





THE  
S I N O F S L A V E R Y ,  
AND ITS  
R E M E D Y ;

CONTAINING  
SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE MORAL INFLUENCE  
OF  
AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

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Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.—JESUS CHRIST

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE American revolution was incomplete. It left one sixth part of the population the victims of a servitude immeasurably more debasing, than that from which it delivered the rest. While this nation held up its declaration of independence—its noble bill of human rights, before an admiring world, in one hand; it mortified the friends of humanity, by oppressing the poor and defenceless with the other. The progress of time has not lessened the evil. There are now held in involuntary and perpetual slavery, in the southern half of this republic, more than 2,000,000 of men, women, and children, guarded with a vigilance, which strives, and with success appalling as it is complete, to shut out every ray of knowledge, human and divine, and reduce them as nearly as possible to a level with the brutes. These miserable slaves are not only compelled to labor without choice and without hire, but they are subjected to the cruelty and lust of their masters to an unbounded extent. In the northern states there is very generally a sympathy with the slave-holders, and a prejudice against the slaves, which shows itself in palliating the crime of slave-holding, and in most unrighteously disregarding the rights, and vilifying the characters of the free colored men.

At the same time, slavery, as a system, is (in a certain sense) condemned. It is confessed to be a great evil, "a moral evil," and, when the point is urged, *a sin*. The slaves, it is admitted, have rights—every principle of honesty, justice, and humanity, "*in the abstract*," calls aloud that they should be made free. The word of God is in their favour. Indeed, there is no ground claimed by the abettors of slavery, on which they pretend to justify it for a moment, but a supposed—a begged—*expediency*, baseless as the driven clouds. I say baseless, for while not a single fact has ever been produced, going to show the danger of putting the slaves, all at once, under the protection of law, and employing them as free laborers, there have been produced, on the other side, varied and fair experiments showing, that it is altogether safe and profitable.

In this state of things where has the American church stood? Has she too sympathized with the hearts of the Pharaohs? Or has she, in the spirit of the martyrs of former times, borne an unflinching testimony against this sin? Alas! the painful truth stares us in the face. She has come down from the high and firm foundation of scripture truth, and is professedly at work upon a floating *expediency*, doing against slavery what can be done upon the unchecked current of popular prejudice. Speaking through the organ of the Colonization Society, she has admitted all that the most determined slave-

holder could ask, and she is doing just that, and no more, which so far as he understands the subject, he hails with pleasure as a safeguard to his property in human bodies and *souls*. This is the testimony of slave-holders themselves—most competent witnesses.

Is further evidence needed? When the American Colonization Society, as a remedy for slavery, has been called in question, as well it might be for its iardiness, if for no other reason, there has been manifested a determination to hush inquiry. There has been a most pusillanimous shivering and shrinking from the probe. Nay, the few men who, in the uncompromising spirit of Christian benevolence, have urged this inquiry, have been slandered as disturbers of the public peace,—have been assailed with abusive epithets, not by slave-holders only, but by their brethren in the bosom of the church.

A most singular spectacle is presented in this enlightened and Christian age; a handful of philanthropists, dare to denounce a system of legalized oppression, and to charge guilt upon all who uphold it; upon this, not only do the principals in crime, as might be expected, ascribe the whole to sheer malice, but the leaders of the Christian church, as ought not to be expected, endorse, and give currency to the charge, and throw the whole weight of their cold and crushing influence to smother in its cradle this attempt at a gospel reformation.

What does all this mean? Are Christians in these northern states interested in upholding slavery? Are they unwilling to be convinced that their colored brethren are better than the slanders of their oppressors would make them? Are they sure, beyond a doubt, that the colonization scheme will relieve our country of the mighty evil which is crushing it? that it is the *Christian* way to relieve it? Are they on good evidence convinced that it is not *expedient* to say to the wicked, "O wicked man, thou shalt surely die?" Must they have **PEACE** at any rate—peace, though the groans of millions should ascend and mingle with the muttering thunders of coming wrath? Will they have it, that if a word is said against a mere experiment, to test the practicability of rescuing the victim by flattering the oppressor, the whole cause of Christian benevolence is attacked? If not, why not welcome inquiry? A thorough investigation—a looking on *both sides*, would surely do no harm. Those defenders of truth who have shunned such inquiry, have always proved themselves shortsighted. The cause of God courts scrutiny—its advocates are thrown into no unseemly agitation when they are most rigorously sifted.

The subject cries aloud for more earnest consideration than it has yet received. More than two millions of outraged, down-trodden men cry out, shall we die in this sore bondage that white Christians may have the pleasure of attempting to shun God's wrath without repenting of sin? Half a million of free colored men cry out—America is our country—the land for which *our* fathers bled as well as yours. Why will you seek to banish us? The wrongs of the poor Indian cry aloud, There is no safety in league with transgressors! The present political aspect of the South cries out, that tyrants do not regard law! Six hundred millions of idolaters cry out

to the American church, "Why pluckest thou the mote out of thy brother's eye, and behold a beam is in thine own!"

Let us, Christian brethren, for I will not waste an appeal upon those who do not acknowledge the authority of the Gospel, dispassionately, and in the fear of God, look this inquiry in the face—*Is the Colonization Society doing what the Gospel requires to be done for the removal of slavery and its concomitant sins?*

## CHAPTER I.

### SLAVERY A SIN.

WE must first take a view of the evil to be remedied. A very material inquiry meets us at the outset. Is slavery, in all circumstances, or at least in all the circumstances in which it exists in this country, *a sin?*—a violation of the divine prohibition, **THOU SHALT NOT STEAL?**

In regard to the wretch who steals a man on the coast of Africa, and sells him into bondage, there is no longer any doubt. The curses of all parties meet upon his devoted head. Neither is the slave-merchant exculpated, nor does he deserve to be. His guilt is probably still greater than that of the kidnapper. He sins against greater light. He *buys* a man, knowing him to be stolen, and subjects him to the nameless horrors of the "middle passage." The nations have pronounced his doom, along with that of the pirate and the murderer; and this notwithstanding any palliating circumstances. Should he plead, when taken on the high seas, that he acknowledged the reception of those slaves to be wrong, but he had received them, and what could he do?—should he liberate them in the midst of the ocean?—he would plead in vain.

Let us follow up this course of sin, to see, if possible, where it meets those modifying circumstances which take away its guilt. At the next step we see the stolen African standing on the shore of a Christian country. Within sight of Christian temples it is cried, "What will you bid for a man?" Is that man guiltless who bids and buys an immortal being, and subjects him to his own use, as he would a horse? Does he not thus uphold, and justify, and take upon his own shoulders, the sin of the slave-merchant? Nay, does he not stand in the relation of a principal to all the accessory agents who have been concerned in the wicked transaction before him? If the government allows, it surely does not compel him to buy. He himself, in his own voluntary act, is the *introducer* of slavery; and his guilt too has been pronounced by the public voice, uttered through the American Colonization Society. That Society has said repeatedly that the guilt of slavery "rests not on the present slave-holders, but upon those who *introduced* the system."

But let us proceed. Let us suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that the poor African, whom we have been contemplating, and his family, were the only slaves in the land. *He was bought*—it was the consummation of his wrongs. No matter whether his master be kind or cruel, in regard to the justice of the thing; the African is an innocent man, and has a right every where to liberty and the safe government of law. What! will a man claim the right to buy and use his fellow man, at the caprice of his own will, as he would a brute, because, forsooth, he is *kind* and *benevolent*? Or, will he claim a right to the slave because, contrary to right, he paid for him?

But we go forward. The poor slave submits to his hard lot. He bows his neck to the yoke. He renounces, along with the independence, all the responsibilities of a man; and learns, for his second nature, to anticipate every wish of his master, of whatever kind. He sees his children treated as brutes, and he learns to consider himself and them as belonging to an inferior race. In the meantime his master, having grown old in his transgression, dies. He had no claim to be considered a Christian, "for if a man *say* that he loves God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar." No, in a land of Bibles he dies amidst the terrors of unrepented sin. His children stand around his dying bed and see the agony of his sinking spirit as hope takes her returnless flight. Where now are the circumstances which justify the children in going forward in the same course? With their father's damning guilt before them, blazing in the light of God's curse, can they divide among themselves that wretched family of slaves as an inheritance? If they do, they may well be said to *inherit* their father's sin—they commence the business of sinning not like their father, upon their own resources, but with an accumulated and fearfully productive capital. Why they *STEAL* afresh, beneath the gallows, that very thing for which their father paid the last penalty of the violated law! they dare heaven and earth, between which he was suspended, to do their worst!!

The slaves increase. They furnish now both the excitement and the gratification to their masters' lusts. Industry, economy, and every household virtue, are impaired on the part of the master; in their place are nurtured sloth, pride, cruelty, and ungovernable passion. The hand of tyranny becomes so heavy that the poor, crushed slave can no longer bear it; he now gives occasional but terrific proof that he is a man. Henceforward fear and trembling, by day and by night, are the price paid for the indulgence of arbitrary power. As generation after generation passes away, the curse of God grows heavier, and the thunders of his coming wrath swell to a louder tone. Now, I ask again, where are the circumstances which go to justify slave-holding? Are they to be found in the consequences?—consequences fraught with blasting and mildew to the fields, and deep damnation to the souls of the slave-holders? Are they to be found in the human law, which, we may suppose, has by this time forbidden the liberation of slaves? The very question regards the righteousness of the law. Can an unrighteous law justify an unright-



eous action? Does the law speak to the conscience against God, or does God speak to the conscience against the law? With what face can these slave-holders, with all their Bibles, and their lucid facts, and their repeated warnings, and the groans of the prison-house sounding in their ears, lay back the entire guilt upon the *introducer* of slavery—the mere originator of an experiment which they have brought to result in a hell upon earth—and still persevere in the same course? With what face can a slave-holding judge, fed, and clothed, and charioted in splendor by the forced action of bought and sold human muscles, pronounce sentence of death upon the kidnapper who has, it may be, stolen a single African from his barbarous home? Can sin be multiplied into righteousness?

Again, are the transforming circumstances to be found in the character of the slave-holders? Multitudes of slave-holders are said to be Christians—ornaments to the church of God—forward in every benevolent work. But in estimating their character, what weight has been given to their slave-holding? Is not that one of the elements of their character? Would it not materially affect our estimate of the piety of the Apostle Paul, if we were to learn that he retained, till the day of his death, in the city of Tarsus, a patrimony of slaves, whom, so long as they remained there, he might not liberate, nor teach to read a syllable of his epistles, on pain of death? Could he have claimed sincerity for his exhortation, “Masters, give unto servants that which is just and equal,” if he kept men in involuntary and perpetual servitude without wages?

“But many slave-holders are kind, and generous, and hospitable!” Must every tyrant of course put on the demeanor of a tiger? Must every sinner’s brow, at all times, be ruffled with the malice of a demon? Why, the very tiger is playful with his mates. The very demon knows how to flatter and caress, and put on all the attractiveness of an angel. Surely, while slave-holding forms a material trait in the character, to justify it on the ground of character, is to beg the question. God has made our state of affection towards our fellow men, embracing the vilest and poorest, a test of our love to him. This test must be applied, whomsoever it may offend, and whatsoever pretensions it may demolish. Moreover, it is abundantly confirmed by the history of the past, that the most flagrant transgressors may show much respect to God, and be sufficiently just to their equals. God said to his ancient prophet, “Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinances of their God; they ask of me the ordinances of *justice*; they take delight in approaching to God.” We must then look beyond apparent piety to God, to find a justification for unrighteousness towards man.

Is not a justification found in the necessities of the case? Can a man liberate his slaves at the south if he would? What is there to hinder? Is there any command of God against it? Is public opinion necessity? Are human laws necessities? So thought not

the Christian martyrs. They braved death for doctrines; would they have done less for practice? If slave-holding be a sin, it cannot be necessary; God never places his creatures under a necessity of sinning. It is necessary to obey God—to live is not always necessary. This, even in the worst possible case; but bad as American slavery is, it has not yet come to this. The slave-holder may yet remove with his slaves and emancipate them—the sacrifice of ill-gotten wealth is the sole *necessity* which can now exist.

Hitherto we have not come up with any of those potent, but fugitive circumstances, which can transmute an abstract sin into a “sacred duty.” Whither have they fled? Have they betaken themselves to the fields of fancy? Have they found an abiding place, at length, in the shadowy limbo of supposed consequences? So I am constrained to think.

It is heard from the south, and re-echoed from the remotest north, that instant emancipation “would be but an act of dreamy madness” —the fatal match to produce a most appalling and destructive explosion. A reformation so sudden, it is said, would be worse than the sin. But where are the facts? In the name of sacred verity, where are the **FACTS**? We must have evidence, the same in kind, and not less in degree, than that which convinces us that the sun will rise to-morrow, before we believe that God has so constituted his creatures, that they must continue in one sin to avoid another, or that there is danger in being just and merciful. In the entire absence of facts which prove them, and in the face of facts which disprove them, I must believe that the evil consequences of immediate emancipation, are confined to the fancies of the apologists of sin.

If then there is guilt any where, it rests in full weight upon the present slave-holder. In vain he looks around him for those modifying circumstances which may change his crime to a misfortune. Out of his own mouth he is condemned. He admits the guilt of the kidnapper, the slave-merchant, the original purchaser—and why? Not simply because their transient agency was marked with cruelty, but because the consequence was the perpetual slavery of a race, and the entail upon a fair country of a blighting curse—a consequence for which he, in his place, is responsible. Guilt, however, is not measured by the consequences of action, but by some known rule. To say nothing of the voice of conscience, the Word of God is plain: “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” Who would put himself under the arbitrary control of an individual, rather than under the mild and steady government of law? Who would, himself, be willing to labor without wages, and have his own support, and that of his family, depend upon the will of any man, however good? “Thou shalt not steal,” says the supreme law; but the slave-holder is a *perpetual thief*. He steals, not “to satisfy his soul when hungry,” but to feast on dainties, to pamper every lust. There cannot be made out a clearer case of violation of divine law, than slave-holding. The very permission given to the Israelites to make servants of the heathen who dwelt about them, is a proof against the

slave-holder. Did God grant an express permission to his people to buy and use oxen? An express permission implies that a thing would be wrong without it. But the Bible contains positive instruction on this subject which is applicable to all,—fair expositions of the general law in regard to this very thing. “Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?”—Isa. lviii. 6. “Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also, have a Master in heaven.”—Col. iv. 1. In the first epistle to Timothy, first chapter, tenth verse, the Apostle classes *men-stealers* with whoremongers, liars, perjured persons, and the like; on this passage there stood in the standard of the Presbyterian Church, till 1818, this very appropriate comment: “Men-stealers among the Jews were exposed to capital punishment; and the Apostle Paul classes them with sinners of the first rank. Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or free men, and keep, sell, or buy them; comprehending all those who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or detaining them in it.”

