

ACM 7868
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SPEECH

OF THE

HON. HENRY CLAY,

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

IN THE

HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 20, 1827.



WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE DOCUMENTS THEREIN REFERRED TO.



WASHINGTON:

PRINTED AT THE COLUMBIAN OFFICE, NORTH E STREET.

1827.

Printed at the request of the Society.

SPEECH.

Mr. CLAY rose. I cannot (said he) withhold the expression of my congratulations to the Society on account of the very valuable acquisition which we have obtained in the eloquent gentleman from Boston, (Mr. Knapp,) who has just before favoured us with an address. He has told us of his original impressions, unfavourable to the object of the Society, and of his subsequent conversion. If the same industry, investigation and unbiassed judgment, which he and another gentleman, (Mr. Powell,) who avowed at the last meeting of the Society, a similar change wrought in his mind, were carried, by the public at large, into the consideration of the plan of the Society, the conviction in its favour would be universal.

I have risen to submit a resolution, in behalf of which I would bespeak the favour of the Society. But before I offer any observations in its support, I must say that, whatever part I shall take in the proceedings of this Society, whatever opinions or sentiments I may utter, they are exclusively my own. Whether they are worth any thing or not, no one but myself is at all responsible for them. I have consulted with no person out of this Society; and I have especially abstained from all communication or consultation with any one to whom I stand in any official relation. My judgment on the object of this Society has been long since deliberately formed. The conclusions to which, after much and anxious consideration, my mind has been brought, have been neither produced nor refuted by the official station the duties of which have been confided to me.

From the origin of this Society, every member of it has, I believe, looked forward to the arrival of a period, when it would become necessary to invoke the public aid in the execution of the great scheme which it was instituted to promote. Considering itself as the mere pioneer in the cause which it had undertaken, it was well aware that it could do no more than remove preliminary difficulties and point out a sure road to ultimate success; and that the public only could supply that regular, steady, and efficient support, to which the gratuitous means of benevolent individuals would be found incompetent. My surprise has been that the Society has been able so long to sustain itself, and to do so much upon the charitable contributions of good and pious and enlightened men, whom it has happily found in all parts of our country. But our work has so prospered, and grown under our hands, that the appeal to the power and resources of the public should be no longer deferred. The resolution which I have risen to propose contemplates this appeal. It is in the following words:—

“*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers be empowered and directed, at such time or times as may seem to them expedient, to make respectful application to the Congress of the United States, and to the Legislatures of the different States, for such pecuniary aid, in furtherance of the object of this Society, as they may respectively be pleased to grant.”

In soliciting the countenance and support of the Legislatures of the Union and the States, it is incumbent on the Society, in making out its case, to show, 1st. That it offers to their consideration a scheme which is practicable.— And 2nd. That the execution of the practicable scheme, partial or entire, will be fraught with such beneficial consequences as to merit the support which is solicited. I believe both points to be maintainable. 1st. It is now a little upwards of ten years since a religious, amiable and benevolent resident* of this City, first conceived the idea of planting a Colony, from the United States, of free people of colour, on the Western shores of Africa. He is no more, and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him would be to inscribe upon his tomb, the merited epitaph, “Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society.” Amongst others, to whom he communicated the project, was the person who now has the honour of addressing you. My first impressions, like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own reflections, and I finally agreed with him that the experiment was worthy of a fair trial. A meeting of its friends was called—organized as a deliberative body, and a Constitution was formed. The Society went into operation. He lived to see the most encouraging progress in its exertions, and died in full confidence of its complete success. The Society was scarcely formed before it was exposed to the derision of the unthinking; pronounced to be visionary and chimerical by those who were capable of adopting wiser opinions, and the most confident predictions of its entire failure were put forth. It found itself equally assailed by the two extremes of public sentiment in regard to our African population. According to one, (that rash class which, without a due estimate of the fatal consequence, would forthwith issue a decree of general, immediate, and indiscriminate emancipation,) it was a scheme of the slave holder to perpetuate slavery. The other (that class which believes slavery a blessing, and which trembles with aspen sensibility at the appearance of the most distant and ideal danger to the tenure by which that description of property is held,) declared it a contrivance to let loose on society all the slaves of the country, ignorant, uneducated, and incapable of appreciating the value, or enjoying the privileges of freedom.† The Society saw itself surrounded by every sort of embarrassment. What great human enterprise was ever undertaken with-

* It has been, since the delivery of the Speech, suggested that the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, (who is also unfortunately dead,) contemplated the formation of a Society, with a view to the establishment of a Colony in Africa, and probably first commenced the project. It is quite likely that he did; and Mr C. recollects seeing Mr. Finley and consulting with him on the subject, about the period of the formation of the Society. But the allusion to Mr. Caldwell was founded on the facts well known to Mr. Clay of his active agency in the organization of the Society, and his unremitting subsequent labours, which were not confined to the District of Columbia, in promoting the cause.

† A Society of a few individuals, without power, without other resources than those which are supplied by spontaneous benevolence, to emancipate all the slaves of the Country!

out difficulty? What ever failed, within the compass of human power, when pursued with perseverance and blessed by the smiles of Providence? The Society prosecuted undismayed its great work, appealing for succour to the moderate, the reasonable, the virtuous, and religious portions of the public. It protested, from the commencement, and throughout all its progress, and it now protests, that it entertains no purpose, on its own authority or by its own means, to attempt emancipation partial or general; that it knows the General Government has no Constitutional power to achieve such an object; that it believes that the States, and the States only, which tolerate slavery, can accomplish the work of emancipation; and that it ought to be left to them, exclusively, absolutely, and voluntarily, to decide the question.

