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GIVEN BY

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From 7583 64

Wm. Everett. Esq.

Aug. 7 1867

Hubbard

Guilford County, North Carolina,

Letter on African Colonization 4265, 427  
3d Month Ath, 1834.

Dear Friend,—I am induced to write to thee on the subject of colonizing the people of colour in the United States, in Africa, from an apprehension that I have had for several years past, (and from recent information I have been confirmed that I was not mistaken,) that there are some friends in England much opposed to the plan of the Colonization Society; and although I do not know from any direct or definite information, what is the ground of their objection, I have supposed that they think it would be more consistent with Christian principles to emancipate them in the southern States and let them remain here, as they have done in the northern States. I apprehend that friends in England are not fully apprized of some important circumstances relative to the subject, which places the southern States in a very different situation from the northern. In the first place there never were so many people of colour in the northern States as there are in the southern; and another circumstance that diminished them there and increased them greatly here, was, while the northern States were legislating on the subject of gradual emancipation, avaricious masters sent them by thousands to the southern markets, before the emancipating laws were actually passed; which left a small proportion in those States, in comparison to the whites, not many more, perhaps, than they were willing to have for labourers, waiting-men, waiting-women, &c. And notwithstanding they have freed their slaves, for which they are entitled to applause, yet they never dreamed, as the saying is, of raising them to equal citizenship and privileges with the white people. No my friend, they can no more reconcile to themselves the idea of sitting down by the side of a coloured African, in any legislative or judiciary department, than the high spirited southern slave holder; and not only so, they never intend to admit them to these privileges, while the State Governments and the United States Government continue in existence. Notwithstanding this, there are some highly professing philanthropists that are mightily opposed to colonization in Africa, and some of these

have used their endeavours to prejudice the people of England against the Colonization Society; and have perhaps succeeded in some degree, mainly, I apprehend, by misrepresenting the views and operations or effects of the Society on the subject of slavery in the slave States. They appear to me to have been actuated in some degree at least by a spirit of envy or revenge at the growing approbation of the Society both in the North and the South, or it may be for the want of capacity fully to understand and comprehend the vastly capacious and benevolent enterprise in all its bearings and effects, in the past, present and future times, not only on the community at large of the United States, both of the whites and people of colour; but upon the civilization and happiness of the millions on the continent of Africa. They have also succeeded in influencing many of the people of colour in the northern States to be much opposed to emigrating to Africa, and to the Colonization Society, which is an evident mark of their degradation, effected by their long continuance in that inferior sphere of action to which their condition and striking difference of features and colour have subjected them under the prejudices of the whites. The white people content that they have emancipated them from slavery, and trying to give some of them some education, although, as I have said before, they never intend to admit them to an equality with themselves; no, not even a Newton, a Cæsar, or a Demosthenes, if they were descended of the sable African or Negro race would be thus equalized. Although I apprehend that the English people are not so deeply prejudiced against the African race, as the people of the United States, yet I suppose they have enough of it, not to admit them to an equality with themselves in all respects; and that if there were as many of the African race in England, in proportion to the white people, as there are in the United States, and particularly in the southern States, there would be but one voice, and that would be for colonizing them somewhere. You might prefer Canada to Africa; but Friends here great-



ly prefer Africa, as being more congenial to their nature and constitution, and for several other substantial reasons. When the British Government had but about one thousand of them at the close of the American Revolution, as well as I remember from the page of history, they colonized them at Sierra Leone; and although that colony has failed in some particulars, of effecting what was expected by its founders, yet I apprehend it has not been owing to the want of capacity in the colonists, or the want of congeniality in the soil and climate of Africa to them, but for the want of a proper fostering care of its founders or their successors. And as it has been an asylum for the slaves recaptured by the British Government, they ought to make it as pleasant as they can: if they do, Sierra Leone may yet flourish, and prove a great blessing to Africa.