But in 1818 this note was struck out. That is, when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church saw that the “thieves” were respectable, “then it consented with them, and became partakers with adulterers.” And has God indeed placed a church in the world to say that his law is too severe? Do his redeemed people tarry in this wilderness on their way to glory, to keep sin in countenance by sympathizing with shameless rebels? If God asks the transgressor, what will you do when I shall deal with you? What will you answer when I shall make inquisition for blood? Is the church to rise up and cry, *this is not a religious but a political question*—it will exasperate sinners, it will divide Christians, it will grieve the blessed spirit, it will put an end to revivals. Well might God say of such a church, “They draw near to me with their mouths.”

“But we hope better things, though we thus speak.” The church, as a body, (I speak without respect to denominations,) has taken her view of slavery, not from the word of God, but from a supposed expediency. She has considered it a political question, settled by an authority with which she has no concern. Moreover she has heard the statement of one party only; the slave-holder has told his story, but the poor slave has not been heard. Let the doctrines of scripture be now at length preached; let the facts, the woful, blood-stained facts, be spread out; let the tale of a slave’s wrongs enter the ear, and the church, as a body, will rise in the might of truth. Her testimony will be uttered, and heard, and felt. She will speak out, and trust God for the consequences.

Again, the guilt of slave-holding may be clearly seen from the relation it holds to acknowledged sins. I have already hinted at this; but let us look it more fully in the face. Why has it come to be a settled point, (in the *abstract*, the slavery apologists would say,) that man is unfit to be intrusted with despotic power? Why, but that

this very power stands in the relation of a fruitful parent to all the transgressions of the second table of the law? Destroying natural affection, exciting anger, lust, extortion, falsehood, and cruel covetousness? What is the testimony of facts in regard to slavery in republican America? Look at the prodigality and shameless profligacy of southern youth. How many a son has been sent to the distant University, surrounded with whatever advantages wealth could procure, and after having been subjected to all that is reformatory in discipline, and stimulating in the love of praise, has returned to his house a ruined debauchee, made so by the vices that he carried from his father's roof? Did the parent's heart break? No: it was the heart of a slave-holder—it was too hard! It thrust away the undutiful child from the scene of his first lessons in guilt, to the riper instruction of hoary-headed gamblers, profligates, and duellists. Look again at the shameless violation of the seventh commandment. Read the proof in the thousands of mulattos born of black mothers every year—born to be treated like brutes by their own fathers! Shall I enter into further details? Most easily I might, but the task is needless. The abomination is open, the cry has gone up to heaven, the very sun turns pale! "Shall I not be avenged on such a nation as this, saith the Lord?"

But is there no reproving, reforming spirit among them? Does not the Christian pulpit thunder forth the penalties of the insulted law? Is there not an intrepid remnant of God's elect, whose lives are a standing rebuke to the general corruption? No, the pulpit is spell-bound. The message of God is clothed in pointless generalities. The righteous are tamer than Lot in Sodom. The prophet dares not to take forth the precious from the vile; I speak of the general fact. If there are men, and I rejoice to believe there are few, who dare openly to attack slavery on Bible ground, they are regarded as insane by their brethren. Their most celebrated philanthropists, in view of all the sins of the system, think they have done enough when they have exposed, what every slave-holder knew well enough before, the pecuniary waste which attends it. They hope that a clear demonstration of the pecuniary unprofitableness of slavery will supersede the necessity of any more direct and hazardous aggression. Vain hope! Will the loss of property stop the drunkard, or the gambler, or the debauchee? The slaves are held by the lust of power and the lust of pleasure. Are these passions—cherished, fortified, enthroned in the heart as they are, to be weakened and expelled by the love of money?

Let those cherish such hopes who can shut out the glorious sun at noon-day, and illuminate themselves with rushlights. For one I disclaim all respect for such childish absurdity, and cowardly good nature. If man is not a soulless brute, the whole system of slavery, in all its parts, by whatsoever circumstances surrounded, and by whomsoever upheld, is a monstrous sin, a most comprehensive and damning iniquity, for which it is downright treason against God to offer the shadow of an apology, and for which there is no remedy but the uncompromising truth of the Gospel.

Such is the slavery which cleaves to our republic, and holds in its fist, defying heaven's wrath, one sixth part of our population. Who shall gauge the current of its wo? Who shall calculate the amount of sighs, and tears, and wailings, and of unspoken anguish, that have flowed through it during one hundred and fifty years? Who shall sum up the bitter complaints which it has poured into the ear of an avenging God? Who shall despise the coming retribution? Let those do so, if they will, who represent slavery as a curse which we innocently inherit from our fathers—which we cannot throw off, however much we may desire to. I must be permitted to “tremble for my country,” while I regard it as a *crime* which has polluted this whole nation from the lakes to the gulf, and from the river to the sea. While I claim the right, nay, while I avow the imperative obligation, thus to denounce slavery, be it understood that it is not on the ground of my own innocence. The consciousness of past *guilt* sometimes impels a man to speak the terrors of the law in the ear of a fellow sinner. Slavery is not the exclusive sin of the South. Northern ships and northern capital helped to introduce it; and northern capital and northern *morality* throw the strongest shield around the system at this moment. And is this a reason why northern men, washing their own hands of the guilt, should not raise their voices against it? Is it not rather a reason why they should do it the more earnestly? If slavery has polluted the moral atmosphere of the nation; if it has stupified the conscience, and paralyzed the energy, of the church of God—if it has written “*hypocrisy*” upon the portals of the sanctuary, and thrown doubt upon the very existence of love for souls, (and who will say that it has not?) shall those who see, and know, and feel all this, smother their convictions of duty? And for what?

Or should such language seem too harsh, (for I would not be guilty of uttering truth in words which are *too* true,) if there is any apparent inconsistency in professing to love God, while we do so little for 2,000,000 of our fellow men, who are laboring under the peculiar disadvantages of domestic servitude, and while, indeed, as a community, we hardly express so much sympathy with them as with their masters, will it not be *expedient* for those who can do it conscientiously, to say that slavery is always wrong—or even *wicked*—as a sort of foundation for their efforts towards its removal? I ask those sober men, who have sharpened their vision by looking after consequences and circumstances in the dim field of political expediency, was any great triumph ever won in favor of truth, *by concealing truth*?

## CHAPTER II

## COLONIZATION AS A REMEDY.

It needs not be said to any wakeful observer of things as they are, that sin always surrounds itself with obstacles to repentance. It lands upon a forbidden shore, burns the ship, draws the sword, throws away the scabbard, and proclaims itself under a *necessity* of rushing forward. The thief is careful, as soon as may be, to transmute the stolen goods, so as to put restoration out of the question. The drunkard has so modified his constitution, that he *must*, in his own apprehension, persevere in his course, or, at least, not break off suddenly, which amounts to exactly the same thing. The liar has so involved himself in a web of falsehood, that to burst away at once, would, in his view, be worse than to add a little more of the same sin. The prodigal, amidst his riotous excess, finds moments to think of repentance; but the sneers of the wicked, and the mockery of the fools, whom his wasteful expenditure has drawn around him, rise as mighty obstacles in the way of his return. Now, of how much avail would it be to remove these obstacles, without doing any thing else to secure repentance. Do any, or all of them amount to a *necessity*? Does the wicked heart, which first broke away from duty of its own accord, grow weary of its course, and would it return but for the insuperable barriers which it has left behind it? Are the most high-handed tyrants the unfortunate prisoners of circumstances, who would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to escape, if some friendly hand without, would unbar the gate? Something very much like this is involved in the proposition, that the American Colonization Society is adapted to remove the sin of slavery. That Society justifies slavery, on the plea of a present *necessity*:—the tyrants own plea. It finds this necessity in the laws which forbid manumission, or, perhaps, in the reason for such laws, namely, the alleged fact, that the free blacks in the slave-holding states, are more wretched than the slaves, and that they are dangerous as excitements to rebellion. Just what it pretends to *do*, and *no more*, is to remove this *necessity*, by removing the free blacks and the slaves as fast as they are made free. Now the question is, has this any tendency to secure the abolition, however gradual, of slavery? I answer just as much as the following proclamation would have to recover stolen property.

## TAKE NOTICE!

The person who stole a watch from Y. Z. is hereby informed, that he is considered guilty in the *abstract*; but, now that he has stolen it, a necessity prevents the restitution, inasmuch as he is known to belong to a gang of thieves, who have bound themselves not to restore any thing, and as it would be attended with a loss of character—a far greater evil than the retention of the watch:—Therefore, I will carefully abstain from all measures which might occasion

such an unhappy development. But I am charged to recover the watch; and that the *necessity* of retaining it may be removed, I promise to ask no questions of the person who shall leave it, when it may suit his convenience, at my office.

A. B.

Agent for the owner.

Have not the slave-holders themselves, for more than one hundred and fifty years, been making this necessity stronger? And does this argue any general willingness to manumit the slaves, if the necessity were removed? What has created and augmented this necessity, but the determination to retain the slaves in bondage? Do the laws against the instruction of slaves, show any willingness to profit by the removal of this pretended *necessity*?

The very reasons assigned for the laws against manumission without removal, are direct proofs of the unwillingness of the great body of slave-holders to manumit their slaves *if they could*. What is the cause of the extreme "wretchedness" of the free blacks at the South? We have it from the mouth of a slave-holder—*want of employment*. Here is the whole secret. If a few negroes, from their own industry, or the conscientiousness of their masters, gain their freedom, the whole community of slave-holders turn round and trample them in the dust. They refuse them employment, without which poor men cannot live honestly, and then complain of them for being thieves! and point at them as being in worse condition than the slaves! Does this show any disposition to substitute free for slave labor?

Again, the slave-holders fear the free blacks as incitements to servile rebellions. Would they, if they were sincerely desirous to rid themselves of their slaves? The slaves would rebel, simply to get their freedom. It is *unsafe* to keep them in bondage. Send away the free—make slavery more safe, and will the master be more disposed to give up the slave? Will Pharaoh relent when the plague is withdrawn? Why does he not send his slaves to Liberia? There would be no danger of the free exciting insurrection among the slaves, if there were no slaves.

Again: southern colonizationists cannot be serious in proposing the removal of the *whole* colored population, for they well enough know that this cannot be effected without the substitution of a class of white laborers, a problem evidently more difficult than the removal of the blacks, and yet their plan takes no cognizance of any replacement. Indeed, in their own expressive language, they contemplate nothing more than "a drain for the excessive increase"—an artificial antidote to nature's cure for slavery.

There needs no further proof that the main body of slave-holders, who create the laws, and give tone to public sentiment, would not be moved a hair *towards* the manumission of their slaves by the removal of the so called *necessity* for retaining them. This action of the Society, then, if it takes effect at all, must do so upon the few scattered individuals, too few to form a measurable minority, who do not assent to the laws. From these few, those must be subtracted whose consciences are thoroughly awakened, for the removal of *this* necessity from *their* way would be plainly a work of superero-

gation. There would then remain to be acted on, a class of sinners who are in the condition of slightly preferring some other sin to that of slave-holding. Relieve them of their "*burden*," and one consequence will certainly follow—they will feel less personal interest in the laws with regard to slavery, so that the formation of a minority, even in the legislatures, in opposition to the laws, and in favor of abolition, will be effectually prevented.

But I will weary my obliging reader no longer by seriously examining an argument, which owes to a prevalent and wicked prejudice against the Africans, its salvation from overwhelming contempt. Transfer the scene to the empire of Morocco. How far would it go towards the liberation of a large body of American slaves supposed to be there, to offer to transport them, not to the land of their *fathers*, but to their own native land, for which they were pining in despair? Is the parallel denied? How can it be accounted for, if it is indeed a fact, that *Christian* slave-holders, after having broken through all the holy restraints of Christianity, are a more tender-hearted, *spontaneously* repentant race than the Mahommedan Moors?

But it has been said, the Society exerts a *moral influence* against slavery. Does it, indeed? And where is the moral machinery which it has set at work? Is it found in the authorized publications of the Society? We are taught by them that slavery is a great *evil*, and that there was great *guilt* somewhere. But the bolts of its direct rebuke—how harmless!—shorn smooth of every thing that could hurt the proverbial sensitiveness of a tyrant!

The following passages are extracted from a very elaborate "development of the true principles and character of the Society," marked No. 3, in the Appendix to the Fourteenth Annual Report. They embrace all the passages in that paper, in which the Society speaks with any distinctness on the moral character of slavery, along with some of the neutralizing matter which is thrown in quite profusely. The opinions of the founders of the Society are appealed to. Judge Washington had said:

"Should it [colonization] lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them, and in palliation of which we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of *moral necessity*, (!) until we shall have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction."

Mr. Mercer had said, "Many thousand individuals in our native state, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity, without manifest injury to their country. The laws of Virginia now discourage, and very wisely, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves. But the very policy on which they are founded will afford every facility to emancipation, when the colonization of the slave will be the consequence of his liberation."

Mr. Clay had said, "Let the colony once be successfully planted, and legislative bodies, who have been grieved at the *necessity* of passing those prohibitory laws, which, *at a distance*, might appear



to stain our codes, will hasten to remove the impediments to the exercise of benevolence and humanity."

General Harper, in his letter, had said, "It tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us gradually and entirely, in the United States, of slaves and slavery, a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is justly apprehended. \* \* \* \* This great end is to be attained in *no other way*, than by a plan of *Universal Colonization*, founded on the consent of the slave-holders, and of the colonists themselves."

*From the Society's Memorial to Congress.*

"It is now reduced to be a maxim, equally approved in philosophy and practice, that the existence of distinct and separate castes or classes, forming exceptions to the general system of policy adapted to the community, is an inherent vice in the composition of society, pregnant with baneful consequences, both moral and political, and demanding the utmost exertion of human energy and foresight to remedy or remove it."

The same memorial speaks thus, after speaking of the "unfortunate condition of the FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR, and the consequent injury to the public welfare"—"The evil has become so apparent, and the *necessity* for a remedy so palpable, that some of the most considerable of the slave-holding states, have been induced to impose restraints upon the practice of emancipation, by annexing conditions which have no effect but to transfer the evil from one state to another, or by inducing other states to adopt countervailing regulations, and in the total abrogation of a right, which benevolent or conscientious proprietors had long enjoyed under the sanction of positive law, and of ancient usage."

Mark how the *abrogation of the rights of the conscientious*, is palliated by the tyrant's plea—*necessity!* But, good reader, let us restrain our indignation for the present—we may have further use for it.

From the second Report, "a formal and official declaration of the sentiments of the Society."

"It (the Society) has been suggested to be an invention of the southern proprietor, to rivet the claims of servitude upon his slaves, as if the circumstances which accompanied the origin of the Society, the character of its members, and their solemn and reiterated declarations, did not forbid so unfounded an imputation. It would not be more uncandid to ascribe to them a design to invade the *rights* of private property, secured by the constitution and laws of the several slave-holding states, and to proclaim *Universal Emancipation*."—What is this but to say, that proclaiming universal emancipation is invading rights? What is it but to say, that the *right of property in man* must not be questioned?

Those who established the Society, "had no desire or intention of interfering, *in any way*, with the *rights* or the interests of the proprietors of slaves."

