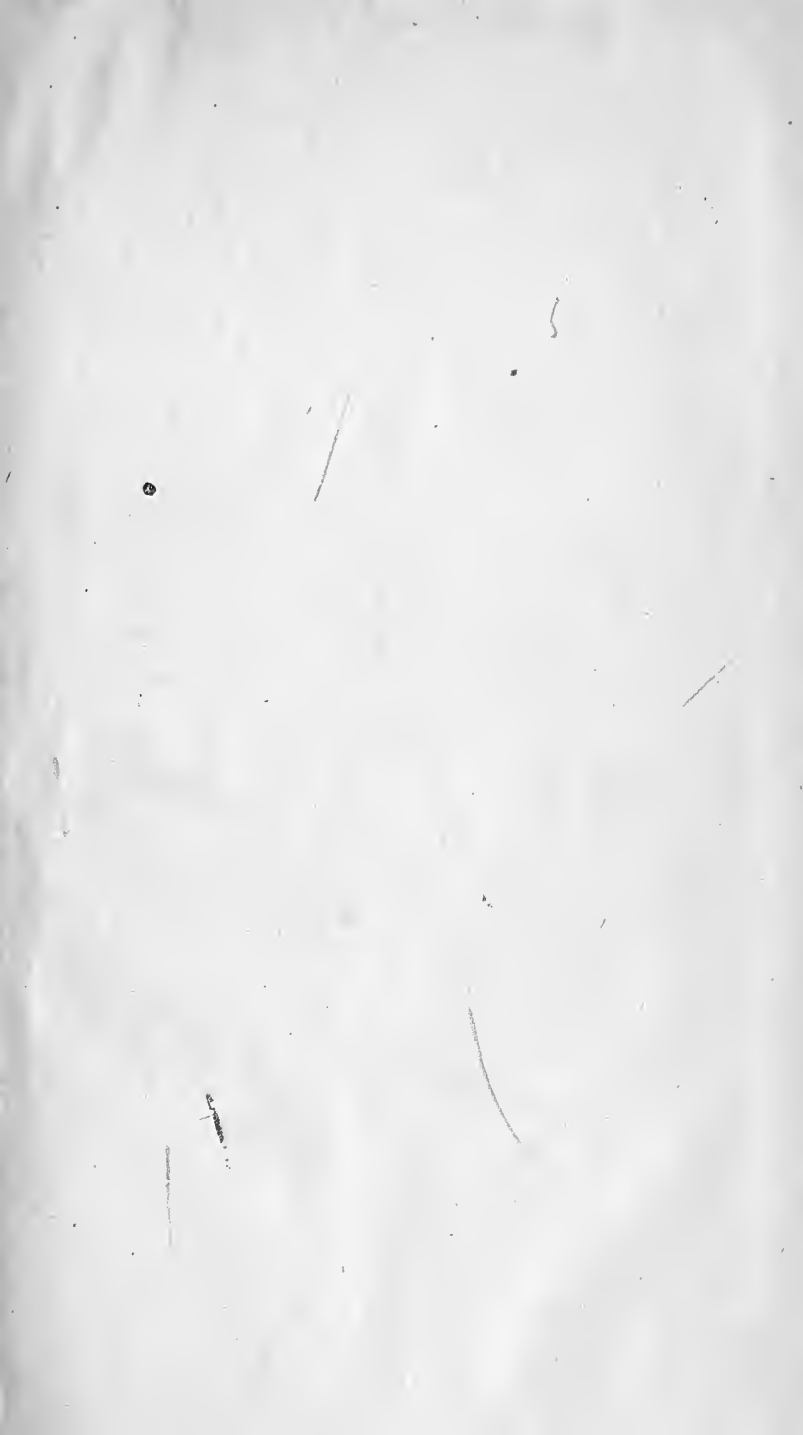


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A LETTER

TO

THOMAS CLARKSON,

BY

JAMES CROPPER.

AND

PREJUDICE VINCIBLE;

OR

THE PRACTICABILITY OF CONQUERING PREJUDICE BY
BETTER MEANS THAN BY SLAVERY AND EXILE;

IN RELATION TO THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

BY C. STUART.

“Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.”

PROV. xxxi. 9.

Liverpool;

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1832.

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A LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON,

BY

JAMES CROPPER.

Liverpool, 10th month, 2d, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many long-trying friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society. Though I am not surprised that many, under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa,—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that in many of the States the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur (from the state of morals in slave countries) of fathers selling their own children!! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society; it arose out of these prejudices against colour, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slave-holders so anxious to send away free people of colour? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black labourers; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous to serve the free blacks they would instruct them at home, (not a *few* of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of colour a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, if means can be found of sending them to Africa! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slave-holders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least FIVE MILLIONS STERLING?—a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to pay the expense of their emigration cannot be raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slave-holding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children which has produced this extraordinary effect?

Or are these men amongst the slave-buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose, than to give them their freedom so soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth.

To whatever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slave-holders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free coloured people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honour to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that with the exception of some who do not understand the plan, the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of colour are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and to suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators they destroy one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other states to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for fully thirty years to come, would be required to purchase the slaves and to transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No! *perpetuation*, and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object!

The first command ever given to man was "Be fruitful and multiply." Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God? but in no case is it so manifest as when in a state of slavery. The value of men, as of every other commodity, is governed by their plenty or scarcity; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be an end of slavery. Every increase of numbers tends, whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final extinction of slavery: and it must be admitted that the Americans evince this proof of good treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been highly beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have increased since 1808, (the time of both our and their abolition of the slave trade,) from 1,130,000 to 2,010,000, and they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace in 1814, and have reduced its price to one-third of what it then was, though the Brazils, with all their slave trading, have only added one-fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time.—Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, few or no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has done more than all our enormous expenditure for the suppression of the African slave trade?

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. Had they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115,000 tons to their

growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced its price, and consequently the price of slaves, and thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extinguished that for the cultivation of indigo, and more recently for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the real tendency of the society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to the House of Delegates of Virginia for sending the free blacks away by force; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were made, and decided by majorities which amply proved the determination of the House, to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term *diabolical* is not too severe; for never did Satan, with more success, transform himself into an angel of light than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole plan with the abhorrence which is justly due to it, and with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave-owners are its advocates and supporters. Surely the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, as it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connexion between slave-holders and philanthropists; for since this scheme has been on foot its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is taken by the philanthropists of England. Let them declare their deep feeling of sympathy with these sorely-persecuted and oppressed people; and such an example will be followed in the United States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to leave the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

May I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend Charles Stuart, one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans.

I am, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

PREJUDICE VINCIBLE, &c.