The object of the Society was the colonization of the free coloured people, not the slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments are also voluntary. But it was said that no free coloured persons could be prevailed upon to abandon the comforts of civilized life and expose themselves to all the perils of a settlement in a distant, inhospitable and savage country; that, if they could be induced to go on such a quixotic expedition, no territory could be procured for their establishment as a Colony; that the plan was altogether incompetent to effectuate its professed object; and that it ought to be rejected as the idle dream of visionary enthusiasts. The Society has outlived, thank God, all these disastrous predictions. It has survived to swell the list of false prophets. It is no longer a question of speculation whether a Colony can or cannot be planted from the United States of free persons of colour on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated; such a Colony, in fact, exists, prospers, has made successful war, and honourable peace, and transacts all the multiplied business of a civilized and Christian community.* It now has about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts, and other means of defence, sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence over the neighbouring clans.

Numbers of the free African race among us are willing to go to Africa. The Society has never experienced any difficulty on that subject, except that its means of comfortable transportation have been inadequate to accommodate all who have been anxious to migrate. Why should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social gradation—aliens—political—moral—social aliens, strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends and their kindred, at home, though born in a foreign land, and elevated above the natives of the country, as much as they are degraded here below the other classes of the community. But on this matter, I am happy to have it in my power to furnish indisputable evidence from the most authentic source, that of large numbers of free persons of colour themselves. Numerous meetings have been held in several churches in Baltimore, of the free people of colour, in which, after being organized as deliberative assemblies,

* See the last Annual Report and the highly interesting historical sketch of the Rev. Mr. Ashmun, in the Appendix.

by the appointment of a Chairman (if not of the same complexion) presiding as you, Mr. Vice President, do, and Secretaries, they have voted memorials addressed to the white people, in which they have argued the question with an ability, moderation, and temper, surpassing any that I can command, and emphatically recommended the Colony of Liberia to favourable consideration, as the most desirable and practicable scheme ever yet presented on this interesting subject. I ask permission of the Society to read this highly creditable document.

[Here Mr. C. read the Memorial referred to—See Appendix.]

The Society has experienced no difficulty in the acquisition of a territory, upon reasonable terms, abundantly sufficient for a most extensive Colony. And land in ample quantities, it has ascertained, can be procured in Africa, together with all rights of sovereignty, upon conditions as favourable as those on which the United States extinguish the Indian title to territory within their own limits.

In respect to the alleged incompetency of the scheme to accomplish its professed object, the Society asks that that object should be taken to be, not what the imaginations of its enemies represent it to be, but what it really proposes. They represent that the purpose of the Society is to export the whole African population, of the United States, bond and free; and they pronounce this design to be unattainable. They declare that the means of the whole country are insufficient to effect the transportation to Africa of a mass of population approximating to two millions of souls. Agreed; but that is not what the Society contemplates. They have substituted their own notion for that of the Society. What is the true nature of the evil of the existence of a portion of the African race in our population? It is not that there are *some*, but that there are so *many* among us of a different caste, of a different physical, if not moral, constitution, who never can amalgamate with the great body of our population. In every country persons are to be found varying in their colour, origin, and character, from the native mass. But this anomaly creates no inquietude or apprehension, because the exotics, from the smallness of their number, are known to be utterly incapable of disturbing the general tranquillity. Here, on the contrary, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue, of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass, can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.

The Colonization Society has never imagined it to be practicable, or within the reach of any means which the several Governments of the Union could bring to bear on the subject, to transport the whole of the African race within the limits of the United States. Nor is that necessary to accomplish the desirable objects of domestic tranquillity, and render us one homogeneous people. The population of the United States has been supposed to duplicate in periods of twenty-five years. That may have been the case heretofore, but the terms of duplication will be more and more protracted.

as we advance in national age ; and I do not believe that it will be found, in any period to come, that our numbers will be doubled in a less term than one of about thirty-three and a third years. I have not time to enter now into details in support of this opinion. They would consist of those checks which experience has shown to obstruct the progress of population, arising out of its actual augmentation and density, the settlement of waste lands, &c. Assuming the period of thirty-three and a third, or any other number of years, to be that in which our population will hereafter be doubled, if, during that whole term, the capital of the African stock could be kept down, or stationary, whilst that of European origin should be left to an unobstructed increase, the result, at the end of the term, would be most propitious.— Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States, is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the proportion would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space.

This Society is well aware, I repeat, that they cannot touch the subject of slavery. But it is no objection to their scheme, limited as it is exclusively to those free people of colour who are willing to migrate, that it admits of indefinite extension and application, by those who alone, having the competent authority, may choose to adopt and apply it. Our object has been to point out the way, to show that colonization is practicable, and to leave it to those States or individuals, who may be pleased to engage in the object, to prosecute it. We have demonstrated that a Colony may be planted in Africa, by the fact that an American Colony there exists. The problem which has so long and so deeply interested the thoughts of good and patriotic men, is solved—a country and a home have been found, to which the African race may be sent, to the promotion of their happiness and our own.