But the Colony of Liberia has exceeded in its progress, both in civil and political character, in numbers and territory, beyond what its most sanguine friends could have rationally expected. It contains about three thousand colonists, and territory of about two hundred miles along the coast, about thirty miles wide; between four and five hundred recaptured slaves, restored to their country at the expense of the United States Government; about one thousand manumitted slaves that have gone with their own consent, and with the will and consent of their owners, since the colony was founded; and from information that I now have before me, there are not less than ten thousand willing to go to Liberia, and their masters willing to give them up, if the Colony was large enough to receive them, and the Society had sufficient funds for transporting and settling them in Africa. And probably there is twice that number now anxious to go. Nearly a thousand emigrated to Liberia last year, among which was a considerable number of manumitted slaves, from Baltimore, from Norfolk, from South Carolina, from Kentucky, and from Mississippi and other places. Two tribes of the natives have submitted to the Government of the Colony, from choice, and are sending their children to school among the colonists, and mingling with them in their manners, labour and commerce, adopting their dress and language, and becoming civilized. It is also believed that the Colony possesses, by fair purchase and treaty with the neighbouring kings, territory sufficient to contain and support one million of inhabitants, as it becomes settled and cultivated by civilized people. It is believed the territory contains about two hundred thousand natives, and that the two tribes

above-mentioned contain from fifteen to twenty thousand, some think twenty-five thousand. Here may we not ask the opposers of the Colonization Society for a parallel in the page of history, of such successful progress of a colony, in so short a time, say ten or twelve years, under such a combination of apparently insurmountable difficulties? Or can they devise a more propitious plan for the total abolition of the slave-trade, the civilization of Africa, and the extinction of slavery in the United States, than for the people and Government to turn their energies, with their surplus revenue and their other abundant resources, for the support and growth of the Colony of Liberia? I am also of opinion that the wealthy friends of humanity in England could not better apply a portion of that immense wealth that a bountiful Providence has been pleased to try them with, than to aid with it the Colonization Society; especially at the present time, when there are so many desirous to emigrate, and cannot, for want of funds. As Great Britain had as large a share in the sin of bringing those people to America, as we or any other nation have had, or larger perhaps, her noble sons of liberty and Christian philanthropy ought to be willing to do their part in restoring them to their own country, or the land of their fathers, with the blessings of civilization and the enlightening influences of Christianity; although Wilberforce and several other good men have expressed a different opinion, that is, with respect to the people of England aiding by donations the Colonization Society in America. In making these remarks I have no partial views to the Society of Friends here or in England, nor to the people of colour under our care, but the general good of both the whites and the people of colour here and elsewhere.

I will now state more definitely the situation of the southern States from the northern, with respect to the general emancipation of the people of colour, to remain with the whites. The number of blacks exceed the whites, in about one half of each of the southern States, say from one hundred miles to one hundred and fifty from the shores of the Atlantic, from the State of Maryland to Florida, a distance of more than one thousand miles along the sea-coast, there is a great majority of blacks. In some States two to one of whites, that is in the eastern parts of them, and in the eastern parts of South Carolina, some counties in North Carolina, and some in Virginia, four to one: but in the western parts of these States there is a majority of whites, though a great many blacks. Now



my friend, the general emancipation of such a number of these poor degraded creatures, say more than two millions, always to remain here, with the white people, even if the Government should take the necessary care for their education and preparation for freedom and civilized life, which to be sure it ought, they must or will be a degraded people while the reins of government remain in the hands of the whites. Supposing the very best consequences that could follow such a measure, even that both classes should generally exercise Christian feelings towards each other—which is very improbable if not morally impossible—the peculiarly marked difference of features and colour, will always be an insurmountable barrier to general amalgamation. Even the Society of Friends, when receiving them into membership in religious society, have no intention of giving them our sons or our daughters in marriage, nor they any view of this kind, nay, the more virtuous, the farther from it. Were they of the same colour and features that we are, in an elective republican government like this, where talents and merit are the common footsteps to esteem and preferment, there would be no difficulty in universal emancipation, without a separation. I have no idea that they are at all inferior to the white people in intellect; give them the same opportunities for enterprise and improvement. In viewing the two classes thus situated at present, and to remain so through a succession of ages, a mist of darkness seems to rest upon them; it is a painful, disagreeable prospect, with a longing desire for something better for the African race and our offspring too; yet this prospect is not half so dark and appalling as that of continuing them in slavery, to which we cannot avoid attaching the idea of a tremendous collision of the parties, with the extinction of one or the other, and possibly of both in the course of time.