“They considered slavery a great moral and political evil, and cherished the hope and belief that the successful prosecution of their object would offer powerful motives, and exert a persuasive influence, in favor of voluntary emancipation.”

“It is equally plain and undeniable, that the Society, in the prosecution of this work, has never interfered, or evinced even a disposition to interfere, in *any way*, with the RIGHTS of proprietors of slaves.”

“But it may be said that the Society has expressed the opinion that slavery is a moral and political evil, and that it has regarded the scheme of colonization as presenting motives, and exerting a moral influence at the South, favorable to *gradual* and *voluntary* emancipation. This is true, and it is this, beyond all question, which has secured to it the countenance and patronage of our most profound and sagacious statesmen, and given to this scheme a peculiar attractiveness and glory in the view of the enlightened friends of their country and mankind.”

“And is the Society to be held up as odious and dangerous, because it entertains and avows the opinion that slavery is an evil? Is not this a truth inscribed, as it were, upon the firmament of heaven, and the face of the world, and the heart of man? Would not a denial of it be a denial of the fundamental principle of all free government? And is the Society to be condemned for assuming as truth, what even the *Southern Review* does not hesitate unequivocally and repeatedly to avow, *while arguing, very ingeniously, in defence of southern RIGHTS and southern POLICY?*”

Look at this, reader: ponder it well. The Society, on its own confession, goes no farther in reprobating slavery, than do the advocates of slavery themselves! By demonstrating this, it has at length “converted” the South. Shall it any longer hold “the friends of their country and mankind” deluded by the vain show of *such a moral influence as Satan is willing to exert against himself?* But let us look once more at this famous paper.

“A true son of Virginia has said, ‘*I may be permitted to declare that I WOULD BE A SLAVE-HOLDER TO DAY WITHOUT SCRUPLE. But I hold it due to candor to say, that if there be a statesman in the United States, and I believe there are two or three such, who is content that we shall always hold them in servitude, and would advise us to rest contented with them, us, and our posterity, without seeking or accepting means of liberating ourselves and them, he deserves a heavier vengeance than the orator’s bile, [the curse of God? No.] the curses of America counselled to her ruin, and of outraged Africa. Let me not be considered harsh; for inasmuch as the piratical trader for human beings on the African coast, the master of the slave ship, is the most detestable of monsters in action—so, I must say, is the advocate, by cool argument, of slavery in the ABSTRACT, odious in thought?*’”

The *two or three* THEORETIC slave-holders must look out for this thunderbolt—the *thousands of* PRACTICAL ones are quite safe.

But what does all this mean? What does the Society mean by

talking about a "*moral evil*," capable of being justified by a "*MORAL necessity*," when "we shall have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction?" Does it mean that we cannot cease to do *wrong* when we please? What means this extreme solicitude about the *rights* of *slave-proprietors*? What, the apologetic style of all this moral influence? Is the Society made up of such tenderness of persuasion, such very milk of charity, that it would do violence to its lamb-like nature, by uttering harsh rebuke, even where such rebuke is deserved? See how it treats the *foreign* slave traders!—"the most detestable monsters in action!" It leaves no corner of the horrible, unransacked-for epithets, and similes, and thunderbolts, to be poured upon their forfeited heads. Its agents take care to exhibit *chains* wherever they go, to awaken the indignation of old and young against those miscreants who drive their fellow beings from the interior of Africa to the coast, and at the same time to demonstrate the triumphs of the colony in opposing the slave trade. But why does it not show us some of those chains that clink under the windows of the capitol? Why does it not take them fresh from the victims of the domestic trade, and show the cruel ingenuity of the rings for the wrists, and ankles, and *necks*—brightened on the inside by rubbing against the bone, and foul and black on the outside with dusty gore? Is it not simply because these chains cannot be spared? Why then not tell us the sad story? Are there, indeed, throngs of chained and driven wretches in our own Christian land, who are so thoroughly given over to despair, that their case must not be mentioned in the ear of Charity? Must our sympathies and pity be borne away from the cries of distress that mingle around us, and stun our ears, to the mere accessory, trans-ocean traffic? No, no! no matter how sincere, the Colonization Society is too *pusillanimous* to deserve the high station which it has assumed. It is afraid to speak the whole truth. And if the mass of American Christians are to have any thing to do in setting free two millions of oppressed men, the American Colonization Society must be given up, or it must retire into the comparative insignificance, I might say cringing sycophancy, of the object proposed in its constitution; it must leave the ground of operation against slavery clear to a society which shall use a more aggressive moral influence. What! Is that to be dignified with the name of a *moral influence*, which abstains from a correct representation of its object, lest the equanimity of those whom it would persuade should be disturbed?—lest passion should be excited, and the ground of hostility should be taken? Here is a most singular phenomenon: a society professing to exert a moral influence against slavery, and yet afraid to state facts, and when compelled to state facts, afraid to use language appropriate to them. A society which, when speaking of the most odious system of oppression, takes special care to avoid the words sin, crime, guilt, and speaks of it as a burden, a curse, a sore "*evil*." Is such a "*moral*" remedy for sin likely to effect a cure? Are the slave-holders in reality not slave-holders, but virtuous men, keeping their slaves merely under that name, *from necessity*, till it

shall be practicable to enlarge them? Can this be proved of a single individual?

But the Society, instead of exerting any efficient moral influence in favor of emancipation, is exerting a most pernicious influence against it, by the doctrines of its authorized publications. It is understood by the slave-holders, so far as it gains their confidence, to admit the right of property in men, as fully as it admits any right whatever. It is of no avail for the secretary to say, when questioned by northern philanthropists, that it merely admits the legal right. It is careful not to tell the planters so. To question the legal right, would be sheer ignorance or idiocy. It was the moral question which the planters feared, and on this they required a pledge of silence, and suppose they have obtained beyond this a full admission. What right they have to the supposition, such passages as the following will show.

"It was proper again and again to repeat, that it was 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 other in the country*. He would resist as soon, and with as much firmness, encroachments upon it, as he would encroachments upon any other property which he held. Nor was he disposed even to go so far as the gentleman, (Mr. Mercer,) who had just spoken, in saying that he would emancipate his slaves, if the means were provided for sending them from the country." [Speech of Henry Clay, one of the founders, and published by the managers in their *first Annual Report*.]

Quotations of the same import might be multiplied without end. But there is no need; if further proof is required, that these traitorous admissions do respect the *moral right*, look at the treatment received by abolitionists. They have never called in question the legal right, much less have they used force, or threatened it, or counselled the slaves to use it. And yet they are clamorously accused of interference with rights, and by none more bitterly, or vehemently than the American Colonization Society, through its accredited publications. Take the following specimen.

"But we have not, we do not, and we will not, interfere with this delicate, this important subject. There are rights to be respected, prejudices to be conciliated, fears to be quelled, and safety to be observed, in all our operations. And we protest, most solemnly protest, against the adoption of your views, as alike destructive of the ends of *justice, of policy, and of humanity*."—[*Af. Rep. Vol. vii. page 101.*]

Abolitionists then, plainly, do that which the Colonization Society does not; but they exert only a *moral influence*, they only deny the moral right of slavery: therefore the Society does not deny the moral right—yea, the moral right is the subject of its reiterated admission. Can any *moral influence* be more adverse to repentance, than thus to tell the sinner he has a right to sin?

But, says the worthy secretary, "the Society calls the *attention* of

the south, to the subject of the whole colored population," that is to say, it may prove the occasion of bringing them to reflection;—it constitutes a good point of suggestion. So might a fawning hypocrite be a good *point of suggestion* to remind the dissolute of religion! Alas! what abominable mockery of sacred rights—the rights of the poor and defenceless! Truly, in the language of the prophet, "the right of the needy do they *not* judge."

The fact that the Society advocates gradual emancipation, is proof that it exerts no efficient influence in favor of emancipation at all. "But, what will you do with the facts?" some one asks. "Do they not prove that the Society has persuaded some slaveholders to give up their slaves?" No, most surely they do not; and for this plain reason, the Society has used no persuasives. Its friends are challenged now, as they have been challenged long, in vain, to point out with the finger, in all the authorized and *approved* publications of the Society, a single paragraph which urges a persuasive to manumit slaves, at any definite time, or which condemns slavery as a sin, without excuse. For the sake of keeping peace with the slaveholders, it has brought no charge against slavery, which they have not always, of themselves, readily admitted. How, in the name of common sense, can it have persuaded any man of his error when, in immaculate good faith, it has never meddled with the question of slavery at all? Just as well might a man take to himself credit for pleading the missionary cause with success, who should slip a contribution box into the church door, and leave it to the fate of catching a handful of coppers. The plain matter of fact is, that this is a land of Bibles. The principles of immediate abolition stand out on the face of all the law, and the prophets, and the Gospel; and in spite of the apathy of the church, and the silence of its ministers, they must needs make here and there a convert. Moreover slavery is a blighting curse, hostile to agricultural thrift and domestic economy. So strong is the light shed from the condition of the free labor states, on this point, that it would be strange if some holders, without any movings of humanity, should not become willing to emancipate their slaves. The Society offering its services to remove the emancipated, the emancipators whatever their motives, avail themselves of its aid. Among all the tenders of liberated slaves for the colony, which are published with so much care in the African Repository, is there to be found a single note of penitence—or the most distant intimation that the slaves in question, owed their liberty to a conviction wrought in the mind of the liberator, by the Society's *moral influence*? If there is, let it be pointed out. It will be precious to the Society's cause. It will present the singular anomaly of a sinner convicted of his guilt, by the concealment or absence of truth. Of conversions, so called, there is no lack; but they are conversions without *change*. A man supposes the Society to interfere with the "*rights*" of the masters, or to "*meddle*" with the delicate question of slavery; he finds himself *mistaken*, and is said to be *converted*! By making such conversions, the Society is becoming quite popular at the south. The appre-

hension of the Society's, *moral influence*, sensitive as are the tyrants, never amounted to a fear—it never called forth legislative rewards for the heads of the managers—now, it only calls forth contempt.

But emancipation is not a new thing, got up since the special "*facilities*" afforded by the Colonization Society. In 1782, Virginia passed a law, authorizing the manumission of slaves,—that is, authorizing its citizens, to use one of their "inalienable" rights, and, we are told, on the testimony of Judge Tucker, that 10,000 slaves gained their freedom, in this state alone, between this year and 1791. [See Holmes' Annals, vol. ii. page 342.]—Without any elaborate investigation, for which I have not the means at hand, it may be concluded, with certainty, from the number of free blacks in the country, (from 3 to 400,000) that emancipations were formerly far more frequent than now. It is equally obvious, that these emancipations have been beneficial to the emancipated. More than 70,000 colored persons are members of the Methodist Church alone. I quote this fact, because it happens at the present moment, to fall under my eye. These colored members, are either bond or free; if bond, they must be *fit for freedom*, or else they are not fit to die; if free, their freedom cannot have ruined them. Again, of the 300,000 colored persons in the land, only a small fraction have been convicted under law of crime; the law, of course, judges the majority of them innocent—*fit for freedom*. He who would discourage emancipation, then, on the ground of the criminality of the free, would reverse the maxim of the law, that "it is better to let *ten* guilty escape, than to punish one innocent man." The American Colonization Society, must have the credit of originating the doctrine that emancipation, to be proper, must be on the condition of *exile*. Since this noble and magnanimous discovery, emancipation has received a notorious check. If there is any thing plain in the world, it is that the Colonization Society, is exactly adapted to, and actually does, shield from public odium, the laws against emancipation without exile! And then, with marvellous assurance, it turns round and assigns these very laws, as a reason why it should seek to expatriate all the colored people in the land, so fast as they become free!

But, of the emancipations, which have taken place since the origin of the Colonization Society, few and far between, that Society has not the right to take credit. What child does not know, that it is because the Gospel gives a now to all its requisitions, that it succeeds at all? Say to the sinner, this course of sin in which you have so long indulged is an "*evil*," a great "*misfortune*," and can be justified on no plea but that of "*necessity*;" you must therefore get rid of it as soon as you can "*safely*;" and, think you, he will set about and execute a plan of gradual reformation? If he does, other arguments than yours must have moved him. It is a truth, obvious as the sun at cloudless noon, that all the gradual reformation in practice, which has blessed the world; has been the fruit of stern immediatism in doctrine. What, then, can the fruit of gradualism itself be, but everlasting procrastination? What can better please Satan and his minions, than to preach under the authority and vestments

of Christian philanthropy, *the gradual abolition of sin*. Why! that arch deceiver would blush to ask more of us!

On these grounds, then, I am forced to conclude, that the Colonization Society, whatever may be its motives, or its hopes, in regard to slavery, either has not courage enough to state facts as they are, or, it has made the unwarrantable assumption that such a statement is not necessary, and consequently can claim no relationship with that wise and effectual remedy for sin revealed in the Scriptures.

Now, shall the Society, embodying, as it does, an overwhelming weight of character, justify itself by saying that it does the best the case will admit?—that it finds slavery grown into the very substance, the “frame-work” of society, and that it would be in vain, nay, childishly absurd, to hope for any success by direct aggressive action? So have other sins grown into the “frame-work” of society. So are other sins fortified by all that is redoubtable in earth and hell. Idolatry has formed the character, and given shape to the customs, of more than three fourths of the race. But those who would act on the part of the living God have no option. They are not to choose their own mode of operating against idolatry. They are not at liberty to propose a system of amelioration or of *gradual* renunciation. Nor are they at liberty to despair. They must not, on pain of their Master’s fierce displeasure, shun to declare the full truth, though it may exasperate. “Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord? and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces? Take forth the precious from the vile, and thou shalt be as my mouth”—is the command and the promise of JEHOVAH.

But let us descend from a consideration of the doctrines of the Society, to the tendency of its actual practice. The question is simply this. What effect must it have upon slavery, to remove far off the free blacks and the slaves so fast as they become free? To consider this apart from the doctrines of the Society, let us suppose that the removal is effected by some unseen hand, some invisible agency, by which the subjects of it are known to be (as in reality they are not) transferred to comparative happiness. Is it not obvious that this agency would remove that class of freemen who would most naturally sympathize with the slaves, and excite in their breasts a feeling adverse to the authority of their masters? If so, the removal would tend to allay the fears of the masters, and thus destroy a motive which almost always stands first in the order of feelings which lead to repentance and reformation. And would not the masters be ready on such terms to part with the “excessive increase” of their slaves, taking care to turn off for deportation, the most turbulent and the most idle—the dangerous and the unprofitable? If so, not only fear would be allayed, but interest would be subserved. Slavery would be rendered profitable, so far as the system is capable of yielding profit. The natural tendency of the increase of population, is to advance beyond the means of support. In regard to American slavery, this tendency will soon produce a redundancy of slaves, and a consequent depreciation of their value. To maintain their value, deportation must be resorted to.