But, Mr. Vice President, I shall not rest contented with the fact of the establishment of the Colony, conclusive as it ought to be deemed, of the practicability of our purpose. I shall proceed to show, by reference to indisputable statistical details and calculations, that it is within the compass of reasonable human means. I am sensible of the tediousness of all arithmetical data, but I will endeavour to simplify them as much as possible.— It will be borne in mind that the aim of the Society is to establish in Africa a Colony of the free African population of the United States ; to an extent which shall be beneficial both to Africa and America. ~~The whole free~~

oured population of the United States amounted in 1790, to 59,481; in 1800, to 110,072; in 1810, to 186,446; and in 1820, to 233,530. The ratio of annual increase during the first term of ten years, was about eight and a half per cent. per annum; during the second, about seven per cent. per annum; and during the third, a little more than two and a half. The very great difference in the rate of annual increase, during those several terms, may probably be accounted for by the effect of the number of voluntary emancipations operating with more influence upon the total smaller amount of free coloured persons at the first of those periods, and by the facts of the insurrection in St. Domingo, and the acquisition of Louisiana, both of which, occurring during the first and second terms, added considerably to the number of our free coloured population.

Of all descriptions of our population, that of the free coloured, taken in the aggregate, is the least prolific, because of the checks arising from vice and want. During the ten years, between 1810 and 1820, when no extraneous causes existed to prevent a fair competition in the increase between the slave and the free African race, the former increased at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum, whilst the latter did not much exceed two and a half. Hereafter it may be safely assumed, and I venture to predict will not be contradicted by the return of the next census, that the increase of the free black population will not surpass two and a half per cent. per annum. Their amount at the last census, being 233,530, for the sake of round numbers, their annual increase may be assumed to be 6000, at the present time. Now if this number could be annually transported from the United States during a term of years, it is evident that, at the end of that term, the parent capital will not have increased, but will have been kept down at least to what it was at the commencement of the term. Is it practicable then to colonize annually six thousand persons from the United States, without materially impairing or affecting any of the great interests of the United States? This is the question presented to the judgments of the Legislative authorities of our country. This is the whole scheme of the Society. From its actual experience, derived from the expenses which have been incurred in transporting the persons already sent to Africa, the entire average expense of each Colonist, young and old, including passage money and subsistence, may be stated at twenty dollars per head. There is reason to believe that it may be reduced considerably below that sum. Estimating that to be the expense, the total cost of transporting 6000 souls, annually to Africa, would be \$120,000. The tonnage requisite to effect the object, calculating two persons to every five tons (which is the provision of existing law) would be 15,000 tons. But as each vessel could probably make two voyages in the year, it may be reduced to 7500. And as both our mercantile and military marine might be occasionally employed on this collateral service, without injury to the main object of the voyage, a further abatement might be safely made in the aggregate amount of the necessary tonnage. The navigation concerned in the commerce between the Colony and the United States, (and it already

begins to supply subjects of an interesting trade,) might be incidentally employed to the same end.

Is the annual expenditure of a sum no larger than \$120,600, and the annual employment of 7500 tons of shipping, too much for reasonable exertion, considering the magnitude of the object in view? Are they not, on the contrary, within the compass of moderate efforts?

Here is the whole scheme of the Society—a project which has been pronounced visionary by those who have never given themselves the trouble to examine it, but to which I believe most unbiassed men will yield their cordial assent, after they have investigated it.

Limited as the project is, by the Society, to a Colony to be formed by the free and unconstrained consent of free persons of colour, it is no objection, but on the contrary a great recommendation of the plan, that it admits of being taken up and applied on a scale of much more comprehensive utility. The Society knows, and it affords just cause of felicitation, that all or any one of the States which tolerate slavery may carry the scheme of colonization into effect, in regard to the slaves within their respective limits, and thus ultimately rid themselves of an universally acknowledged curse.—A reference to the results of the several enumerations of the population of the United States will incontestably prove the practicability of its application on the more extensive scale. The slave population of the United States amounted in 1790, to 697,697; in 1800, to 896,849; in 1810, to 1,191,364; and in 1820, to 1,538,128. The rate of annual increase, (rejecting fractions and taking the integer to which they make the nearest approach,) during the first term of ten years was not quite three per cent. per annum, during the second, a little more than three per cent. per annum, and during the third, a little less than three per cent.* The mean ratio of increase for the whole period of thirty years was very little more than three per cent. per annum. During the first two periods, the native stock was augmented by importations from Africa in those States which continued to tolerate them, and by the acquisition of Louisiana. Virginia, to her eternal honour, abolished the abominable traffic among the earliest acts of her self-government. The last term alone presents the natural increase of the capital unaffected by any extraneous causes. That authorizes, as a safe assumption, that the future increase will not exceed three per cent. per annum. As our population increases the value of slave labour will diminish, in consequence of the superiour advantages in the employment of free labour. And when the value of slave labour shall be materially lessened either by the multiplication of the supply of slaves beyond the demand, or by the competition between slave and free labour, the annual increase of slaves will be reduced, in consequence of the abatement of the motives to provide for and rear the offspring.

Assuming the future increase to be at the rate of three per cent. per annum, the annual addition to the number of slaves in the United States,

* See a table in the Appendix.

calculated upon the return of the last census (1,538,128) is 46,000. Applying the data which have been already stated and explained, in relation to the colonization of free persons of colour from the United States to Africa, to the aggregate annual increase both bond and free of the African race, and the result will be found most encouraging. The total number of the annual increase of both descriptions is 52,000. The total expense of transporting that number to Africa, (supposing no reduction of present prices) would be one million and forty thousand dollars, and the requisite amount of tonnage would be only 130,000 tons of shipping, about one-ninth part of the mercantile marine of the United States. Upon the supposition of a vessel's making two voyages in the year, it would be reduced to one half, 65,000. And this quantity would be still further reduced, by embracing opportunities of incidental employment of vessels belonging both to the mercantile and military marines.