Conflicting statements having been placed before the public on the subject of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, the writer is led by what he deems a solemn regard for truth and duty, to offer the following evidence in relation to it :

Liberia is an American settlement on the western coast of Africa, about 200 miles southward of Sierra Leone, in lat. 6 deg. 30 min. N. and lon. 11 deg. W. Its principal point is Cape Mesurado, on which Monrovia, its capital, is built. The settlement comprises a small domain, immediately around Monrovia, purchased from the *native chiefs*, and is loosely said to consist of a much larger territory, because the native chiefs have merely put themselves, during pleasure, under its protection. Cape Mesurado is a fine elevated spot, completely ventilated and drenched with the fresh, moist, sea air, extending two or three miles. The rest of the territory differs in nothing materially from the fertile and imperfectly-cultivated continental sea coasts of the regions of the equator. Vessels of moderate burthen only can enter its harbour.

The American Colonization Society founded and supports Liberia. It was commenced in 1817, and of late has obtained considerable attention. Its fundamental principles are embodied in the two first articles of its constitution, and are as follow :

Article 1.—“ This society shall be called ‘ The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.’ ”

Article 2.—“ The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient,” &c.

The broad facts of the case are these :

The whole population of the United States is about 13,000,000. Out of this, upwards of 2,000,000 are held in a most degrading and brutal state of personal slavery, under laws worse than even those of the wretched slave colonies of Great Britain.

Out of the whole, 330,000, though *free*, are in most cases *only partially so* ; and are exposed to an exceedingly malignant and destructive persecution, merely because they have a skin differently coloured from the remaining eleven and a half millions of their fellow-subjects.

Both these two persecuted classes are rapidly increasing. Their increase terrifies the slave party, and fills them with anxious musings of danger.

The glaring contradiction of a *free* people being a *slave-holding* people ; of eleven or twelve millions of men, calling themselves the most free in the world, keeping upwards of 2,000,000 of their unoffending fellow-subjects in the most abject and degrading slavery, affects many, and urges them to seek a remedy. The word of God stands out before others, and bids them blush and tremble at the guilt and danger of their country, while the smothered cry of the oppressed and unoffending poor rises incessantly to God against her.

From this state of things it was that the American Colonization Society arose; by this state of things it is that the American Colonization Society subsists. It is agreeable to the slave-master, for it calms his fears. It offers a *remedy* to the man who mourns over the dishonour and inconsistency of his country; and to the man who fears God, it commends itself by pretending to do all that it can for the unoffending poor.

The views of its advocates are frankly expressed in its own constitution as above quoted, and in its own reports. I refer to them all, particularly to the three last, 13th, 14th, and 15th, and submit from them the following quotations:

1. 13th Report, page 44:—"The present number of this unfortunate, degraded, and anomalous class of inhabitants cannot be much short of half a million, and the number is fast increasing. They are emphatically a mildew upon our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain upon our escutcheon. To remove them is mercy to ourselves, and justice (!!!) to them." 15th Report, page 24:—"The race in question were known, as a class, to be destitute, depraved, the victims of all forms of social misery. The peculiarity of their fate was, that this was not their condition by accident or transiently, but inevitably and immutably, whilst they remained in their present place, by a law as infallible in its operation as any of a physical nature." In same, 15th Report, page 25:—"What is the free black to the slave? A standing, perpetual excitement to discontentThe slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black; he would have as little to habits of depredation, his next strongest tendency, but from the same source of deterioration !!!.....In getting rid, then, of the free blacks, the slave will be saved from the chief occasions for suffering, and the owner from inflicting severity."

2. 15th Report, page 26:—"If none were drained away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant, &c. &c. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was *open butchery* to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the helots; or *general emancipation and incorporation*, as in South America; or *abandonment of the country by the masters?*"* Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe: could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? "There was but one way, and it was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase*, beyond the occasions of profitable employment, &c. &c. This drain was already opened." The *African Repository*, vol. 7, page 246, says, "Enough, under favourable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years, *if young females were encouraged to go*, to keep the whole coloured population *in check!!!*" How dreadful thus coolly to rend asunder the sexes which were made to be each other's mutual strength and solace through earth's dangerous pilgrimage!! And in page 232, anticipating within two generations a result of forty whites to one black, it declares that all uneasiness would then be at an end.

3. In 14th Report, pages 12 and 13:—"And the slave-holder, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and public action can flow on without doing violence *to his rights!* The closing of this channel might be calamitous to the slave-holder beyond his conception; for the stream of benevolence that now flows so innocently in it might then break out in forms even far more disastrous than abolition societies and all their kindred and ill-judged measures."

* In contemplating these alternatives, how can we sufficiently admire the goodness of God in having provided that the increase of slaves shall necessarily lead to emancipation and incorporation! and how can we be sufficiently struck with horror at the deliberate and insolent cruelty of man, in devising schemes like this for the perpetuation of slavery!—J. C.

Report of Pennsylvania Colonization Society for 1830, page 44.—“The Society proposes to send, not one or two pious members of Christianity into a foreign land, but to transport *annually, for an indefinite number of years*, in one view of its scheme, 6000, in another 56,000 missionaries (!!!) of the descendants of Africa itself, to communicate the benefits of our religion, and of the arts. And *this colony of missionaries*,” &c. That is, *six or fifty-six thousand* of the *degraded and anomalous* wretches who are said to be a *mildew* upon the fields of America, and a scourge to the backs, and a stain upon the escutcheon of the white people of the United States, are to be transformed annually, by transportation to Africa (*with their own consent*,) into an *army of missionaries*, communicating the *benefits of religion and the arts* !!!

In further pursuing this subject, I purpose,

1. To contrast the evils which need a remedy, and the remedy needed, with the remedy proposed by the American Colonization Society.

2. To ask how far the remedy thus proposed may fairly be expected to remove the evils in question.

3. What are the feelings of the free-coloured people themselves respecting this remedy?

4. Have we any other evidences?

5. What is our duty?

1. *The Evils which need a Remedy.*

Remedy needed.

Remedy proposed by the American Colonization Society.

1. The brutal and degrading personal slavery of upwards of 2,000,000 unoffending subjects of the United States.

The immediate abolition, by a well digested legislative enactment in each slave State and in Congress, of the brutal, criminal, and ruinous system of negro slavery, and the immediate substitution in its place, of a law worthy of a great, free, and enlightened country.

The sending to Africa under circumstances as favourable as in their power, of as many of the enslaved and unoffending negroes as their own masters may please to emancipate for that purpose.

2. The cruel and criminal prejudice against the free-coloured people, and the dreadful persecution to which it subjects them.

The union of Christians and philanthropists of every class, *especially of the Ministers of the Gospel*, to brand that base and destructive prejudice every where with the infamy which it deserves, and to extend the cherishing arms of heavenly love to comfort, support, and establish in their native country all who are outraged by it.

The sending to Africa, under circumstances as favourable as in their power, of as many of the sufferers as they can get to go or to send.

3. The African slave trade continued.

The immediate and universal abolition of its only source and support, negro slavery.

The settlement of a free coloured colony, under circumstances as favourable as in their power, upon the coast of Africa.

4. The moral wretchedness of Africa.

Select missionary efforts, such as are using elsewhere, multiplied and extended.