But I need not dwell much upon the subject of universal emancipation in stating the best or worst, or most probable results of such a measure, because the Southern people have no more idea of the general emancipation of slaves, without colonizing them, than the Northern people have of admitting the few among *them* to equal rights and privileges. Not even the friends of humanity here, think that a general emancipation, to remain here, would better their condition; and if they did, I believe there is none of the slave States laws that admit of emancipation without sending them out of the State. And the ultra slave-holders are as much opposed to the Colonization Society as the Northern

Manumissionists are, and have for several years past been viewing its growing popularity, and the Northern policy in Congress, with great jealousy; which keeps them upon the ground of nullification and the verge of rebellion, though they have other pretexts for it, such as the tariff, &c. But it is evident that slavery, or rather the general anticipation of its being abolished, is the primary cause of their discontent. Although this is the prevailing disposition of the governing men in most of the slave States, yet there are many men of fine talents and good character, of various religious denominations, that greatly deplore the evil of slavery, and would be glad to put their slaves in a better situation; and some have concluded it would better their condition to send them to Liberia, and others would do so willingly, but cannot for want of means; while others no doubt from natural sympathy for their slaves, still dread the dangers and consequences of so adventurous an emigration, and perhaps some slaves are not willing to go. But I have not heard of a single family of slaves that have had the offer fairly and candidly made, but accepted it; and yet their unwillingness to go is talked of much by the Pharaoh-like slaveholders, and also by the Northern Manumissionists, as a paramount objection to the operations of the Colonization Society, both in England and America. So it would be if it were true, *but it is utterly false*; there are none sent that I have known or heard of, without their own consent, neither slaves nor free persons. It is a little singular that the hardened Slaveholders and the Northern Manumissionists are so decidedly and bitterly opposed to each other as to threaten a dangerous collision, and a political division in this Government, and at the same time are offering and urging the same reasons for demolishing the Colonization Society!—such as the unwillingness of the people of colour to go—the vast cost of sending the whole of them—the wretched situation of the colonists—and finally, the impracticability of the scheme. But here we will leave the Slave holders enclosed in their Chariots of Iron, with an iron grasp upon their slaves, bidding defiance to the denunciations and imprecations of the New England Anti-slaveites, and watching with a jealous eye the mild, gradually increasing influence of the Colonization Society, and take a view of the plan of the Colonizationist, and that of the Universal Manumissionist without colonization, and see which of the two is most likely to abolish slavery in America.

The primary object of the latter appears to be that of producing such a revolution in



public sentiment as to cause the national legislation to be brought to bear directly on the slave holders, and compel them to emancipate their slaves. And in order to effect this, they have formed themselves into a Society that they call the New England Anti-slavery Society; where they write and print a great many things against the evils of slavery and against slave holders and the Colonization Society, in a style and manner that savours more of the spirit of those that would ask for fire to come down from heaven to consume their enemies, than of those that would feed them if they were hungry, and if they were thirsty, give them drink. Their principal entrenchment appears to be in Boston,\* from thence they issue their periodicals, which I suppose they circulate pretty generally through the free States; but whenever one of the pamphlets called the Liberator, edited by W. L. Garrison, chances to alight in any of the slave States, it is counted incendiary, and immediately proscribed. Their orators travel and lecture only in the free states; there they propagate their doctrines or opinions of immediate and universal emancipation, coercion, &c. with much zeal and fluency, and no doubt with sincerity on the part of many of them; but mark my friend, they are too discreet, or too timid to travel and attempt to propagate these views, and harangue in the slave States. The general course of their efforts of late, puts me in mind of what Young says about working the ocean into a tempest "to waft a feather or to drown a fly." And as to their brilliant illustrations of the evils and injustice of slavery; there is no more need of it in the southern States generally, than there is to light a candle to look at the sun. Even the slave holders generally acknowledge and deplore the evil, though many of them are not willing to emancipate, nor colonize their slaves yet. The plan of the northern anti-slaveites instead of softening, appears to be hardening the Slave holders. The only good that they are doing, as it appears to me, is to the Colonization Society; by opposing it so inveterately, it has gained strength and energy, it is like a well constructed arch that gains strength by pressure. The indifferent have been awakened to action, and its warmest friends have renewed their efforts. In the course of last year more able advocates appeared in its behalf in the public prints, than ever have in the same length of time, since the Colony was founded, and more than twice the number of emigrants have gone to Liberia than