But is this the observed tendency of the Society’s action? Here

we must rely on testimony. It is the only evidence which the nature of the case admits. The Society itself has furnished this evidence in publishing the speeches of its slave-holding friends, delivered at its anniversaries.—[See extract from Mr. Archer's speech at the end of this pamphlet.]

Whatever may be said of the motives of Mr. Archer, or of the Society's not being responsible for *his* sentiments, *his* testimony, and his own lucid argument resting on it, must be received. And the conclusion is, not that the Society *designs* to perpetuate slavery, but that nothing could be more wisely *adapted* to that very end, than its present and contemplated actions. Let any intelligent man, without regard to this controversy, set himself at work to devise a plan for the perpetuation and security of slavery; could he, with all the wisdom that was ever allied to rectitude, arrange a more effectual train of means, to gain his nefarious end, than just such a scheme of colonization to Africa? (Not to Hayti, nor Texas, nor Canada, for the too near proximity of black freedom might be dangerous to slavery!) And in the execution of such a plan, could the man abstain from any *moral* interference with the claims of the masters more completely than the Society has done? He must necessarily speak of slavery as an *evil*—must show, in stubborn arithmetic, the rapid and dangerous increase of the slaves—must depict the horrors of servile insurrection, and, indeed, must do every thing short of charging downright guilt upon the infatuated masters, in order to awaken them to a *prudent* regard for their own safety. If then the American Colonization Society does not *design* (and I should have to confess my own guilt before I could charge its non-slave-holding members with any such design) to perpetuate slavery, its friends must reflect, that its plan, as to all its practical features, so exactly comports with such a design, and, as to all its collateral results, is so little inconsistent with it, that its motives are fairly exposed to impeachment by those who are prone to judge of the tree by its fruit—greenish though it may be.

Shall the Society defend itself triumphantly against this argument, by showing the opposition it meets with from the great majority of slave-holders? This opposition is exactly what might be expected. Why do slave-holders oppose the Society? Not, surely, because the *action* of the Society affects injuriously any of their claims, for this is not pretended; but because they suppose its *motive* to be *benevolent*. They well know that the Society ought to be hostile to slavery, and they fear that at some time or other it may be—*timent Danaos etiam dona ferentes*—they fear that the Society, when it sees the utter inefficiency—rather the mischievous reaction—of its plan, will abandon it, and resort to aggressive measures—and there ought to be sufficient reason for this fear. Therefore, the opposition of slave-holders, on account of the *motive*, no more proves (by the rule of contraries) the *tendency* to be *good*; than the opposition of some good men, on account of the *tendency*, proves the *motive* to be *bad*. If *good men* advocate plans of *bad tendency*, how can they fail to place themselves between two ranks of opponents? Can they plead persecution for *righteousness sake* on both



*sides?* Manifestly unsubstantial as this defence is thus found to be, it must be said, in truth, that the colonizationists have rallied behind it as their strongest point. Verily, if I were contending for the love of it, I would fain spare them a rock or two from the fortifications of abolitionism, just to save them the mortification of being taken behind a breast-work, which proves itself too weak to stand alone. Glory is not to be found in routing an enemy from such a fort of straw.

Again, colonization, as a remedial plan, is subject to no slight objection, in regard to its action upon the character of those who apply it. I speak now, more especially, of the Colonization Society, as composed of non-slave-holding men. There pervades the whole community, a strong prejudice against the colored race. (If there were any doubt of this, it would only change my argument to the "*ad hominem*" form.) The Society, not only acknowledges the existence of such a prejudice, but it pronounces it unconquerable. It asserts, without reserve, that this prejudice is sufficient for ever to prevent the blacks from rising to an equality with the whites, in this the native land of both. "The Gospel never can do for them here," in this land of Bibles, "what it can do on a heathen shore." Now this could not be true, if there were left exempt from this prejudice a body of men so powerful as the Colonization Society. Moreover, the prejudice is certainly wicked, for it counteracts the Gospel. Therefore the Colonization Society, in applying its remedy for slavery, *humors its own wicked prejudice*. In what light is a remedy to be regarded, which, while it has no chance of curing the evil for which it was intended, absolutely poisons the person who administers it? How useless the charge, "be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord," if reformers may leave their own breasts polluted with an unholy prejudice—a palpable unwillingness to obey the fundamental law of Christian brotherhood? Is this "the best that can be done in the case?" Wo, then, to the world, in spite of infinite wisdom, almighty power, and redeeming love!—The blood of Calvary was wasted, and hell is triumphant!! In view of this subject I must be permitted solemnly to say, that I do confess my own guilt, in the cold and cruel prejudice with which I have suffered myself, in time past, to advocate the unchristian principles, and the mischievous plans, of the American Colonization Society. If there are men of pure benevolence, who have in the sincerity of their hearts sought to do good, and made this Society the channel of their liberality, let them be aware that such night-born as theirs can prove its genuineness only by welcoming the light that now begins to shine, and shrinking with horror from the unholy company with which the morning finds it unconsciously proceeding.

I have all along taken it for granted that the motive of the Society is good. I have not questioned the benevolence of its officers, nor the sincerity of their expressed wish to remove slavery. But I might have taken stronger ground. A majority of the Society, at its establishment, consisted of slave-holders—of slave-holders who took special care to have it understood that they did not renounce

the sin—that they considered the *right* of the master *sacred*! And, from year to year, they have assured their southern friends that the Society has not changed its character. Now the character of any Society—its motive—is to be judged of, so far as man can judge of motive, from the majority, the ruling influence of its board of managers. This majority has been, and is slave-holding; it is therefore impossible for us to concede to them purity of motive in this thing. Their own practice condemns them. Are *they* holding on, and waiting for the growth of Liberia? Then the right of a man to his liberty, depends upon the contingency of a foot-hold for him 4000 miles off!—a doctrine as damnable as it is absurd. What! does the Society apply to itself, as “the best the case admits,” the same remedy, which, on the plea of their hopeless obstinacy in sin, it applies to slave-holders at large? Verily this must be a new and improved kind of repentance. The recipe for it might run thus. First, fortify yourself in sin, so that there shall be no hope of your yielding to the demands of God’s law; then make your own terms—repent and repair to suit your own convenience, and all will be well! We protest against making a combination of such men, the almoners of our charity to Africa, and much more, to the Africo Americans—our own countrymen. We hold their professions of philanthropy, as cheap as we do those of the Grand Turk. The saying is no less true than trite, that a good cause is not to blame, because some patronise it with bad motives. Nor is it less true, that a bad cause cannot be justified because many patronise it with good motives. No scheme arising out of that miscalled morality, which apologizes for slavery, can either be right of itself, or be made so by the patronage of all the saints on earth, or the angels in heaven. It is manifest from the *conduct* of the members, that the *motive* of the Society, in its operative and responsible capacity, can be nothing better than to escape the righteous curse of God, in some other way than by a direct repentance, confession, and reparation of injury—the only way which he has appointed. How can the Church of God withhold its protest against this palpable subversion of the first principles of the Gospel?

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### CHAPTER III.

#### EFFECT OF COLONIZATION UPON THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

IN the former chapter I have spoken of the colonization scheme in its relation to the crime of slave-holding. In this I propose, very briefly, to consider its bearing on the free people of color, the ostensible objects of its charity. This is necessary, because some who acknowledge that the Society is worse than useless in regard to slavery, contend that it confers invaluable blessings upon the free

people of color. They would balance the Society's benefits against its "defects," as they are pleased to call them. I cannot faithfully plead the cause of the poor slave, without exposing the fallacy of this pretension, and also of that which is maintained in regard to Africa.

These United States have been boasted of as the asylum of the oppressed of all nations. And, in many points of view, there is not a more desirable retreat on the globe for the victims of poverty or persecution. The population is yet sparse, the soil is fruitful, the rivers, and forests, and mines, present infinite resources for the acquisition of wealth, the climate is salubrious, the means of education are widely diffused, the laws are mild and equitably administered, property is secure, both from private and public spoliation, the rights of conscience are most fully guaranteed, and most effectually guarded by the jealousy of rival sects; in short, there is no country on earth, where a man can reap more fruit of his own honest labor, nor where he can enjoy it with less interference on the part of others. Even if a man were to possess none of the franchises of this republic, he might repose under the protection of its laws with more security than he could feel in any other nation under the sun. It would seem, from the very nature of our government, that it must always be peculiarly the friend of the poor, for by all its usages and laws it frowns on aristocracy. It would seem, then, that there must be some very strong reason, when it is proposed to colonize back to the old world, over a thousand weary leagues of ocean, 400,000 of our fellow citizens—aye, more than 2,000,000 who "of right ought to be" so. Are they poor? Here is the place of all the world to enrich them. Are they ignorant? Here is the place to enlighten them. Are they vicious? Here is the place to reform them. Are they unrighteously despised? Here is the place, if any where, to bring popular prejudice into subjection to the dictates of humanity and religion. The reason why all these things cannot be done here, is involved in a single syllable—they are **BLACK**. They are despised and ridiculed, because they are *black*. They are in most states denied every civil franchise because they are *black*. They are told, (by a Society embodying the benevolence of the land,) that they can never rise here, and must be colonized to Africa, because they are *black*. That is to say, on account of the single circumstance of dissimilarity in external appearance, which marks them as brethren of the slaves, the slave-holding spirit in our land holds them at a distance, refuses to communicate to them any of the privileges and responsibilities of our free society, and denies them those means of instruction which are requisite to bring them upon the same moral and intellectual level with ourselves. Now it is undeniable that the color of the negroes does distinguish them from the pale race of Europe. But the distinction, so far as divine Providence is concerned, is merely one of externals. It ought to stop here. The negroes are none the less men, nor are they the less Americans on account of their color. If their right to a residence here, and to all the sympathies and aids which their condition demands, is abridged by their blackness, then

ours depends upon our whiteness—that is to say, our boasted, inalienable, indefeasible rights, lie skin-deep—they reside in the coloring matter of the external integuments!—they are just as inalienable and indefeasible as our hides, and no more. Wo to them, if our bare backs were once exposed to a nine-lashed slave whip! Intolerable as is the doctrine, which leads so directly to these contemptible inferences, it is, nevertheless, held by a large portion of our citizens. There are plenty of respectable persons who will not blush to say, that Providence never designed black and white men to live together on equal terms in the same republic. And what is remarkable, the voice of humanity has hardly ventured to speak against such wickedness. Why, one would think that the man who, in this land, should utter such narrow, bigotted, selfish, swinish absurdity, would be glad to avail himself of his own littleness, to escape the commingled hisses of scorn which such a doctrine would certainly call forth. But so it is not. Men who would have us think *their* worth lies more than skin deep, deliver this paltry nonsense with the most oracular gravity. And the consequence is, that the poor blacks are degraded and down-trodden. They are robbed and wounded, and thrown out to welter, and fester, and rot in the public highway—and the priests and levites pass by on the other side. Yes, among all our benevolent efforts, for the Indian upon our frontier, and the far-off Hindoo—for the sailor of the ocean, and the boatman of the river—efforts worthy to be increased a thousand fold—we have forgotten the stranger, who, having fallen among thieves in the midst of us, has at length been left stripped and helpless, a present and urgent provocation to our charity. We have not engaged in any general and well concerted plan to raise the character of our colored population. Yet, in spite of our prejudice and apathy, they have generally demeaned themselves among us, as quiet, industrious and useful citizens. With more motives to hate us, and less to submit to our laws, they have, beyond all question, been guilty of fewer crimes, than an equal number of the most ignorant of the whites. They have attached themselves to our country, with a patriotism, as ardent as it is unquestionably genuine. Just now a Society comes forward, and says to these wronged and insulted, but patient men, There is a prejudice against you in this land, which can never be overcome. If you remain here, you must ever remain a distinct and degraded class. Even religion cannot help you *here*. But emigrate to the coast of Africa, and you may form a nation by yourselves; there, you may enjoy the rights which are denied you here; there, you will be rid of that sense of inferiority, which binds you down here; there, you will stand forth as men, and have strong motives to exert yourselves in the pursuit of wealth and honor, which you can never have here. And the whole community of whites, with all their wisdom, and piety, and disinterested benevolence, so called, second the proposal; and exhort the Society to go forward and aim at the removal of the entire black population—with *their free consent, to be sure*—while not a finger is raised to help them here—not even a syllable is lisped against the unrighteous laws which are grinding them in the dust,

or banishing them from their homes—hunting them from state to state!

Patrons of the Colonization Society! you form a body sufficiently powerful to wage a successful war with this popular prejudice. *You* may procure the repeal of every oppressive law, if you please; you may open the door to fair competition in all the arts of life before the colored race, and persuade them to enter it, if you please; you may bring them all under the blessed influence of divine truth, if you please. Do that; at least, attempt it, before you claim benevolence as the motive of your colonizing scheme. Till you have made the attempt, whatever may be said of the African skin, it has never been used to conceal hypocrisy, so loathsome and putrifying as yours, if, haply, you yourselves are not the victims of a miserable delusion. It grieves me to the heart to bring charges of this kind, which I have reason to believe will be appropriated to themselves—and too justly—by many, whom, in other things, I respect and love. But facts are stubborn, and the principles of God's word, are unbending. Even if an angel from heaven were to embark on the principles which the Colonization Society has avowed, in regard to the free blacks, he would sink.

Let us not be told that the colored men go *voluntarily* to Liberia. There is not Jesuitism enough in the world to conceal such a *lie* from any, but the willingly blind. The plain fact is this, and every colored man, at least, knows it very well, the white community, under the *name* of "The Colonization Society," merely receive the volunteer emigrants—no compulsion—all fair; but mark, the same community, without this *name*, sanction the oppressive laws, utter the public sentiment, and point the finger of scorn, which, together, amount to a bitter persecution, and *compel* the poor blacks to *volunteer*. What a convenient thing is a name, which can be put on and off at pleasure. Here is my poor neighbor, a simple, good-natured man, dwelling securely by me. I heartily despise him, and would gladly have him out of the way; but how to do it, is the thing. The problem may be thus solved. In every-day life, I am Mr. Prejudice. Under this name, I tell lies about my neighbor, and make sport of him at the taverns and grog-shops; I abuse and mortify him on all occasions; I throw down his fences, filch away his cattle, and refuse redress, till his life is a burden to him. But, on the Fourth of July, and some other great occasions, I am Mr. Generosity. I go to my neighbor with my new name, and my best Sunday suit, and say to him, "You know Mr. Prejudice is very powerful in these parts; he cannot be resisted; you had better emigrate, and if you will do so, I will *generously* bear the expense. If, in the simplicity of his heart, my neighbor mistakes me for a different man from his old enemy, my success is almost certain. If he does not, perseverance in this double dealing will wear out the most mulish pertinacity.