The sending to Africa of a mixed crowd of wretches declared to be too bad, generally speaking, to be safely allowed to remain in their native country, under the presumption that landing them in Liberia will qualify them to be missionaries of the Gospel.

5. The ruinous condition of the slave States.

The conversion of their slave labourers into free labourers,—of their unwilling into willing hands

The removal from the United States as quickly as possible of a vast proportion of all its labouring strength.

6. The terrors of the slave-masters.

Undissembling repentance, and fruits meet for repentance; and for this purpose the continual setting before them of their sin; and, morally speaking, giving them no peace in their iniquity.

Removing, as condescendingly as possible, as many of the objects of their terrors as they wish to get rid of, that they may keep the remainder as long as they please, without fear.

Such, I think, are the chief evils set forth in this Society's reports. Such are the plain and simple remedies which duty undeniably requires; and such are the remedies proposed by the American Colonization Society.

2.—*How far may the remedies thus proposed be fairly expected to remove the evils in question?*

I put it to the independent understandings of my fellow-men; I entreat them to weigh each evil for themselves, with its remedy, *real and proposed*; and I ask, as far as the American Colonization Society succeeds, what must be the condition of the mass of wretches that continue enslaved, when year after year, all hopes of liberty are more and more extinguished, and nothing but strengthening despotism remains? When every brute shall be more and more at liberty to pollute them with impunity, and when every barrier to holier alliances shall be more and more proudly closed?

1. What kind of a remedy will it be to the brutal enslavement of *two millions*, increasing at the rate of 50,000 annually, that annually a few hundreds (or thousands if it should ever be) have their slavery commuted into transportation. The few who are benefited not being righted, but only suffering a lesser instead of a greater wrong; while the two millions who remain are still increasing in number and sinking in degradation?

2. What kind of a remedy is it to the dreadful persecution which the 3 or 4 or 500,000 free-coloured people are suffering in the United States, that a fragment of them are removed annually to a foreign land, *with their own consent*, while the multitude who remain are subjected to aggravated persecution?

3. How can the African slave trade be effectually prevented, while negro slavery, its *only source*, remains? or what power can the Americans have in attempting to abolish the slave trade in Africa, excepting that of *mere brute force*, while they have a slave trade at home, *more criminal than that of Africa*, and almost as cruel?

4. How can the moral wretchedness of Africa be remedied by an influx of degraded and untutored minds? And what will the Africans think, when informed that *these Americans*, who are so busy about freedom on the African coast, are slave-masters, or *encouragers of slave-masters at home*?

5. How can the ruinous condition of the slave states be remedied by transporting almost the whole of their labouring strength to a distant country?

6. And what good will it be doing the slave-holder to give him peace in his sins? To make it as pleasant and as safe for him as you can, to continue to plunder and to oppress the unoffending poor? Will *that* be loving him? Will his soul bless you for *such* love, when his whiter skin no more elates him with pride, and he meets his slave, no longer a slave or a negro, but like himself, a deathless soul, to be judged, without respect of persons, by the impartial law of unalterable righteousness?

3.—*What are the feelings of the free-coloured people themselves respecting this remedy?*

In 1817, at the first formation of the American Colonization Society, they thus expressed themselves at a public meeting, at Bethel Church, in Philadelphia, James Forten being their Chairman:—

“Whereas, our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants *feel* ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured; and that any measure, or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but would be in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.

“*Resolved*,—That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of colour, by the promoters of this measure, ‘that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,’ when in the state of disfranchisement, in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs and rallied round the standard of their country.

“*Resolved*,—That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

“*Resolved*,—That having the strongest confidence in the justice of God, and in the philanthropy of the free states, we cheerfully submit our destinies to the guidance of Him, who suffers not a sparrow to fall without his special providence.”

And this meeting, immediately afterwards, put forth the following address:—

TO THE HUMANE AND BENEVOLENT INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

EXTRACTS.

“We have no wish to separate from our present homes for any purpose whatever. Contented with our present situation and condition, we are not desirous of increasing their prosperity but by honest efforts, and by the use of those opportunities for their improvement, which the constitution and laws allow to all. It is, therefore, with painful solicitude, and sorrowing regret, we have seen a plan for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, on the coast of Africa.

“*We humbly*, respectfully, and fervently intreat and beseech your disapprobation of the plan of colonization now offered by the ‘American Society for

colonizing the free people of colour of the United States.' Here, in the city of Philadelphia, where the voice of the suffering sons of Africa was first heard; where was first commenced the work of abolition, on which Heaven has smiled, for it could have had success only from the Great Master; let not a purpose he assisted which will stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery in the United States, and which may defeat it altogether; which proffers to those who do not ask for them, what it calls *benefits*, but which they consider *injuries*, and which must insure to the multitudes whose prayers can only reach you through us, *misery, sufferings, and perpetual slavery*.

(Signed)

“JAMES FORTEN, Chairman.

“RUSSEL PARRATT, Secretary.”

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK, JAN, 1831.

“It is evident to any impartial observer, that the natural tendency of all their speeches, reports, sermons, &c. is to widen the breach between us and the whites, and give to prejudice a tenfold vigour. It has produced a mistaken sentiment towards us. Africa is considered the home of those who have never seen its shores. The poor, ignorant slave, who, in all probability, has never heard the name of Christ, by the colonization process is suddenly transformed into a ‘missionary,’ to instruct in the principles of Christianity, and the arts of civilized life. The Friends have been the last to aid the system pursued by the society’s advocates. And we say (for we feel it) that in proportion as they become colonizationists, they become less active and less friendly to our welfare, as citizens of the United States.

“There does exist in the United States a prejudice against us; but is it unconquerable? Is it not in the power of these gentlemen to subdue it? If their object is to benefit us, why not better our condition here? What keeps us down but the want of wealth? Why do we not accumulate wealth? Simply because we are not encouraged. If we wish to give our boys a classical education, they are refused admission into your colleges. If we consume our means in giving them a mercantile education, you will not employ them as clerks; if they are taught navigation, you will not employ them as captains. If we make them mechanics, you will not encourage them, nor will white mechanics work in the same shop with them. And, with all these disabilities, like millstones, about us, because we cannot point out our statesmen, bankers, and lawyers, we are called an inferior race.

“These gentlemen know but little of a large portion of the coloured population of this city. Their opinions are formed from the unfortunate portion of our people, whose characters are scrutinized by them as judges of court. Their patrician principles prevent an intercourse with men in the middle walks of life, among whom a large portion of our people may be classed. We ask them to visit the dwellings of the respectable part of our people, and we are satisfied that they will discover more civilization and refinement than will be found among the same number of white families of an equal standing.

“Finally, we hope that those who have so eloquently pleaded the cause of the Indian, will, at least, endeavour to preserve consistency in their conduct. They put no faith in Georgia, although she declares that the Indians shall not be removed but *with their own consent*. Can they blame us if we attach the same credit to the declaration, that they mean to colonize us *only with our consent*? They cannot, indeed, use force; that is out of the question. But they harp so much on ‘inferiority, prejudice, distinction,’ and what not, that there will be no alternative left us but to fall in with their plans. We are content to abide where we are. We do not believe that things will always continue the same. The time must come when the declaration of independence will be felt in the heart as well as uttered from the mouth; and, when the rights of all shall be properly acknowledged and appreciated. God hasten that time! This is our home, and this

our country. Beneath its sod lie the bones of our fathers: for it some of them fought, bled, and died. Here we were born, and here we will die."

