Colonization Anniversary at Washington. We are not aware that these reports disagree as to any important fact or expression. In the following pages, except when the reader is otherwise notified, we quote from the Evangelist, for brevity's sake. We earnestly commend this *expose* to all who prefer light to darkness, and are conscientiously desirous to do their whole duty.

In our opposition to the Colonization Society we have not been fighting against *men*, but against *false principles* and an *injurious plan*. There have been men connected with the Colonization enterprise whose memories are dear to all abolitionists. But we must say, they labored under a sad mistake. There are men connected with it still, whom we love and admire, and upon whose co-operation with us, at no distant day, we repose all confidence. The disclosures which we are about to review will open their eyes. We know that our feelings are not those of triumph over a fallen enemy. We once ourselves sympathized in some of the hopes which are now suffering disappointment. But we should be inhuman to conceal our joy, that one great obstacle to the freedom of the slave is likely soon to be removed—that a master delusion which has blinded the community to the wrongs of their fellow men is just bidding adieu to things sublimary.

As a scheme of benevolence the Colonization Society is *dead*.\* It may, however, replenish its overdrawn treasury—it may conduct a greater business of transportation than ever—but still it is *dead*. It will never regain the confidence of those who really seek the freedom of the slave. Why! Not simply because the society

\* We are aware that some of the ablest friends of the society at the North cling to it in the hope, that by a *reform*, it will get out of the way of the Anti-Slavery Society and give up the scheme of removing the entire colored population or any considerable part of it. In fact, their plan is, to disclaim any action whatsoever in regard to slavery, to cease to send emigrants, and confine their labors to the moral and physical improvement of the colony. This is all as it should be. We lay down our arms [pens] the moment it is accomplished;—but can it be accomplished? Does Mr. Gerrit Smith's giving up his resolution to amend the Constitution in an important respect, "*for the sake of harmony*," look like it? We do not believe the society will bear *reforming*. It has not the requisite moral stamina. It will die under the operation. Let the truly benevolent colonizationists form a *new society* for the physical relief and moral improvement of Liberia. At any rate, let them drop the odious name of colonization, when they drop the *deed*.

is "bankrupt" in *funds*, but because this bankruptcy was produced by a bankruptcy of moral principle. We speak of the society as it appears between the covers of its authorized publications. Its present calamity is the fruit of a system of concealment, a time-serving "expediency," an assumption, more dishonest than uncommon, that the end sanctifies the means. To conciliate slaveholders, the *right of property in slaves* was admitted, and thus the society gave up forever the power of plain honest truth. In the execution of its plan it was necessary to make the public believe the colony prosperous and happy; it was necessary to make the public believe, that after the emigrants were landed and *seasoned*, they could support themselves, &c. and under the strong temptation to produce this belief *at any rate*, the managers it seems have permitted their agents at the colony, year after year, to neglect making any definite returns, in the shape of bills of mortality, accounts of expenditures, statistics of agriculture, &c. Vague statements have been received by the managers in regard to all these important interests, bearing always in favor of the colony, and have been by them widely circulated. We charge this as a culpable negligence, upon the managers, and we call common sense to witness, whether men who were determined to be honest, and let consequences take care of themselves, could continue to support agents who should thus neglect to make accurate returns. Is there not a strong ground to presume, first, that the agents at the colony had nothing to report which would bear detail; and secondly, that the managers suspected this and connived at it? It seems to us cruel for the managers to blame the agents as being slack about returns—they trained them up to this very habit by publishing with great zest and exultation those "letters from the colony" which contained any thing but information. The public were deluded. They thought Liberia a paradise, or at any rate quite enough so, for black people. They poured their money into the colonization treasury; and urged the managers to prosecute their grand enterprise of removing the whole colored population. The consequence was, that, from the latter part of the year 1831 to the first of 1833, 1168 emigrants had been despatched to the colony. And although the agents at the colony had found some difficulty in accommodating this large accession, we find the following language in the Annual Report of 1833.

"The managers are convinced that Liberia is now prepared to receive a much larger number of emigrants annually, than the means of the society have heretofore enabled it to colonize. They be-

lieve there is no reason to apprehend that the resources of the society will ever exceed the demands for aid from those anxious to emigrate, or the capabilities of the colony to afford accommodation and subsistence to those who may choose to make it their residence."

Now observe how much "good men" may be mistaken. Since that time the society has colonized but about 257, it has received upwards of \$37,000, and is found to be in debt \$40,000!! Even if we add, as Elliott Cresson suggests, to the expeditions of the past year the ship Hercules of the preceding, we shall have but 437 emigrants, for whom, after deducting \$10,000 for other expenses, we shall have \$60 apiece, more by \$20 or \$30 than the estimated expense of transporting and seasoning an emigrant. Here then is a debt for the support of the colony, accruing within less than two years, over and above the estimates, of more than \$40,000. Mr. Gerritt Smith says the debt would have been less by \$10,000 if the managers had sent out sufficient supplies. But did not the managers know, more than a year ago, that "the rice crop had failed"? Did they not know that there was nothing like agriculture in the colony? Did they not know what sort of "materials" they had sent out to build up the colony? If they did not, it was not the fault of the abolitionists, nor indeed, of Gov. Mechlin.\* But did the extraor-

\* *Extracts from Gov. Mechlin's letters in the African Repository, for Nov. 1831.*

o We have not yet adopted, to any extent, the agricultural improvements of civilized countries, &c.

"The crops of last year did not succeed well, in consequence of unusual drought: the rice suffered more from this cause than from any other; as we do not here, as in the southern states, plant it in low situations, which can be readily irrigated from adjacent water-courses; but, on the contrary, it may be seen growing in the greatest luxuriance on the highest grounds, depending solely for its prosperity on copious showers, which usually [not always] fall during four or five months in the year. We are, however, getting into the way of raising Indian corn, though not to an extent sufficient to rely upon it as an article of subsistence. The corn of this country is of an inferior kind, and not near so productive as that of the United States.

"Formerly, the public store was the only resource of most of the people employed by the agency, and they were glad to receive their pay in goods at a GREAT ADVANCE!

"I regret to learn you had pledged yourselves to send out six expeditions during the ensuing twelve months; and I fear, if persisted in, this will in the end prove very injurious. I may be wrong, and you may have greater funds at your disposal than I am aware of; but if you have not, great pecuniary embarrassments will certainly ensue.

But I have great hopes your treasury will receive an unusual influx of money, or you will spare us two or three of the threatened expeditions."

N. B.—The letters from which we quote the above are dated in July, 1831.

In the Af. Repos. for Sept. 1832, we find the following in a letter from Gov. Mechlin, dated July 13, 1832:

"I have before urged the necessity of keeping a re-

gular supply of trade goods in the public store. Our stock of cloths and many other important articles [Rum? spear-pointed knives?] is at present exhausted; nor can they be purchased here, except on a very great advance on the first cost in the United States. Now is the time for purchasing rice and palm oil; the natives are getting in their new crops; and if we do not avail ourselves of the opportunity, we will find great difficulty hereafter in procuring the quantity requisite for the subsistence of our people."

Under date of Sept. 8, 1832, Gov. Mechlin writes as follows. See Af. Repos. for Nov. 1832.

"You have doubtless, ere this, received drafts on the society to a considerable amount. This extra demand on your resources was, from the nature of circumstances, unavoidable. The great number of emigrants that have been thrown upon our hands, and the very scanty supplies that were sent out by the last expedition, as well as the expense necessarily incident to the erection of buildings for their accommodation, and other causes which will be more fully detailed in my communications per brig Liberia, have caused our disbursements for the few months past to be much greater than could possibly have been anticipated."

The following is from the said "communications per brig Liberia." It may be found in the Af. Repos. for Dec. 1832.

"I am at this moment issuing rations to at least one hundred persons, whose *six months* have expired. Some of these have been prevented by sickness from attending to their farms; the crops of others are not sufficiently advanced to afford them subsistence; but by far the greater number are women and children, who have been sent out without any male person to provide for them, and being unable to obtain a livelihood by tilling the soil, or any other occupation, have become a burden to the agency. Many in the present expedition [28 by the brig America,] are similarly circumstanced; and what to do with them, I know not."

With the same letter, Dr. Mechlin transmitted "drafts to a considerable amount," for expense of "receipts," "hospital expenses," the purchase of "rice and palm oil," &c. for which their "disbursements" he says, had been "far beyond what was anticipated." Dr. Mechlin may have grossly mismanaged the affairs of the Board; but it cannot be denied that he gave them timely warning to desist from their mad scheme of transplanting our whole colored population. The plain, sober fact is, the managers had made foolish boasts, they had committed themselves, —and their pride drove them over the cataract of bankruptcy with their eyes open.

we commonly call honesty. While the enter-  
prise flourished, its friends assigned *too many*  
reasons for its prosecution; and now that it is  
brought to a stand, they assign *too many reasons*  
for its failure.