ever went in any preceding year; notwithstanding the eloquent opposition of Garrison and his colleagues, both in America and England. I would give thee a little specimen of his style and manner of writing; in his opinion of the Colonization Society, he says, "The superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars. 1. Persecution. 2. Falsehood. 3. Cowardice. 4. Infidelity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature, *without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust, then nothing is capable of demonstration!!!*" His language to Slave holders, or of Slave holders is: "They are hypocrites, man-stealers, and such as hold offices in the United States," he says, "are guilty of corrupt perjury, and unless they repent, will have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone. This kind of language is not at all calculated to make good impressions on the minds of Slave-holders, even on those of whom it may be true; and it is utterly false as respects many, who hold slaves—they would be very glad to have it in their power to put their slaves in a better situation, but are hindered by the laws of the States from emancipating them—they are not able to send them to Liberia—and while the laws of some of the free States, prohibit their coming, the people in all of them are opposed to it. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirst give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." Romans xii. 20, 21. This ought to be the motto of every friend to the cause of the abolition of slavery; if this mild and gentle policy fail to make effectual impressions on the minds of hardened Slave holders, in vain may we expect to conquer them by satire and vituperation, or threats of coercion. That this is not the general policy of the Colonization Society, I need not say; but it has much more the appearance of the plan of the Anti-slaveites of New England. I know not of but one principle that they profess, or practice, that is an exception to the above Apostolic rule, and that is self-defence in their Colony: but this is no more than the common policy of all republics and civilized nations in the world, and probably as much attached to the immediate Manumissionist as the Colonizationist; but it is evidently contrary to the spirit of the Gospel.

A Colonizationist says: "The American Colonization Society was formed very properly at the central city of the Republic. If it had been formed in the heart of the slaveholding States, it might have been regarded with just

\* Boston is a thousand miles from the main body and heart of slavery!



suspicion as a device to perpetuate slavery. If it had originated in the free States, it would have been certainly considered and reprobated with indignation, as a scheme for forcing a general emancipation upon the South. In either event, jealousies would have been created and cherished, equally painful to the whites, and injurious to the blacks. There was one spot where it was possible to make a great national effort, so neutral, that suspicion would be disarmed; so public, that all the acts of the Society must necessarily be scrutinized by the eyes of the nation looking to that focal point." And that which ought to preclude, "all possibility of honest complaint against the motives which actuated those concerned in the general management of the Society, there was scarcely a profession or denomination in the land that did not participate in its early movement. There were Episcopalians, Quakers, Presbyterians, Catholics, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists; Slave-holders, non-Slave-holders; Civil men, and Religious men; Northern men, and Southern men; men of great and humble abilities." "Their reasons for action in some form were numerous and urgent. The safety of the whites—the ignorance and degradation of the free blacks, the comfort of the slaves, *the unity of the States*, the peace of the country, the prospects and happiness of the African race generally, the horrors of the slave trade, and the uncanceled debt due from the Christian community of the world, to long and greatly injured Africa." All these were stimulating motives. They declared their primary object in their Constitution was to colonize free people of colour of this country, in Africa. They knew if they succeeded in *that*, all the other objects would follow in its train; their object in colonizing the free people of colour, not being that of perpetuating slavery, as the Anti-slaveites construe it, but because they are not likely ever to be put upon an equal footing here with the white people, and because here, in the slave States, they are a continual obstruction to emancipation; this the Society brought to view in their preamble or apology for the plan. That is: "The number of free coloured people in some States being so great as to cause them to repeal or prevent laws of emancipation." And although the Society lays no claim to slaves, nor holds up to view any means or measures to compel masters to emancipate them; yet the Society is as willing to send those that their masters immediately emancipate, as those that are free-born. Of the three thousand colonists, more than half, I suppose, are emancipated slaves; this appears to be the first great and good work

that is likely to be effected by the efforts and operations of the Colonization Society; (to wit) the abolition of slavery in the United States. And although this might not have been the prospect of the Society as being the first, yet it is now in accordance with their most ardent wishes. Let the opposers of the Colonization Society say what they will against its operations, as being a check to the spirit of emancipation, an obstruction to the abolition of slavery in America; facts are against them; and it is evident to a demonstration to all that know the general disposition and situation of the slave States, before the Society was organized, and since, that just in proportion to the knowledge of the views of this Society, has been the increase of a disposition to investigate slavery, and the awakening of a spirit of emancipation.