That similar duplicity is justly chargeable upon the Colonization Society, is evident from the fact, that it not only does not condemn, but it hails with pleasure, those oppressive enactments which are design-

ed to banish the colored race." Is the conclusiveness of this argument doubted? Take an illustration. In the recesses of yonder grated and gloomy pile, there is a spacious room, hung round with nameless furniture, into which curiosity is not permitted to pry. By the light of a single taper, you may see the pale, half naked prisoner; the monkish executioner, fiendishly busy; the instruments of torture—the trickling blood—the quivering lip—the very anguish of the soul. But what has that man in black to do with the scene, who sits sedately by, and as he sees limb after limb stretched upon the rack, and screw after screw applied, and turned, and tightened to the bone, says to the executioners, "Take courage, brethren, we shall get the confession soon," and to the prisoner, "Only confess now, and you will for ever bless God for his mercy on your soul!"?

Say you, this flight to the inquisition is a flight of fancy! Then let it go for that; but, after all, in sober sense, how can the Society approve, or how can it even *fail to condemn* that prejudice and oppression which render its interference necessary? Let the organs of the Society, at length, answer this question. Surely, it has been asked by friends, and asked by them in vain, till, in many cases, they have waked up in the ranks of the Society's decided enemies. To put the case in the most favorable light, by the supposition that the sin of the legislators is, by the Society's scheme, overruled for good, has the Society any right to *rejoice* at the sin? Does not the divine justice condemn the sinner, and does not the divine compassion weep over him, even while the divine wisdom brings good out of his evil? On the example of the Society, when we do evil from which good may be extracted, we have a right to calculate on the approbation of all those angels of mercy, at least, whose business it may be to bring glory to God out of the wickedness of men.

On these grounds, it is concluded that the Society's plan is adjusted to the wicked prejudices of the community against the people of color, and, of course, that its action cherishes these prejudices to the injury of innocent men.

But if the evils which hang around the colored American were irremediable here, it is still a forlorn alternative that the Society has to offer. Let us divest the colony of the poetry which is thrown over it so profusely by the advocates of the Society, in their public addresses, and see what remains. Let us suppose ourselves in the room of the emigrants, and see what inquiries would arise in our own minds.

"Is not a temperate more favorable than a tropical sun to the health and mental development of man? Is not the climate of Africa confessedly dangerous? Is not the colony surrounded by jealous savages, always ready to shed blood, and who must be propitiated by a traffic in RUM? Is not the prosperity of the colony regarded as *extraordinary* by all intelligent men? What will its guarantee of protection, and its offer of civil franchises be worth, if its incipient prosperity should call to it an unmanageable accession of unprincipled and ignorant men? What if the Colonization Society should set down on the coast of Africa at once, the whole black

\* See Appendix.

population, or even the yearly increase of it, or even the tenth part of that increase? Under all the circumstances of the case, is it probable that in my own life, or that of my children we can enjoy there the privileges which, in spite of prejudice and persecution, we enjoy here? Is there not vastly more probability of a return to truth and righteousness of public sentiment in this christian land, than of the colony's escaping the ten thousand evils to which a colony in such a situation is liable? Is not the risk of an African voyage something?" Let history answer. These American colonies, planted under far more favorable circumstances, in regard to climate and the character of the colonists, had for a long time to struggle against fearful odds. The amount of privation and suffering endured by the pioneers can scarcely be imagined; it defies calculation. Even after the colonies had been established, and had gained strength and opulence, they ran a fearful chance of becoming the vassals of a foreign power. What if, instead of being pious, learned, enterprising, the very cream of the English race, the first settlers of New-England had been from the lowest grade of society, driven off because they were a nuisance at home? Where would have been the stern virtue to resist the numberless temptations that came upon them in their new abode? Where the wisdom to impose upon themselves salutary restraints? Where the moral courage to meet the many critical emergencies of their first fifty years? Is not the success of these American colonies to be attributed, under God, to qualities moral and mental in the colonists, which, according to the Colonization Society, are not possessed by the colonists of Liberia, nor by any that are likely to be added to them? Let it not be said that the wisdom of the society can make up the deficiency. It may now guide the tottering steps of the infant colony; but it will be quite another thing to direct its energies, and repress its waywardness, when it shall have gained the physical power without the discretion of manhood. Successful *self-government* is a thing which cannot be achieved by proxy. One of two things must take place; either the colony must fall (remain?) under trans-ocean vassalage, or it must be thrown completely upon its own discretion—upon the will of a people who are declared to be unfit even to be incorporated with an already existing and firmly established republic.

In taking the testimony of history on this point, we must learn not only that great nations have arisen from small and almost hopeless beginnings, but we must also ascertain what proportion the cases of failure bear to those of success. History preserves every case of success of course; but from the well known nature of the human mind, multitudes of failures are utterly forgotten. Yet every careful reader of history must have perceived that, for every successful project of colonization which occupies its page or its chapter, scores of unsuccessful ones are dismissed in a sentence. Certainly it will not be considered remarkable in the year 1900, to find such a paragraph as the following in a pretty elaborate history.

"In the earlier part of the late century, a colony of Africo-Americans, at the mouth of the St. Pauls, attracted much attention, and

prospered to the extent of gaining a large territory and numerous villages; but owing to the excessive desire of the white Americans to rid themselves of the descendants of Africa, it was overpeopled with ill-qualified emigrants and ruined."

I ask again, poetry apart, is there any thing in the rational prospects of Liberia to entice an intelligent and industrious colored man away from these enlightened shores, the home of *his* ancestors as well as *ours*, while a foothold is left for him? Will he prefer the *liberty* of making a home and a government for himself, on a distant shore, in a sickly climate, to remaining here and urging yet longer his just claim to a home and a country already made?

It may be more than suspected that a chill would strike the hearts of those men, who, in such glowing rhetoric, recommend to the blacks emigration, if in a moment, by the blackening of their own skins, or the turning of the tables, they should themselves be exposed to the motives which they so vehemently urge upon others. In sober earnest, is it not essential and unmixed cruelty, to urge upon simple and ignorant men, such an arduous and hazardous enterprise? The present boasted prosperity of the colony, may do well enough to grace a public parade, but it satisfies no intelligent man, of ultimate success—it makes no white man envious of the lot of his colored neighbor, (if it did, doubtless the colony would be little secure from white intrusion,) nor does it prove to any but the unreflecting, that the cause is righteous.

It will be seen, that if these arguments have any force, they spend it against the position, that Africa is a favorable place for raising the free people of color to refinement, intelligence, and religion—more favorable than this, the native land of most of them.

That there are obstacles, and serious ones, in the way of effectual exertions for the colored people here, is not denied. But they are not physical ones. They are such as must be met in every good work. Let us compare them with some of those which will certainly exist in Liberia.

To raise the character of a whole people, under the most favorable external circumstances, demands a profusely expended and long continued moral influence, the mass of the population must be brought within the full bearing of the Gospel: there must be not only a sufficient number of preachers but teachers of every grade; there must be not only suns and moons, but innumerable stars. According to all past arrangements of divine Providence, the process of kindling up such a flood of light as is poured upon the most favored spots of Christendom, is very slow and painful. Now if the most unenlightened part of our community is to be sifted out, and to be insulated by heathenism, at the distance of 4000 miles, it is plain that we can furnish them, in consistency with the wants of the world, only a few living missionaries—a coal or two, a mere kindling spark. Whereas, here we may, if we please, open upon them at once, all the warmth and light of day. Is it replied, that what ought to be done, can be done; that we *can* furnish every thousand of the colonists with a living preacher of the gospel, and every



hundred with a schoolmaster? How much more then can we do it here! for surely a man who can be persuaded by the love of souls, to encounter the pestilence of an African climate, can be persuaded, on the same principle, to encounter the prejudices of his fellow Christians. Let four hundred worthy ministers, and four thousand schoolmasters, in this land, rise up and assert the rights of colored men, and devote themselves, in a gospel way, to their interests, and whatever prevents their elevation here, would be like the mists of the morning. The absurdity of making heathens\* of 400,000 of our countrymen, for their own good, would then be seen in daylight.

The special advantages of Africa, as a home for the free colored people, are claimed to be, that *there* he can enjoy the rights of citizenship, *there* he can have a voice in making the laws under which he is to live, *there* he will not be disheartened by a comparison of himself with his superior white neighbors. Place him on the shores of Africa with these advantages, and you make a new man of him—you draw out his latent energies—you make him willing and able to do all that can be expected of the most enlightened and Christian philanthropist in his circumstances.

If, indeed, there is inherent in man, so strong a desire to be the “artificer of his own fortune,” as this argument implies, so strong that he needs only to be planted in a wilderness to occasion its full development; what a surpassing pity it is, that the ignorant, the lazy, and the vicious—no trifling fraction of our white population—cannot be colonized? Under what discouragements do they not labor, when they see the wealth, and power, and intelligence of their more industrious and virtuous neighbors?—from which they would doubtless be delivered, by being set down some where in Patagonia, Caffraria, or Arabia Felix, with provision for a year, and plenty of *rum* and *gunpowder*. I have supposed that it must be stern *necessity* which drives men in such a case to exertion, as it seems to have been in Botany Bay; but I am mistaken—and the poor of England are mistaken too, or they would petition their government to transport them to Botany Bay, rather than accept a passage as the miserable alternative of hanging. The intelligence, superior art and wealth of the higher class of the community, in this and other free countries, it seems, tends to grind the lower class in the dust, repressing even the desire to rise. But place the poor alone, unrivalled, unexcelled, and they will at once become instinct with living ardor! What new light has the wisdom of some men, employed in behalf of the oppressor, struck out from the obscurity of human nature!!

Again, if the right of suffrage will work such wonders as are attributed to it by the colonizing scheme, it is a thousand pities that in this country it should be shackled and restricted. Why not apply its elevating virtue to the whole of our own population? Are there not hundreds, nay, thousands of white men in our country to

\* The reader will perhaps recollect Knickerbocker's story of the honest Dutchman, who, for the sake of overleaping a small *hill*, went back *three miles* to get a start; but when he arrived at the foot of the hill, was obliged to lie down and rest before performing his wonderful feat. The story finds its *moral* here!

whom the privilege of suffrage is not allowed? And do not many of these men need elevating? Here is the motive by which they may be elevated. If the right of suffrage be so powerful a stimulant in a feeble, dependent, hand-to-mouth multitude of ignorant and ill-assorted men, thrown together by no agency of their own, on a barbarous coast, what would it not be in a long established, well regulated, opulent and Christian republic? Yes, yes, on the ground of this argument for colonization, any friend of humanity, who can see deeper and feel deeper than the skin, might even venture to ask, why this elevating power is not applied to colored men *here*? Sheer hypocrisy prevents it, says Truth. The men who bring this argument, are the very men who do NOT plead for the complete enfranchisement of the blacks *HERE*; which clearly shows that their pretensions in this matter, are either so meanly subservient or so grossly inconsistent, that they are unworthy of a serious refutation. As the very best that can be said of them, they have so completely parted with common sense, that they do remarkably illustrate why the Bible calls the wicked **FOOLS**.

Here, then, I must reiterate the charge, that the Colonization Society, by holding out an unsubstantial, fatal lure, is seeking to banish from their country 400,000 of our own native born fellow citizens, nay, to banish 2,400,000.

But there remains another charge: The Colonization Society basely slanders the whole body of the free people of color. It makes them a degraded, vicious, incurably besotted class, who not only never can rise, but never can *be raised*, and are properly to be got rid of as a nuisance. How would the welkin have rung with peals of indignation if such a charge had been uttered against any class of our *white* fellow citizens? Even if it had been *true*, how would it have been represented as abusive and unchristian? But no candid man needs to be told that against the free men of color the charge is false, and calumnious as it is cruel. There is, as might be expected of necessarily poor and ignorant men, goaded by prejudice and persecution, much vice among them. They do not belong to that class of refined and innocent victims of oppression, which abound in novels, it may be; neither is their depravity sufficiently dignified to suit the lovers of romance; but it is an ill-looking, everyday, matter-of-fact thing. They need the same moral discipline which is needed by any other portion of the community. But amidst all their faults there are redeeming qualities, which must put to shame every white man who has not lost the power to blush. No field in the world is richer in instances of stern moral courage, unbending decision of character, exact integrity, unassailable fidelity, self-sacrificing patriotism, ardent thirst for knowledge, disinterested benevolence, and unfeigned piety, than the history of our free colored brethren. Multitudes of them have risen spontaneously from the lowest depths of slavery, have bought their freedom by years of toil, have risen amidst unmeasurable reproach and obloquy to an eminence that has extorted the admiration of their oppressors. Others have braved death for liberty, have been hunted from moun-

tain to mountain, have been ferreted from city to city, by monsters attracted by the price set upon their heads, till at length they have foiled all the advantages of their pursuers, and have planted themselves as quiet and industrious citizens of our northern republics. Some of them have borne away the palm of genius, by their own unaided endeavors. As a class, they have moved steadily forward, till they have consummated a **UNION**, whose voice, by its dignity and manful energy, has arrested the attention, and called forth the admiration of the wise and good in both hemispheres.

The defence, however, does not rest here; the calumniator may be convicted out of his own mouth. No sooner has he taught the community of white men to regard their black brethren as an excrescence, a gangrene, an intolerable nuisance, to be removed at whatever expense, than, in marvellous consistency, he turns around and urges their removal for the good of Africa. Every one of them, he says, "will become a **MISSIONARY** to Africa, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions." \* With the most dignified composure, he assures us that the same voyage which relieves our shores of a curse, lands an equal blessing upon the shores of Africa. Thus does the Society not only "kill two birds with one stone," but it throws one and the same stone, at the same time, in *opposite* directions. It has made the important discovery, that ignorance and vice, which bid defiance to the concentrated force of christianity, at home, when thrown upon a heathen shore, are the very leaven to produce christianity. That is to say, christianity cannot convert and elevate 400,000 free blacks, in the most favorable circumstances, much less, then, can it convert Africa: but these 400,000 unconverted blacks can do it; hence, they can do more for the cause of Christ, than christianity itself. Yes, poor christianity has come to be best propagated by its vilest enemies. Most exquisite absurdity!!

The Society is presented with this alternative—either to confess itself a calumniator, or give up its missionary pretensions. From this dilemma, there is no escape, except by the childish supposition, that some marvellous change takes place during the voyage to Liberia. The probability of a great change for the better, those will easily appreciate, who have themselves witnessed the effects of emigration. Had the absurd suppositions of the Society any existence, in fact, the world might probably be converted, not by the sacrifice of our comforts, but of our curses.

Again, the Society presents the colony, as it now stands, as a proof of what may be done (as soon as funds and the consent of the blacks themselves may be somehow obtained) in regard to all the free blacks of the land. But it is said that the morals of the Colony, are better than those of the United States. Therefore, either the Society deals falsely in arguing from the success of Liberia, to what may be done for all the free blacks, or it must allow that the morals of the colored people here, are as good as those of

\* Speech of Henry Clay.

their oppressors, or, in other words, that it is a calumniator. That is to say, if it has told the truth about Liberia, it has either convicted itself of a calumny against the free blacks here, or of a falsehood, when it has pretended that their emigration could benefit Africa. From this net of its own making, the Society can come off clear only by showing that the Colonists, now settled in Liberia, were an ignorant, vicious, degraded set while here; that they are now eminently the reverse, and that they became so in the very act of setting foot on the coast of Africa.

