





MARYLAND

COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

THE PACKET AFLOAT!!

In our August No. we announced the “Liberia Packet Under Contract,” and thereupon made some little rejoicings in our way, but as it has got to be something of an old story, dwelt upon in our three last numbers, and elucidated by wood cuts, &c. we have now but one word to say, and that is, she is launched and being rapidly finished, and *will*, extraordinaries excepted, be on her way to her destined port, freighted with goods and emigrants, before the 1st of December, and probably by the 26th of the present month, to-day one week. We shall be most happy to forward any packages or letters to any of the Liberia Colonies, or to take any cabin passengers out, for which there are most excellent accommodations, on the usual terms; or, which will gratify us more than any thing else, we will receive more emigrants, which we are confident we should be sure of doing beyond our ability, were one-tenth part of the free coloured people in Baltimore to visit the vessel and see the manner in which the lower cabin is fitted up. We will venture to say that there is not a vessel in the United States, even of the largest capacity, that could furnish such accommodations as our Packet, for what are called Steerage Passengers. Come and look at her!

A MISAPPREHENSION.

We have but a moment to notice a subject of which we shall have more to say in our next No., and that is, the misapprehending of the sentiment, object or intent of certain articles that have appeared in this Journal. For instance, we this day received the amount of subscription due for the Journal from an old subscriber and an *acting* colonizationist, (one who has helped us otherwise than by words,) and an order for its discontinuance on the ground of its tendency to party abolitionism. We required of the messenger, apparently a respectable, intelligent man, to point out the obnoxious paragraph; when he referred us to one in our October No. copied from an abolition print; and taken by itself, it certainly must have been considered very objectionable to every good citizen of the Union, not to say of a slaveholding State. But had our subscriber noted that the offensive paragraph, and the three preceding ones, almost equally obnoxious, were referred to in the leading editorial article, it would have been apparent that they were inserted altogether in way of censure, and to prove the doctrine advanced in that article, and on which the whole system of African colonization is based, is correct, viz. “That the coloured man can never find a *free* home in this country.”

INFORMATION FOR ENQUIRING MINDS.

We find the following work ready cut and finished to our hands in the last No. of the African Repository, and we have to tender our thanks to the editor for the execution of it. The objections stated by the editor's correspondent seem to be almost innumerable, but they don't half equal the number that we have heard made, (although we never yet urged a man to go to Liberia,) their name truly is legion, and certainly the advocates for the equality of the races of man can prove the African's claim to a boundless imagination as an off-set for what he may be alledged to lack. The *few* objections here urged we *know* to be fairly and truly answered, and we earnestly advise our coloured friends to well consider them.

LETTER FROM A FRIEND IN VIRGINIA.

To the Editor of the African Repository :

I have lately had many interviews with the free coloured people in different parts of this State, and I have thought some statement of facts in regard to them might be interesting to your readers, and that if you would reply to some of their difficulties and objections to colonization, it might benefit many of them who read your paper.

We have in this State, (Virginia,) a very large class of coloured people who are *free*. Some of them have obtained their freedom by their own energy and perseverance, having raised the money and bought themselves. Others have been set free by their masters on account of their long and faithful services. Others have been born free, and they have multiplied their numbers greatly. It is probable that their increase is more rapid in Virginia, than in any other State, north or south. Several satisfactory causes for this, will suggest themselves to every reflecting mind.

Many of these people are highly respectable. As servants of some of the best families in the State they have been well brought up. On becoming free they have retained their industrious habits, and with economy and prudence, they have contrived to live well, and to lay up something for the future. Some of them have accumulated quite a handsome property.—Some of them too have educated their children and themselves to some extent, and deserve much credit for what they have thus accomplished under accumulated obstacles.

Would that I could give thus good an account of them all. But alas! This cannot be done. There are too many of them, of whom, directly the reverse of all this is true. They are degraded, poor, wretched, and totally destitute of any idea of ever bettering their condition. They seem never yet to have taken in the idea that either virtue or respectability was to be expected from them; and as the influences all around them have a depressing rather than an elevating tendency, there is none but the most forlorn hope for them. Had they their feelings of independence, or rather of self-dependence and self-respect, which ought of right to belong to men who are free, or were the surrounding influences different from what they are, there would be some possibility of reaching them with some redeeming power. But as it is, there seems no means by which their condition can be successfully bettered. Every appeal to them is totally ineffectual: and there is no prospect of so altering their external condition, as to put beneath them an agency which would force them up to respectability. They are not the kind of persons you need to send to Liberia, and they are totally averse to going, if they were. They are incapable of appreciating any one of the motives for changing their situation.

This is the worst side of the picture. These remarks apply to the "*lowest* of the people." Let me leave them here, and speak of those *above* them.

Among the better class of coloured people there is considerable inquiries in regard to Liberia. They however are "slow to believe." It requires the greatest prudence and caution rightly to impart to them information.— They are naturally suspicious of every plan proposed for bettering their condition. They cling with surprising tenacity to the hope that the day will come when they shall be relieved from the disabilities which at present bind them down, and shall be instated in rights and privileges in this country equal to the most favoured citizens. There are enemies enough to colonization to keep evil reports in circulation in regard to Liberia, which they readily embrace and believe, and thus they prejudice the case, and are not in a state of mind to weigh calmly the reasons for emigration.

I have been constantly beset with cavilings like the following, viz :

1. Why do the whites wish to get clear of us, and send us away to that land?

2. If we must live by ourselves, why do you not give us some place in the United States, where there is room enough?

3. Why do not some of the citizens of Liberia come back and let us see them personally, and learn from their own lips all about their condition there?