Alas! how prone men are to be influenced by objects and circumstances with which they are surrounded, or that happen to be nearest to them; just so it is with many people in England; they think as their government has abolished slavery throughout the British dominions, with the dash of a pen, or the passing of a law, that the United States government may do the same, without considering the vastly different situation of the two governments, and the different situation of the whites and people of colour in each. In England the seat of Legislation being at a great distance from the body of slavery, and the Atlantic rolling between, their slaves and free people of colour are already colonized in their own native West India Islands. And so it is with the New England immediate Manumissionists; they have so few people of colour that they do not consider them an evil, and hence they conclude that the Southern States may do as they have done, free them at once; but I have no doubt at all if there was as large a proportion of coloured people in the New England States as in the southern, there would be but one voice, and that would be for colonizing them somewhere, as I have said of the people of England in the fore part of my letter.

The plan and operations of the Colonization Society, are calculated to keep the United States in union, by its regard to the Federal Constitution, and the laws of the States.

Fourteen States have already united with the plan, viz: New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana: five of the above are slave States, nine free States; and nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States have fully expressed their opinion, that the Society merits



the consideration and favour of the whole Christian community, and recommends it to their patronage. The Society by aiming at a united action of all the States, avoids sectional jealousies, and while it preserves fraternal feelings throughout the Union, it prevents a separate action of any portion of the States from an abrupt and violent mode of operation, which would be difficult and dangerous, and might quickly extinguish every hope of relieving the slave population. Hence it may be seen that the opposers of the American Colonization Society have a tremendous force of public opinion against them, and that the immediate Manumissionists of the North, and the hardened and determined slave-holders of the South, are its only inveterate enemies; and these together form, it is believed, but a very small part of the great community of the United States.

I apprehend that some Friends in England think that it would be better to colonize the people of colour in some territory upon this continent than in Africa: supposing probably, as some of us once did, that a tropical climate would be too great a change; but the present state of the colony shows that the coloured people now enjoy their health as well there as they did here; of this I am informed by private letters from the colonists, and from several respectable captains of vessels who have visited the Colony; and from the report of a committee of the colonists; contradicting the false reports circulated in America, respecting their condition. They clearly testify that they are contented with their situation, and have no desire to return to America; and they enjoy their health, as well as they did in this country. And the Agents of the Colony officially state to the Board of Managers at Washington, that the bills of mortality in the Colony, generally, were not greater than they were in Baltimore and Philadelphia. All that I have written in this letter of the state of the Colony, and of the increasing influence of the Colonization Society in the United States, is from well authenticated information. The grand experiment is made; the American Colonization Society has proved to the world that the colonization of the people of colour of the United States, in the land of their fathers, is practicable, and not only so, but very probable, both from the state of things at present, and from natural and rational anticipations of the future. Time and funds, with a simultaneous movement of the United States, is what is wanting, with the divine blessing superadded. And as to funds, one of its friends says, "Is a nation like this to be embarrassed by an annual appropriation of a little more

than a million of dollars to the cause of humanity? A nation that can extinguish in a year twelve millions of national debt, and at the same time prosecute with vigour all its majestic plans of defence and internal improvement? A nation, one of whose States, can hazard six millions of dollars, on the project of opening a canal? A nation, whose canyass whitens every sea, and enters almost every harbour of the globe? A nation, which possesses two millions of square miles, and is destined within the passing century to embosom a white population of eighty millions. With the past smiles of divine Providence our national debt will be soon paid. And from that glad hour, let the government provide liberally for all its necessary operations, then give to our cause but the surplus of its revenues, and as regards the expense of emigration, it will (at no distant day,) furnish the means of granting to every African exile amongst us, a happy home in the land of his fathers."