"Dec. 25, 1830.

(Signed)

"SAMUEL ENNALS, Chairman."

EXTRACT FROM THE BROOKLYN ADDRESS, JUNE, 1831.

"We truly believe that many gentlemen who are engaged in the Colonization Society are our sincere friends and well-wishers; they wish to do something for us, consequently they have subscribed largely to it, because there was no other plan on foot. Some of them have been deluded into its schemes, with a view of thoroughly civilizing and christianizing Africa, by our free people of colour and emancipated slaves, who may, from time to time, be colonized on its coasts, with their own consent. We conceive that such measures are fraught with inconsistency, and in no way calculated to have such an effect. To send a parcel of uninstructed, uncivilized, and unchristianized people to the western coast of Africa, with Bibles in their hands, to teach the natives the truths of the Gospel, social happiness, and moral virtue, is mockery and ridicule in the extreme.

"Missionary families should be well instructed in the rudiments of our holy religion, that their example may shine forth as lights in that much neglected and benighted land.

"Many wish us to go to Africa, because they say that our constitutions are better adapted to that climate than this. If so, *we would ask why so many of our hearty, hale, and healthy brethren, on arriving in that country fall victims to the malignant fevers and disorders prevalent in those regions?* We would observe that none are exempt from being touched with the contagion. It operates more severely upon those from the higher latitudes.

"Brethren, it is time for us to awake to our interests, for the Colonization Society is straining every nerve for the accomplishment of its objects. They have got the consent of eleven States, who have instructed their senators to do something in the next Congress for our removal. Maryland calls imperatively on the general government to send us away, or else they will colonize their own free blacks. They have, by their influence, stopped the emancipation of slaves in a measure, except for colonization purposes.

"We pray the Lord to hasten the day when prejudice, inferiority, degradation, and oppression will be done away, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ."

(Signed)

"H. C. THOMPSON, Chairman."

EXTRACTS FROM THE NEW HAVEN ADDRESS, AUGUST, 1831.

"*Resolved*,—That we consider those Christians and philanthropists, who are boasting of their liberty and equality, saying that all men are born free and equal, and yet are endeavouring to remove us from our native land, to be inhuman in their proceedings, defective in their principles, and unworthy of our confidence.

"*Resolved*,—That we consider those colonizationists and ministers of the Gospel, who are advocating our transportation to an unknown clime, because our skin is a little darker than theirs, notwithstanding God has made of one blood all nations of men, and has no respect of persons, as violators of the commandments of God and the laws of the Bible, and as trying to blind our eyes by their vain movements—their mouths being smooth as oil, and their words sharper than any two-edged sword.

"*Resolved*,—That it is our earnest desire that Africa become speedily civilized, and receive religious instruction; but not by the absurd and invidious plan of the Colonization Society, namely, to send a nation of ignorant men to teach a nation of ignorant men. We think it most wise for them to send missionaries.

"*Resolved*,—That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home, excepting these United States, into which our fathers were

brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled, and died in its defence, and left us in its possession; and here we will live and die."

August 8, 1831.

(Signed)

"HENRY BERRIAN, Chairman."

EXTRACT FROM PITTSBURGH RESOLUTIONS, SEPTEMBER, 1831.

"*Resolved*,—It is the decided opinion of this meeting that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better-informed part of the coloured people out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly.

"*Resolved*,—That we, the coloured people of Pittsburgh, and citizens of these United States, view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born, here bred; here are our earliest and most pleasing associations; here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every coloured man who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a traitor to our cause.

"*Resolved*,—That we, as citizens of these United States, and for the support of these resolutions, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, do mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour, not to support a colony in Africa nor in Upper Canada, nor yet emigrate to Hayti. Here we were born; here will we die; and let our bones lie with our fathers.

Sept. 1, 1831.

(Signed)

"J. B. VASHON, Chairman."

EXTRACTS FROM THE WILMINGTON ADDRESS, DELAWARE, JULY, 1831.

"We are natives of the United States; our ancestors were brought over to this country by means over which they had no control; we have our attachments to the soil; and we feel that we have rights in common with other Americans; and although deprived, through prejudice, from entering into the full enjoyment of those rights, we anticipate a period, when, in despite of the more than ordinary prejudice which has been the result of this unchristian scheme, "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God." But that this formidable society has become a barrier to our improvement, must be apparent to every individual who will but reflect on the course to be pursued by the emissaries of this unhallowed project, many of whom, under the name of ministers of the gospel, use their influence to turn public sentiment to our disadvantage, by stigmatising our morals, misrepresenting our characters, and endeavouring to show what they are pleased to call the sound policy of perpetuating our civil and political disabilities, for the avowed purpose of indirectly forcing us to emigrate to the western coast of Africa. That Africa is neither our nation nor home, a due respect to the good sense of the community forbids us to attempt to prove; that our language, habits, manners, morals, and religion, are all different from those of Africans, is a fact too notorious to admit of controversy. Why then are we called upon to go and settle in a country where we must necessarily be and remain a distinct people, having no common interest with the numerous inhabitants of that vast and extensive country? *Experience has proved, beyond a doubt, that the climate is such as not to suit the constitutions of the inhabitants of this country.* The very numerous instances of mortality amongst the emigrants who have been induced to leave this their native for their adopted country, clearly demonstrate the fallacy of those statements so frequently made by the advocates of colonization in regard to the healthiness of Liberia.

"That we are in this country degraded, we are truly sensible; that our forlorn situation is not attributable to ourselves is admitted by the most ardent friends of colonization; and that our condition cannot be bettered by removing the most exemplary individuals of colour from amongst us, we are well convinced, from the consideration *that in the same ratio that the industrious part would emigrate, in the same proportion those that would remain would become more degraded,*

wretched, and miserable, and consequently less capable of appreciating the many opportunities that are offered for the moral and intellectual improvement of our brethren.

“But if this plan is intended to facilitate the emancipation of those who are held in slavery in the south, and the melioration of their condition, by sending them to Liberia, we question very much whether it is calculated to do either. That the emancipation of slaves has been measurably impeded through its influence, except where they have been given up to the Board of Managers, to be colonized in Africa, to us is manifest.

“Our highest moral ambition, at present, should be to acquire for our children a liberal education, give them mechanical trades, &c., and thus fit and prepare them for useful and respectable citizens.

(Signed)

“A. D. SHAD,
P. SPENCER,
W. S. THOMAS, } Committee.”

EXTRACT FROM NEW BEDFORD RESOLUTIONS, JANUARY, 1832.