But we will not detain the reader from the  
report of the committee on the finances of the  
Society. We quote it as follows, from the N.  
Y. Observer.

"The Committee appointed to inquire into the  
state of the financial concerns of the society, re-  
port as follows, that the debts owing by the soci-  
ety, now due, and that will fall due, by the first of  
May next, amount to a sum varying from \$40,000,  
to \$41,000

This unprecedented and alarming amount of  
debt against the society is accounted for, by the  
following reasons:

1st. The rice crop in the colony and on the coast  
generally, the last year, failed almost entirely; and  
by this Providence, a considerable share of the  
colonists, who would otherwise have been able to  
subsist upon their own means, were thrown upon  
the bounty and humanity of the government of the  
colony.

2d. The Ajax, which sailed from New-Orleans  
with 150 emigrants, lost 29 of them by the cholera;  
and was double the usual length of time making  
the voyage, and arrived at the colony with but two  
weeks supply of provisions, instead of the usual  
supply for six months.

3d. An unusually large proportion of the late  
emigrants are improvident, and reluctant to be-  
wage themselves to agriculture.

4th. In some instances among the late em-  
igrants, families without male heads have been sent  
to the colony—and, in many instances, the great  
mortality in the colony, during the last year has  
deprived families of their male heads and left them  
without the humane and expensive provisions of the  
government of the colony.

5th. The supplies of the colonial store have not  
been ample, as they ever should be. This defi-  
ciency, however, is not to be charged to improvi-  
dence in the Board of Managers; but to their pe-  
cuniary inability to do on this subject what they  
were very solicitous to do. This deficiency has  
made it necessary for the government of the colo-  
ny to purchase at 100 to 200 per cent, profit, large  
amounts of supplies from merchants in the colony,  
and from vessels touching at the colony.

In view of existing pecuniary embarrassments  
of the society, the committee would advise that  
the society send out no emigrants the present year,  
unless under very special circumstances, and  
when the society would be put to comparatively  
small expense, in sending out and provisioning the  
emigrants. To guard against such heavy embar-  
rassments in future, the committee advise, that  
the society do never, except in the extraordinary  
cases above referred to, send out emigrants whilst  
they are under a debt exceeding \$10,000.

The committee hope that the Board of Mana-  
gers will, as soon as the means at their disposal  
will allow, so far furnish the colonial store with  
goods and provisions as to preclude the necessity  
of purchasing them on terms so disadvantageous  
as those above referred to. This necessity having

existed for the last two years particularly, and  
which has been unavoidable on account of the large  
disbursements of the society for the expenses of  
emigration, has swelled the debt of the society to  
an amount of many thousand dollars greater than  
it would have been, if this necessity had not ex-  
isted.

The committee are highly pleased to learn that  
the Board of Managers have adopted and are con-  
templating measures for bringing within ascertain-  
ed and the narrowest limits, the compensation  
made to the officers of the society residing in the  
colony—and, also for avoiding the surprise of large  
drafts upon its treasury."

This report is really a very slim affair. "The  
rice crop failed in the colony." And for the  
very good reason that it is not cultivated. This  
ought to have been stated. Does the society  
pretend that there is any person in Liberia who  
in ordinary years gets his living by agriculture?  
Is it a very uncommon occurrence for the rice  
crop to fail on that coast? Why did not the  
committee tell the society plainly, that the col-  
onists have always depended to a large extent  
on foreign importation for their provisions, and  
that while the colony was small they managed to  
purchase them by the proceeds of their petty  
trades, but now that, by a spasmodic effort, the  
colony has been overpeopled, there are multi-  
tudes, many of them women and children, who  
are "reluctant to betake themselves to agricul-  
ture" because they have no agricultural imple-  
ments but such as nature has provided, and who  
must be supported at the expense of the society,  
or starve. We are told that the government of  
the colony had to purchase provisions at an ad-  
vance of 100 or 200 per cent. on the cost in  
this country, but we are not told whether this  
is an unusual advance, nor whether any mer-  
chant can take the risks of transporting provi-  
sions to that tropical climate for less. We do  
not see what the loss of the 29 passengers of  
the ship Ajax, had to do with cutting short the  
supplies, nor indeed how the reduced number of  
passengers could contrive, by merely doubling  
the "usual time" of their voyage, so nearly to  
eat up the "six months" provision for the  
whole.\* It really seems to us that the causes  
of expense assigned by the committee are mostly  
not temporary, but such as must cleave to the  
enterprise—and with the more force, the more  
rapidly it is pushed forward.

The committee advise, as a matter of econo-  
my, that "no emigrants be sent out the present  
year." We would go further, and advise, that  
those sent out in former years be brought back.  
It will cost less to bring them home, than to  
support them there; and we presume their con-  
sent may be obtained as easily as it was in the  
first instance.

We cannot better, expose the society's scheme  
to the reprobation of the benevolent and ingenu-

\* The Ajax was eighty-two days on her passage,  
and \$2,300 of her outfit was paid by the Kentucky  
Colonization Society.

ous, than by quoting largely from the debate upon this report.

"Mr. BRECKINRIDGE said this report was not at all what he expected. He wished to know all about this business, how and when this debt had arisen, and by whose negligence, or mismanagement, or extravagance. He felt himself all in darkness about it. This debt was absolutely frightful, to him. It is over a whole year's income. And yet the committee propose to discontinue sending out emigrants for a whole year. He thought this would be like killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. For it is only to carry out emigrants that you can get money, to any extent. A few persons of a thorough missionary spirit, will give you money professedly to build up religion and education in the colony. But the most even of these will think there are so many other ways to give their money, that you will get but little. But the great mass of the people will not give you a dollar unless you connect with it the carrying out of emigrants. He hoped the report would be referred to the committee, for the purpose of having it made more explicit, and of having a more thorough examination. He wanted to know who these merchants are in the colony, that charge the society an advance of 100 or 200 per cent, in time of famine."

And why should they not so charge the society? Had not the society taught them the lesson by charging a similar advance to the colonists?

"Mr. GURLEY said he believed he could explain the affair so as to show that it was no improvidence on the part of the managers that had brought this debt upon them. The society will recollect that two or three years ago the desire became very strong to see a considerable increase of emigration. It was thought the interest of the society required it, and the applications were also numerous and pressing. And the managers were willing to go even somewhat beyond their means with the confident hope that the community would sustain them. In consequence, at the close of the year 1832, they had increased their responsibilities beyond their receipts to the amount of from \$12,000 to \$15,000 and were calculating to enter upon a course of means to increase their resources commensurate to their want. But the early part of the year the demands from the colony began to come in most unexpectedly both for number and amount. He had not the means before him of an exact statement, but he believed that in four months they paid and accepted drafts from the agent exceeding \$20,000, and that the whole of their acceptances on this amount were more than \$30,000. The managers did not suppose they had been so very negligent in sending out supplies to the colonial store. The Hercules took out \$6,000 in trade goods, [how much rum, gunpowder and tobacco, and how many "spear-pointed knives" and "brass blunderbusses?"] as they are called, which it was supposed would be worth from twelve to \$20,000 in sustaining the colony. But the rice crop came short and the agent was obliged to purchase. It is plain there has been an accumulating debt at the colony, of which the managers were

not aware, for some of the bills received this year were for accounts that had been running on for several years. He had not examined particularly but he was inclined to think there was some irregularity in the colony in regard to salaries. This amount then is not a demand for this year only, though it has come upon us all at once. The remote causes of the debt were doubtless these: the improvidence of many of the emigrants, and their neglect of agriculture; the unfortunate character of some of the materials sent out to build a colony; the agent was much of the time in feeble health; sickness prevailed to a great extent; both the physicians were absent, and the whole care thrown upon Dr. Meclin; and under these circumstances it is impossible to suppose that the general administration of the colony could be so economical or so correct as would be desirable. There was one other cause, (for the society ought to be made perfectly acquainted with the whole truth;) during the early part of the year, there had been great debility, to use the mildest expression, in the operations of the Board. It arose, in part at least, from the excitement which grew out of the elections last year, and the introduction of several new members into the board, who were not accustomed to its proceedings. There was a cessation, of course, of holding meetings once in two weeks, and a substitution of an executive Committee, of very limited powers, not equal to the necessities of the case, and very many things were neglected; and among them, efforts to raise the means to meet our increasing expenses. In the course of the summer, I proposed to the Board a united effort to sustain the credit of the society, by a loan on the individual responsibility of the members. But it did not succeed. If done, to the amount of 15 or \$20,000, he believed the revenue of the society could have been greatly increased. In his efforts at the north, his greatest difficulty was not in the fact that the society was in debt, but that we had *failed*, and our drafts were under a protest, and that whatever people gave would go for paying an old debt. Still he did not think affairs looked so very dark. There were many things, it is true, in the colony as well as here, to be regretted. But they were not such as to authorize despondency, much less despair."