4. What evidence is there that, if we go to Liberia, and do well for a time, we shall not some day be oppressed by other nations, and subject to all the cruelties which our ancestors have suffered in being torn from their native land?

I have also been met with objections, honestly made by some, by others cavalingly, like the following, viz :

1. I do not want to go where there are no white people. I do not believe in the control of negroes. I have seen too much of them. They will never do for me.

2. I do not want to go there to die. Every body dies there. It is too sickly for me. If I do not die naturally, the wild beasts will eat me up. I cannot live among snakes and alligators.

3. I have heard that the colonists are engaged in the *slave trade*, and I never could stand that.

4. They have to eat *roots* there. They cannot get any bacon and cabbage there, nor any thing like what we live on here.

5. If I go there and do not like it, they will not let me come away again.

6. I have no money to begin with, if I go there, and I know I could not get along that way.

I have seen some persons who are sincerely desirous to go to Liberia, and are anxious for information on the following points, viz :

1. At what season of the year is it best to start, or to arrive there?

2. How long is the voyage, and is there much danger that we shall be lost on the way?

3. What ought we to take with us, both for use on the voyage and after we get there?

4. How much land is given to each emigrant?

5. Can I educate my children there, and what will it cost?

6. Will the Colonization Society pay my expenses in getting there?

In answer to these inquiries, I have given such facts as I had at command. But I have thought that it would be well for you to give a short answer to them, and publish it in the Repository. Many of them read it regularly, and though you may have said all that could be said, in one form or another, yet they need "line upon line, and precept upon precept."

Yours, very respectfully,

R— L—.

EDITORIAL REPLY TO THE INQUIRIES IN THE ABOVE.

It will not be a difficult matter to furnish an answer to any inquiry and objection stated in the preceding communication, perfectly satisfactory to ourselves. But they may be far otherwise to many of the coloured people. We fully appreciate the difficulty of making them rightly understand all the bearings and blessings of colonization, and of convincing them that it presents to them the very highest good that they will ever enjoy in this world. In our mind there is not a doubt of this. We are as fully persuaded that colonization opens to the coloured people of this country the only bright prospect that lies before them in all the broad future, as we are of our own existence. But our conviction of the fact, and the ability to convince them, are too vastly different things. Could they be brought to look at the whole subject as we do, they would, without doubt, think as we do.

If we can contribute any thing towards this desirable work, it will not be labour lost. Gladly shall our best services be rendered in this way. In conversing with coloured people we have often encountered the objections. They are to be met in every town and village, and wherever the subject is agitated.

In reply to the first set of "cavilings," the following statement of facts may be relied upon:

1. It is not true that the friends of colonization are actuated by no higher motive than "to get clear of the coloured people." They do not propose to *send* them to Liberia contrary to their own wishes. Their will is always consulted in the matter. We have no power to *send* them. They can stay here as long as they wish. But our opinion is that their stay in this country will ever be attended with such depressing influences as to render it any thing but desirable. While, on the contrary, their departure to Liberia will bring them into an entirely new set of circumstances, where a vast field of advancement will be opened to them, and the most powerful motives be brought to bear upon them to lift them up in the scale of being. In this country, we see no prospect of their ever rising above their present level. There no power can prevent them from rising.

Another consideration on this point. If we wish to *get clear* of them, and this only, we certainly are labouring with but very little prospect of obtaining our *wish*. The number transported to Liberia bears so little comparison to their natural increase, that to continue the progress with no other motive than merely to *get clear* of them, would be the blankest business in the wide world. This, therefore, cannot be the reason why we give and labour to support colonization, and urge its claims and benefits upon them, from time to time, with all the ardor of our minds.

2. Will they please to designate what particular place in the United States they would like to have assigned to them? Where is there a spot not wanted by the white man? How rapidly is our population spreading over the whole country? What has been the fate of the poor Indian? Where is his resting place? Where his home, not ever to be disturbed by the march of civilization? Could the coloured people hope for a better destiny than has been his?

Will they go west of the Rocky Mountains? Ask them. And if they were there and comfortably fixed, what assurance have they, that their descendants will be allowed quietly to remain there?

Why do they not go to *Canada*? Many of their brethren have gone there. Great sympathy has been expressed for them by the present inhabitants of Canada, and the people of England. Why do they not avail themselves of this sympathy and go there in large masses? They know the reason. We need not imagine it.

Will they go to a *free State*? Some of them have tried this, and have rued the day they ever set foot on free soil. The reception the "Randolph negroes" (as they are now called in Ohio) met with, is warning to them on this subject.

No! There is no place for them in this country. It is not their land, and they never can be made at home here. There are difficulties in the way which no power of man can remove.

They feel this and sometimes acknowledge it, when they would not.—Some time last year a convention was held by them in the northern part of Ohio, at which it was proposed to adopt a plan of colonization in some distant part of this country, but it met with more bitter opposition and fierce denunciation, than did ever the hated scheme of African colonization, and the majority carried the day, and resolved that they would contend to the death for their rights on the soil where they were born!

3. Why do not the citizens of Liberia come back and tell their own story? Who would believe them, if they were to? Many of them have come—have gone to their friends and their kindred, and have, in the simplicity of their hearts, told how they lived and what their prospects were; and then have been told that they were *paid by the Colonization Society to tell this story*, and their own kindred refused to believe them! And when they have gone among strangers and presented a true picture of Liberia, they have been charged with trying to persuade men to go there, simply because it would benefit those already there! In this kind of treatment, but little encouragement is found for them to repeat their visit to this country. Beside this, it costs both time and money to come to this country and go every where to tell of the condition of Liberia. Who among the coloured people here would be willing to make such a sacrifice for their race?