It is hardly necessary to add, that blushes and confessions could hardly make it plainer, than do these tortuosities of the Society, that it has been for sixteen years pouring out calumny and defamation against our brethren and countrymen, the free men of color.

And who are the objects of all this abuse? The strong, the proud, the haughty, the tyrannical? No: they are the weak, the humble, the defenceless. Magnanimous work indeed for the educated, the refined, the pious, the dignitaries of every profession, to scour the country for the sake of reviling the poor in public harangues! Such a work costs no sacrifice except that of conscience; (one which seems to have been made in the lump by the Colonization Society,) and, to drop irony, it is as despicable as it is cheap.

Virulent and persevering as this persecution has been, it is refreshing to every lover of his race, to know that it has failed of its object. With the exception of a few of the goaded and abused colored men of the South, who, as an English writer well remarks, "are glad to jump out of the fryingpan into the fire"—out of civil and religious persecution into Liberia—they have promptly negatived every offer to remove them; have attached themselves more closely to the country, and have been stimulated to the most laudable endeavors, to educate their children and elevate themselves. The friends of the free people of color are not afraid to compare the proceedings of the general convention of that people, in Philadelphia, with those of any other body of men whatever. Compare them, candid reader, with the proceedings of any of the annual meetings of the American Colonization Society, and say if, laying aside all evidence but the authorized minutes, you would not judge the latter to be a combination of unprincipled demagogues, seeking under the guise of benevolence, to remove from our land a respectable class of industrious and peaceable citizens, who, in their united capacity, defended themselves with a firm dignity, and exposed the insidious attacks of their enemies, in the fearless composure of persecuted honesty?

## CHAPTER IV.

## EFFECT ON AFRICA.

I COME now to the Society's last resort—its citadel when hotly pursued by northern philanthropists. It is almost certain that the non-slave-holding friends of the Society are, to a man, painfully conscious of a perpetual obscurity, like a Newfoundland fog, hanging around the point of the Society's tendency to remove slavery. Not even the figures, that are so often pompously paraded to show what *may be done*, can clear it away. Both the *how*, and the *when*, are beyond the reach of figures. The consummation so devoutly to be wished for, is a *semper fugiens*, to the Colonization Society, more evanescent than the silver cups at the end of the rainbow, and which leaves the silly arithmetician out of breath, and bewildered in his own pursuit. This, evidently, is not the aspect of the Society on which its friends like best to dwell. Nor is it less sure that they feel considerable embarrassment, in regard to its action on the free colored people. Especially is this true, if they happen to be well acquainted with colored men, and to know, as in this case they must, that to persuade them to emigrate, every benevolent regard, and every neighborly kindness, must be withholden, except on the express condition of going to Liberia. Men, who have a drop of the milk of human kindness in them, cannot but have some misgivings when they act with a Society, which, to secure its object, is obliged to applaud, or at least not to disapprove, the most iniquitous legal enactments. This again is a point which they are willing enough to have passed by. But, after all, the plan is adapted to benefit Africa.

1st. It will introduce christianity there. Even here, much obscurity beclouds the *how*? The Society does not very sedulously explain the precise adaptation of the means to the end; it does not show *how* the spark at Liberia, so singularly feeble, is to kindle to a blaze, a mass so singularly incombustible as the population of Africa. The material proposition that it *will*, is taken for granted. And as Africa and its geography have scarcely a place among *our* matters of fact, imagination takes the liberty to portray, in her own colors, the triumphs of the Gospel as it spreads from tribe to tribe, carrying the blessings of civilization in its train. Errant fancy threads the Niger, traverses the desert, climbs the mountains of the moon, and every where; her enchanted eyes rest on cities, villages, and rural dwellings, peopled by regenerated, enlightened and Christian men—and all this, from the Society's colony. He who would spoil such a dream, by obtruding upon it the unwelcome inquiries of common sense, is very gravely called upon to lay his hand upon his heart, and answer to his Maker for such gratuitous mischief!

Nevertheless, some plain inquiries must be urged, in behalf of 2,000,000 of slaves, whose rights are kept in abeyance, and in behalf of 400,000 freemen, who are being sacrificed in detail for the

sake of this mighty experiment on Africa. The equivocal character of the "*Missionary*" colonists has already been spoken of. But supposing their character all that could be wished, is a *commercial* colony adapted to christianize a savage people? If there is any example of this kind on record, there are advocates of the Society sufficiently profound in history to lay the finger upon it. Why have they not done so? The familiar examples with which we are acquainted, certainly look in a different direction. What colonies in the universe should produce this result, if not those of New-England? Some of them received their charters for the express purpose of benefitting the aborigines. Many of their ministers were devoted missionaries, who labored and prayed without ceasing for the conversion of the Indians. But, as we well know, their efforts were thwarted, and almost nullified, by the proximity of the white settlements. The superior skill in *trade*, of the foreigners, awakened the jealousy of the natives. Wars were the consequence, of which we know the disastrous result. To be brief, the history of christianity most clearly teaches us, that no colony can benefit ignorant and savage men, till it is itself so thoroughly christianized, in all its members, as not only to be honest, but to be so "in the sight of all men," and to abstain totally from war and ardent spirits. This is not true in regard to the colony at Liberia, nor can it be expected to be, on the plan of the Society. We are told of a brisk and successful trade with the natives in *trinkets*, *powder* and *shot*, and *rum*, and that many of the colonists are growing rich by it. No matter whether this is authorized by the Society or not, we are told that it *cannot* be *prevented*—not even the selling of *rum*. What would become of any Christian mission, and what of the heathen around it, if its members could not be prevented from selling *rum*!—if they enriched themselves by dealing in *trinkets*?—if they not only sold the materials of war, but had their mission house fortified with deadly ordnance? What would become of their claim to benevolence? Why, such a mission would be a scandal, a shame, a curse—the very worst obstacle that the devil could throw in the way of the Gospel chariot. The blessed Saviour, who came into this world, "not to do his own will," is impiously outraged by any such proceedings in his name. Would he, think you, Christian reader, have stood in that fort, where the first colonist repelled a host of savage assailants, adjusting, loading, aiming, and applying the match to that artillery which spent its deadly force on compact masses of living human flesh? No, he never would have built a fort. It was his practice, and that of his followers, to gain the confidence of men by showing confidence in them. He never asked for his disciples the protection of hell's engines of murder. Whenever they have asked it, he has withdrawn from them both his sword and his shield, and they have ceased to be victorious in his warfare.

Alas! poor Africa! Was it not enough that Christian robbers should chain and drive away thy strong men and women, murdering the grandsire, the mother, and the suckling together, and leav-

ing the ashes of their dwelling, reeking in their innocent blood?— Was it not enough that *they* should offer to thy parched lips the scalding beverage of devils, turning thy peaceful villages into scenes of murderous riot, and poisoning thy domestic bliss with universal suspicion and fear of treachery? Must Christian *missionaries*, in their first attempt to redress thy wrongs, bring with them the same blood-stained weapons—the same infernal drink? But I cannot proceed—my heart is pained—that first African blood—nay, fresher blood than that, is crying, like Abel's, in the ears of ETERNAL JUSTICE. The colony was stained with blood in its infancy—shall it proceed? Shall it grow up a murderer? No, says the voice of heaven-born charity, let it die a thousand deaths, rather than shed another drop of fraternal blood!! Let it throw away its carnal weapons, and humble itself before God, and bare its bosom, and extend its naked hand in fraternal affection, in the spirit of evangelic martyrdom, or else let American Christians renounce the pretence of christianizing Africa by its means. The very reason assigned by the Society, why the colored men cannot be elevated and evangelized here, is, that there exists an invincible antipathy, prejudice, and hatred, against them in the breasts of the whites—or, in other words, that the whites are so wickedly proud, and the blacks are so wickedly degraded in consequence of it, that the Gospel cannot act. And what is the tendency of that gainful traffic in poison, of that fort on the cape, with its powder and balls, and guns, and martial array, if it be not to raise up the same hostile prejudice there? Will a mere similarity of color neutralize this adverse influence? Will a few feeble rays of instruction, addressed to those savages, make a deeper impression upon their minds, than the bullets shot through the living flesh? There is, confessedly, in our own Christian country, a pestilence, antagonist to the life of the Gospel. Along with the Gospel, shall we inoculate the nations with this pestilence, which we may be sure, from their deep depravity, and a hundred experiments, will grow to the entire exclusion of the living principle? Why, in sober earnest, the colony is the most serious hindrance of the Gospel on the African coast. If the Christian church wishes to blot out the hopes of the heathen, let it carry every where the worldly *principles* of nominal christianity along with *its* "worldly gear."

2d. The Colonization Society is claimed to benefit Africa, by its tendency to destroy the slave trade. The first ground of this claim, is its alleged tendency to christianize Africa, which I have already considered. Secondly, the Colony does now defend a number of miles of coast from the slave traders, from which the traffic is entirely excluded; (the matter is far enough from being proved,) hence, it is argued, that if such colonies were planted all around Africa, the trade would be broken up, finished, annihilated. What simplicity! It reminds me of the scenes of childhood, when a number of ingenious babies of us, formed the design of damming a certain small brook, with a view to catch the fish, as the water below the dam forsook them. It was manifest that a single sod thrown in stopped the water in that place, so we calculated on the certainty of stopping

the whole with a sufficient number of sods. But how sadly were we disappointed when, a fine dam being built, before the water had time to recede beneath, that from above came pouring over with fresh impetuosity. The disappointment taught us that damming a stream is not the way to dry it up. A little of the Infant School philosophy, which was then less rife than now-a-days, would have taught us that water runs by virtue of an *attraction*, and that, if we could have found the means to destroy this attraction, we should not have been troubled with the water from above. In regard to that wide stream of human wo, the slave traffic, in which the Colonization Society, in the simplicity of perpetual babyhood, is always dabbling, the *attraction* may be removed. It lies within the reach of human agency. It lies in the price paid for human *cattle*! Abolish slavery; make it penal to hold human beings as property, and you stop the traffic henceforth and for ever. It is the *market* which calls the *supplies*. What! do we hold slaves at home—buy and sell them as *things*, drive them in herds from state to state, work and feed and lodge them as beasts, and yet wonder that they are brought to us across the ocean for sale? What boots it, to brandish the sword of justice in one hand, while we hold out the golden bribe in the other? As there must be perpetual fluctuations in the demand for labor, wherever labor is supplied by slavery, there must be a slave trade. If it could be banished from the ocean it would flourish the more at home. It would separate husbands and wives, parents and children, and open every where fresh sluices of unutterable wo. Nay, in one horrible particular, the domestic outdoes the foreign traffic; we do not learn that it is common for African *fathers* to sell their own children, but it is quite common for a planter, in one of our southern states to sell his own offspring—even after the most solemn promises to the sable mother that such a thing should never be done!!

It may even be questioned whether this miserably inconsistent opposition of the foreign traffic, has not increased the evil. In spite of the cruisers, the *market* has been *supplied*. This is all that would have been done at any rate. But to effect this the slaves have been the more cruelly "*packed*," and hundreds have been thrown overboard in chains, when the slaver was pressed with pursuit. I merely suggest this consideration to those who wish us to treat the subject of slavery with great delicacy—to touch it with caution, if *at all*, while they are making pictures of slave ships, stowed to the full, and rattling *African* slave chains from every pulpit. Consistency is a jewel. Let it not be understood that I oppose the calling of the foreign traffic piracy, or the measures taken to drive this piracy from the ocean. This ought ye to have done, but by no means to have left the other undone. If the trader is a pirate, the holder is a felon, and should be called so.

I was just closing this chapter, when I heard some one ask, (it seemed to be a female voice,) but do we not restore to Africa her long lost children? No, kind madam, a *figure of speech* has deceived us here. Africa, when stripped of its personification, is mere



inanimate rock and soil—and some of that very sandy—which has never had any right of property in the men who have inhabited it, much less in their descendants born on another continent. According to the constitution of the United States, every man belongs to himself. Every man owns himself as much as he owns his horse or his watch. If a thief should take your watch and retain it a long time, would you not think it a strange restitution, if he refused to restore it to you except on the spot where your *grandmother* was born; perhaps a thousand miles off? Again, if we must hold to the figure, and restore to Africa her children, why not to Europe, hers? Would they be any more welcome in one case than in the other? Would an armed colony of Europe's children, on the coast of France, or England, planted there expressly to introduce a new order of things, excite more jealousy, than will an armed colony of Africa's children, on the slave coast? And more, if Africa is to have her children, and Europe hers, what is to become of America's children?

This subject is capable of a much clearer development; but I conclude, on the view we have taken, that the benefit to Africa is exactly what might be expected of a ROBBER holding to his ROBBERY.

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## CHAPTER V.

### IMMEDIATE ABOLITION.

SINCE I have shown so little respect for a scheme considered by the bulk of the Christian community, as the last resort, and the only hope against the system of slavery, it may be expected that I should point out something better. The expectation is reasonable and shall not be disappointed. Under the government of God, as exhibited in this world, there is but one remedy for sin, and that is available only by a *repentance*, evidenced by reformation. There is no such thing as holding on to sin with safety. It is not only to be renounced, but the very occasions of it are to be avoided at whatever sacrifice. If thy right hand cause thee to offend, cut it off—if thy right eye, pluck it out. The dearest human relationships are to be broken through when they interfere with the relation which a man bears to God, and through him to his rational creatures. This being the case, we might naturally expect that the entire agency which God has provided to reclaim the world should be adapted to produce *immediate repentance*. It certainly is so, if we take the testimony of the Bible. When the Apostle of the Gentiles attacked idolatry, he said, "The times of this ignorance God winked at, (that is, used no special agency to prevent it,) but *now* commandeth *all men every where to*

*repent.* The living ministry, instituted by the author of christianity, and propagated from age to age, was designed to reform and save the world by preaching repentance—immediate, thorough repentance. When it gives up this message, whatever other means it may use, it does anything but reclaim men from sin. Throughout all the recorded messages of God to men, he expresses the utmost abhorrence of sin—there is no compassionate promise even, which is not based upon the condition that sin be forsaken as an abominable evil. The entire and total wickedness of men, is the subject of the first paragraph in every exposition of Gospel grace. Those men who are so excessively cautious not to disturb prejudice, who would remove sin while the wicked are asleep, stealing around the bed and effecting a *reformation* beforehand, so that the sinner may repent at his leisure without hindrance when he wakes, derive their authority elsewhere than from the word of God, as indeed they must derive their hope of success elsewhere than from the natural history of man. The doctrine of the immediate abolition of slavery asks no better authority than is offered by scripture. It is in perfect harmony with the letter and spirit of God's word.

The doctrine may be thus briefly stated. It is the duty of the holders of slaves immediately to restore to them their liberty, and to extend to them the full protection of law, as well as its control. It is their duty equitably to restore to them those profits of their labor, which have been wickedly wrested away, especially by giving them that moral and mental instruction—that education, which alone can render any considerable accumulation of property a blessing. It is their duty to employ them as voluntary laborers, on equitable wages. Also, it is the duty of all men to proclaim this doctrine—to urge upon slave-holders *immediate emancipation*, so long as there is a slave—to agitate the consciences of tyrants, so long as there is a tyrant on the globe.