Ah! Mr. Gurley, this mild, soft way of plastering over every body's faults may be very amiable in a popish forgiver of sins, but it will not do in a man who undertakes to manage the charities of plain matter-of-fact people. As we have shown in a former note, you knew long ago that the "remote causes of the debt," were in active operation, and yet you say, that in the early part of the year the demands from the colony began to come in most unexpectedly!"

"Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN was glad to hear this explanation. When the fact respecting our debt was first developed last night, it made his heart feel sick; especially because it will be employed so effectively against us. It will be seized with avidity by our adversaries, and pressed with great power. If I had not strong confidence in the goodness of our cause, and in Him who patronizes and protects every good cause, I would sit down in despair. While we were holding ourselves out to the public, as able to transport any number of emigrants

for \$30 each, and that the colony was prosperous, and the emigrants thriving and happy, these disclosures came upon us. In the midst, too, of our conflict with the abolitionists, as well as in the midst of this triumph respecting the colony, we have gone in debt, in two years to the amount of more than \$40,000. With a large portion of the community, this blow will be irremediable at present. They will point to the foot of our ledger, and pass upon us a sentence of reprobation. Still I will give way to no despondency. We have come now to a crisis in the history of the society, and if we improve it properly, we may date from this anniversary a new era of prosperity and success. I hope we shall not only re-organize our constitution, but adopt a new set of principles in the management of our affairs. Our Board, and all who are employed, must be made to have a deep sense of responsibility, that not a dollar shall be expended which shall not be satisfactorily accounted for. It must not be allowed to any agent to run the society in debt, or to draw bills without sending an account. They must go to their work with a sense of as deep responsibility as if they were next door to the Board, and feel that this money is drawn from the public charity, and every dollar must be strictly accounted for. And then we can go on. If I did not feel sure, said Mr. F. that this cause is deeply seated in the affections of the American people, I would move instantly to adjourn *sine die*. But I do believe all these things are sent upon us by the hand of Him who would draw our dependence away from all human contrivances. Let us now repose our cause on his arm, and he will bless us. Let the abolitionists clamor. Let fanaticism rage as it may. I cannot yet bring myself to believe, that Finley has died—that Mills has perished on the ocean in behalf of Africa, to no purpose. I trust that, when the secretary comes to publish his report, he will prepare a statement on this subject, so that the public may have what I apprehend will be a perfectly satisfactory explanation of this business."

What a precious compound of absurdity. This noble Senator "was glad to hear an explanation," which covered up things. He had felt sick at the thought of being detected by the abolitionists. He confesses that the society is caught in the very act of deceiving the public and getting money under false pretences, and yet he professes to have confidence "in Him who patronizes every good cause!!!" What pious swindling!—Good courage—no despondency—indeed it makes us think of a couple of seared urchins in the dark; "Jack," says one of them, "are you afraid?" "No, I'm not afraid." "Nor I neither." How wonderfully courageous!

"Let fanaticism rage as it may," says he, "I cannot believe that cause will fail which two good men died in promoting." What is this but superstition—the very parent of fanaticism! Last of all, he hopes the secretary will plaster this up nicely in the *annual report*, so that it will be "satisfactory." We are not master of English suitable to express our views of such a sentiment, and we shall not make the attempt.

No doubt the secretary will try his art. But it is too late,—the thing has been mended too many times already.

"Bishop MEADE said, When sinful, frail beings get into difficulty, we should first examine *ourselves*, and see why it is so. This examination should be very strict and faithful, and we should be careful not to ascribe our trouble to any wrong causes. I do not doubt that the secretary has given us a faithful exposition of the business, as he supposed. And so far as it goes, it is well enough. But all must be satisfied that the radical defect is in the colony. For during the last year, our expenditure on emigration has been less than usual. And the funds which have been contributed are greater than ever before in a year. We may dwell too long upon lamentation. When we fail, we should not lie lamenting, but rise and proceed on our way, as fast as possible. The Bishop thought a successful appeal might be made to the legislatures of the adjoining states, for aid in this emergency. With Virginia, our plea must be acknowledged just. Last year the legislature appropriated about \$20,000 for colonizing her free people of color in Africa. And if it had not been for the imprudent and excessive zeal of rash friends, the appropriation would have been \$100,000. As it was, they so trammelled it as to make it ineffective for the purposes designed. And, said he, I cannot but hope that now, if the legislature now in session can be approached through some of its popular members, they may make the appropriation this year in such a way as to relieve us. They will recollect this society has been carrying on its operations without legislative aid, and a kind of debt thereby contracted. Might not a similar application be made to Maryland? And thus our society might be speedily extricated from this unexpected and sad catastrophe; and we might say to our enemies, that though we have erred against the rules of prudence, yet He who originated this noble design has not permitted our errors to destroy the work.

Rev. RETBEN POST, of Washington, said that only a very small portion of this debt was incurred in the past year. All our expeditions have not cost over 10 or \$12,000. The two which went from Virginia were sent at the urgent request of friends in Norfolk, Mr. Maxwell and others. The expense of those sent from New Orleans was defrayed, it is understood, by the Kentucky and other Western societies. The great amount were sent the year before last, chiefly from Virginia, and those very ill fitted to go. And the Board had resolved that they will not send any more unless the funds are provided in hand. Another circumstance was, that their whole affairs rested on one person, except that a part of the year he had had an assistant in the office. The Board had appointed several gentlemen from Virginia, and tried to engage them as general agents, but none of them would accept. And they have looked to this meeting in the hope that some persons might be found to take hold.

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE said, It is not the magnitude of the debt that disturbs me. But the causes assigned by the committee do not account for it, for most of them were, as it appears, posterior to its occurrence. The 769 emigrants sent out in 1832,

if supported the whole year, could not have cost \$40,000. Sir, if these drafts are wrongfully drawn, I say they should not be paid. Those who draw them ought to suffer. If drawn for expenditures not warranted by the Board, they should not have been accepted. If the managers do not know how it came, they ought to know, and they ought to suffer, and we ought to change our officers. FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS is a small sum, in connection with such an object as the removal of our colored race to Africa. But it is the mismanagement by which the debt has been produced that I complain of. To me it seems perfectly nefarious that the merchants of our colony should charge us three or four hundred per cent. advance. And it has been stated, and published, that the agents whom we sent out and supported are these very merchants. I hope the report will go back to the committee, who are capable of searching to the bottom of the whole. There is an immense aggregate of blame somewhere; and I want to find out where it belongs, and put it there. I want to know who did it, and what for. Two years ago, I warned the managers against this Virginia business. And yet they sent out two ship loads of vagabonds, not fit to go to such a place, and that were coerced away, as truly as if it had been done with a cart whip. They were not driven by force. But after the Southampton affair, the legislature enacted severe laws, which required the free negroes to go through certain operations and forms of law in order to remain. They were ignorant and terrified, and you will not wonder at it if you look at the legislative reports of the slaughter. And so they fled to our agents, who took them and sent them away. And I think we have a just claim upon Virginia on their account, as well as just cause of complaint against those who let them go to our colony.

Sir, we are not only embarrassed but we are broke. And if we lose our character we lose all. But if we can come out now with a fair character, the public will sustain us and pay our debts.

Mr. GURLEY said, I cannot concur in the view that any part of this has come from the weight of business on myself. In regard to any business entrusted to myself by the Board of Managers, it has been done, and done faithfully. The difficulty is not with managers. Two years ago, they sent out full instructions to the agent, to enforce the strictest accountability, and demanding quarterly returns of all expenditures. But they had no returns with any regularity or to any extent. I believe one reason has been the sickness of the agent, and the weight of affairs that pressed on him. No strictness of instructions can secure a correct administration of affairs unless they are obeyed. I cannot concur in the entire unfitness of what are called the Southampton emigrants, or that we did wrong in receiving them, and sending them out, when they were coerced away. Our friends at Norfolk appealed to us, and said the people were persecuted, and that it was a matter of humanity to take them. Our agents said they were driven from the county, and had appealed to him and begged to go to Liberia, and certified that they were respectable and industrious. Our expeditions have been small this year. The Jupiter was fitted out at the earnest solicitation of the

New-York City Society. They stated to me that there was no hope of raising funds there unless some project could be started for a New-York expedition to send out emigrants. It was not the debt which embarrassed us, but the entire failure of our credit. Our friends at New-York said the best way was only to let it be known to a few warm friends, but to start an expedition, and then many will give for the project, and many others will give for the general purposes of the Society. I wrote to the managers on the subject, and they held a meeting, and gave their consent to the plan.