If they want to understand the true condition and prospects of Liberia, why do they not send out an agent to see for them, and return and report the facts? This would certainly be a most feasible plan for arriving at some correct understanding of the case.

4. There does not seem to us any danger of the citizens of Liberia ever being subjected to the disastrous end alluded to in the fourth cavil. Liberia, though very young yet, is fast rising into the dignity and grandeur of full grown manhood. Its growth and government has excited some feeling in some parts of the world. But there is nothing of danger to be apprehended. And as to the *slave trade* ever getting its victims from among the citizens of Liberia, it cannot be thought of for a moment.

We consider the government of Liberia firmly established. It possesses sufficient stability and intelligence to warrant its permanent future existence.

The safeguard against any disastrous result is to be found in the virtue and education of those who support it. It will be just what they choose to make it. If, therefore, any of the coloured people in this country are solicitous on this point, they ought, without delay, to cast in their mite to strengthen the hands of their fellow men, and thus do all in their power for the salvation of their race.

In reply to the six objections made to going to Liberia, we state briefly:

1. This objection argues a very bad state of mind in him who makes it. It shows that he has not a decent self-respect, or that he has very inadequate ideas of the capabilities of his race. If his ideas of *negro* government have been formed from the conduct of some coloured overseer on a plantation, then he ought to know that a government of law and order, regularly established and administered by coloured men, for their own mutual benefit, is another and a very different thing. And if he has the principles and character of a man, he may stand a fair chance of rising to the head of the government, and then surely he need not complain of undue rigor.

2. For acclimated emigrants, Liberia is as healthy as any other country. Their bills of mortality show this. The census published and circulated so widely in all parts of this country prove it.

And farther than this, there is very little danger of dying in the process of acclimation, if the patient takes proper care of himself. Of the emigrants sent out during the last five years, not *one* in *twenty* has died from the effects of the acclimating fever.

We have never heard of a single colonist having been eaten up by the wild beasts, and think, therefore, that there must be some mistake as to the danger from that source.

3. We can hardly speak gravely in answer to this objection. We lately heard of a gentleman of some distinction, who had been on board of one of our men-of-war on the African coast, and therefore claimed to be well-informed as to the actual state of things at Liberia, and who said that it was generally believed that the colonists were engaged in the slave trade; and he mentioned the name of one person, of whose participation in that horrible traffic there was no doubt. But it so happened that we knew the said person, and that he had not been in Liberia for several years, and that he is now residing in the city of Philadelphia.

By the laws of Liberia, it is a capital offence to be engaged in the slave trade. And not only are the colonists entirely free from blame, and above suspicion in this matter, but they also have exerted a redeeming influence upon the native tribes in their vicinity. One of the first articles in all the treaties made with the natives, binds them to abandon forever all participation in the slave trade. It is a fact, which is notorious, that the establishment of Liberia has driven the slave trade entirely away from more than three hundred miles along the sea coast, with the exception of one single factory.

It is, therefore, entirely too late in the day to charge this crime on the colonists.

4. Is there anything in the climate or soil of Liberia that should make *roots* more unwholesome or unpalatable as an article of food there than they are in this country? It is a fact that they eat *roots* there, and so they do here, and in the form of sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, turnips, &c. They are here generally much admired, and we see no good reason why the same thing should not be true of them in Liberia.

There is no danger of starvation in Liberia. There is no difficulty in getting plenty to eat, of good wholesome food. It is true that some articles of diet eaten here cannot be gotten there without much inconvenience. But it is also true that there are many vegetables and fruits there, which are not found here; and that nature has furnished an abundant supply of the kind of food best calculated to promote the health and comfort of people living on that soil, and in that climate.

5. It is not true that the Society does not allow any body to return, when once they have gone to Liberia. Every colonist there is as free to stay, or leave and go where he pleases, as any individual in this, or any other country, can possibly be. We have no control over them. They are responsible to themselves. They may go away any day they choose.

6. It is true, that it would be very desirable for every colonist to have a little money to begin life with in that new world. But it is not indispensable. A majority of the present colonists commenced there without a cent. Many of them have risen to considerable wealth, and all who have practiced any industry or economy, now enjoy an abundance. A good character and a willingness to work, are of more value than a fortune without them. There is perhaps no place in the world where a family can be supported with less labor than in Liberia. The earth produces abundantly,

and almost perpetually, and with very little labor in the cultivation. There is, therefore, no difficulty in living well, even without any money to begin with.

INFORMATION is desired upon six points:

1. The spring or fall is the time that our vessels usually leave Norfolk. There is very little, if any, choice between these two seasons of the year, as a time to leave this country for Liberia. It is rather more convenient to fit out an expedition at these periods, than at any others, and therefore we have selected them, as the best time for the sailing of our vessels. Hereafter it is expected that the LIBERIA PACKET will make two voyages a year, and if business justifies, she may make three.

2. The length of the voyage is from thirty to fifty days. The average is about forty days. We hope the Liberia Packet will make a much less average than this. The emigrants ought to be at the port of embarkation two days before the vessel sails.