Do but let the avenues of emigration be kept open, both for the free people of colour that wish to go, and the slaves that the masters are free to send, but only with their own consent; let the plan of the American Colonization Society, be brought into, and kept in full operation, by the united energies of the friends of humanity; let the common people contribute their units, and the competent their tens, and the wealthy their hundreds, and thousands, and the State Legislatures their tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands, as some of them have already done; these aids, independent of congressional or national aid, will enable the Society to push forward their designs, to enlarge the Colony at Liberia, and to establish other colonies by the citizens of that, along the coasts of Africa, and to enable them to promote the internal improvement of the colonies; to erect public edifices, to construct roads and bridges; to establish schools, and to provide for the general comfort and happiness of the colonists. Then we shall in a few years see there will be in Africa, a well ordered, prosperous, and intelligent Republic, stretching along the coast and penetrating the continent; the forests vanishing before the citizens, and the wilderness becoming a fruitful field: then tens of thousands of willing emigrants may be safely received and comfortably accommodated. I have no doubt that if the Colony was now large enough to receive ten thousand emigrants *annually*, and the funds of the Society sufficient, that number would go the present year, and so on increasing from that num-



ber to twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty thousand annually. Then we shall not hear of the free people of colour, either in the Northern or the Southern States claiming this as their native country, but they will be anxious to go to the land of their fathers, by thousands. Humane masters would no longer hesitate to encourage their slaves to go, but feel themselves greatly relieved of their burdens and their anxieties. The most hardened slaveholders would be softened into submission to the plan; the increasing facility of internal improvements would tend greatly to enhance the value of property; so that pecuniary interest itself would induce them to let go their iron grasp upon their slaves, more than all the positive denunciations against the injustice and the evils of slavery; more than the threatening imprecation of Garrison and the immediate Manumissionists, with the prospect of national Legislation to compel them. Here the fable of the wind and the sun, striving which should first make the traveller lay off his cloak, is strikingly illustrative of the two plans; the most satirical language of the Manumissionists with their threats of coercion, like the wind, the stronger it blows upon the traveller only makes him draw his cloak about him with a firmer grasp; but the gentle and gradual operations of the Colonizationist, like the increasing heat of the sun, as it rises higher and higher, will make him lay it off.

The want of extension and capacity of the Colony to receive emigrants as soon, and as many as are ready to go, are my main fears. But could the community at large of the United States feel a firm confidence, that the African race could be all removed from amongst us, and comfortably settled in Africa within the present century, there would be no lack of funds to carry on the work; millions might be raised, without law, and without the least fear of any pecuniary loss to ourselves or our posterity, from a prospect of the great increase of internal improvement, and the enhancement of the value of property, that would naturally follow such an event. I have no doubt but that there are thousands who independently of humane motives, (did they feel such a confidence) would be induced from pecuniary interest, to give one tenth of their estates in support of such a measure, as I have heard several men of respectability say; some that were only possessed of a competency, and others that were wealthy, some slave holders and some non-slave holders, some indifferent, and some alive to the cause of Christian humanity.

And furthermore, when the Colony shall have attained to such an extent and ability as to receive any number of emigrants that

might come; say from ten to fifty thousand annually; it may be fairly inferred that between this African Republic and the United States there would be a great commercial intercourse, very advantageous to both nations; which might in time so increase the revenue of this Government, as to reimburse it for all its expenditures in the benevolent work. It may also be fairly inferred, that the expense of emigration at this stage of the business will be greatly lessened, because many free persons of colour would go at their own expense, and many others would work their passage in commercial vessels; and it would be an opening for thousands of them to engage in maritime employments, who are now very numerous in all our seaport towns, and scarcely get employment sufficient to procure them the necessaries of life.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends of North Carolina, have sent several hundreds of those they have had under their care, to Liberia; for whose emancipation in this State they could never obtain a law, though they petitioned for it oftentimes for the space of fifty years; always finding the chief objection of the Legislature, to be that of the great number, and degraded and low character of the free persons of colour already in the State. We prefer sending them to Africa rather than to any of the free States, or to Canada; because we believe *that* is their proper home. We have sent some to the State of Ohio, and since then, hundreds of blacks have been in a manner compelled by the laws of that State, or the prejudices of some of its citizens, to leave it and go to Canada. We have sent some to Indiana, but that State has passed laws, we hear, to forbid any more coming. We have sent some to Pennsylvania; but about two years ago we shipped near one hundred from Newbern and Beaufort, to Chester; they were not suffered to land, neither there, nor in Philadelphia, nor yet on the Jersey shore, opposite; but had to float on the Delaware river until the Colonization Society took them into possession; then they were landed in Jersey ten miles below Philadelphia, and re-shipped for Africa. North Carolina Yearly Meeting has contributed thousands of dollars to the Colonization Society; it has probably done more for it than any other religious community has in America; not merely because it has provided us an asylum for the people of colour under our care; but upon the ground of our belief that it is a great, humane and benevolent Institution. I am not informed of a single member of the Society of Friends in this country, not even in any of the slave States, who is not in favour of colonizing them in Africa; we believe generally