GERMANT SMITH hoped the motion to re-commit would not prevail. He could not see any good from it. As a member of that committee, he had spent several hours in examining the affairs and interrogating Mr. Gurley and Dr. Laurie, and he saw that to obtain the minute information called for would require the labor of many days, and he for one had not time to spend here to do it. We have arrived satisfactorily at the general causes, which the report unfolds, and we should not be greatly benefited by spreading out the details. It is certain there is a very bad system of operations, or rather there is no system at all. This debt is from five to ten thousand dollars greater than it would have been if there had been a constant supply of goods in the colonial store. In looking over the accounts of Colston M. Waring & Co. and others, with the Agent, I find prices charged two, three, and even four times higher than the cost in this country. The reason assigned by the treasurer for their not keeping the store supplied is not satisfactory. It might have been a little bold, perhaps, for this Board to incur a debt of a few thousands in order to send on supplies in season. But the result shows that it would have been economical. There is an excessive number of officers in Africa, and their salaries amount to a very considerable sum, not far from \$5,000 a year. The colonial governor and the physician, whose salaries are very handsome, including what they receive from the government of the United States, one being \$2,400, and the other \$1,200, in addition to all this, they are allowed to furnish their whole domestic establishment at the public expense, and some of these bills are very large.

As Mr. S. was sitting down, several gentlemen begged him to go on, but he said he had rather not. He might misapprehend or mis-state something.

Dr. LAURIE said the salary the agent received from the society was only \$80.

Mr. CRESSON said that having devoted five years of his life to the Society, without any compensation, direct or indirect, he supposed his explanations might have some weight. It will be observed, that one item of debt, amounting to one-fourth of the whole, is the charter party and expenses of the ship Hercules, in 1833. There had also been 1100 emigrants landed in the colony in a little more than 12 months, which had increased the expense of their accommodation. In short, to borrow a phrase from the negroes of Virginia, "It is as it is and it can't be no tis-er." The prices of provisions at Liberia, and on the coast were increased in consequence of the famine at the Cape de Verdes. He was satisfied that none of

the Society's agents had benefitted themselves by participating in any commercial transaction. Mr. Waring and Mr. McGill were not capitalists, trading on their own accounts, but commission merchants, and therefore bound to sell to the best advantage for the interest of their principals.—The debt could not have been avoided without starvation in the colony.

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN said there was no need to send the report back for further particulars, in order to make a very sad statement indeed. We can't help it, and we must make the best of it. The managers should not accept drafts from the colony, unless preceded by advices, and accompanied by accounts stated. No merchant would have done it. They must make it a strictly accountable concern.

BISHOP MEADE said if we called for these accounts, it might show those merchants that we disapprove of their conduct.

MR. COXE thought it necessary to have some decided expression of opinion from the society.—There was a resolution of the Board already, not to accept of drafts unless preceded by advices and accompanied by accounts. He would ask the Board whether there has been no draft accepted without either? The managers are aware of the propriety of this course, but they do not act up to it. The attention of the Board has been called to this subject. I would ask also, if any member of the Board can tell how many officers we have at Liberia, and what are their expenses? For one, I believe it is impossible to get along, unless things can be placed on a proper basis. He hoped the society would take it up once for all, and if it should take a week, or a month, it would be a saving of time in the end, as well as a great saving of money.

MR. GURLEY said there was one difficulty the Board had to encounter. They had not had correct information in regard to the expense of supporting emigrants in the colony. They had been told that \$10 worth of goods in this country would bring enough there for each. And they had always made their estimate on this basis, for each expedition. But they have now found that their estimate was quite inadequate. As to the resolutions of the Board spoken of by Mr. Coxé, it was proper to say, that they were passed *after* this great amount of debt had come upon us, and in consequence of it. The letters of advice accompanying the drafts, have generally been very brief, and not explicit or full. The expense of the officers in the colony was doubtless an unfortunate arrangement. The full development of the course things were taking, never reached us till last spring or summer.

MR. BACON said that in regard to the recommendation of the committee not to send out any more emigrants this year, one gentleman has urged that this was the way not to obtain funds. But Mr. B. believed it to be the only way in which affairs can be managed to revive the confidence of the public. And he hoped it would lead to a permanent change in the policy of the society in regard to sending out emigrants. Let us bend our efforts to make the colony what it ought to be, and what it might be, and we shall find the free people will begin to look at it in a different light,

and will spontaneously help themselves to Liberia. And whenever they became desirous to go, they did not need a society to help them. The free black who cannot earn \$30 is not fit for the colony, and ought not to go.

The motion to recommit was withdrawn, and the report accepted."

We have dwelt thus long on the state of the Society's finances because it illustrates the capital defect of its morals. Mr. Frelinghuyzen recommends the adoption of a "new set of principles." Honesty should be one of them. We can but glance at the interesting matters contained in other parts of the report.

The annual report, read by Mr. Gurley, of which we have some of the heads, is deceptive as usual. It represents the *Sabbath* as being well observed, many added to the church, &c. while it utters not one word about iniquities that have been practiced there in high places. If at some station of the American Board the leading missionaries had been guilty of numerous seductions; if by their extravagance and profligacy they had brought religion into contempt, and unhinged the morals of the community about them, would the Board smooth over the matter to the public by saying "there are nine meeting houses; the *Sabbath* is well observed, &c." Yet such is the sad fact in regard to the late leading authorities of Liberia, as we knew long ago from private letters from the Colony, and as we know now by the confessions of one of the standard bearers of Colonization just returned from the Anniversary. Indeed the report goes still farther in covering up matters, and says of Dr. Mechlin, "His self-denying services, and successful efforts for enlarging and improving the colony, entitle him to the grateful regards of the Society." *Self-denying!!* This appears from the facts we have just mentioned, from the salary of \$2400, and from a bill of some \$5,000 against the Society for his "domestic establishment!" Truly even the most "self-denying" governors are somewhat expensive.

The annual report, as usual, eulogizes Mr. Cresson, that veracious person who told the venerable Clarkson that *one hundred thousand* slaves were ready to be liberated, if seven pounds and ten shillings could be raised for the transportation of each, and then backed up the monstrous story, by another, that this state of things had been produced by the *faithfulness of the ministers of the gospel at the South!!* We put the question to Mr. Cresson, recently at Philadelphia, whether he made these statements to Mr. Clarkson. He replied that he merely stated these things as his *opinion!* What a happy retreat behind his own insignificance! We know not which most to admire, the inexhaustible impudence of Mr. Cresson, or the unparalleled effrontery of the Society in sustaining him against the "organized opposition" of British philanthropists. No doubt the Society will receive the thanks of Lord Bexby, the Duke of

Sussex, and the whole body of West India slave-holders.

Robert S. Finley, Esq. at the anniversary in the Capitol, introduced a very pertinent and reasonable resolution relative to ardent spirits in the Colony. He was very happy as usual in refuting his own argument. "The Colony," he said, "had already done much to arrest the tide of intemperance, which for 200 years has been rolling over Africa like a flood." And yet the Colony has carried on an extensive traffic in ardent spirits,—a traffic which Mr. Finley says "is a greater crime than the slave trade, because it supports the slave trade." This is implied by Mr. Finley's proposing that "all future settlements" should be founded on "temperance principles." If Mr. Finley were only a doctor, he would probably prescribe brandy for *delirium tremens*. According to his statement the Colonists, selling 3,000 barrels of rum in a year, have outstripped the best of us in the temperance reformation, and have done wonders in breaking up the slave trade, and yet the sagacious Mr. Finley says, ardent spirits, are injurious to the colony! It is a little singular that the Col. Board should hesitate to pass a law excluding ardent spirits from the Colony for fear those moral people should refuse to sustain it.

Bishop Meade, of Va., made a speech in which there is nothing more remarkable than the following sentiment :

"The object of this Society is benevolent. Its object is to improve the condition of those who are formed in *some respects* after the image of God, but who are nevertheless so formed as to be liable to many calamities. And is not this benevolent?"

Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge uttered sentiments which were probably as little relished by his audience as they were expected. Were it not that he now and then threw a sop to Cerberus, we might take him for a genuine abolitionist. He evidently lacks not courage. Some of his rebukes are enough to raise a blush on the palest face of "dough." He most fully confirms several of the positions of the abolitionists, as a few extracts will show.