Though this doctrine does not depend, in regard to the slave-holder, upon the safety of immediate emancipation, nor, in regard to the non-slave-holder, on the prospect of accomplishing any abolition at all, but upon the commands of God, yet I shall attempt to establish it upon those lower grounds. I am willing to rest the cause on the truth of the following propositions.

1. The instant abolition of the whole slave system is safe, and the substitution of a free labor system is safe, practicable and profitable.

2. The firm expression of an enlightened public opinion, on the part of non-slave-holders, in favor of instant abolition, is an effectual, and the only effectual means of securing abolition in any time whatsoever.

1. *Immediate abolition is safe.*

Were I speaking to a Christian public, who believed half they professed, I would not insult them by a labored argument on this point. It would be enough to have shown that emancipation is the duty of slave-holders, to arouse these Christians to plead the cause

of the oppressed, even at the peril of dungeons and gibbets. But the Christians of this age, must have not only a "thus saith the Lord," but a guarantee—safe as a real estate mortgage—that the performance of the duty shall not injuriously affect certain temporalities, which, taken together, little and great, are supposed to make up the public weal. No matter how many millions writhe in the last distress, the public safety is the paramount claim, the supreme law. And of this public safety—not God, but the public, is to be judge. With a thorough going Christian of the apostolic school, whatever is right, is of course *expedient*; but with the modern baptized "gnat strainer and camel swallower," nothing is right, which cannot be wire-drawn through his own apprehension of expediency. For the special benefit of such, I proceed to this argument.

The immediate abolition of slavery is safe, because, without giving to the slaves any motives to injure their masters, it would take away from them the very strong ones which they now have. Why does the white mother quake at the rustling of a leaf? Why, but that she is conscious that there are those around her, who have been deeply enough provoked to imbrue their hands in her blood, and in that of the tender infant at her breast? And this, while all is cringing servility around her—while every want is anticipated, and the most menial services are performed with apparent delight. But well she knows that it is a counterfeited delight. Well enough she knows, that were *she* subjected to the same degradation to which she subjects others, vengeance would fire her heart, and seek the first occasion to do its fellest deed. All the instincts of animal nature cry out, that oppression is dangerous. The natural history of man cries out, that there is a point, beyond which endurance would be miraculous.

But the slaves are now, not only under the motives common to humanity, to throw off their yoke, but they are urged on by the boasts and taunts of their masters. They must either yield up every pretension to manhood, and contentedly think themselves brutes, or they must apply to themselves, and be aroused to action, by those panegyrics on liberty, and that proud contempt of slavery, which meet them on every side. No matter how many laws may be thrown around the slave to keep out every ray of knowledge—you may prevent the knowledge of letters—you may withhold the book of God, and every other printed book—but you can no more shut out a knowledge of the fundamental propositions of human rights, by laws—you can no more shut out the spirit of liberty, than you can, by law, cause the sun not to shine, or the rain not to fall. The masters, in all their movements, their celebrations, their elections, their orations and conversations, on all occasions—are living and breathing sermons to the slaves, on the value of liberty. Does a tyrant, as for example the autocrat of all the Russias, who wishes to keep all his subjects quiet, harangue, in their hearing, on the value of his own liberty to do as he pleases—does he condemn those who have the meanness to submit to his despotism? Or, does he

speak of his love for his people, as having induced him to take this course or that?—and attribute all his actions to an ardent devotion to the public weal? Manifestly, the latter. Why, you might as well think of keeping powder for ever amidst the sparks in a blacksmith's shop, as of keeping slaves for ever in such a republic as ours. It is said, and with evident truth—educate the slaves, and they are free. The slave-holding legislatures, aware of this, and alarmed at some feeble individual attempts to communicate knowledge to the slaves, as if the universal prejudice and despotic power of the individual masters were not sufficient to repress the evil, have enacted **LAWS AGAINST TEACHING THE SLAVES TO READ.** This is a most capital blunder. It gives ominous pledge, that such tyranny as theirs is soon to be swept from the face of the earth. Had they let the matter alone, or had they made laws in favor of educating slaves, about as operative as the school laws of some of the states, the effectual degree of ignorance might have been secured. But they have, in effect, taught the slaves, in language which they can understand, what letters are good for—what printed books can do for men. And there will now be a desire to learn letters, and to read printed books, which the inquisitorial power and skill of all the popes could not repress. It might as well be expected to keep the ocean from wetting its shores, as to keep the floods of printed books from reaching the slave population.

There is another very striking point of view in which these movements may be regarded. So long as the slaves are left entirely to the control of individual masters, some kind and lenient, freeing now and then a slave, and promising freedom to others, and exercising a sort of patriarchal authority, while others are, each in his own way, more harsh and severe, the unity of the slaves, as a body, is broken. They have no common cause. Every conspiracy will be detected early, by means of those who, being kindly treated, have a blind attachment to their masters. But these legislative enactments are a common oppression. They form the slaves into a single body, give them a common interest, and break the claim of individual kindness, as well as attach, in the view of the slaves, an immeasurable importance to a knowledge of letters. Go on, then, tyrants—connect into one mine the explosive materials beneath you—dry the powder—increase the pressure—lay trains of the best fulminating mixtures, and wait for the spark, or the blow that is to annihilate you. Already have your abused, outraged vassals such motives to rid themselves of your yoke, that your knees smite together in spite of the boasted stoutness of your hearts. Go on, then, refuse to emancipate, add insult to injury—add stings to desperation—make death easier than bondage—for, in so doing, you assuredly hasten the day, when the American bill of rights shall mean what it says.

But if you recoil at the prospect—if sanity has not yet bid adieu to your heads, and the milk of human kindness is not quite dried up from your breasts—look at the other side. Immediate emancipation

would reverse the picture. It would place a motive to love you in the room of every one which now urges the slaves to hate you. They would then become, for you well know how grateful they are for even the slightest favors, your defenders instead of your murderers. The law which now represses their crimes, would then more effectually secure their good behavior, not being counteracted by the exasperating influence of individual irresponsible oppression. Your fields which now lie sterile, or produce but half a crop, because the whip of the driver, although it may secure its motion, cannot give force to the negro's hoe, would then smile beneath the plough of the freeman—the genial influence of just and equitable wages. Mark, that I say nothing of the amount of human happiness which might be reared by Christian instruction on this ground of justice, mercy and equal rights applied to 2,000,000 of men. Your own estates would be worth double the cash. The capital which you have expended in slaves—scarcely less than the value of your land—is sunk; for your slave labor after all costs more than free. And, besides, the waste arising from involuntary labor is prodigious. Make all labor free, and the purchaser can afford to pay for your land what he must now pay for the land and slaves together. Even in a pecuniary point of view the change from the slave to the free labor system would be profitable, and that upon your own comparison.\*

Do you say these are idle speculations of men who know nothing of facts—the dreams of visionary enthusiasts? Do you say the remedy would be worse than the disease?—that violence, rapine, murder—nay, universal massacre, would be the consequence of universal, immediate emancipation? Gentlemen, you mistake *us* much and our argument more. We are matter-of-fact people, and on the ground of well attested, unmagnified, undistorted facts, we defy you. Show us the stain of a single drop of any master's blood shed by an emancipated slave! Why silent? Why dumb? Why no motion of the finger?—Do you at length venture to point us to St. Domingo? It is too late. We have a better edition of the history of St. Domingo than yours, and one which you dare not impugn. The blood of the whites shed in St. Domingo was due either to the civil wars which preceded the act of emancipation, or to the unrighteous attempt of the French to reduce the negroes to slavery after they had quietly enjoyed their liberty for SEVERAL YEARS. Not one drop of it was shed by that act which in a moment made 500,000 freemen of as many slaves. Nay, it is testified by French proprietors themselves, that the negroes, without a known exception, went directly to work for their former masters, on wages—and even without wages or overseers they quietly cultivated those plantations which had been deserted by the whites. St. Domingo is a blazing beacon in favor of instant abolition, and against that monstrous infatuation and fiendish cruelty, which would attempt to repress the upward tendencies of the human soul by brute force.

\* See the "West India Question, by C. Stuart," where this subject is admirably discussed and for ever settled.

In the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Cayenne, the slaves were liberated at once and with the same safety. Mexico made her slaves free at a blow—but with the galling drawback that the masters should be remunerated for *their loss!* and yet we have heard of no evil consequences.

Large bodies of slaves were emancipated at once, in Colombia, during the revolution—no blood was shed but that of the enemies of the republic. There are 600,000 enfranchised Africans in Brazil, diffused throughout the body politic, enjoying its *honors* as well as doing its labors—who are respected and happy—no blood shed. In the colonies of Sierra Leone and Liberia, it is notorious that considerable bodies of emancipated slaves have been incorporated into regular governments—and under very unfavorable circumstances.

I might fill a volume with instances, but I repeat it, we are not only matter-of-fact people, but we enjoy a complete monopoly of facts; that is to say, of all *past* facts, for of the future we say nothing any more positively than we would predict the sun's rising to-morrow. We would speak modestly here, and say, that inasmuch as the sun always has risen once in twenty-four hours, the probability is, to our minds, that he will rise again to-morrow. Those may doubt our prediction who please. Just this and nothing more we would say in favor of immediate, unprepared-for emancipation. We *know* it always has been safe, and we confidently *expect* it will always be so. If such emancipations as I have referred to, in most or all of which justice was hampered and partial, were safe and happy, I beg to be told whether a complete and magnanimous act of justice on the part of our country, by which the slaves should be placed under the equitable government and firm protection of law, and by which the balm of our disabused bill of rights, should be applied to their lacerated feelings, would result in ruthless violence and butchery! He who can be persuaded of any such thing—nay, he who can fancy it, must be something else than a *natural* fool—he must have been *stultified* by *inoculation*.

Holders of stolen men! do you still point us to the degraded free blacks of the South, and say they are more miserable than the slaves? We deny the assertion. We appeal to yourselves whether there be any suffering even unto death which you would not endure rather than be slaves—rather than to be fed and fattened slaves—rather than to wear a single link of the slave's chain—rather than to submit to slavery even in the abstract principle, apart from all matters of reality. But granting the assertion to express a fact. You are not the men to plead it. You have made this fact with your own blood-stained hands—made it for the very purpose of disparaging the slave's freedom in the view of the slave, and the view of the world! This shall be proved from your own lips. J. A. M'Kinney, Esq., says, "Let them [the free blacks] be maltreated ever so much, the law gives them no redress unless some white person happens to be present to be a witness in the case. If they acquire

property, they hold it by courtesy of every vagabond in the country; and sooner or later are sure to have it filched from them.\*

But what if it were true, that the free black at the South is more miserable than the slave? It would be no argument against that sort of emancipation for which we plead. We plead for no *turning loose, no exile, no kicking out of house and home, but for complete and hearty JUSTICE*. Justice requires that the masters who have shut out the light of knowledge from their slaves, should now freely communicate it; that they should follow up their acts of emancipation by giving *employment* and affording the means of *education*. A wise and vigorous system of free labor and of primary instruction, should be immediately erected on the dark pile of oppression, which we urge them instantly to demolish. Nothing like this has been done heretofore, either at the South or the North, on any extensive and liberal scale. Is it a wonder then, that these poor enslaved men, when thus *turned adrift*, have in so many instances missed the path of moral and mental improvement? Is it not rather marvellous that they have not sunk, as a class, deeper in vice than we find them? We hold the masters bound, individually and in the aggregate, first to LIBERATE and then to ENLIGHTEN the IMMORTAL MINDS that have been abused and debased by their avarice and lust! JUSTICE hitherto has been clogged, defaced, mutilated; but the day of her power rolls on.—Her sun is above the horizon!

Shame on you, *proprietors of men!* Do not add to your inhuman cruelty the useless hypocrisy of professing to wish the free blacks away for their own good! Say, in plain English, for we cannot be much longer deceived, that your sole object is to rid yourselves of colored freedom, lest your slaves should be provoked to think themselves men, and discover that they too have *rights*. Shame on you too, benevolent colonizers! Do not add to your unchristian prejudice the gratuitous sycophancy of doing their foulest deeds for men-stealers! Say in plain English, for it will be believed whether you say it or not, that you succumb to arrogance, and are recreants to the Master in whose name you have been baptized!

If, after reading these thoughts, any candid mind should feel a lingering doubt whether emancipation, instant and unconditional, be safe, I beg such a mind to hold its decision in suspense till further facts, which have been unaccountably shut out from the public eye, are brought forward, which, I trust, will be at no distant day.

2. *The firm expression of an enlightened public opinion on the part of non-slave-holders, in favor of instant abolition, is an effectual, and the only effectual means of securing abolition in any time whatsoever.*

Many men, very wise men in their own estimation, dismiss abolition as a "wild" project, a "theory," a mere closet theory. Coloni-

\* See his speech in the African Repository. See also Mr. Brodnax's speeches before the Virginia legislature, and Mr. Archer's speech before the American Colonization Society.

zation is a *practical* business—therefore they are for colonization. But is speaking *truth* a theory? Is calling things by their right names a closet theory? How passing strange that one of our state legislatures should offer \$5,000 for the abduction of a mere theorist! For my own part, I had supposed that such large pecuniary transactions involved practical business. I had supposed that this reward might be viewed in the light of a steam-gage, which indicates the efficiency of the moving force. I had supposed it might be a necessary and *practical* part of the business of reclaiming wicked men, to say something which they would not choose to have us.

If northern men, as a body, would become abolitionists, and if they will not, what security have we that they will not become slave-holders? If they would speak out as abolitionists, would the people of the South regard it as a mere unpractical *theory*? May it not be that they now hold their slaves by virtue of our *theory* against *immediate emancipation*, expressed a thousand times through the Colonization Society and in other ways? If we, that is to say, all our *wise* and *prudent* men, have justified slavery, why should they condemn it? But if the cry, *cum tacent, clamant*, of 2,000,000 of oppressed men should enter our ears; if all our philanthropic men and women should be moved from the bottom of their hearts, and pour out the deep current of their united sympathy for the slave; and if the cautious and the timid, and the immovably *prudent*, should be, as they always are, borne along with the tide, might it not have a very practical bearing on the common sense and conscience of the southern people? How do we know that there are not hundreds and thousands among them, who need only to be backed by northern sentiment to become martyrs in the cause of humanity? Are we to be told that the most benevolent men at the South deprecate any such interference on our part? Let us have the proof that they are benevolent men. We cannot take their word for it, nor any man's word for it, till it is shown that those men are not slave-holders, and that they have no sympathy with slave-holders as such; otherwise, we are merely told of benevolent robbers,—a thing incredible, especially on the testimony of the robbers themselves. But, waiving this point, it is said they are on the ground, and know better than we what ought to be done, and how it ought to be done. "Why should men who have never set foot south of the Potomac or Ohio, pretend to know more about slavery and its remedy, than those who have been born and bred in the midst of it? Insufferable presumption!" This reminds me of a certain person—a *minister of the gospel*, reader—in this vicinity, who, on being asked to subscribe for an abolition newspaper, said he had not yet *read enough* on the subject to know whether a man could have a right of property in man or not! accordingly, he very sagely concluded *not* to take the newspaper till he had investigated the matter more thoroughly,—probably, to see whether or not it was worthy of investigation! Should such a man visit the South, and see with his own eyes, he would doubtless be well satisfied that man *can* have pro-



perty in man. What is a man's *honesty* good for, if he needs to make a pilgrimage to Georgia to learn whether stolen property ought to be given up?