But, is the annual application of \$1,040,000; and the employment of 65 or even 130,000 tons of shipping, considering the magnitude of the object, beyond the ability of this country? Is there a patriot, looking forward to its domestic quiet, its happiness and its glory, that would not cheerfully contribute his proportion of the burthen to accomplish a purpose so great and so humane? During the general continuance of the African slave trade, hundreds of thousands of slaves have been, in a single year, imported into the several countries whose laws authorized their admission. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the powers now engaged to suppress the slave trade, I have received information, that in a single year, in the single island of Cuba, slaves equal in amount to one-half of the above number of 52,000, have been illicitly introduced. Is it possible that those who are concerned in an infamous traffic can effect more than the States of this Union, if they were seriously to engage in the good work? Is it credible—is it not a libel upon human nature to suppose, that the triumphs of fraud and violence and iniquity, can surpass those of virtue and benevolence and humanity?

The population of the United States being, at this time, estimated at about ten millions of the European race, and two of the African, on the supposition of the annual colonization of a number of the latter equal to the annual increase, of both of its classes, during the whole period necessary to the process of duplication of our numbers, they would, at the end of that period, relatively stand twenty millions for the white and two for the black portion. But an annual exportation of a number equal to the annual increase, at the beginning of the term, and persevered in to the end of it, would accomplish more than to keep the parent stock standing. The Colonists would comprehend more than an equal proportion of those of the prolific ages. Few of those who had passed that age would migrate. So that the annual increase of those left behind would continue gradually, but, at first, insensibly, to diminish; and by the expiration of the period of duplication it would be found to have materially abated. But it is not merely the greater relative safety and happiness which would, at the termination of that period, be the condition of the whites. Their ability to give further stimulus to the cause

of colonization will have been doubled, whilst the subjects on which it would have to operate will have decreased or remained stationary. If the business of colonization should be regularly continued during two periods of duplication, at the end of the second, the whites would stand to the blacks, as forty millions to not more than two, whilst the same ability will have been quadrupled. Even if colonization should then altogether cease, the proportion of the African to the European race will be so small that the most timid may then, for ever, dismiss all ideas of danger from within or without, on account of that incongruous and perilous element in our population.

Further; by the annual withdrawal of 52,000 persons of colour, there would be annual space created for an equal number of the white race. The period, therefore, of duplication of the whites, by the laws which govern population, would be accelerated.

Such, Mr. Vice President, is the project of the Society; and such is the extension and use which may be made of the principle of colonization, in application to our slave population, by those States which are alone competent to undertake and execute it. All, or any one, of the States which tolerate slavery may adopt and execute it, by co-operation or separate exertion. If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it, by foreign nations—if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honour of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror.

Having I hope shown that the plan of the Society is not visionary, but rational and practicable; that a Colony does in fact exist, planted under its auspices; that free people are willing and anxious to go; and that the right of soil as well as of Sovereignty may be acquired in vast tracts of country in Africa, abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the most ample Colony, and at prices almost only nominal, the task which remains to me of shewing the beneficial consequences which ~~could~~ attend the execution of the scheme, is comparatively easy.

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population, supposing it to be practicable, none have ever doubted. The mode of accomplishing that most desirable object, has alone divided public opinion. Colonization in Hayti, for a time, had its partisans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme, the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. The Haytien project has passed away. Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains has sometimes been proposed; but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project whilst it would not unite the same antiating motives. There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and

liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the Universe; (whose ways are often inscrutable by short sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing, to that most unfortunate portion of the Globe. Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free coloured. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites. If the principle of colonization should be confined to them; if a colony can be firmly established and successfully continued in Africa which should draw off annually an amount of that portion of our population equal to its annual increase, much good will be done. If the principle be adopted and applied by the States, whose laws sanction the existence of slavery, to an extent equal to the annual increase of slaves, still greater good will be done. This good will be felt by the Africans who go, by the Africans who remain, by the white population of our country, by Africa and by America. It is a project which recommends itself to favour in all the aspects in which it can be contemplated. It will do good in every and any extent in which it may be executed. It is a circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole.

Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions. Why is it that the degree of success of missionary exertions is so limited, and so discouraging to those whose piety and benevolence prompt them? Is it not because the missionary is generally an alien and a stranger, perhaps of a different colour, and from a different tribe? There is a sort of instinctive feeling of jealousy and distrust towards foreigners which repels and rejects them in all countries; and this feeling is in proportion to the degree of ignorance and barbarism which prevail. But the African Colonists, whom we send to convert the heathen, are of the same colour, the same family, the same physical constitution. When the purposes of the Colony shall be fully understood, they will be received as long lost brethren restored to the embraces of their friends and their kindred by the dispensations of a wise Providence.

The Society is reproached for agitating this question. It should be recollected that the existence of free people of colour is not limited to the States only which tolerate slavery. The evil extends itself to all the States, and some of those which do not allow of slavery, (their cities especially,) experience the evil in an extent even greater than it exists in the slave States. A common evil confers a right to consider and apply a common remedy. Nor is it a valid objection that this remedy is partial in its operation or distant in its efficacy. A patient, writhing under the tortures of excruciating disease, asks of his physician to cure him if he can, and, if he cannot, to mitigate his sufferings. But the remedy proposed, if generally adopted and perseveringly applied, for a sufficient length of time, should it not entirely eradicate the disease, will enable the body politic to bear it without danger and without suffering.