"The view which I wish to present is this; the future prospects of the Society in regard to procuring proper emigrants. In the Providence of God, the free blacks have become hostile to us—intensely hostile. I know the fact, and it is useless to disguise it. I believe they are unalterably hostile. They have been made so, on system, by a great and growing party in our country, to which I am decidedly hostile. We owe thanks to God, that when the Society first started, and could not procure slaves to colonize, the free people of color were willing to go. The first four or five hundred who were sent out were chiefly free. And by their success we were enabled to demonstrate the feasibility of our plan of colonization. And now these free people of color, without just cause, and under the influence of wrong instructions, are going farther and farther from us. For the

last five years, we find among our emigrants, that the proportion of slaves emancipated for the purpose of colonizing has greatly increased. I was surprised to learn, by the report read to night, that of the emigrants from Kentucky, my native state, 90 per cent. were manumitted slaves, and from the whole valley 75 per cent. notwithstanding there are a hundred thousand people of color there. And this spirit among the free blacks will grow every day, because the party who have poisoned their minds will grow, because some states will take up the subject, and because we have grown wise by experience, and do not intend to let you send out your ship loads of free vagabonds to Christianize Africa. We had rather have those who are sent out by humane men, that will manumit their slaves from conscientious principles. If we cannot have men of good character, we want none. You do more hurt than good by every ship load of these free vagabonds."

The following sentiment is in accordance with the views of the abolitionists as expressed in the Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention. We believe it has not been sufficiently pondered by those upon whom the responsibility rests.

"As to any other means of abolishing slavery, I will say nothing of the power of the United States government; only that the constitutional authority which forbids the importation of slaves from foreign countries, is plainly competent to forbid their importation from other states. Congress have already exercised this authority towards several now flourishing states of this confederacy, and over all our territories lying north of a certain parallel of latitude. And the day when this authority shall be exercised over all the states, is the day that slavery terminates its power. Slavery cannot survive such a blow. This, sir, is, I admit, an engine of vast potency against slavery. And it is not to be exercised until the good sense and piety and humanity of the nation shall call it forth."

We trust that the "good sense and piety" of the nation are now beginning to awake. Such language as the following from a Southern man is some proof of it.

"No man can read either the Old Testament or the New, but he must see it is hostile to slavery. And though you may say that, as Christians it is out of our province to urge such considerations upon the government, yet as Christians we may speak to one another, and admonish each other of wrong. And, sir, as the man who kills another is *prima facie* a murderer, and is held to clear himself by showing justifiable grounds for his deed, so the man who claims title in his fellow man, in his bones and sinews and blood, shall be considered *prima facie* a sinner, and shall be held to prove that his title has originated in such circumstances, and is held for such purposes, as are consistent with the spirit and principles of the gospel. And, sir, the Presbyterian church, of which I am a member, can bring forward three hundred thousand persons who will maintain this, and will act upon it.

I have spoken freely of the abolitionists, but it is not in unkindness. I agree with the slave-hold-

er, that the free people of color must go away or perish. [Then they must *perish*, for he has elsewhere conceded that they *will* not go, and that the society *cannot* carry them.] And if any one doubts the truth of this, let him come to Baltimore, and I will show it to him. There he will find that our lawyers will not admit a colored man to the bar, nor our druggists to their profession. Our hack stands show few men of color. Even our draymen are nearly all white. We exclude the colored men from every employment in which men can rise. And they are there perishing for the want of daily food.

But the day is coming, too, when the other side of this subject will come up. If the slave-holder forces us to a stand in our present course, and compels us to decide whether slavery shall be abolished instantly, or endure forever, we come to a new position. And I, for one, am prepared to meet it. Let the slave holder beware how he drives us away. *We stand in the breach for him, to keep off the abolitionists.* We are his friends, but only to give him time. If we are driven away, *where can he find an ally?* Where in the literature of the whole world, in the public opinion of the whole world, in the religion of the whole world, will he find an advocate? The abolitionist is upon him. And if he attempts to maintain slavery as perpetual, every one of us will be upon him too. You, Mr. President, and I, and all of us will join the abolitionist in such a cause, against perpetuating slavery. Rather than slavery, with its horrors, shall exist forever in this country, let us suffer the evils incidental to its *instant* abolition. If abolition must be immediate or not at all, let it be immediate, come what will. For it is one of the plainest of all propositions, that slavery ought not to be perpetuated. If I am asked whether God made one man to own a title to another, I must reply, *Nay.* To me, it is self-evident, that the beings whom God made in his own image, he must have made free. We are the only friends of the slave holder, for we give him time, and that is all he can ask—*time* to act and abolish slavery. And in regard to the other branch of our labors, the colonizing of the free, we appeal to the humanity of the slave holder, and ask him, *Will you drive this free man away, and not let us unite to provide him a home?* Our brethren at the South will surely become our friends and the friends of our enterprise, I do not say if they will understand us, but if they will only so far command their feelings as to give us time to cry to them, "*Strike, but hear us.*"

Give the slaveholders *TIME!* That is all they ask. The Colonization Society is always giving them *time*, and therefore the time to repent never comes. As for us, we think the time has come. It came long ago, and every hour's delay adds immensely to the obligation to repent *immediately.*

Mr. Breckinridge, it seems, received some significant growls from the lion, for making so free with his beard in his own den. But he is not easily frightened, and we trust the discipline he will receive from his slave-holding brethren will drive him off from some of his *strange inconsistencies.* He delivered a speech

of a similar character before the Kentucky Colonization Society in 1831. It appears in the African Repository for August of the same year. It furnishes almost the only Anti-Slavery sentiments to be found in that periodical for nine years; but, on the 185th page of the same number, the editor of the Repository takes occasion to enter a Jesuistical disclaimer. He says:

"In the sentiments of this speech generally, we concur, but we wish it to be distinctly understood, that we consider slavery to be an evil, which cannot, without producing evils greater than itself, be abolished, except by deliberate, cautious and gradual measures. The present generation did not produce, and are not therefore responsible for the *existence* of the present form of society in our Southern communities. If (!!) the state of things is wrong, it should be set right, but only with due regard to the rights and interests of all parties, &c."

When Mr. Elliott Cresson wished to persuade a certain distinguished Anti-Slavery man in London, that the Colonization Society was in fact, an Abolition Society, he presented him this number of the African Repository. The trick succeeded admirably, for, as was afterwards discovered the *leaf containing the disclaimer had been nicely CUT OUT!* It is needless to tell the result of this unexpected discovery. If Mr. Cresson wishes to stick this additional feather in the cap of his disgrace, he may have the names of all the parties by applying at the Anti-Slavery office in New-York.

Mr. Gerrit Smith, whose philanthropy none will doubt, and whose offer to pay so large a portion of the Society's immense debt proves extraordinary honesty, made a very sensible speech. But we wonder how, with all his candor and means of information, he fell into certain mistakes. After commending the abolitionists for the best intentions, he says:

I wish I could say as much in commendation of their publications, as I can of their intentions. And there are some of their documents which I much regard as admirable exhibitions of truth, which cannot be too widely circulated or too earnestly considered. But I am compelled to declare that many of them are also rash, ill-judged, uncharitable and slanderous, and not a few of them incendiary, to the last degree. I believe the sensible and good men among them (and I take a pleasure in acknowledging there are many such) feel it to be so too.

It should be understood that he was speaking not of individual abolitionists but of "the Anti-Slavery Society." We beg of Mr. Smith to put his finger on some of our slanderous and "incendiary" documents. We hold ourselves responsible only for what we publish. We suspect Mr. Smith may take to himself the reproof which he administers to us: "They have done the Society injustice by holding us too much re-

sponsible for the acts and speeches of individual members."

In regard to our charge against the Colony for trafficking in ardent spirits he is under a great misapprehension. He says,

They have also created a strong prejudice by harping on the fact that ardent spirit continues to be sold at the colony. On this subject I will say (and my neighbors, at least, know that I am not a friend to rum, and will therefore attach some value to the declaration) that I have, both at former times and now, inquired into the measures, which have been adopted by the Board of Managers from time to time, in relation to this subject, and I fully approve them. We are denounced for having omitted to make the attempt of suppressing the traffic in ardent spirit by law, with an ill grace indeed, until at least some one of our governments at home shall have set the example (so much needed) of shutting up the grog-shops in their jurisdiction.