Others exclaim, "But how can your scheme of *immediate, instant* abolition be practicable? Can a handful of northern men, or even the combined North, expect to overturn southern society from its foundation in a *moment*?—in the *twinkling of an eye*? What fools! Forsooth you will do nothing against slavery, unless you can do every thing, all at once! Heaven deliver *us* from such Quixotism! We are for the gradual abolition, for not attempting more than we can effect." What a pity that the great body of evangelical preachers of the gospel cannot learn wisdom of such counsellors. *They* preach *immediate, entire* repentance; of course they *expect*, "what fools!" to convert the whole world at a blow! Why do *they* not confine themselves to the doctrine of *gradual* repentance, and not attempt more than they are able to effect?

Now if I may be allowed to make a distinction too elementary to be overlooked by an infant, a *doctrine* is one thing, and a *plan* is another. When we say that slave-holders ought all to emancipate their slaves *immediately*, we state a *doctrine* which is *true*. We do not propose a *plan*. Our *plan*, and it has been explained often enough not to be misunderstood, is simply this: To promulgate the true *doctrine* of human rights in high places and low places, and all places where there are human beings. To whisper it in chimney corners and to proclaim it from the house-tops—yea from the mountain-tops. To pour it out like water from the pulpit and the press. To mix it up with all the food of the inner man, from infancy to gray hairs,—to give "line upon line and precept upon precept," till it forms one of the foundation principles and parts indestructible of the public soul. Let those who condemn this plan, renounce, if they have not done it already, the gospel plan for converting the world; let them renounce every plan of moral reformation, and every plan whatsoever, which does not terminate in the gratification of their own *animal* natures.

By prosecuting the plan described, we *expect* to see the benevolent, one by one at first, and afterwards in dense masses, awaking, gathering up their armor and rushing to the standard with the resolution to make up for lost time; we expect to see, at length, the full tide of public sympathy setting in favor of the slave. We expect to see him, when escaped from his cruel servitude, greeted by the friends of liberty, at the North, equally with the more courtly refugee of European tyranny. We expect to see the free colored American so educated and elevated in our own land, that it shall be notorious that the slave is BROTHER TO A MAN! In the meantime we expect to see the great body of slave-holders exasperated, foaming with rage and gnashing their teeth, threatening loudly to secede from the Union!! madly prating about the invasion of sacred rights, the disturbance of their domestic quiet, and the violation of solemn compacts; and with blind infatuation, riveting tighter the

fetters of their helpless victims. Nevertheless, we expect to see some tyrants, conscience stricken, loosen their grasp; we expect, with God's good help, to hear the trumpet of the world's jubilee announcing that the *last fetter* has been knocked off from the heel of the *last slave*.

Thus I have endeavored to develop the nature of the evil to be remedied, and have held up, side by side, the remedies proposed. The reader is called upon to judge between them. It is a question in which he cannot fail to be interested till he ceases to be a man. The remedies are fundamentally opposite. The one is physical, and aims, contrary to nature, to withdraw 2,500,000 laborers from a fruitful soil and a healthful climate, and plant them under a tropical sun, in a soil trampled and spoiled by civilized rapacity and still the resort of robbers, and all for the sake of avoiding the just vengeance of Heaven, without giving up that wicked prejudice which lies at the bottom of the sin. The other is moral; \* it addresses—not the *slave*, but the *master*; it seeks not to abolish slavery by a forced legislation, but to correct that public opinion on which law in a free country is based; it applies to the subject the principles of the Bible, in the *spirit* of the Bible; it holds no compromise with the open violators of God's law. Let public opinion be corrected and the requisite legislation will be easily applied, and a complete substitution of free for slave labor, without a removal of the laborers will be the consequence. Till that time let every slave-holder who becomes convinced of his sin act upon the principles of justice. No law can justly compel him to regard his fellow men as *property*—to buy and sell them. Let him say then to his slaves that they are *slaves* no longer, that he will treat them as *free*, and protect them *in his employ* as free laborers, to the extent of his ability. If the law interferes, on others the responsibility will rest. But the friends of free labor at the South, for they are certainly numerous, might combine on the plan of a mutual pledge, like the temperance pledge, to abstain from treating their fellow men as property, to advocate their indefeasible claim to liberty under law, and to open to them the field of knowledge. This must be done, or human nature must be left to right itself by **PHYSICAL FORCE**. Slavery cannot exist forever. If the slaves were all free to-day, it would be as vain to expect that they could be rooted up from the soil with their *own consent*—without an act of direct oppression—as it would be to expect the fish to betake themselves to the mountains. But unless the emigration is *altogether free*, a God of justice will not aid us. If we would have his favor, we must go for immediate emancipation upon the soil.

After all, many well-meaning people cannot, for their lives, see why emancipationists and colonizationists should not go together. This is merely because they do not see things as they are. I must be allowed to tell them a story.

\* See Appendix D.

## THE TWO DOGS.

### *A Fable.*

A shepherd, whose flock was infested nightly by a wolf, procured a spaniel to defend it. This dog, who seemed remarkably affectionate and obedient in presence of his master, was of little service to the poor sheep: for, though he barked furiously while the wolf was in the inclosure making his insidious attack, he no sooner saw him fairly off with the prey, than he ran to him and fawned upon him, and even at length received and devoured small bits of the torn flesh, and, to save appearances with his master, brought back in his mouth some of the pieces which the wolf had thrown away, and laid them down in the inclosure.

Grieved to see his flock still molested, the shepherd procured a mastiff—a dog of much fiercer countenance, and of unflinching mettle. His first growl agitated the wolf exceedingly, whereupon that old robber offered a large reward out of his plunder to any one who would bring the mastiff bound to his den. The spaniel, hearing of this, lamented the imprudence of the mastiff, and expressed his regret that any thing should be done to exasperate so ferocious an enemy as the wolf. The mastiff, however, was not to be intimidated. Expressing the sturdiest indignation, both against the wolf and his pusillanimous apologist, he set out to attack the robber in his den. At this moment the spaniel, seeing the resolute countenance and lofty bearing of his fellow, whined in a very soothing tone, why can we not go together? **BECAUSE**, growled the mastiff, *you have been for a dog's age the protector of this flock, and have never had a price set upon your head!*

FINIS.

## A P P E N D I X.

(A.) See page 22.

Extract from the speech of the Hon. Mr. Archer, of Virginia, at the fifteenth annual meeting of the American Colonization Society. ("Bound up with" the Fifteenth Annual Report!)

"Mr. Archer said, that he was not one of those, (however desirable it might be and was, in abstract speculation,) who looked to the complete removal of slavery from among us. If that "consummation, devoutly to be wished," were to be considered feasible at all, it was at a period too remote to warrant the expenditure of any resource of contemplation or contribution now. But a great benefit, short of this, was within reach, and made part of the scope of operation, of the plan of the Society. The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law, of the utmost regularity of action. Where this progress was neither stayed, nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it hastened, with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned, entirely, to the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe, which was repletion. If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of profitable employment, and as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. 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, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment.* This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand."

(B.) See page 28.

At the last meeting of the American Colonization Society, on motion of the Hon. Mr. Chambers, it was

*Resolved,* That the Society view, with the highest gratification, the continued efforts of the State of Maryland to accomplish her patriotic and her executive system in regard to her colored population, and that the late appropriation by that State, of two hundred thousand dollars in aid of African colonization, is hailed by the friends of the system, as a bright example to other states.

In support of this resolution, Mr. C., among other things, said,

"Sir, I reside in a slave State, alive to all the jealousies which a consideration of this kind must excite. No other State would be more sensitive at the slightest effort to withdraw from its own peculiar cognizance, the exclusive and entire control of all questions touching this species of property; none will go farther to sustain her right to such exclusive jurisdiction; and no citizen of the State would vindicate that claim with more unflinching zeal and firmness, than the individual now before you. But, sir, the apprehension is groundless—your Constitution avows, and your whole history proves that no such purpose exists. This Society interferes with the rights and interests of no one. Who has ever claimed for the Society or for the National Government, operating through its agency, the right to interfere

with, or control State legislation on the subject of slavery? There may be individuals in this Society, as there are out of it, who intemperately urge the subject of emancipation, and would desire to see it advance quite beyond the limits of prudence and safety. Such enthusiasts may be willing to make any Institution, Society, or Government, auxiliary to their wild and mischievous projects: but the Colonization Society, is not responsible for these intemperate fanatics: nor does it countenance or encourage their schemes:—It interferes in no way with the rights or the interests of owners of slaves. That in the prosecution of its legitimate operations, and by affording the prospect of comfort and respectability to the man of color, it may exert an influence altogether of a moral nature favorable to emancipation, with a view to colonization, may be admitted. It imposes no restraints, makes no demands, assails no man's rights, nor seeks to invade the volition which he indulges, or to disturb the enjoyment of what the laws secure to him. Its sole and single object is the colonization of the free, and with their full consent."

It will be plainly seen by the following extract from the Maryland Act, how the "full consent" of the "free" colored people is to be obtained. The most "benevolent" thing in the law appears to be this: it gives the slave the alternative of remaining in *bondage* if he does not *consent* to be an exile from his native land!

— "or in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be so removed, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to remove the said person or persons to such other place or places beyond the limits of this State, as the said Board shall approve of, and the said person or persons shall be willing to go to, and to provide for their reception and support at such place or places as the said board may think necessary, until they shall be able to provide for themselves out of any money that may be earned by their hire, or may be otherwise provided for that purpose, and in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be removed to any place beyond the limits of this State, and shall persist in remaining therein, then it shall be the duty of the said board to inform the sheriff of the county wherein such person or persons may be, of such refusal, and it shall thereupon be the duty of the said sheriff forthwith to arrest or cause to be arrested the said person or persons so refusing to emigrate from this State, and transport the said person or persons beyond the limits of this State: and all slaves shall be capable of receiving manumission, for the purpose of removal as aforesaid, with their consent, of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

(C.) See page 15.

The following extract from the speech of Mr. Archer, before referred to, reveals the reason why the free blacks at the South are "worse off" than the slaves. It seems that those who have heretofore emancipated, have neglected to *employ* and *educate*: they have "turned loose;" they have thrown the emancipated, while liberty was in the bud, directly beneath the influence of that system which *blasts* like the Upos! It is not the air and sunshine of *liberty* which has done this mischief to the freedman, but the *poison tree*, which must be torn out by the roots!

But where were the free blacks to find occupation in the slave-holding States, in which they abounded the most? In the other States, they might be absorbed to some extent, in domestic or mechanical service. This could take place to no extent, that deserved to be named, in the slave-holding States. There all the avenues of occupation were filled. Even were there space, A NECESSARY AND OBVIOUS TOLLY RESTRICTED THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE SEVERAL CASTS IN OCCUPATION. The free blacks were, therefore, destined, by an insurmountable barrier—a *fixed pole* of social law to the want of occupation—thence to the want of food—thence to the distresses which ensue that want—thence to the settled deprivation which grows out of these distresses, and is nursed at their bosoms: and this condition *was not casual, but fatal*. The evidence was not speculation in political economy—it was geometrical demonstration.

(D.) See page 45.

It is cried that abolition is a party question—that it belongs to *politics*, not to *religion*. I cannot better reply to this, than by quoting a passage from the London Christian Observer, directed against the same cry in England.

“But he [the Quarterly Reviewer] is averse to their system of diffusing a knowledge of the real nature of slavery through the land; nay, ‘he decidedly reprobates it.’ And why does he reprobate it? The reason is curious: ‘We do not object,’ he says, ‘in the slightest degree, to a deep rooted hatred of slavery, or a thorough knowledge on that or any other subject.’ This is precisely the profane to be expected when a man is about to defend slavery, or to plead against diffusing a knowledge of it. He, therefore, proceeds—‘But we protest against this thorough knowledge, or deep root of hatred, being confounded with religious feeling, or employed for party purposes.’ There is really something ludicrous in this sort of protest. Does the Reviewer mean that we are not to decide the question of slavery on religious grounds? That in this case alone we are not to try our conduct by the immutable principles of right and wrong, which are laid down in the word of God? That in this case alone we are not to appeal to the Christian maxim of ‘doing to others as we would that they should do unto us?’ That here alone we are not to bring into operation that divine charity, which seeks to relieve our fellow creatures from temporal misery and oppression, from mental degradation, and from spiritual death? And what, again, does he mean by *party purposes*? Is it that the energies which are enlisted in favor of the freedom and happiness of mankind, in favor of the oppressed against his oppressor, are to be likened to a scumble for place, or some paltry question of party politics? \* \* \* \* Party politics! Yes, the purposes of truth, and justice, and humanity—the promotion of the universal freedom of man—the cause of morality and religion—the cause of their country—the cause of God! May the people of England, young and old, be ever found devoted to such purposes! the zealous, unswerving, unshrinking partizans of such a cause!”

[Vol. 21, p. 576.]

An extract from the address of Bolivar to the legislature of Peru, or Bolivia, on the formation of their constitution in 1826.

“I have left untouched that law of laws—equality, without which all other guarantees perish, as well as all other rights. To her we are bound to make sacrifices. I have laid prostrate at her feet the infamous state of slavery.

“Legislators!—slavery is the infringement of all laws. A law having a tendency to preserve slavery, would be the grossest sacrilege. What right can be alleged in favor of its continuance? In whatever view this crime is considered, I am persuaded that there is not a single Bolivian in existence so depraved, as to pretend that such a signal violation of the dignity of man can be legalized. Man to be possessed by his fellow man—man to be made property of! The image of the Deity to be put under the yoke! Let these usurpers show us their title deeds! The coast of Guinea has not sent them to us; for Africa, devastated by fratricide, exhibits nought but crimes. After these relics of African tribes are transported hither, what law or power can sanction a dominion over these victims? The act of transmitting, prologuing, and perpetrating this crime, with its admixture of executions, forms the most shocking outrage. A principle of possession, founded on the most serious delinquency, could not be conceived without overturning and upsetting all the elements of right, and without a perversion of the most absolute notions of duty.”

Have Protestant Christians of North America no blush?

## CORRIGENDA.

Page 10, line 10, for *house* read *home*.

“ “ line 29, for *are few* read *are a few*.

“ 17, line 17, for *clink* read *clank*.

“ 23, from the bottom, line 10, after *night-born* insert *innocence*.