3. Every emigrant ought to be well supplied with clothing, both for summer and winter, similar to what he wears in this country. There is no winter in Liberia, but during the rainy season, health is greatly promoted by wearing flannel, or warm clothing. He ought also to have a good mattress and bed clothes. If he is a mechanic, he ought to have the tools of his trade. If he is a farmer, he ought to be well supplied with axes, hoes, spades, saws, augers, &c. And as every family is expected to keep house and live for themselves, they ought to have a good supply of table furniture and cooking utensils. It is not convenient for them to take chairs, tables and other large articles of furniture with them, as they occupy too much room in the ship. But whatever is convenient and necessary in housekeeping and of small compass, they ought to take. A keg of nails, a bale or two of domestics, and some leaf tobacco, would be of use to them, in erecting their houses and paying for any labor they might need, during the first few months of their residence in Liberia.

4. By the laws of Liberia, each emigrant on his arrival receives a town lot, or *five* acres of land. If he is the head of a family, the quantity of land is increased according to the number of his family. This allowance may seem small, but it is abundantly sufficient for all his necessities until he is able to buy more for himself.

5. By a law of the commonwealth, all parents are required to send their children to school. In some of the settlements the schools are very good. In others, they are more indifferent. But a parent who wants to educate his children, can do it better in Liberia than in any other place.

6. The Colonization Society will give a free passage to all who are unable to pay for themselves, and will aid them in supporting themselves during the first six months after they arrive, by furnishing them with provisions, and medicines, and medical attendance when they are sick, and providing them a house to live in. During these six months they can become acclimated, raise a crop for themselves, build them a house on their own land, open and plant a piece of land, and have every thing in readiness to live comfortably thereafter.

We have thus gone through all the matters suggested by our correspondent. It will be well for our friends to preserve this number, as they may often have occasion to refer to it. Almost every week we receive letters asking for the very information contained in the preceding items. We are always happy to give it. But it would frequently be more convenient for them and us just to refer to this printed page.

We shall, however, at all times, be happy to hear from them, in regard to any persons who contemplate going to Liberia, and to furnish any additional information in our power.

THE MOST CANDID, SENSIBLE ARTICLE YET, ON THE SUBJECT OF
DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

We specially commend the following from the N. Y. Journal of Commerce to the attention of our Maryland readers, and wish them to note too that it comes from a northern paper of great influence and extensive circulation, and we feel that we can assure them with confidence that nine-tenths of the respectable northern prints will endorse the sentiments therein contained.

NO GREAT DIFFICULTY.—In a debate in the Legislature of New Hampshire upon some anti-slavery resolutions, Mr. Haddock, of Hanover, said :
“When slavery is seen in its true light, as an offence to Heaven and an outrage upon man, as the curse alike of the oppressed and the oppressor, there will be no great difficulty in getting rid of it. The herds of human cattle that darken the plains of the south, will melt away as the flocks that whiten our hills do, when we have no longer any interest in multiplying them.”

We find this speech copied into one of the religious papers as a good thing. Mr. Haddock is not a man of rant, but is accustomed to speak the words of truth and soberness. We should like to see his plan for eradicating slavery, which he says can be done with “no great difficulty,” when public sentiment shall be what he thinks it ought to be. If he is not uttering mere rant then he has a plan; for every thing that is to be done, is to be done some way. If Mr. Haddock would “melt away” slavery by the same means with which the “flocks” are melted away when they are no longer profitable, that is by sale, starvation, or the slaughter-house, he might perhaps succeed. Still there would be some difficulty even then. To dispose of three millions of human beings in any of these ways would be a matter of some difficulty. They could not all be sold in one year, nor fifty; and if they could, that would not be “getting rid” of slavery, but simply transferring it to other hands. They would probably make more resistance to starvation and the slaughter-house, than New Hampshire cattle.

How poorly does he comprehend the vastness of the mischief, when he talks of slavery in this way. How little has he thought, how little does he know! How incompetent are they to manage the mighty matter, who think it is to be remedied by the resolutions or the speeches and tirades of ecclesiastical bodies—men who think nothing wanted but a correction of public sentiment. All these things are more ridiculously inadequate, than Indian Crackers to the overthrow of Mr. Washington. Mr. Haddock talks of want of courage to speak boldly. Sacrifices, he says, will be necessary; perhaps blood. But he looks for future Wickliffes, Luthers, Clarksons and Wilberforcees, who with a charmed life shall venture into the conflict, “until the scales fall from men’s eyes and the veil be rent from their hearts.” Other men talk just so. They might as well deliver their orations against the North wind, and expect to subdue it by public sentiment. All these men deny the great fact, that the public sentiment of three-quarters of the South, and much more than that of the Northern tier of Southern States, is more deeply and earnestly opposed to slavery than the opinion of the North. Southern men would do more, sacrifice more, venture more for its eradication, ten times over, than any railing abolition society that ever assembled. Courage, forsooth, to pass resolutions and make speeches in New Hampshire against Southern slavery! Just as much courage as to slander the lions of the African deserts. We hope the time is near when men of reputed sense and propriety will leave off this turkey blustering, and come to the real points of difficulty in the abolition of slavery. Instead of