“Resolved,—That the Society, to effect its purpose, the removal of the free people of colour, (not the slaves) through its agents, teaches the public to believe that it is patriotic and benevolent to withhold from us knowledge, and the means of acquiring subsistence, and to look upon us as unnatural and illegal residents in this country; and thus, by force of prejudice, if not by law, endeavour to compel us to embark for Africa, and that too, apparently, by our own free will and consent.

Jan. 23, 1832.

(Signed)

“R. JOHNSON, Chairman.”

Mr. Fisher, member of the Virginian House of Delegates, says—“If we wait till the free negroes consent to leave the state we shall wait until time is no more. They never will give their consent.”

Other resolutions similar to the above, of the same persecuted class throughout the United States, show how they are writhing beneath the colonization process.

4. *Have we any other evidence?*

The following, from a mass far too voluminous here to introduce, is offered:—

1.—The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery.

2.—It apologises for slavery and slave-holders, and speaks peace to them in their sins.

3.—It regards slaves as property.

4.—It increases the value of slaves as slaves.

5.—It is an enemy to the immediate substitution of righteous and equal law, for the unrighteous authority of the slave-masters.

6.—It is nourished by fear and selfishness.

7.—It pretends to aim at the utter expulsion of the blacks; that is, of about one-sixth of the whole population of the United States from their native country.

8.—It disparages, traduces, and persecutes the free blacks.

9.—It prevents the instruction of the blacks.

10.—It deceives and misleads the nation.

11.—It makes a disgraceful and criminal peace between the advocates of the blacks and their oppressors.

A few words, and but a few, in proof of each of these assertions. All who wish for more ample testimony, and who feel the dearest interests in time and

in eternity of a multitude of their fellow-men, motive enough for research, may find such testimony abundantly in a pamphlet, for sale at No. 9, Cornhill, Boston, United States, by Pierce and Parker, and entitled "Thoughts on African Colonization," by William Lloyd Garrison. Price 62½ cents, or about 1s. 6d. English.

1.—*The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery.*

"From its origin and throughout the whole period of its existence it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. Throughout the whole period of its existence, this disclaimer has been made, and incontestible facts establish its truth and sincerity."—*From a speech by Henry Clay, the champion of the American Colonization Society.*

2.—*It apologises for slaves and slave-holders, and speaks peace to them in their sins.*

"Our brethren of the south have the same sympathies, the same moral sentiments, the same love of liberty, as ourselves. By them, as by us, slavery is felt to be an evil, a hindrance to our prosperity, and a blot upon our character. But it was in being when they were born, and has been forced upon them by a previous generation."—*Rev. Dr. Nott.*

3.—*It recognises slaves as property.*

"It was proper again and again to repeat that it was far, far from the intention of the Society to affect in any manner the tenure by which a certain species of property is held. He was himself a slave-holder, and he considered that kind of property as inviolable as any in the country."—*Henry Clay.*

"Something he must yet be allowed to say, as regarded the object the Society was set up to accomplish. This object, if he understood it aright, involved no intrusion on property, nor even upon prejudice."—*Mr. Archer, 15th Report.*

4.—*It increases the value of slaves, and therefore gives the masters new motives to retain them.*

"They will contribute more effectually to the continuance and strength of this system (i. e. negro slavery) by removing those now free, than by any, or all other methods, which can possibly be devised. Such has been the opinion expressed by southern gentlemen of the first talent and distinction." "Our belief is the same as theirs." *African Repository*, p. 227, vol. 1.

"The execution of this scheme would augment, instead of diminishing, the value of property left behind."—*Idem*, vol. 2, p. 22.

5.—*It is an enemy to the immediate substitution of righteous and equal law, for the unrighteous authority of the slave-master.*

"To eradicate or remove the evil immediately is impossible, nor can any law of conscience govern necessity."—*African Repository*, vol. 1, p. 251.

"The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is nowise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a few fanatics in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery."—*Idem*, vol. 3, p. 197.

6.—*It is nourished by fear and selfishness.*

"Another reason is the pressing and vital importance of relieving ourselves as soon as practicable from this most dangerous element in our population."—*14th Report.*

"To remove these persons from among us will increase the usefulness and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and with whose labours the country is unable to dispense."—*African Repository*, vol. 3, p. 67.

“Hatred to the whites, with the exception in some cases of an attachment to the person and family of the master, is nearly universal among the black population. We have then a foe, *cherished!* in our very bosoms; a foe willing to draw our life-blood whenever the opportunity is offered, and in the meantime intent upon doing us all the mischief in his power.”—*Southern Religious Telegraph*.

And what wonder, while this foe is *cherished*, in the manner in which the poor negro is *cherished!* The people of the United States are not so remarkable for *loving* to be *trampled* upon, and for *kissing* the foot which *spurns* them, that they have any reason for surprise when they find that *other men as good as any*, and *with as full and as unforfeited a title to social liberty as the best*, love to be trampled upon and outraged as little as they do. The way to remedy sin is not to persist in it, or to substitute one wrong for another.

7.—*It covertly aims at the utter expulsion of the blacks, that is, about one-sixth of the whole population of the United States.*

“No scheme of abolition will meet with my support that leaves the *emancipated* blacks among us.”—*Af. Rep. vol. 2, p. 188.*

“How important it is, as it respects our character abroad, that we hasten to clear our land of our black population.

“What right, I demand, have the *children of Africa*,” that is, the *coloured natives of the United States*, “to a homestead in the *white man’s country*,” that is, in the country which the white man has torn from the red man, and from which, after having accomplished all his own nefarious purposes with him, he is hastening to exile the black?

“The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied with this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other.”—*Mr. Mercer’s Speech in Congress.*

8.—*It disparages, traduces, and persecutes the free blacks.*

“Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.”—*Af. Rep. vol. 2, p. 328.*

“The free blacks in our country are, *as a body*, more vicious and degraded than any other which our population embraces.”—*Idem. vol. 5, p. 24.*

“The increase of a free black population among us has been regarded as a greater evil than the increase of slaves.”—*Idem, vol. 3, p. 374.*

“Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of colour are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned.”—*Idem, vol. 6, p. 12.*

9.—*It prevents the instruction of the blacks.*

“The habits, the feelings, the prejudices of society, prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself, can subdue, mark the people of colour, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation, *inevitable and incurable.*”

“Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the coloured man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but *an ordination of Providence*, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature!”—*15th Report, 17th page.*

When, ah when, will sinners cease to palm their sins upon God!

“If the free coloured people were generally taught to read it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country, (that is, in their native country!) We would offer them no such inducement.”—*Southern Religious Telegraph, February 19, 1831.*

“The public safety of our brethren at the south requires them (the slaves) to be kept ignorant and uninstructed.”—*G. P. Dissosway, Esq. an eminent Colonizationist.*

“It is the business of the free (their safety requires it) to keep the slaves in ignorance. But a few days ago, a proposition was made in the Legislature of Georgia to allow them so much instruction as to enable them to read the Bible; which was promptly rejected by a large majority.”—*Proceedings of New York State Colonization Society at its second anniversary.*

E. B. Caldwell, the first secretary of the American Colonization Society, in his speech at its formation, recommended them to be kept “in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation, for (says he) the nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy !”