We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. The Society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquillity; it

addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligations of obedience. It seeks to affect no man's property. It neither has the power nor the will to affect the property of any one contrary to his consent. The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind. The Society, composed of free men, concerns itself only with the free. Collateral consequences we are not responsible for. It is not this Society which has produced the great moral revolution which the age exhibits. What would they, who thus reproach us, have done? If they would repress all tendencies towards Liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this Society. They must go back to the era of our Liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave trade, with all its train of atrocities. They must suppress the workings of British philanthropy, seeking to meliorate the condition of the unfortunate West Indian slaves. They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thralldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all these purposes, their work will be yet incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies, and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race who are doomed to bondage.

Our friends, who are cursed with this greatest of human evils, deserve the kindest attention and consideration. Their property and their safety are both involved. But the liberal and candid among them will not, cannot, expect that every project to deliver our country from it is to be crushed because of a possible and ideal danger.

Animated by the encouragement of the past, let us proceed under the cheering prospects which lie before us. Let us continue to appeal to the pious, the liberal and the wise. Let us bear in mind the condition of our forefathers, when, collected on the beach of England, they embarked, amidst the scoffings and the false predictions of the assembled multitude, for this distant land; and here, in spite of all the perils of forest and ocean, which they encountered, successfully laid the foundations of this glorious Republic. Undismayed by the prophecies of the presumptuous, let us supplicate the aid of the American Representatives of the people, and redoubling our labours, and invoking the blessings of an all-wise Providence, I boldly and confidently anticipate success. I hope the resolution which I offer will be unanimously adopted.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Report of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, presented at its annual meeting, January 13th, 1827.

The system of Government established with the full consent of the Colonists, in the autumn of 1824, and which the Managers had the happiness to represent in their last Report, as having thus far fulfilled all the purposes of its institution, has continued its operations during the year without the least irregularity, and with undiminished success. The republican principle is introduced as far as is consistent with the youthful and unformed character of the settlement, and in the election of their officers the Colonists have evinced such integrity and judgment as afford promise of early preparation for all the duties of self government. "The civil prerogatives and government of the Colony and the body of the laws by which they are sustained," says the Colonial Agent, "are the pride of all. I am happy in the persuasion I have, that I hold the balance of the laws in the midst of a people, with whom the first perceptible inclination of the sacred scale determines authoritatively, their sentiments and their conduct. There are individual exceptions, but these remarks extend to the body of the settlers."

The moral and religious character of the Colony, exerts a powerful influence on its social and civil condition. That piety which had guided most of the early emigrants to Liberia, even before they left this country, to respectability and usefulness among their associates, prepared them, in laying the foundations of a Colony, to act with a degree of wisdom and energy which no earthly motives could inspire. Humble, and for the most part unlettered men; born and bred in circumstances the most unfavorable to mental culture; unsustained by the hope of renown, and unfamiliar with the history of great achievements and heroic virtues, theirs was nevertheless a spirit unmoved by dangers or by sufferings, which misfortunes could not darken, nor death dismay. They left America, and felt that it was forever: they landed in Africa, possibly to find a home, but certainly a grave: Strange would it have been had the religion of every individual of these early settlers proved genuine; but immensely changed as have been their circumstances and severely tried their faith, most have preserved untarnished the honours of their profession, and to the purity of their morals and the consistency of their conduct, is in a great measure to be attributed the social order and general prosperity of the Colony of Liberia. Their example has proved most salutary and while subsequent emigrants have found themselves awed and restrained, by their regularity, seriousness and devotion, the poor natives have given their confidence and acknowledged the excellence of practical Christianity. "It deserves record," says Mr. Ashmun, "that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the Colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government." Examples of intemperance, profaneness or licentiousness, are extremely rare, and vice, wherever it exists, is obliged to seek concealment from the public eye. The Sabbath is universally respected; Sunday schools, both for the children of the Colony and for the natives, are established; all classes attend regularly upon the worship of God; some charitable associations have been formed for the benefit of the heathen; and though it must not be concealed, that the deep concern on the subject of religion, which resulted, towards the conclusion of the year 1825, in the public profession of Christianity by about fifty Colonists, has in a measure subsided, and some few cases of delinquency since occurred; and though there are faults growing out of the early condition and habits of the settlers which require amendment; yet the Managers have reason to believe, that there is a vast and increasing preponderance on the side of correct principle and virtuous practice.

The agriculture of the Colony, has received less attention than its importance demands. This is to be attributed to the fact, that the labour of the settlers has been applied to objects conducing more immediately to their subsistence and comfort.

It will not, the Board trust, be concluded that, because more might have been done for the agricultural interests of the Colony, what has been effected is inconsiderable. Two hundred and twenty-four plantations, of from five to ten acres each, were, in June last, occupied by the settlers, and most of them are believed to be at present under cultivation. One hundred and fourteen of these are on Cape Montserado, thirty three on Stockton creek, denominated the Halfway Farms, because nearly equi-distant from Monrovia and Caldwell, the St. Paul's settlement) and seventy-seven at the confluence of Stockton creek with the St. Paul's.

The St. Paul's Territory includes the Halfway Farms, and is represented as a beautiful tract of country, comparatively open, well watered and fertile, and still further recommended as having been, for ages, selected by the natives on account of its productiveness for their rice and cassada plantations. The agricultural habits of the present occupants of this tract, concur with the advantages of their situation, in affording promise of success to their exertions. "Nothing," says the Colonial Agent, "but circumstances of the most extraordinary nature, can prevent them from making their way directly to respectability and abundance."

Oxen were trained to labour in the Colony in 1825, and it was then expected that the plough would be introduced in the course of another year. Although commerce has thus far taken the lead of agriculture, yet the excellence of the soil, the small amount of labour required for its cultivation, and the value and abundance of its products, cannot fail, finally, to render the latter the more cherished, as it is, certainly, the more important interest of the Colony.