no difficulty except in public sentiment at the South, the difficulties are immense on every side; so great that no human wisdom can tell how they are to be overcome. Nothing can really abolish slavery and extirpate its poisonous roots from society, but the construction of society upon one broad platform of social and political equality. The men who are now slaves must be admitted to all the rights, privileges and immunities, political, religious and social, which belong to American citizens generally. At present there is not one State of this vast Union where the work of establishing this equality is really begun. Anti-slavery Ohio will not allow the few fugitives from John Randolph's benevolence to settle within her borders, though on their own land. An Ohio mob will drive them off, or murder them on the spot, and no force of Ohio's Magistracy will prevent it. Will brave New Hampshire take courage and allow them a place between some two of her granite hills. Will Mr. Haddock vote to sell them lands and protect them in their possession within his beautiful town of Hanover. If the South will set her three millions of slaves free, will New Hampshire consent that one hundred thousand of them shall immigrate there? We know she would not. She would extirpate them if they should attempt it. Every road by which such an invasion could enter among her hills would be guarded by glittering bayonets. There are not more than one or two States where colored men are allowed to vote, and they would not be so allowed, if there were but enough of them to make the least impression at the ballot boxes. In no free State so far as we know are they allowed to do military duty among the militia, or form themselves into military companies by themselves. Nowhere are they allowed to hold political office, and nowhere in the religious assemblies of the whites are they allowed to enter except to set themselves together in some separated corner. In no Society would intermarriage with them be counted less than infamy. Their blood, the least portion of it shuts the unfortunate possessor an outcast from Society. The few efforts that have been made to carry out Anti-slavery doctrines to their legitimate extent, have thrown the surrounding society into commotion and mobs, until those efforts have been entirely abandoned. While things are so in all the free States, is it manly, honorable, or christian, nay is it sensible or decent, for men covered over with the guilt of these oppressions to mount the rocks of New Hampshire, and with grandiloquent boasts of self-sacrifice, to rail against the South,—to prate of shackles and human cattle and chattels in the form of immortal souls? Let men who take the road of denunciation to abolish slavery, begin their charitable work at home. Let them cease in New Hampshire to treat the colored race as a degraded caste, as outcasts and not men,—let them place them really and truly upon the equality which they claim as their right. Until then their declamation and denunciation is self-righteousness and hypocrisy, and but shows their ignorance and their selfishness.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the chief seat of slavery is in Southern opinion or Southern statutes recognizing and regulating its existence, or that a change in these would remedy the mighty evil. The cause is inherent in the facts as they stand forth in two great races, mingled together, and yet separated from each other by the impassible gulf of color. The increase of education, taste, and advance of christian feeling, is rendering this gulf wider from year to year. Mr. Haddock, assisted by the whole Legislature of New Hampshire, cannot throw a bridge across it strong enough to carry over the few remnants of slavery which still exist there. Men may rail as they will, but the colored race must in this country be always a degraded, down trodden, or down sinking race. Philanthropy, religion, nothing in human power can change the eternal degrees. But until this is done, slavery cannot properly be said to be abolished. Certainly

the aspirations of Christian benevolence will not be appeased until this is done, and the negro stands forth disenthralled—a man—*equal* with other men. Any scheme, therefore, which does not contemplate this is insufficient, though, in the mean time, every effort which can modify the calamity, should be put forth with the most devoted energy. But railing is miserable and mean on such an occasion. It neither cures nor alleviates, but aggravates the disease. It is because we have a deep seated abhorrence of slavery, and some right feelings of respect and sympathy, we trust, for both masters and slaves, that we look upon the aggravating knight errantry of the last fifteen years, with such deep disapprobation. It is wicked, trifling, malignant raving about an evil so great and dangerous that all good men are bound to contemplate it with all the wisdom, kindness, humility and true courage which dwell within them. Let real abolitionists with great hearts sit down to contemplate, and, if they can, devise a remedy for the facts which exist in our country, and grapple if they can with the fact that we have in our Southern States more than three millions of slaves and free persons of color, who are

1st, Of a color distinct from that of the American people.

2d, A great majority of their minds are demented by long subjugation.

3d, Of morals broken and unsound, so that they cannot be controlled by virtue.

4th, Ignorant, so that they are unable to use the powers they have.

5th, Possessing the feeling which oppression always engenders towards those who are the supposed authors of it.

With these considerations and more, that every intelligent mind will suggest, let him, if he can, devise some plan by which slavery can be really removed from our land. A scheme, in the sacrifices of which he will be willing to bear a double part, and we will call him a great benefactor. Let him take as the foundation fact of his plan, that there are hundreds of thousands of Christians and Philanthropists at the South, who will be thankful for his plan, and ready to make ten-fold greater sacrifices than himself for its accomplishment. Against this great multitude of Christians at the South ready and anxious to do their duty, and who are doing it as far as they can discover what it is, how exceedingly unchristian, contemptible and mean, are the anathemas and excommunications of Northern churches and ecclesiastical and political bodies. They are a blot upon our character, for which every right minded Northern man must be deeply ashamed.

ABOLITION PATRIOTISM.

Some of our well meaning but indolent friends, who acquit their conscience by censuring harsh strictures on enormities of which they are ignorant, will find in the subjoined letter, proofs of the justness of our remarks in a preceding article. The letter is written by Henry C. Wright, and is inserted in the Foreign Correspondence of the "National Anti-Slavery Standard." Here is an accredited delegate of some of the American Anti-Slavery Societies, who deliberately says, "I have done all I could the past two years, to get the people of Britain to aid in bringing about the dissolution of the American Union, and Mr. Garrison is now doing the same." And, again, this worthy informs us, "The dissolution of the American Union as the gigantic foe of liberty; *the right of the British people to promote this object*, and the duty of all friends of freedom to organize a league against slave-holding governments, were prominent topics of our deliberations." And again, "I glory in being known as an enemy to that piratical, man-imbruting, God-defying Union.