Now we ourselves "fully approve" "the measures adopted by the Board of Managers" so far as they go. And we do not "denounce them for having omitted to make the attempt to suppress the traffic" by law, *but for holding up the Colony as a missionary station*, when they very well know that a law for the suppression of the traffic would be useless for the want of a proper public opinion in the colony to sustain it. While Mr. Smith cannot deny that the rum-traffic is carried on largely in Liberia, it is "with an ill grace indeed," that he ridicules us for making the colony "appear but a convenience for the slave-trader."

Mr. Smith also ridicules the assertion that "there are now in slavery 265,000 persons who would have been free but for the influence of the Society;" in other words, that but for the Society, emancipation would have gone forward to this time at the same rate as it did before the existence of the Society. Now be this as it may, while Mr. Smith grants that the Society has stood somewhat in the way of emancipation, we do not see how he can say that the assertion "makes ridiculously large drafts upon public credulity."

The following concessions are honest and manly, and we feel no disposition to withhold a tribute of respect for the moral courage it took to utter them, on such an occasion as the Colonization Anniversary in the Representatives' Hall. We presume the Representatives of southern "property" will take care to give a casting vote against the repetition of such heresies in that sacred place.

But truth compels me to say, that this is not the character of all that the Anti-Slavery Society has charged against us. I would it were so. But to some of the charges we should make haste to plead guilty, and make haste to profit by the admonition. *Fas est ab hoste doceri*. They have told us many wholesome truths about ourselves and our influence, for which I thank them.

The opinion is gaining ground rapidly, at the

North, that our society obstructs the progress of emancipation. And I could wish that we had given no occasion. But we have given *some* occasion. We are not an Anti-Slavery Society. We have literally nothing to do with slaves. Our constitution confines us to another class of persons entirely. Whatever some of our members or agents may have said, our society sets up no pretensions to the abolition of slavery. And those who denounce us for not doing this, might with the same propriety denounce the Bible Society, or any similar institution, for not going out of their limits, to promote the abolition of slavery. But it is equally true that we are not a *Pro-Slavery* society. If there are under any circumstances, any apologies to be offered for slavery, it is no part of our business to hunt them up. And if efforts are made by any of our fellow citizens, to abolish slavery, it does not become us to oppose those efforts. The objection has been well taken, I conceive, that we want to engross the field. I think we have tried to assume the position that slavery should be assailed only by indirect means, and that this society furnishes the only indirect means that can be allowed. Whether this position is true or not, I will not now attempt to discuss. But I will say, that we may as well abandon at once all hope of support from the North, as attempt to engross for our own society the whole of public sympathy and interest in regard to the abolition of slavery. The North will no more bear the attempt to make this engross the ground in regard to the abolition of slavery, than the South would bear to have it expressly oppose slavery. Both claim, and have a right to claim, that we should maintain a strict neutrality. And as, on the one hand, we are not to denounce slavery, so on the other, we are not to denounce any, even the wildest schemes for its abolition. So that our members may be either slave holders or abolitionists, without doing any violence to their principles or their connections.

But there is another objection against this society, which to my mind is still more weighty. It is, that it has been greatly, lamentably, wickedly deficient in pity for the free people of color. Their number in this land is more than four hundred thousand. They are scattered through all our states, but every where they have law, custom, and prejudice arrayed against them. They are persecuted at the North as well as the South. And whenever I hear the people of the North complain of the cruel treatment of the blacks at the South, I cannot but exclaim, O what hypocrisy! It is the settled policy of my own native state of New-York. I am ashamed and grieved to confess it, but it is true, that the whole policy has been to keep this people vile, by withholding from them every inducement to well-doing. We make even the gift of freedom a mockery.

What will those presses, which have so abundantly reviled Mr. Garrison as the slanderer of his country, say to Mr. Smith, who has in a similar manner slandered his native state?

We have room but for a single extract more of Mr. Smith's speech. He professes still to cherish the highest hopes of Liberia, "that fountain from which Africa, is already deriving her many streams of knowledge and improvement"

This is astonishing after Mr. Pinney has told us, "The natives are in fact menials, (I mean those in town) and sorry I am to be obliged to say, that from my limited observation, it is evident that as little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States to better the condition of the lower." Mr. Smith nevertheless wishes *all* the people of color to consent to go to Liberia. He acknowledges their right to a home here, and, we rejoice to say it, administers a deserved rebuke to those who have so often denied that right; but, after all, he thinks it best for them to go. He thinks the colony can be improved so as to make it all, that, in our ignorance, we have fondly dreamed about it. We repeat, that we are beyond measure astonished at this, in a man so well acquainted as Mr. Smith with the materials of which the Board of Managers is composed, and who knows so well that the morals of the colony are in a wretched state. To hold on with such a board, for the purpose of reforming such a colony, is in our humble apprehension something like marrying a shrew to improve her temper. Such a thing may do well enough in romance, but we have no faith in it in real life.

"Let the measures of our society be prompted by a strong desire to relieve the distress of the free people of color, and I must beg leave to differ from my reverend friend who has spoken; I believe the people will become as unanimous in going to Liberia, as they are now unanimous in opposition. It is no wonder to me, that they have had feelings of jealousy towards us, and a want of confidence in the sincerity of our professions of kindness. We ourselves have given too much occasion for this, in our speeches and publications. We have looked too little to *their* benefit, and too much to the political and social advantages which we supposed would arise to *ourselves*, from the separation. And our project, which should have been held up as one of the purest and highest benevolence, has been degraded to a mere drain for the escape of this nuisance. Let us correct this, and place our society on its true ground; let us make Africa a desirable home for men of color, and they will find their own way to its shores."

In the speech of Mr. Terry who succeeded Mr. Smith, there is nothing remarkable. It is of the old sort—the common product of the colonization mill. In the language of the reporter,—

"He then moved a resolution, expressing that the meeting is cheered by the good effects of the colony on the surrounding native tribes, affording bright hopes that the light will spread farther and farther, until Africa shall take her equal rank among Christian nations."

What marvelous men! "cheered" by their very disappointments! "cheered" amidst the ruins of all their hopes! But this pitiful mockery is as much out of place as hypocrisy will be after the day of judgment. It reminds us of a passage in Pollok.

"Detected wretch! of all the reprobate,  
None seemed maturer for the flames of hell,  
Where still his face, from ancient custom, wears  
A holy air, which says to all that pass  
Him by, 'I was a hypocrite on earth.'"

What a comment on this resolution is furnished by the debate of the succeeding Thursday, in which Mr. Terry, the mover, admits that the colony is "in a suffering state,"—many persons "in a bad condition, and who might be relieved by the accommodation of 'cabins, similar to those used by the natives!'" and Mr. Bacon said, "there was something to come out to which all this [the pecuniary embarrassment] was as the dust of the balance. There were things to come out, frightful in their import, but they could no more be concealed than the sun at noon day!" [See N. Y. Observer.] And "that the condition of the colony was such as must horrify every friend of the cause." *Why were not Drs. Mechlin and Todsén there to support this resolution by a narrative of some of the items of good done to Africa?* Excellent and self-denying missionaries! why are their labors for the benefit of the colony and the natives permitted to lie in obscurity!

We are now arrived, in the course of this splendid and "cheering" anniversary, at the set speech of "ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq." This wonderful man seems to be a sort of personification of the colonization scheme;—the tutelar divinity of the enterprize. Whenever he speaks of the society, he speaks of *himself*. He offered the appropriate resolution; "That the meeting rejoice in the formation of the British African Colonization Society, and would gladly co-operate with them in promoting the great objects in view." We hope Mr. Cresson will keep us duly advised of all the benevolent operations of this precious junta of antiquated aristocrats, under the patronage of his noble friends Lord Bexley and the Duke of Sussex. No doubt there are strong affinities between the two societies.

"Mr. C. said he could not but rejoice in the humble instrumentality which he had been permitted to have in producing this result. As for the slanders which had been heaped upon him for it, so far as he was personally concerned, he cast them off. But as an American he deeply regretted, that one bearing the name of citizen had dared to declare, before a British audience, that the American constitution was the vilest outrage upon humanity that was ever perpetrated."

And when Mr. Cresson heard this vile slander upon his country, why did he not rise and rebuke it! We have a faint recollection that Mr. Cresson was challenged by "one bearing the name of citizen" to defend his darling society,—*"the bond of union among mankind,"* and that his *friends advised him to keep out of sight*. Doubtless they had their reasons.

But for ourselves we confess, we do not believe that any one bearing the name of an American ever made such a declaration before a

British audience. We must have some other proof than Mr. Cresson's assertion.