The Trade of Liberia has increased with a rapidity almost unexampled, and while it has supplied the Colonists not only with the necessaries, but with the conveniences and comforts of life, the good faith with which it has been conducted, has conciliated the friendship of the natives, and acquired the confidence of foreigners.

The regulations of the Colony allowing no credits, except by written permission, and requiring the barter to be carried on through factories established for the purpose, has increased the profits of the traffic, and prevented numerous evils which must have attended upon a more unrestricted license.

Between the 1st of January and the 15th of July, 1826, no less than 15 vessels touched at Monrovia and purchased the produce of the country, to the amount according to the best probable estimate, of \$43,980, African value. The exporters of this produce realize, on the sale of the goods given in barter for it, a profit of \$21,990, and on the freight, of \$8,786, making a total profit of \$30,776.

A gentleman in Portland has commenced a regular trade with the Colony; and for his last cargo landed in Liberia, amounting to \$8,000, he received payment in the course of ten days. The advantages of this trade to the Colony, are manifest from the high price of labour, (that of mechanics being two dollars per day, and that of common labourers from 75 cents to \$1 25 cents,) and from the easy and comfortable circumstances of the settlers. "An interesting family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing an abundant table, is not known; and an individual, of whatever age or sex, with ut ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, it is believed, be found." "Every family," says Mr. Ashmun, "and nearly every single adult person in the Colony, has the means of employing from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from four to six dollars the month; and several of the settlers, when called upon in consequence of sudden emergencies of the public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 300 to 600 dollars each."

The Managers are happy to state, that the efforts of the Colonial Agent to enlarge the Territory of Liberia, and particularly to bring under the government of the Colony a more extended line of coast, have been judicious and energetic, and in nearly every instance resulted in complete success. From Cape Mount to Tradetown, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, the Colonia^l

government has acquired partial jurisdiction: Four of the most important Stations on this tract, including Montserado, being the Society, either by actual purchase, or by a deed of perpetuity, and such negotiations have been entered upon with the Chiefs of the country, as amount to a precission of all Europeans from any possessions within these limits. The fine Territory of the St. Paul's, now occupied by settlers, was described in the last annual report of the Society.

The Territory of Young Sesters, recently ceded to the Society, is ninety miles south of Montserado, in the midst of a very productive rice country, affording also large quantities of palm oil, camwood, and ivory. The tract granted to the Colony, includes the bed of the Sesters river, and all the land on each side, to the distance of half a league, and extending longitudinally from the river's mouth to its source. In compliance with the terms of the contract, the Chief of the country has constructed a commodious store house, and put a number of labourers sufficient for the cultivation of a rice plantation of fifty acres, under the direction of a respectable Colonist, who takes charge of the establishment.

The right of use and occupancy has also been obtained to a region of country on the south branch of the St. John's river, north nine miles from Young Sesters, and the trading factory established there, under the superintendance of a family from Monrovia, has already provided a valuable source of income to the Colony. Rice is also here to be cultivated, and the Chief who cedes the territory, agrees to furnish the labour.

The upright and exemplary conduct of the individual at the head of this establishment, has powerfully impressed the natives with the importance of inviting them to settle in their country; and consequently, the offer made by the Colonial Agent, for the purchase of Factory Island, has been accepted by its proprietor. This Island is in the river St. John's, four miles from its mouth, from five to six miles in length, and one third of a mile in breadth, and is among the most beautiful and fertile spots in Africa. A few families are about to take up their residence upon it, and prepare for founding a settlement, "which cannot fail," says Mr. Ashmun, "in a few years, to be second to no other in the Colony, except Monrovia."

Negotiations are also in progress with the Chiefs of Cape Mount, which, if successful, will secure to the Colony the whole trade of that station, estimated at \$50,000 per annum, and may ultimately lead to its annexation to the Territories of Liberia. "The whole country between Cape Mount and Trade Town," observes Mr. Ashmun, "is rich in soil and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the sea-board, the traveller, every where, at the distance of a very few miles, enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfailling water, and covered with a verdure which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found every where to yield, in both respects, to the interior."

Much progress has been made the last year, in the construction of public buildings and works of defence, though, with adequate supplies of lumber, more might doubtless have been accomplished. Two handsome churches, erected solely by the Colonists, now adorn the village of Monrovia. Fort Stockton has been rebuilt in a style of strength and beauty. A receptacle capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty emigrants, is completed. The New Agency House, Market House, Lancasterian School, and Town House in Monrovia, were, some months since, far advanced, and the finishing strokes were about to be given to the Government House on the St. Paul's. The wing of the Old Agency House has been "handsomely fitted up for the Colonial Library, which now consists of 1200 volumes systematically arranged in glazed cases, with appropriate hangings. All the books are substantially covered, and accurately labelled; and files of more than ten newspapers, more or less complete, are preserved. The library is fitted up so as to answer the purpose of a reading

room, and is intended to make it a museum of all the natural curiosities of Africa, which can be procured.

No efforts have been spared to place the Colony in a state of adequate defence, and while it is regarded as perfectly secure from the native forces, it is hoped and believed that it may sustain itself against any piratical assaults. "The establishment has fifteen large carriage guns and three small pivot guns, all fit for service." Fort Stockton overlooks the whole town of Monrovia, and a strong battery is now building on the height of Thompson Town, near the extremity of the Cape, which it is thought will afford protection to vessels anchoring in the roadstead. The militia of the Colony consists of two corps appropriately uniformed, one of Artillery of about fifty men, the other of Infantry of forty men, and on various occasions have they proved themselves deficient neither in discipline or courage.

