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REMARKS

ON THE

COLONY OF LIBERIA

AND THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE SETTLEMENT OF COLOURED PEOPLE,

AT

WILBERFORCE, UPPER CANADA.

BY

C. STUART.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. MESSEDER, 201, HIGH HOLBORN.

1832.

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REMARKS,

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&c. &c.

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“ But man—proud man—dressed in a little brief authority,  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven,  
As make the angels weep.”

Who does not know that man is unfit for despotic power?—that, after every fair exception, it steals the softest, and pollutes the purest heart?—that the man who, under wise and equal law, is just, learns to perpetrate all wrong, and to abuse all right, with greediness, when invested with despotic power? If a man would be pure, he must keep out of temptation. Some temptations are single, and excite to particular lusts; but despotic power, like ardent spirits, are legions: they lead directly and powerfully to all the crimes, and to all the miseries, which defile and destroy mankind; and within their sphere it is, generally speaking, eminently true, that—

..... “ Man is to man, the surest—sorest ill.”

Yes; some persons say that slaves ought to be prepared for liberty, before they are made free!!! And here, let it be remembered; the slaves spoken of, are not condemned criminals, but a guiltless multitude; not even charged with a crime as the ground of their slavery—not as *wronging*, but as *suffering wrong!* That is, these unoffending slaves ought to be kept in slavery, in order to prepare them for freedom; that is, an unoffending multitude ought to be kept subject to legalized abuse and pollution, in order to conciliate their affections, and improve their minds; or, in other words, we ought to presume that a certain class of men are angels, and will remain angels, in spite of the dreadful influences of despotic power; and under this delusion, we ought to commit to them, unrestrained by wise and equal laws, the virtue and the happiness of other men, as truly entitled as they, or as any are, to every righteous protection.

So argue Great Britain, and the United States. The former boasts that “Britons never shall be slaves,” yet she is a *slave-mistress!*—Still she keeps 800,000 *guiltless Britons* in the most brutal bondage. Who can love her, and believe that God is the avenger of the oppressed, without shuddering at her guilt and danger?

The British slave party protest that they hate slavery, and yet keep, or sanction keeping, slaves. Do not actions speak louder than words? They sometimes pretend that their slaves love them, and are happy: aye, love them and are happy, in spite of

slavery and wrong!! If so, who, without absurdity, can believe that such loving and happy beings would not love them more, if they had more reason to love—if their masters would add to all their other favours, the boon of lawful liberty—if their masters would make them the subjects of wise and equal laws, instead of keeping their happiness and their honor dependent upon every varying possessor's will. At other times, they pretend that their slaves are so brutified, that if made the subjects of wise and equal law, they would perish or destroy. If so, when will they be prepared for liberty, under a system which has thus brutified them? How long must poor man be taught by brutal force, the fear of man which brings even to kings a snare, in order to learn the fear of God? How long must they suffer all outrageous wrong, in order to learn the law of right? How long, in short, must women be stretched all naked on the ground, and flogged with ferocious indecency, in order to learn to be modest and humble? or be thrown into dungeons, exposed alone amongst the vilest men to every species of pollution, because they have dared to refuse the pollution of their masters?

But all such pretences are worthy only of the pit from whence they came. Britons *are* slaves—800,000 unoffending Britons, with as true and good a right to liberty as any man in the land, are kept in the most degraded and cruel bondage. Their masters prove that they love slavery, by keeping them slaves. If they love their masters, and are happy, what ungrateful and criminal monsters their masters must be, to continue, in return for such wonderful affection, plundering them of the dearest right and the most sacred property which man can have on earth, even his personal liberty, under wise and benignant laws. If they are brutified beyond their race, has not a trial of upwards of two hundred years sufficiently proved that the way to prepare them for liberty, is not by keeping them slaves? or, that it is not reasonable to expect an effect to cease, while its cause is perpetuated?

All these observations are as true of the United States as of Great Britain, with this aggravation, that of the population of the United States, *one-sixth are slaves*; and the government of the United States being considerably more a popular government than the government of Great Britain is, the crimes of the government of the United States are more strictly speaking the crimes of the people.

Under this state of things, the American Colonization Society has sprung up. Its friends found negro slavery existing to the immense extent above mentioned. They find a most base and cruel prejudice, almost universal, against the coloured people, even when free; they find an apparently invincible opinion in the United States, that *there the negroes must not be restored to liberty*, except for transportation; and that, as the free coloured people never can be mingled with the whites, the only practicable way of doing them good, is to remove them from their own country to the distant land of their forefathers. They openly

admit, and strenuously advocate these positions; they boldly demand our concurrence in them; and they seek our aid, in order to remove the coloured people of the United States; that is, one-sixth of all the men, women, and children of the United States, to Africa.

Ought we to aid them? If their enterprize be a christian one, we ought—we doubly ought; for the Americans are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; and dearer still, they are our compeers in the glorious effort to pour light, and love, and liberty, over the world. Or, if their enterprize comprise *any* good, we ought to aid it as far as it is good.