that colonizing them there gradually, is the most likely way to put a peaceful end to slavery: and place them in the great scale of equality with the rest of the civilized world. Some Northern philanthropists say, "do them justice and leave consequences;" that is, free them immediately and universally, and let them abide here. We believe this would not be doing justice; we conceive that if our offspring were in Africa, and had been there the same length of time, in the same situation every way, that they have been and now are here, that we should not think that any thing short of sending them back to this, the country of their fathers, would be doing them justice, if it could be done. So we feel bound by the immutable principles of justice and the commandments of our Great Saviour and Redeemer, to do unto them as we would they should do unto us; as much as we can, and as far as is practicable.

I have reflected much upon this subject, in years past and of late, and the more I reflect upon it, the more I am confirmed of its being a great and good work; and that it is not only practicable but very probable that there will be a separation generally of the two colours or casts of people, in the United States, at longest within the passing century, if not within a shorter time. And the happy and inevitable results that must attend such an event, affords a truly pleasing prospect; 1st. The extinction of slavery in the United States. 2d. The restoration of the blacks to their proper scale of being and existence in the human family. 3d. The civilization of Africa. 4th. The total abolition of the slave trade there. 5th. The regeneration of the United States to a more permanent political condition, and her exoneration as a nation from the guilt and penalty of slavery by the Great Ruler of the Universe; in which she may enjoy more abundantly the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

Now, any one of these five objects, independent of any of the others, is sufficient to justify the work and cost that it would require to remove all the people of colour in the United States and settle them comfortably in Africa—enough to induce the sympathy and pecuniary aid of every friend to the human family. But when we take all these important objects into view, and see that they must inevitably follow, or be effected in the transpiration of such an event; it ought to induce every man in the world, that is acquainted with the subject, and capable of affording any aid, not only to sympathy but, to use his best exertions to promote and encourage and pray for the support of this great and benevolent plan.

The roots of the tree of slavery are too

deep and too widely extended here to be torn up by the strong wind of northern satire and eloquence; and perhaps too deep and broad to be torn up at all: but support and aid the Colonization scheme, and the tree of slavery, large as it is, may be gradually cut down, and every chip and sprig of it be removed from this continent. And then the stump and roots thereof will die in the ground, without any band of iron or brass in the tender grass to preserve them.

And now, my dear friend, I think it is time, high time for me to begin to think of a conclusion, having extended my letter to an uncommon length, and yet too short in some parts to be clearly understood, and I fear much too short in the whole, to do ample justice to the subject, both in extent and capacity, or fully to relieve my own mind.

I will now conclude with some extracts from some of the writings of two members of the Colonization Society, as being in accordance with my own views and feelings. "There is not, we believe, another benevolent enterprise on earth, so well calculated to secure the favourable opinion, and enlist the hearty good will of ALL MEN, as this, when its objects and bearings are fully understood. In relation to this society, it is eminently the fact that opposition and indifference have their origin in prejudice or want of information. Ignorance may raise an objection which it requires knowledge to remove; and to rest one's refusal to co-operate in what he is told is a good work, on his own ignorance, is both weak and wicked. Especially in relation to a benevolent enterprise of such magnitude as this; and which has been some ten or fifteen years before the public; the plea of ignorance is made with a very ill grace."—"We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature, for the record of a human plan for the melioration of the condition or advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good, or more comprehensive beneficence than that of African Colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited by the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race; but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and the happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. It appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty here and elsewhere." May the Lord hasten the consummation of the plan as far as it is consistent with his will in his own good time.

Farewell, and am thy friend,

JEREMIAH HUBBARD.

















