"He was happy, however, to be able to say, that such men as the excellent Clarkson, and the deceased and sainted Wilberforce, had fully approved the objects of the society. Pains are taken to make the American public believe that Wilberforce had denounced the society. The charge is untrue. In the vigor of his mind, three years ago, he expressed his ardent love for this society. His pretended signature to the noted "protest," was affixed when he was on his death bed, the very week of the termination of his valuable life. Subsequently, some of his nearest and dearest friends had reprobated the act which affixed his signature. Others had also stricken their names from the offensive document."

To Mr. Cresson himself we "have nothing to say" in regard to these statements. The man is incapable of shame. But to the hearers who listened to, and drank in such monstrous incredibilities we must be permitted to say, that our indignation at their prejudice has given place to a feeling half way between pity and contempt for the weakness of their intellects. The lies, to use a term more appropriate than polite, are exquisite; but then, they are put together with very bad logic. A man frequently does a good thing on his "death bed" which he would by no means have done three years before. If we are not mistaken a poet has somewhere said, "Death is an honest hour." For the benefit of those who cannot see truth through so many thicknesses of falsehood, we subjoin a note on this passage by the editor of the Emancipator.

"We feel it our duty to affirm, positively, and solemnly, and on our own personal knowledge and responsibility, that this statement is untrue.—The original manuscript, drawn up by one of the protesting gentlemen, and to which is appended all the original signatures is now in this country. We have examined it, and so have scores of respectable gentlemen who will attest to the truth of what we say. No name is erased from it, nor has any request or order been received from either of the signers, (or from any one professedly on their behalf,) either to erase a name, or express a dissent. The signature of "William Wilberforce" stands in a bold and firm hand. No man, unless it be E. Cresson, has denied that it is his real signature, written by himself. It was placed in the hands of Mr. Garrison, with all the signatures, before he was apprized that such a measure was in progress. The charge of forgery, if it were made, would be made on distinguished British Abolitionists. It is said, and cannot be disproved, that Mr. Wilberforce was in his usual health at the time of signing it, and was moving abroad for some time afterwards.—To this statement I affix my signature, which is not a "pretended" one, and I hereby challenge Elliot Cresson and all the Colonizationists on earth to disprove what I have here written.

WILLIAM GOODELL.

New-York, Feb. 1, 1834."

The plain fact is, that many excellent British

abolitionists, "three years ago," expressed their approbation of the Colonization Society, because they had been told by Mr. Cresson that one of its objects was "to assist in emancipating all the slaves in the United States." This was the basis of their approbation. Mr. Clarkson himself used this very language in describing what he considered the objects of the Society in a letter to Elliott Cresson, Esq., which was partly published in the African Repository for Nov. 1832. But let it be pondered, according to the settled policy of the Society, the language of Clarkson was suppressed, and the words, "TO PROMOTE THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION TO AFRICA OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES;" was put in its stead.\* All this to propitiate the South! If an abolitionist had been found guilty of such a forgery, it would have been the *hic jacet* of his reputation, perhaps of his cause. It is the fate of deceivers to overdo. Consequently the dupes of Mr. Cresson soon began to find him out, and long before Mr. Garrison's arrival in England he was complaining of the "slander" and "opposition" of such men as Stuart, Thompson, and Cropper! But as soon as Mr. Garrison made his appearance with a trunk full of African Repositories and Annual Reports, the spell was broken; the Immediatists of Great Britain saw through the trick, and the result was a *spontaneous protest* signed by Wilberforce and his compeers, resistless as a thunderbolt, and burning with the indignation of men who felt themselves to have been deceived. Mr. Clarkson was prevented from signing it, only by having committed himself to a perfect neutrality at an earlier stage of the development. It is to this storm of opposition that we owe the presence of Mr. Cresson in this country. He first took shelter under the gracious smiles of the Duke of Sussex and Lord Bexly, by whose munificence he was presented with a grand castle of moonshine, by the name of the British African Colonization Society. But even in this, he was not safe from the impertinence of such matter-of-fact people as Charles Stuart, Fowell Buxton, Daniel O'Connell and the like; he therefore prudently took ship for his native land.

It should not be omitted to the credit of Mr. Cresson's gratitude, that he has not forgotten his benefactors, but has sought for their names the distinguished honor of being enrolled on the Society's list of Vice Presidents. Can any one tell us why he has been unsuccessful in this laudable effort.

We shall have something to say of Mr. Bacon by and by. His public speech dissuades further expense in sending out emigrants, and with a sort of Hibernian logic admits that the Society has given *good grounds* for the "misrepresentations" of its enemies. Mr. Bacon has had the sagacity to discover that there is no

\* Any person may be satisfied of this if he will compare the letter as published in the Boston Recorder, for Sept. 5, 1832, with the Repository.

use in keeping a "secret" that every body knows; and he accordingly concedes a great variety of facts which would otherwise be kept close.

Rev. Dr. Spring labored to show his Southern brethren that they might have confidence in the co-operation of the ministers of the North. They were not becoming abolitionists so rapidly as was supposed. In proof of this he referred to the vote of the General Assembly at its meeting last spring, in favor of the Colonization Society. He might have said further, that the committee of the General Assembly whose business it became to distribute to the members a quantity of abolition pamphlets sent on from New-York took upon themselves the responsibility of using them for "waste paper." This certainly showed a willingness, *at that time*, to "co-operate" with slave holders. The inferences derivable from Dr. Spring's facts, remind us of one which he drew on another occasion, when he said, "My confidence in the Colonization Society will never be shaken so long as I retain the memory of Samuel J. Mills!"\*

In regard to the vote in favor of Colonization, the Dr. says, "The same is true of the representative bodies of other denominations." We do not know that the Pastoral Association of Massachusetts would be regarded as such a body, but we well remember that at its meeting last spring in Boston the Rev. Mr. Plummer, of Virginia, delivered before it a large mass of proslavery cant in behalf of the Colonization Society. But no commendatory resolution was proposed, and the Association adjourned without loss of time. We presume this was considered a matter of prudence, inasmuch as a number of ministers were taking notes, and, if there was any truth in the glistening of their eyes, they would have dissected the Rev. advocate of slavery to the minutest fibre, if they had been permitted to get at him. We have understood that some other ecclesiastical bodies that have met more recently, have failed to pass the vote of commendation. We trust in God that there are hundreds of ministers now in the land who would sooner have their tongues cleave to the roof of their mouths, than they would say with Dr. Spring, "*You cannot elevate the negro here, but you can in Africa.*"

The Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, made a speech at the public meeting, which, as a specimen of colonization logic, deserves a separate review. We can do no justice to its merit in a passing notice.

"We have reached a peculiarly interesting period in the history of the Colonization Society. It has struggled through its early difficulties, it has outlived the scorn of its first years, when we find it is assailed by new and unexpected prejudices, and many of its wounds are received in the house of its friends. After the most unexampled prosperity, and when the colony has come up in advance of our most sanguine expectations, with the bless-

ing of heaven descending, and the wise and good of all nations smiling upon it, all at once the objects of the society, its friends and its patrons are denounced, and its plans declared to be a scheme of heartless cupidity, injurious to the people of color, and obstructing the progress of freedom."

This last sentence sounds strangely in juxtaposition with one which we have already quoted from his subsequent speech. He then said,

"While we were holding ourselves out to the public, as able to transport any number of emigrants for \$30 each, and that the colony was prosperous, and the emigrants THRIVING AND HAPPY, THESE DISCLOSURES CAME UPON US!"

What disclosures? Why, that the colony is in a wretched state, both as to its physical resources and its morals, and the society bankrupt to the amount of \$40,000! As Mr. Frelinghuyesen has probably been too busily engaged to watch the progress of the colonization controversy, these disclosures, perhaps, had not come to his knowledge, when he delivered his first speech, for if they had, they certainly would have saved him some of his arguments as well as a great deal of his fine rhetoric. As it is, they will save us the necessity of much reply. For curiosity's sake we must hold up a few paragraphs of this florid eloquence in the light of facts.

"I beg now that we may go back to first principles, and see whether there is any ground for all this. I would treat our foes charitably. But let us re-examine our institution and its original design, and see whether there is any thing in it, that ought to provoke the frowns either of heaven or of our fellow-men. We owe it to ourselves not to remain silent spectators while this wildfire is running its course. We owe it to these misguided men to interpose and save them and their country from the fatal effects of their mad speculations.

"The objection is clamorously urged against us, and we find it even imported from abroad, in the shape of a British Protest, that the society is an obstruction to liberty. But what will be thought of this objection, when it is understood that a majority of that happy company whom you have planted on the shores of Africa, are liberated slaves, emancipated by Southern masters for the purpose of breathing the pure air of liberty? Yet this wild spirit of fanaticism denounces the colony as an obstruction to liberty.