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Extracts from the Rev. J. Ashmun's Report of the Colony.

The money expended on these various objects has necessarily been considerable; but, in comparison with the expense which similar objects in this country cost European governments, it will be found not merely moderate, but trifling. Less than has been effected towards the extension of our limits, I could not attempt: and I am certain that where the direction of every other establishment on the coast, except the Portuguese, would regard itself not only authorized, but *obliged*, to pay away thousands—I have in countless instances, spent not a *dollar*. But that species of economy which sacrifices to itself any object essential to the success of this undertaking, I am as little able to practice as the Board is to approve.

The natives of the country, but particularly of the interior, notwithstanding their habitual indolence, produce, after supplying their own wants, a considerable surplus of the great staple of this part of Western Africa—rice. The moderate rate at which this grain is purchased by such as deal directly with the growers; and the various uses of which it is susceptible in the domestic economy, easily place the means of supplying the first necessities of nature in the reach of every one. Rice, moreover, always commands a ready sale with transient trading vessels or coasters; and forms an useful object of exchange for other provisions an necessities, between individuals of the Colony.

To this succeeds, as next in importance, the Camwood of the country; of which several hundred tons every year pass through the hands of the settlers; and serve to introduce, in return, the provisions and groceries of America; and the dry goods and wares both of Europe and America, which, from the necessary dependence of the members of every society on each other, come soon to be distributed, for the common advantage of all.

The Ivory of Liberia is less abundant, and less valuable, than that of other districts of Western Africa. It, however, forms a valuable article of barter and export, to the settlement; and the amount annually bought and sold, falls between 5 and 8 thousand dollars.

No less than FIVE schools for different descriptions of learners, exclusive of the Sunday Schools, have been supported during the year, and still continues in operation.—The youths and children of the Colony discover for their age, unequivocal proofs of a good degree of mental accomplishment. The contrast between children's several years in the enjoyment of the advantages of the Colony, and most others of the same age, arriving from the United States, is striking—and would leave an entire stranger at no loss to distinguish the one from the other. Should emigration, but for a very few months, cease to throw the little ignorants into the Colony, from abroad, the phenomenon of a child of five years, unable to read, it is believed, would not exist among us.

The first successful essay in the construction of small vessels, has been made the past year. I have built, and put upon the rice trade, between our factories to the leeward, and Cape Montserado, a schooner of ten tons burthen, adapted to the passage of the bars of all the navigable rivers of the coast. The sailing

qualities of this vessel are so superior, that before the wind, it is believed, few or none of the numerous pirates of the coast, can overtake her. She makes a trip, freighted both ways, in ten days; and commonly carries and brings in rich and-se and produce, to the amount of from 4 to 8 hundred dollars each trip. Another craft of equal tonnage, but of very indifferent materials, has been built by one of the Colonists. The model of the St. Paul's (the public boat) was furnished by myself; but she was constructed under the superintendance of J. Blake, who has thus entitled himself to the character of an useful and ingenious mechanic.

One of the most obvious effects of this Colony, has already been to check, in this part of Africa, the prevalence of the slave-trade. The promptness and severity with which our arms have, in every instance, avenged the insults and injuries offered by slave ships and factories to the Colony, have, I may confidently say, banished it forever from this district of the coast. Our influence with the natives of this section of the coast is known to be so great as to expose to certain miscarriage, any transaction entered into with them, for slaves. But there is a moral feeling at work in the minds of most of our neighbours, contracted doubtless, by means of their intercourse with the Colony, which represents to them the dark business in a new aspect of repulsiveness and absurdity. Most are convinced that it is indeed a *bad business*,—and are apparently sincere in their determination to drop it forever, unless compelled by their wants to adventure a few occasional speculations.

In the punishment of offences, the most lenient maxims of modern jurisprudence have been observed, by way of experiment on human nature, in that particular modification of it exhibited by the population of this Colony. The result has been, *so far* favourable to the policy pursued. The passion to which corporeal and other ignominious punishments address their arguments, is certainly one of the least ingenuous of the human constitution.

Extracts from a Memorial from the Free People of Colour to the Citizens of Baltimore.

We have hitherto beheld, in silence, but with the intensest interest, the efforts of the wise and philanthropic in our behalf. If it became us to be silent, it became us also to feel the liveliest anxiety and gratitude. The time has now arrived, as we believe, in which your work and our happiness may be promoted by the expression of our opinions. We have therefore assembled for that purpose, from every quarter of the City and every denomination, to offer you this respectful address, with all the weight and influence which our number, character and cause can lend it.

We reside among you, and yet are strangers; natives, and yet not citizens; surrounded by the freest people and most republican institutions in the world, and yet enjoying none of the immunities of freedom.

It is not to be imputed to you that we are here. Your ancestors remonstrated against the introduction of the first of our race, who were brought amongst you; and it was the mother country that insisted on their admission, that her colonies and she might profit, as she thought, by their compulsory labour. But the gift was a curse to them, without being an advantage to herself. The colonies, grown to womanhood, burst from her dominion; and if they have an angry recollection of their union and rupture, it must be at the sight of the baneful institution which she has entailed upon them.

How much you regret its existence among you, is shewn by the severe laws you have enacted against the slave-trade, and by your employment of a naval force for its suppression. You have gone still further. Not content with checking the increase of the already too growing evil, you have deliberated how you might best exterminate the evil itself. This delicate and important subject has produced a great variety of opinions; but we find, even in that diversity, a consolatory proof of the interest with which you regard the subject, and of your readiness to adopt that scheme which may appear to be the best.