10.—*It deceives and misleads the nation.*

At one time the colonizationists say, “Admitting that the colonization scheme contemplates the utter abolition of slavery, yet that result could only be produced by the gradual and slow operation of centuries.”—*African Repository*, page 217. And yet, by a scheme like this, it satisfies its proselytes that they are doing their duty, and that they are going to abolish slavery !

Again,—Mr. Clay, their champion, says, “Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.”—And multitudes believe him !

Again,—“As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the United States. That is, if you take an equal number of inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers and sabbath breakers, &c. than in Liberia. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than I ever saw it in the United States.”—*J. Mechlin, jun. Governor of Liberia.*

Now, leaving magic out of the case, let us allow this to be true, and what pitiable and criminal insanity does it mark in the United States, to transport such a people,—or having transported them, not to send the ships of the nation to entreat them back instantly to evangelize their native country. Or let us deem it false, and how base and cruel is the decoy, which is thus held out to us, to patronize a system so nefarious.

The American Colonization Society tells us, that the exiles in Liberia consist of *emancipated slaves*. But this is a deception. They consist chiefly of *free people of colour*. Now why have they not really sent, and *only sent, emancipated slaves* instead of free people of colour, seeing they have, as they say, so many thousands offered to them for that purpose? Will they reply, “We have sent free people of colour, because they are more virtuous, and it was necessary to lay an intelligent and virtuous foundation?” Then how obvious and cruel is their slander, as above quoted, against the free people of colour! Or will they reply, “Oh, we have made a careful selection between the virtuous and vicious?” Then where will the selection be when they begin to transport Mr. Clay’s *six or fifty six thousand missionaries* yearly!

The American Colonization Society pretends that it costs but twenty dollars each to send the exiles to Liberia. On the other hand, we have a report to the Senate of the United States, made in 1828, by Mr. Tazewell, arguing that the expense must be 100 dollars per head, perhaps twice as much,—and very convincing reasons are given in favour of this estimate.

Again, the American Colonization Society pretends that it has abolished the African slave trade to a vast extent. But in their *African Repository*, vol. 5. p. 274, I read “It has been declared felony, it has been declared piracy; and the fleets of Britain and America have been commissioned to drive it from the ocean. Still, in defiance of all this array of legislation and armament, slave ships ride triumphantly on the ocean; and in these floating caverns from sixty to eighty thousand wretches are borne annually away to slavery or death. Of these wretches a frightful number are, with an audacity that amazes, landed and disposed of *within the jurisdiction of this republic.*”

“The fact that much was done by Mr. Ashmun to banish it from the territory

under the colonial jurisdiction, is unquestionable, but it now exists even on this territory; and a little to the north and south of Liberia it is seen in its true characters, of fraud, rapine, and blood. In the opinion of the late agent the present efforts to suppress this trade must prove abortive."—*13th Annual Report*.

"Some appalling facts in regard to the slave trade have come to the knowledge of the Board of Managers, during the last year. With undiminished atrocity and activity is this odious traffic now carried on all along the African coast. Slave factories are established in the immediate vicinity of the colony; and at the Gallinas (between Liberia and Sierra Leone) not less than 900 slaves were shipped during the last summer, in the space of three weeks."—*14th Ann. Report*, 1831.

And here it may be well to observe, that *as long as negro slavery lasts, all colonies on the African coast, of whatever description, must tend to support it, because, in all commerce, the supply is more or less proportioned to the demand. The demand exists in negro slavery; the supply arises from the African slave trade. And what greater convenience could the African slave traders desire than shops well stored all along the coast, with the very articles which their trade demands. That the African slave traders do get thus supplied at Sierra Leone and Liberia is matter of official evidence;* and we know, from the nature of human things, that they will get so supplied, in defiance of all law or precaution, as long as the demand calls for the supply, and there are free shops stored with all that they want at hand. The shopkeeper, however honest, would find it impossible always to distinguish between the African slave trader or his agents and other dealers. And how many shopkeepers are there any where that would be over scrupulous in questioning a customer with a full purse?*

11. *The American Colonization Society makes a disgraceful and criminal peace between freemen and slave-masters.*

One extract may suffice. It is from the 13th Report, page 12. Mr. Frelinghausen, one of the finest minds in the United States, is speaking.

"Yes, Sir, I ascribe it chiefly to the kindly influence of this Society, that the indiscriminate clamours, once so liberally dealt out, have all died away. I hail the return of better feelings, of juster views. We now, Sir, regard the mischief as of common and universal concern. The language of harsh and unjust crimination and reproach is succeeded by that of sympathy and kindness!"—That is, formerly freemen used to feel and speak like freemen, like real lovers of righteous liberty, in their intercourse with slave-holders. But now the freeman smiles courteously upon the oppressor of his unoffending brother, and joins in all his slaveholding sympathies! Such is the American Colonization Society.

But the free blacks have not always been thus traduced and persecuted. There have been occasions when the truth has been wrung out, and when, under the power of the emergency, their persecutors themselves have left an imperishable record of their own infamy, whenever they dare to slander, as they are doing, this afflicted and outraged class.

In the great plague in Philadelphia, (yellow fever,) just after the revolutionary war, the mayor of the city officially acknowledged the public gratitude due to the free coloured people, for their eminent services in the very jaws of death.

In the *Friend*, an American paper of Jan. 28, 1832, speaking of the late dreadful fire in Raleigh, Virginia, we read "Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the coloured population, who used every exertion in their power to be serviceable."

During the public emergency at New Orleans, in the last war, the free

* In reference to the fact here stated, see Parliamentary Papers, No. 364, "Slave Trade, Sierra Leone," ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 6th April, 1832, page 11, Mr. Hilary Teague.

coloured people were called upon in common with the whites, and their services were thus recorded by General Jackson :—

“Soldiers,—When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens, I expected much from you, for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well how you loved your *native* country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear, his parents, relations, wife, children, and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I find, moreover, among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things.

“Soldiers,—The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger; and the representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your deeds entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardour.

“The enemy approaches; his vessels cover our lakes; *our brave citizens are united*, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valour, or who the most glory, its noblest reward?

“By order, (Signed) THOMAS BUTLER, Aid-de-Camp.”

In Philadelphia, by the census of 1830, the proportion of the free-coloured people to the whites, was about *one-ninth*. But in the same year, during the time of the greatest need, the proportion of the free coloured out-of-door paupers, receiving regular weekly supplies, only about *one-twenty-third*. that is, in proportion to their several numbers, there was twice as much extreme pauperism amongst the whites as amongst the free blacks. One cause of this disproportion deserves to be particularly noticed; it is, *that they have numerous societies amongst themselves for mutual aid*; and this, while they are commonly confined to the lowest offices of the community, and the most honourable and profitable professions are generally closed against them.