But there is another objection still more strange. It is said that persuading these men, who are here writhing under our scorn, to seek themselves a new home in Africa, is an invasion of their rights. All this is the mere effusion of a sickly sensibility. Why should it be such a terrible thing to advise or aid men in seeking a new home? The whole earth is moved by this principle of colonization. Ever since the father of the faithful left his native Ur of the Chaldeans, emigration has become one of the established habits of mankind. The broken fragments of the Roman empire were colonized from the Northern hive. What are we here to-night, but living proofs of the benefit of colonization? Whence are these 15 millions of free and enlightened people? whence these splendid erections of art, these schools and churches, cities

\* At the Masonic Hall, in New-York, last June.

and towns, this wide spread empire, and all these blessed fruits of liberty? I see in this audience around me many respected colonists, who in former years left the graves of their fathers and struck their course to the great Western Valley, and having there assisted in training up those lovely sisters of the confederacy, they have now come hither to mingle their counsels with ours for the welfare of the whole. The whole Atlantic slope, from the sea coast to the mountains, is at this moment alive with colonists, who are pressing to the land of promise, to gather the grapes of Eschol. And yet, barely to invite these degraded, whom circumstances have kept down, and will still keep down, to go home to the land of their fathers, is denounced as cruel oppression.

Strange that there should be none of the "pure air of liberty" fit for a black man to breathe, nearer to us than the coast of Africa! If there is, and they really may breathe it here at home, then we say, that a *society* which holds a contrary doctrine, obstructs liberty.

"Emigration is one of the established habits of mankind,"—So is oppression. Does it thence follow that we have a right to procure the emigration of those whom we dislike, by treating them as we would not be treated ourselves? We ourselves feel the benefit of colonization. Does it thence follow that those are righteous who expelled our forefathers from the old world?—Or even those who did not expel them, but who never rebuked their persecutors, and were so glad to get rid of them that they paid their passage? May we do evil that good may come? If the colored people go spontaneously to Africa, we shall not object; but thus far they have been duped away, and that is what we complain of. It may be, that they do not die faster in Liberia than they have done in some other colonies; but then they die faster than they would here at home, and what right have we to sacrifice human life to verify our theory of colonization?

"And yet Liberia, in 12 years, cheered by no royal favor, and sustained by no governmental patronage, progressing amid obloquy and scorn and indifference, now numbers more than 3,000 happy and redeemed souls, who there enjoy the privileges and hopes of freedom. Not only religion, but history thus sets her seal to the colony. The cause of liberty was never so effectually plead, as it is now plead by the colony. That is the great beacon of liberty; the wondering eyes of nations are turned to it, and the hope is cherished in the bosom of every philanthropist, that the redemption of Africa draweth nigh."

Sad mistake! How chilling the reality compared with the picture!

From the long and animated debate upon the alteration of the constitution, we learn that there is "A TOTAL WANT OF RESPONSIBILITY," on the part of the Colony and its agents, "to the BOARD OF MANAGERS." And that the "MEMBERS OF THE BOARD" "really have not time to spare, to look into the business, and make themselves as intimately conversant with it as the

case requires!" Really this is a pretty situation for a society that sends its agents all over the country to gather up the contributions of the benevolent,—the mites of the widows and orphans! No responsibility, forsooth! And of course, nobody knows what becomes of the funds! We confess we have for some time thought the society a *swindling* concern, but we hardly dared to whisper it, for fear of impeaching "good men."

A variety of remedies were suggested, which it is of no consequence for us to examine. We have no doubt of the mismanagement, but the disease is *inmedicable*. The colony is a wayward child which cannot be managed by such a parent—a voluntary association made up of politics and religion, piety and prejudice, humanity and oppression. The society has soared up a little way, but the sunshine of truth has melted off its waxen wings, and it is now plunging into another element. The idea of a *benevolent* society managing a line of colonies—a trans-ocean empire—was too absurd even for the most sanguine originators of the scheme. They therefore looked to the ultimate interference of Congress. They intended to try an experiment and turn it over into the hands of the General Government as soon as it should prove itself successful. But, we are now told, that all hope of the interference of Congress is at an end. Nothing is left, but for those who have brought this precious bantling into the world, to support it as well as they can.

We should suppose that one of the managers, at least, was convinced of the utter impracticability of the scheme.

Rev. R. R. Gurley said, "He fully agreed in the expediency of seeking a new organization, and he rejoiced in the union of feeling that was witnessed. He should be able to show that all the debt and all the unnecessary expenditure in Africa, had resulted from no individual neglect or mismanagement, (!) BUT FROM THE ABSOLUTE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DOING WHAT THEY WISHED TO DO."

This impracticability of the scheme, now so fully demonstrated, is the best thing about it. If it were within the limit of *practicabilities*, there is prejudice enough in the land to drive it through, cost what it might of toil or woe. Mr. Bacon mistakes in one point when he says, "The opposition to our cause is increasing and is built up more for want of efficiency here and in Africa, than from all other causes. And if this is not remedied, it will be impossible to hold it up any longer." The more efficient they are, the more mischief they do; and the more opposition will they excite from those who love their country and their race.

[We are obliged to postpone the remainder of this review till the next number. We regret this, inasmuch as the disclosures it contains are more important than any yet made.—Ed.]

## A PORTRAIT OF SLAVERY.

BY A SOUTHERN MAN.

We extract the following from an article in the last number of the African Repository by the Rev. Robert J. Breckenridge. The whole article is written with the impetus of a powerful, but undisciplined intellect; and, amidst a wildness of clashing statements and crazy metaphysics, it bears the impress of honesty. Occurring as it does in the African Repository, it is as wonderful and interesting as a mountain would be thrown upon the flat and monotonous scenery of Holland. We regret that our limits forbid us to review the article at length, or to make more copious extracts. The writer wonderfully misapprehends the views of the abolitionists in regard to the matter of "amalgamation." Abolitionism leaves every man to the free exercise of his taste, but it denies that any man has a right to withhold from another any right or privilege, to which he may be fairly entitled, lest the consequence should be, that he himself or some one else should violate the *present* dictate of his taste. Abolitionists neither encourage nor deprecate "amalgamation." It has nothing to do with their scheme. Neither the wishes nor the necessities of our colored brethren require it. If it shall succeed an act of equal justice, it will succeed in accordance with the taste of every individual concerned; and why need any one's taste be horrified at the prospect? It is the present system of amalgamation which ought to be dreaded, not that which may possibly ensue the establishment of equal rights.

What, then, is slavery? for the question relates to the action of certain principles on it, and to its probable and proper results; what is slavery as it exists among us? We reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one-half the states of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion called slaves; as,

1. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their own labor, except only so much as is necessary to continue labor itself, by continuing healthful existence, thus committing clear robbery;

2. To reduce them to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the civil rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging universal prostitution;

3. To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture, in many states making it a high penal offence to teach them to read; thus perpetuating whatever of evil there is that proceeds from ignorance;

4. To set up between parents and their children an authority higher than the impulse of nature and the laws of God; which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and at pleasure separates the mother at a returnless distance from her child; thus abrogating the clearest laws of nature; thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings created like themselves in the image of the Most High God!

This is slavery as it is daily exhibited in every slave state. This is that "dreadful but unavoidable necessity," for which you may hear so many mouths ut-

tering excuses, in all parts of the land. And is it really so? If indeed it be; if that "necessity" which tolerates this condition be really "unavoidable," in any such sense, that we are constrained for one moment, to put off the course of conduct which shall most certainly and most effectually subvert a system which is utterly indefensible on every correct human principle, and utterly abhorrent from every law of God,—then, indeed, let ISHABOD be graven in letters of terrific light upon our country! For God can no more sanction such perpetual wrong, than he can cease to be faithful to the glory of his own throne.

He who is higher than the highest, will, in His own good time and way, break the rod of the oppressor, and let all the oppressed go free. He has indeed commanded servants to be obedient to their masters; and it is their bounden duty to be so. We ask not now, what the servants were, nor who the masters were.—It is enough that all masters are commanded to "give unto their servants that which is just and equal;" and to what feature of slavery may that description apply? Just and equal! what care I, whether my pockets are picked, or the proceeds of my labor are taken from me? What matters it whether my horse is stolen, or the value of him in my labor be taken from me? Do we talk of violating the rights of masters, and depriving them of their property in their slaves? And will some one tell us, if there be any thing in which a man has, or can have, so perfect a right of property, as in his own limbs, bones and sinews? Out upon such folly! The man who cannot see that involuntary domestic slavery, as it exists among us, is founded upon the principle of taking by force that which is another's, has simply no moral sense.

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