When speaking of the Evangelical Alliance, he thus compliments the clergy: "The ostensible object of the Alliance is Protestantism versus Papists—the real object is to save the priestly profession from the odium that the great political and moral reforms are bringing upon it. The world is beginning to see that the profession is incurably linked with oppression, and war, and all wickedness."

But that we may not be accused of giving only extracts or garbling this precious letter, we insert it entire, as follows:

LONDON, August 25th, 1846.

Dear Friend:—The effect of Mr. Garrison's efforts in this city, in connection with George Thompson and others, has been very manifest. Many are interested in the movements of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and I am persuaded that, with little exertion, the Anti-Slavery League which has been formed, would carry with it the sympathy of the great mass of the people of Great Britain; for the Broad street Committee have, by their course the past few years, forfeited the confidence of the nation. They have done nothing, and will do nothing, to aid the overthrow of *American Slavery*—they have rather done what they could to blind the people to the true state of the Anti-Slavery controversy in that country. They are doing what they can to sustain that slave-holding compact and Constitution. I have done all I could the past two years, to get the people of Britain to aid in bringing about the dissolution of the American Union; and Mr. Garrison is now doing the same. The people here can and will aid us, in driving slaveholders from this, their last refuge. *Have they a right to do it?* This question is and will be contested. I believe they have a right, by all moral and bloodless means, to seek the overthrow of that Government, as the foe of liberty the world over. A more implacable foe to the cause of human rights in Europe, than that slaveholding Republic does not exist. It makes the righteous cause of freedom a stench in the nostrils of all her crowned despots; for a greater tyrant exists not than the American slaveholder.

Our meeting at the Crown and Anchor tavern, had a happy effect. One incident at it was amusing, as illustrative of the difference of opinion here and in America, respecting coloured people. A *Doctor Collier*, from New York, arose in the audience to defend slaveholders. He blustered, as slaveholders usually do; and took occasion to allude to Frederick Douglass, who had just made a most thrilling speech. He began a sentence by saying:—"That coloured man, Douglass"—in an instant the whole audience were upon their feet, calling to him, "*Mister Douglass*"—say *Mr. Douglass*." He began again—"That coloured man, Douglass"—"*Mr. Douglass*," shouted the audience—"say *Mr. Douglass*, or sit down." Thus the audience insisted that he should say "*Mister Douglass*" or take his seat. He would not say "*Mister Douglass*," and had to take his seat. The people now begin to understand the language of scorn and contempt used in America towards the oppressed; and the *Coxes*, the *Pattons*, the *Becchers*, and all others who tolerate the negro pew, will ere long be driven from English Society.

The other day, Garrison, Douglass, and Thompson, went to see Clarkson. The noble old man put into Garrison's hand a manuscript for publication, on the Dissolution of the American Union—taking the *No Union* ground. Clarkson gave Garrison a warm and hearty welcome. No efforts of Broad street have succeeded in alienating him.

Saturday evening last, we spent with Wm. Lovett, Henry Vincent, and others—leaders in the free suffrage movement. They are going to get up a remonstrance from the laboring classes in Britain to the laborers in

America, respecting their subserviency to slaveholders, who are the working-man's deadliest enemies. They say they can get several hundred thousands of subscribers to it. It is certain the laboring people of this kingdom are ready, heart and hand, to join in any right and Christian movement to effect the abolition of American Slavery. They see that their own freedom depends upon it.

Last Sunday we all spent with Wm. Ashurst, at his lovely spot at Murwell Hill. Mr. Fox, the Anti-Corn Law orator, and James Haughton, were with us. The dissolution of the American Union, as the gigantic foe of liberty; the right of the British people to promote this object, and the duty of all friends of freedom to organize a league against slaveholding governments, were prominent topics of our deliberations. I hope the world will conspire against this great enemy of God and man, and that all who acknowledge allegiance to that hypocritical, slaveholding compact, will be regarded as traitors against the throne of Eternal Justice, and against humanity. For myself, I feel bound to disclaim the name of American. While the American flag waves over a slave auction, and protects the slave-breeders and slave-traders of the South, I scorn to avow myself a *citizen* of that Government. I owe it no allegiance, and will pay it none. I glory in being known as an enemy to that piratical, man-imbruting, God-defying Union.

Yesterday Garrison and Douglass went to Bristol to hold two meetings there. Thence they go to Exeter to hold a meeting or two. Then they return to London to hold a meeting in the National Hall on the influence of American Slavery on the cause of liberty in England and throughout the world, and the duty of this and all nations to combine against it to hasten its complete and unconditional and immediate abolition. Then they will go north on their way to Scotland.

The EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE has been in session in Freemason's Hall the past week. To-day they held a meeting in Exeter Hall. I had a thought to attend, but did not. It has been composed in part of man-stealers, of men who strike hands with thieves, and are partakers with adulterers. Rev. Doctor Thomas Smyth, of Charleston, South Carolina, Rev. Doctors Cox, Patton, and others, from that land of whips and chains, who are the bulwarks of Slavery, are members of it. They were indeed subject to the ordeal of trial before a committee, as to slaveholding propensities, but they thrust themselves in. The committee concluded that, as they had adopted the resolution not to *invite* slaveholders, if they were determined to come with their abettors, they could not keep them out. So the Jameses, the Candlishes, the Cunninghams, the Noels, and all, are cheek by jowl, and hail fellows well-met with slave-breeders, slave-traders, and their abettors. It is no wonder that such a body of men should wish to keep their doings a profound secret. None but members, admitted by examination of the committee were admitted to their discussions. The members were forbidden to make any report, verbal or written, of what was said and done. No reporters for the public press were allowed to be present. Profound secrecy is over all their deliberations, except in two public meetings in Exeter Hall, that are open to the public for one shilling each. Yet that body of men, thus constituted, in part of man-stealers and their abettors, and thus secret in all their doings, are met professedly to determine for Christendom what men ought to believe and do. They act on the principle of the Propagandists of Rome, they meet and decide what is true and false, right and wrong, for the people, but will not allow the people to be present at their meetings, or be informed of their doings. They meet ostensibly to deliberate on ways and means to spread Protestantism, but no Protestants are allowed to be present, except the chosen ones. They meet