Leaving out all considerations of generosity, humanity and benevolence, you have the strongest reasons to favour and facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove. It will consist, in the first place, with your republican principles and with the health and moral sense of the body politic, that there should be in the midst of you an extraneous mass of men, united to you only by soil and climate, and irrevocably excluded from your institutions. Nor is it less for your advantage in another point of view. Our places might, in our opinion, be better occupied by men of your own colour, who would increase the strength of your country. In the pursuit of livelihood and the exercise of industrious habits, we necessarily exclude from employment many of the whites—your fellow citizens, who would find it easier in proportion as we depart, to provide for themselves and their families.

But if you have every reason to wish for our removal, how much greater are our inducements to remove! Though we are not slaves, we are not free. We do not, and never shall participate in the enviable privileges which we continually witness. Beyond a mere subsistence, and the impulse of religion, there is nothing to arouse us to the exercise of our faculties, or excite us to the attainment of eminence.

Of the many schemes that have been proposed, we most approve of that, of *African Colonization*. If we were able and at liberty to go whither-soever we would, the greater number, willing to leave this community, would prefer LIBERIA, on the coast of Africa. Others no doubt, would turn them towards some other regions: the world is wide. Already, established there in the settlement of the American Colonization Society, are many of our brethren, the pioneers of African Restoration, who encourage us to join them. Several were formerly residents of this city, and highly considered by the people of their own class and colour. They have been planted at Cape Montserado, the most eligible and one of the most elevated sites on the western coast of Africa, selected in 1821; and their number has augmented to five hundred. Able, as we are informed, to provide for their own defence and support, and capable of self-increase, they are now enjoying all the necessaries and comforts and many of the luxuries of larger and older communities. In Africa we shall be freemen indeed, and republicans after the model of this Republic. We shall carry your language, your customs, your opinions and christianity to that now desolate shore, and thence they will gradually spread, with our growth, far into the continent. The slave-trade, both external and internal, can be abolished only by settlements on the coast. Africa, if destined to be ever civilized and converted, can be civilized and converted by that means only.

We foresee that difficulties and dangers await those who emigrate, such as every infant establishment must encounter and endure; such as your fathers suffered when first they landed on this now happy shore.

The portion of comforts which they may lose, they will cheerfully abandon. Human happiness does not consist in meat and drink, nor in costly raiment, nor in stately habitations; to contribute to it even, they must be joined with equal rights and respectability; and it often exists in a high degree without them.

That you may facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove, is what we now solicit. It can best be done, we think, by augmenting the means at the command of the American Colonization Society, that the Colony of Liberia may be strengthened and improved for the gradual reception. The greater the number of persons sent thither, from any part of this nation whither-soever, so much the more capable it becomes of receiving a still greater. Every encouragement to it, therefore, though it may not seem to have any particular portion of emigrants directly in view, will produce a favourable effect upon all. The emigrants may readily be enabled to remove, in considerable numbers every fall, by a concerted system of individual contributions, and still more efficiently by the enactment of laws to promote their emigration, under the patronage of the State. The expense would not be nearly so great as it might appear at first sight, for when once the current shall have set towards Liberia, and intercourse grown frequent, the cost will of course diminish

rapidly, and many will be able to defray it for themselves. Thousands and tens of thousands poorer than we, annually emigrate from Europe to your country, and soon have it in their power to hasten the arrival of those they left behind—Every intelligent and industrious coloured man would continually look forward to the day, when he or his children might go to their veritable home, and would accumulate all his little earning for that purpose.

We have ventured these remarks, because we know that you take a kind concern in the subject to which they relate, and because we think they may assist you in the prosecution of your designs. If we were doubtful of your good will and benevolent intentions, we would remind you of the time when you were in a situation similar to ours, and when your forefathers were driven, by religious persecution, to a distant and inhospitable shore. We are not so persecuted, but we, too, leave our homes, and seek a distant and inhospitable shore: an empire may be the result of our emigration; as of their's. The protection, kindness and assistance which you would have desired, for yourselves under such circumstances, now extend to us: so may you be rewarded by the riddance of the stain and evil of slavery, the extension of civilization and the Gospel, and the blessing of our common Creator!

WILLIAM CORNISH,

Chairman of the meeting in Bethel Church.

ROBERT COWLEY,

Secretary of the meeting in Bethel Church.

JAMES DEEVER,

Chairman of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp street.

REMUS HARVEY,

Secretary of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp street.

A TABLE,

Exhibiting the amount of the African portion of the population of the United States, according to the Returns of the several Censuses, with the ratio of increase.

CENSUS OF 1790.

Slaves,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	697,697
All other persons of colour except Indians, not taxed,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59,481

CENSUS OF 1800.

Slaves,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	896,849
All other persons, as above,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	110,572

Rate of increase of slaves between 1790 and 1800	2.85442	pr. ct. pr. ann.
Do. do. persons of colour do.	8.054	

CENSUS OF 1810.

Slaves,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,191,364
All other persons of colour, as above,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	186,446

Rate of increase of slaves between 1800 and 1810	3.2838861	pr. ct. pr. ann.
Do. do. persons of colour do.	6.93854931	

CENSUS OF 1820.

Slaves,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,538,128
All other persons of colour, as above,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	233,550

Rate of increase of slaves between 1810 and 1820	2.911
Do. do. persons of colour do.	2.52534246

Mean ratio of increase of slaves during the whole period of 30 years,	3.0164353
Do. of persons of colour,	5.9897639

Present rate of increase of slaves, according to the last Census,	2.911
Do. do. of free persons of colour	2.52534246

or a little more than two and a half per cent. per annum