In the winter of 1830, wood for fuel became excessively dear at Rochester, a flourishing town in the State of New York. A benevolent society was quickly formed, and a general visitation commenced. The visitors entered in their course the house of a free coloured labouring man, and found that he was possessed of a large store of the finest wood. They offered to purchase it from him; he refused; they tempted him with a higher price, he calmly and steadily refused. “But you must let us have it,” they said, “for hundreds of the poor are perishing of cold.” “Oh,” said the man, “is that what you want it for? then take half of it freely? I want no price.” He gave the half, and would receive nothing. And these are the people whom the colonizationists are traversing land and sea to get transported from their native country.

Not long ago, our own whites were as insanely cruel in principle in our own wretched slave colonies, only no process equally cruel had occurred to them for the development of their dreadful insanity. But now, righteousness has so far prevailed, that these same abhorred and slandered free-coloured people have been placed upon a par in law with the whites; and the first men in the assembly of Jamaica, I mean the first in manly and generous principle, as far as their public conduct in the assembly qualifies us to judge of them, are *actually coloured men*. Yes, the names of Watkis and of Maunderson, in these particulars, will live in the hearts of every lover of righteousness, while the remembrance of the supporters of slavery, whenever truth and law shall prevail over prejudice and tyranny, shall present no fairer picture than that of the felon—

felons in heart and in deed, and only not called and treated as felons, for a time, because the *lawless* laws of their country, *then* put darkness for light, and light for darkness: *then* called evil good, and good evil. Is not the African slave trade now called felony? And what has made it more *felony* now, than it was while it *was honourable and legal*? Do human laws alter the nature of things, or can man subvert the constitutions of his Maker? And what *real* difference is there between negro slavery and the African slave trade? What, but that negro slavery is the parent, and the African slave trade the child *worthy* of its sire. What, but that negro slavery is the cause, and the African slave trade the consequence *worthy* of its cause. Is not the one as fundamentally as the other, a system of robbery and wrong? What article of property in the world is so inalienably his, and so sacredly dear to every man, as his own personal liberty? and if the man who purloins my purse, or plunders or burns my house—these unspeakably lesser and poorer things—be worthy of the last penalty of the law, of *what* is the man *worthy*, whoever he be, and whatever be the law for the time,—of what, I say, is he *worthy* who plunders his unoffending and guiltless neighbour of his personal liberty? Or, if this be not felony—felony I mean in the nature of things—unalterably and everlastingly felony—and felony of the highest grade, next to intentional and malignant murder—what is felony? Where shall we find right? and what can be wrong? Or, what would then be wanting, but the opportunity, the power, and the legality, to sanction the most atrocious deeds?

5.—*Now, what is our duty?*

Is it to encourage a society which is riveting his chains upon the unoffending slave; and which is embittering and strengthening the most atrocious of all prejudices against the persecuted free black man?

Is it to encourage a society, which while it assails slavery in Africa, is spreading the kindest shadow of its wings over a worse slavery in the United States?

Is it to encourage a society, which can so impudently presume upon our ignorance, as to represent a low, fertile, moist, and imperfectly cultivated region within eight degrees of the equator, as a Paradise of healthfulness, to a class of people, tens of thousands of whom are the natives of the finest regions of the temperate climates, and of highly cultivated states?

Is it to encourage a society which so daringly traduces another colony, as to pretend that Liberia is the most healthful, while every one who pleases may know, that the sea-face and the upper settlements of the mountain ridge of Sierra Leone, is as healthful as Cape Messurada, and is ten times as extensive; while the whole of the remainder, whether of Sierra Leone or Liberia, has alike the putrid climate which is common all over the world to lands of the same description similarly situated?

Is it to encourage a society, which recognises the *right* of the *slave-master*, as a right which ought to be soothed; as a right which righteous law ought not instantly to overturn, and from rebuking] which in its pride, truth and love should refrain?

Is it to encourage a society which carries death to the spirit of Christian enterprise, by substituting a plan which so harmonises with wickedness, that sinners the most unbending in this respect can delight in it?

Is it to encourage a society which invites us to lend our aid to the moral and religious degradation of our honoured brethren of the United States; to sap with their worst enemies the glorious principles of Christian truth which are growing there; to sanction *free men* in holding *slaves*, and *Christians*!! in plundering without compunction, God's unoffending and prostrate poor?

But, what is our duty?

Britons, Christians, awake! The time past of our lives is enough to have wrought the will of the Gentiles. We ought not to seek, we do not want the aid of Satan in doing the work of God. Ours is the business to abolish negro slavery in our own colonies,—to abolish it instantly and utterly,—to substitute at once, for the *lawless laws* which display its guilt and record its infamy, laws which shall be worthy of a great, free, and Christian people. This is our duty. Every moment that we delay, our guilt is increasing; and more and more deeply is entering into the ears of Jehovah of hosts, the cry of the labourer whose wages we are keeping back by fraud: of the slave, whose innocent blood we are shedding. Britons, Christians, awake! Still it is day; still the opportunity lasts. Awake! awake! lest, like the thunderbolt which ushered in the waters of the Flood, the dreadful words should break too late upon our ears, “Oh, Britain, Britain! thou that plunderedst my unoffending poor, and dravedst them by thousands to death; thou that reviledst and resistedst them that were sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thee, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but ye would not. “Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.”—Matt. xxiii. 38.

Let us remember, that *preparing* to do right is *continuing* to do wrong; that we *cannot* at once serve God and mammon! In relation to the American Colonization Society, let us prove that we love the members which compose it, by not suffering sin upon them, but by doing all that we can to bring them to repentance, that they may neither perish nor destroy; but may obtain everlasting life, through him who died that sinners might not die; and who says to us, with all the pathos of heavenly love, “Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought to love one another.”

In relation to the free coloured people, if we wish to help them, let us help them to be happy in their native country, instead of helping to drive them *voluntarily* into exile in a distant and barbarous land. Their real friends at home are actively aiding them to rise there, by assailing the brutal prejudice which outrages them, and by helping them with the means of religious, moral, and intellectual culture. Amongst themselves they are alert in forming societies for their mutual provision, edification, and comfort. With the aid of their real friends amongst the whites, they are erecting schools and preparing to found a college. And in view of their present degradation through the insane prejudice which outrages them, and particularly of the aggravated wrongs to which they have become subjected by the horrible growth of colonization principles, they have resolved, as a body, while the laughing white man still holds his processions, and clamours out his joy by ten thousand commingled voices on his occasions of revelry, they have resolved, I say, when the anniversaries of their few privileges return, (the dearer because few,) to express their gratitude, *without parade and without tumult*, to the God who is everlastingly the friend of the poor, and the avenger of the oppressed.—And shall we join in goading such a people as this to fly from their native country,—and then cry, even in the face of everlasting truth, “They are doing it voluntarily!!!”