to promote Christian union, but no Christians are allowed to be present, to learn how, or in what, they are to be united. It is only known that all the Quakers, the Catholics, the Unitarians, the Universalists, the Restorationists, the Father Matthews, the Sturges, the Frys, the Gurneys, the Carpenters, the Mays, the Ballous, the Spears, the Bowrings, the Garrisons, the Thompsons, the Clarksons of mankind, are all excluded. Agreement in opinion is the sole test of membership. Thieves and adulterers, and their abettors, find a welcome. Candlish, Cunningham, and the Free Church ministers will not attend a funeral, or act on a School Committee with the Residuaries, as they call the ministers of the Established Church in Scotland, yet they join with them in an Evangelical Alliance. The ostensible object of the Alliance is—Protestants versus Papists—the real object is to save the priestly profession from the odium that the great social and moral reforms are bringing upon it. The world is beginning to see that the profession is incurably linked with oppression, and war and all wickedness. But for the priestly profession in America, Slavery had ere this been abolished,—but for that, human blood had ceased to flow. In a *Christian* ministry I believe, but a professional, hireling priesthood, is the bulwark of Slavery and War.

The Patons are all working for the Bazaar. They had their work with them as they rowed over the Loch to-day.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

MARGARET MERCER.

It is with no ordinary feelings of regret that we announce to our readers the death of this excellent woman. Although endowed with powers of a high order, her life has been dedicated to the performance of deeds of practical benevolence rather than to the display of her rare intellectual gifts. Early in life, the loss of her father made a loud appeal to her sympathies in behalf of his numerous slaves. Shrinking not from the great pecuniary sacrifices and responsibilities involved, she assumed not only the liquidation of heavy embarrassments hanging over the patrimonial estate, but provided also for the liberation of all the slaves attached to it. The young, the active, and the vigorous, she prepared for a new home in Liberia; retaining only the old and the superannuated, who remained on the estate, and to whom she never ceased to extend her kind offices. To meet the heavy claims thus heroically incurred, she hesitated not to transform the hereditary mansion of the family—long the seat of elegant and distinguished hospitality—into a boarding school, and to assume herself the arduous duties of its principal. The fact that the daughters of the first Southern families continued to be placed under her care until the period of her lamented death, affords pleasing proof that the best interests of the slave may be freely and fully advocated in any legitimate form, without exciting the alarm or hostility of the influential classes there. Under the happy influence of her example and precepts, many of her pupils have become the warmest friends of African Missions and Colonization. They used to devote their leisure hours, while at Cedar Park Institute, to the preparation of articles for her Annual Fair, from the proceeds of which the sum of \$2000 was realized for the promotion of education in Liberia.

It was our good fortune to attend one of these truly interesting spectacles a few years since; and while enjoying this feast of taste and benevolence which attracted not only the friends of her pupils and the best society for many miles round, but also the attendance of distinguished persons from Washington and other cities, we availed ourselves of the opportunity of learning the opinion of her white headed retainers in relation to Coloniza-

tion. These happy old people expressed the most entire approval of the steps she had taken; and while they rejoiced in the fortunate lot of their "young folks," repined not at a separation which they clearly saw was for the promotion of their best interests, but poured forth a torrent of gratitude upon their "good mistress." What a beautiful commentary upon the oft-repeated calumny of our adversaries—"that the old and worn out are the only objects of colonization benevolence!"

This excellent and devoted lady departed this life on the 17th of September, at her residence in Virginia, surrounded by those to whom she had so justly endeared herself. May her bright example incite others to emulate her deeds of self-devotion and practical philanthropy. *

(From the Colonizationist.)

RESULTS.

Abolitionists are sometimes heard to say with a sneer, "What has Colonization done? It has been in operation now for something more than twenty years—what fruits can it show as the reward of its toils and expenditures? Away with dead theorizing—show us results—living, practical results." When this demand is made, we have only to point to Liberia. There it stands, the fruit of Colonization, on the Western Coast of Africa—the only bright spot of any considerable magnitude, save one, on the whole of that dark continent. There a little constellation of flourishing colonies has arisen, star by star, to shed its benign and saving light upon thousands who sit in darkness and are ready to perish. There is a Republican government modeled after our own. There are schools and churches, and temperance societies, and newspapers, and agriculture, and the mechanical arts, and a legitimate commerce, and wholesome laws, and courts of justice, and legislative assemblies, and all the elements of national growth and prosperity. There are some 3 or 4,000 persons removed from this country, organized into thriving communities, holding the slave trade in check for some five or six hundred miles along the coast, forming treaties of amity with thousands of the natives, and thus paving the way for the redemption of a whole continent from the deepest darkness and the most degrading superstitions that ever cursed any portion of our fallen humanity. So much has been done, and if this were all, it would be enough to vindicate Colonization as a successful scheme of practical benevolence and commend it to the hearty approbation of all candid and well disposed men.

But suppose we retort the demand and ask abolitionists to show us results. "Turn about is fair play." We will therefore question those who question us.