In relation to the enslaved Americans.—Let us give what we *can* give to the societies in the United States which seek their emancipation at home, instead of their exile far away, amongst an uncivilised people. Let us remember that exile *is* exile, though it be better than slavery. And if any defender of slavery, or excuser of guilt, should start up and say, that this is out of the question, because the United States Government has no legal right to abolish slavery at home, let him know, that the United States Government, being eminently a Government of

public opinion, may be moulded, as it has been formed, by public opinion; that all that is requisite, is to correct public opinion; that the way to do this is not to pander to its wickedness, but to assail its wickedness by the all-conquering weapons of truth and love; that meanwhile each State has even now the legal title within its own jurisdiction; that the free people of each State have the power to reform their Governments; and that the general Government has already the right in its own territory of Columbia.

Of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, the principles are as unobjectionable as is simple and everlasting truth. The President is Arnold Buffum; the secretary is William Lloyd Garrison; the treasurer, Michael H. Simpson, Boston, Massachusetts. The annual subscription is two dollars, or about nine shillings; and the life subscription, fifteen dollars. This is the channel in which Christian and British love may flow towards the blacks, whether of America or of Africa, without inconsistency and without hypocrisy. I say, of America and of Africa alike; for the cultivation of the blacks of the United States, in their own glorious country, will better provide for the missionary service of Africa than all the *colonization missionaries* in the world.

And if it should yet be said, "But the white people of the United States are so invincibly the slaves of this most base and cruel prejudice, that they never will avail themselves of their glorious privileges to put it down, or to give their Governments the power which is requisite," our plain answer is,—There are Bibles in America; there are ministers in America; God is in America; and God has children in America; and God can win the civilised sinner, as well as the savage, to repentance. It is as true in America as elsewhere, that "Great is truth, and truth shall prevail;" and if the ministers of the Gospel have not yet proclaimed it, let them henceforward lift up their voice, like a trumpet, and show to the people their sins; and let every one who can read open his Bible and read, and take his Bible to the poor slave who cannot read, and read to him, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."—2 Cor. x. 4, 5.

In relation to Africa itself, let us freely assist in pouring missionaries on her shores; but not such missionaries as the American Colonization Society recommends. Young women, torn away from their country and their friends, that their race may perish from the scenes of their childhood;—thousands, or tens of thousands of writhing and untutored minds, who have fled into exile in order to escape from slavery;—speculators in commerce, or hunters of land, to whom commercial or agricultural enterprise is dearer far than immortal souls;—multitudes of needy and ignorant poor, who can have neither leisure nor knowledge to set up for instructors. But *missionaries*, such as Christian love elsewhere supplies,—such as there are in Liberia,—such as there are in Sierra Leone and on the Gambia,—such as there are at home and abroad,—but such as are always few; the jewels amongst mankind,—which can be got wholesale, by thousands and tens of thousands, *no where*.

And in relation to the people at large of the United States, what are they but our brethren,—of one race and of one sort with ourselves? Where is the man in Britain who has not a father, mother, brother, sister, friend, in the United States? Who but they are sending out with us the glorious Bible over the whole world? Who keep pace with us, or go before us, but they, in every effort of Christian love? From whence, like the United States, do we hear the soul

humbling and soul ennobling voice of Revivals? And do we not owe our Temperance Societies to them? Shall we then foster in the United States a source of ruin, beneath which we ourselves are writhing, and to the deadly guilt of which we have awakened? Shall we encourage the United States in stiffening their necks against God and against their unoffending brother? Shall we speak peace to the oppressor while he is impenitent? or shall we assist in outraging the weak because the strong invite us courteously to their whitewashed revel? No. The United States are worthy of better things. By the ties of blood,—by the stronger ties of love, woven for ever round many of our hearts,—by the ties of Christ, stronger than all,—we owe better things to the United States. Let us remonstrate with them; let us rebuke them even as brother rebukes the brother whom he loves; let us recal them to Jesus, from whose word and whose example, in this respect, they are so fearfully wandering; let us set them the example even as the father should set the example of all righteousness to the child of his heart; and if they will still cause the poor negro to perish; if they will still refuse to allow him any alternative but *slavery, persecution, or exile*, let the applause and the reward be theirs alone. We shall have cleared our skirts of their blood, in having done all that we could do to win them to repentance and to love. Of their blood did I say? And will they die? I cannot believe it. Truth is striding forth in his glory amongst them; love has softened, and is softening, many of their proudest hearts. The Gospel is proclaimed in their ears by men like Paul: and from the gray hair and from the lisping lip; from the vigour of maturity and from the freshness of youth; where the sunrise assembly is convened for prayer, and where the silence of the closet witnesses the communion between His children and their God, a heart-voice is arising from black and white alike that never rises in vain. No: the people of the United States—Davids in the matter of Uriah, though they be, in relation to the black man—the people of the United States cannot perish; for there are praying souls amongst them, souls that agonize for their people, with their God. And even now, perhaps, some Nathan is receiving his commission to cry, with converting power, to the slave-master, and to the colonizationist, “Thou art the man!”

Finally: Let not the coloured man, whether enslaved or free, be discouraged—God left his own chosen people 400 years in Egypt, (Gen. xv. 13.) while the Egyptians and the Amorites were, year by year, filling up the measure of their iniquities and making themselves altogether meet for destruction. The same God is God still, and still the poor and the oppressed are as much his care as ever; and still as much as ever He resisteth the proud, and is the enemy of the oppressor. Bear up, brethren! God has children and servants both amongst yourselves and abroad, who enter into all your sympathies, and who are carrying you on their hearts in prayer, to His mercy-seat. Take courage! verdant as the bay-leaf, though be the flourishing of the wicked for a season, yet he shall perish. *He is heaping treasure together for the last days.* James v. 3. Thus saith the Lord, “I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man that shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, and fearest continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy. And where is the fury of the oppressor!” Isa. li, 12, 13.

Be of good courage, brethren! Christianity is shaking off its dust: the rottenness of the whited sepulchres is coming out; the Gospel is resuming its healing power; there *is* balm in Gilead; there *is* a physician there. The moral sense

of the world is awakening ;—Despotism is quailing—Falsehood is uncovering—Truth is about to triumph—Liberty to be restored—and *Prejudice*, that fiend of darkness, that bane of the earth, that brand of the white man, searing him with infamy ; that bane of the black man, tightening his chains or condemning him to exile—*Prejudice* shall be abolished, and over it, as over Babylon, soon shall be written, “ Prejudice, the tyrant of the tyrant—the waster of the poor—the liar—the coward—the mother of abominations, is fallen, is fallen ! ”

And here, in concluding, let us once more advert to the alternatives mentioned in page 7, viz.—open butchery,—emancipation and incorporation,—abandonment of the country by the masters,—or draining off the blacks, by transporting them to a distant and barbarous land.

And, while we admire and adore the benevolent designs of an all-gracious God, as manifested in South America, by the emancipation and amalgamation of the whole coloured race ;—let us abhor and reject the object of the American Colonization Society, which would frustrate those benevolent designs, and keep the family of man asunder, by preventing the increase of the coloured people, whether enslaved or free, and by getting rid of their finest minds, that those, who remain behind, may always continue a separate and degraded class.