What has abolitionism done?

As we do not wish, gentle reader, that you should be held long in suspense respecting an inquiry of so much moment, we will give you *some* of the achievements of abolitionism.

1. It has made a great noise.

2. It has produced considerable excitement, and that excitement, so far as we can see, has been attended with "evil, only evil, and that continually."

3. It has run into fanatical extravagances of various kinds, which have shocked sensible men, and thereby cut its own sinews and prostrated its own strength.

4. It has excited by harsh denunciation, the prejudices of the South against the North and done more to endanger the perpetuity of the Union than all other causes combined.

5. It has tightened the bonds of the slave and put back the cause of emancipation, in some States, for at least fifty years. And

Finally—it has smuggled a few hundred blacks from a Southern latitude and transported them to the *congenial* climate of Canada.

These are the leading achievements of abolitionism so far as we are informed. If any have escaped our notice, the “Freeman” or some other abolition print can point them out, and we shall stand not exactly *corrected*, but *better informed*. If we have failed in any point, we think it must be as to the *smuggling*. That may have been far more extensive than we have supposed. If so, let some one give us authentic statistics, and we will make the “*amende honorable*” in our next. It strikes us that such achievements are glory enough for one cause, and that the abolitionists may now as well retire from the scene of conflict and rest on their laurels. G

(From the Liberia Advocate.)

AN EXAMPLE WORTHY OF IMITATION.

LETTER FROM JOHN W. WADDEL.

PAULDING, MISS., *Sept.*, 1846.

Brother Finley:—It is known to you that several years since, the Synods of Alabama and Mississippi resolved to unite in the noble Christian enterprise of purchasing the slave Ellis and his family, to be sent to Africa as a missionary family. The two synods have, as you have heard at last, after a long delay, succeeded in raising the required amount, (\$2500) and Ellis has now been purchased and is in the hands of the committee of the synods, and will sail in December. This I look upon as one of the most noble and interesting enterprises which has been undertaken by the Southern church for a long time. Perhaps none of equal interest, considering the magnitude of its prospective results, has ever been undertaken. To one who is familiar with the details of the history of this man Ellis, the subject is full of interest.

He is a remarkable man. For years past he has labored to acquire an education, under circumstances of difficulty and discouragement rarely if ever surrounding any man. He is a most excellent blacksmith, and his shop has in consequence been always crowded with work, and of course at night it would be natural to expect that he would be fatigued, and willing to rest. But this his leisure time, and every other spare moment, has been assiduously devoted to study. And thus he has studied the Greek and Latin languages pretty thoroughly, and has made some proficiency in Hebrew. In addition to this, he has paid considerable attention to the sciences, and is now a far better scholar than many who have had every advantage. He is to be examined with a view to licensure at the meeting of the Tuscaloosa Presbytery on the 4th Thursday of the present month. He has a Latin Exegesis, a critical exercise, and a popular sermon, to exhibit as parts of trial. It will no doubt be an interesting occasion.

Bro. McNair, who was appointed the Agent of the Synod of Mississippi in this case, related to me the circumstances of an interview which he and Bro. Stillman, of Eutaw, held with Ellis, and they were truly thrilling. It took place on the morning after the purchase had been completed. To use Bro. McNair's language, “he had often heard of expressions of gratitude, but never had he seen the visible manifestation of it to such a degree before.”

Ellis takes the name of “Harrison Ellis,” by which to be hereafter known: the name of Harrison he chooses in consequence of his attachment to his first master, a Virginia gentleman who raised him.

I imagine that the statement of these facts will be interesting to some of your readers who are not familiar with them, and to others who, perhaps, have never heard of the case. And it may encourage us to be more faithful as masters, and especially as ministers of the Gospel, in discharging our duty to servants. How can we tell but that in the humble and neglected class of blacks who are around us, there may be many one who, by the blessing of God on the teachings of His word, might become converted, and then prepared for the great missionary work to Africa? And when we are sure that every thing human is in favor of the colored missionary's success there, and against the white man, it is surely worthy of our deliberations, our efforts, and prayers as Christians desirous of the success of this great work, that we anxiously consider this matter.

May the Lord of Heaven smile upon the cause of African Colonization, and as one means of advancing this cause, may He abundantly prosper your valuable paper!

I am dear Brother, yours in Christian affection,
JNO. N. WADDEL.

THE FRANKFORT COMMONWEALTH, a leading paper in Kentucky, has set apart one of its columns weekly to be devoted to the subject of African Colonization. The matter so published is to be collected and issued from the office, in a monthly periodical, gratuitously, under the auspices of the Agent of the American Colonization Society for Kentucky. The Commonwealth thus speaks:

We are fully persuaded, we could not give a portion of our columns to a subject of greater importance to the permanent interests and welfare of the country, or on which information and due incitement to action, are more generally needed by the citizens of our State. African Colonization is, indeed, a subject of great importance, compared with which, most of the current news and politics of the day

“Stand discountenanced, and like folly show.”

It is connected with interests that are of a permanent character, which will affect the condition and prosperity of our country centuries hence; and which concern the destinies of two great continents and their inhabitants. We fully believe that the most vital interests of our country—interests connected with every aspect of its welfare, agricultural, commercial, economical and political, and perhaps its very unity and existence, are involved in this vast and benevolent scheme. We are as fully persuaded that the civilization, and diffusion of Christianity over the benighted continent of Africa, and the suppression of the African slave trade, are largely dependent on this wide embracing scheme of philanthropy.

TERMS.

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