What then is its character? It is good for Africa: from the Gambia, from Sierra Leone, from Liberia, from the Cape of Good Hope, light, and love are radiating through the darkness round them. Let them be supported. I do not mean the evil that is in them, but the good. It is good for the few free coloured and black people who, without any undue influence, would emigrate to Africa, and who are thereby aided in their views; and it is good for the hundreds, or the thousands of enslaved Americans, whose slavery it has been, or may be the means of commuting into transportation. In these things it deserves support; and were this all, well might we rejoice with grateful affection in the honor, in this as in many other things, of following our transatlantic brethren in the march of holy love.

But this is not all. The American Colonization Society openly and powerfully supports the dogma, that the enslaved Americans must not be emancipated, except on condition of transportation; and that the prejudice against the free coloured people being invincible, the only way to do them good, is to remove them to a distance from their native country.

Are these positions true? or dare I ask the question? What! a man, with the Bible in his hand, asking if it be true, that unoffending men, reduced by legalized wickedness to slavery, ought not to have their unforfeited rights restored to them immediately by legalized rectitude, except on condition of transportation? What! asking if it be true that a prejudice, as adverse to all truth and love as darkness is to light, is invincible by the gospel of Christ, and must be flattered and pampered in its wickedness? Why I should deserve myself to be "*a freeman's slave,*" if I could seriously ask such questions.

But does the American Colonization Society really support such cruel and criminal positions? I refer to their own 13th, 14th, and 15th Reports, as printed in the United States; and I beg the attention of all who love the truth, to the following evidence:—I briefly affirm, that the LAWS of each slave state forbid the emancipation of its slaves without expatriating them. For proof of this, I refer to the laws themselves; and I affirm that the American Colonization Society powerfully tends to keep these laws *unreproved* in their wickedness. See the three Annual Reports above mentioned. The following is an extract from the 13th Report, page 12—Mr. Frelinghausen, a gentleman of

New Jersey, and one of the first men in the United States, speak thus: "Yes, Sir, I ascribe it chiefly to the kindly influence of this society, that the indiscriminate clamours, once so liberally dealt out, have all died away. I hail the return of better feelings—of juster views. We now, Sir, regard the mischief as of common and universal concern. The language of harsh and unjust crimination and reproach, is succeeded by that of *sympathy* and kindness." That is, under the influence of this society, free men have learnt to *sympathize* with *slave masters*, and to speak comfortably to them, in their unbending wickedness. Formerly, the free men of the United States used to rebuke the slave masters of the United States; but now they comfort them! And what must be the practical character of a society, which can lead a noble mind, like Frelinghausen's, to speak of such an influence with approbation!!

In page 44, (13th Report,) we read—"The present number of this unfortunate, degraded, and anomalous class of inhabitants," [*i. e.* the free coloured people,] "cannot be much short of *half a million*, and the number is fast increasing. They are, emphatically, a mildew upon our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain upon our escutcheon. To remove them, is mercy to ourselves, and justice" [yes, it *really is* printed *Justice!!!*] "to them."

In the 14th Report, page 7, Mr. Gerrit Smith says—"The object of the American Colonization Society, is to remove from our country to Africa, our present and future free coloured population."

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

In the 15th Report, (January 1832,) pages 22 and 23, Mr. Archer says—"The object was, the removal of a momentous, inert, and deeply seated, social evil." In page 24, he makes a skilful apology for slavery, and shews that the slaves would be virtuous and happy, and the masters quite safe, if the free coloured people were all transported; and in pages 25 and 26, declares—"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." So, of old, the devils cried out, "Let us alone;" this was all they wanted to complete their work. Sin and Slavery cry out, "Let

us alone." The American Colonization Society, smiles upon them courteously, and even goes beyond their prayer; it not only lets them alone, but it does all it can to remove the danger which alarms them, and to hide the reproach of degraded and ruined souls which is knotted with robbery and wrong—the robbery and wrong of the unoffending poor—upon their terrible brow.

I do not say, that this is the character of the American Colonization Society towards the hundreds or thousands before alluded to, or that this is the conscious purpose of the Society at large; but, I do say, that this is the exhibited and actual character of the Society, in relation to the hundreds of thousands, the millions of coloured people, whether enslaved or free, in the United States. The American Colonization Society denies this, and in its 15th Report endeavours to disprove it.—Let us hear what the coloured people of the United States say on the subject—they must be the best judges of what they themselves are experiencing; that is, let us hear what the *free coloured* people say—the slaves, poor outraged, writhing wretches, are allowed no tongue!! else would they tell a tale to make our ears to tingle. But God hears their groanings!!

At a public meeting of the *Free Coloured People* of New York, at Boyer Lodge, on Tuesday Evening, 25th January, 1831, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

“Whereas a number of gentlemen of this city, of mistaken views with respect to the wishes and welfare of the people of this state, on the subject of African Colonization, and in pursuance of such mistaken views, are using every exertion to form “African Colonization Societies;” and whereas, a public document, purporting to be an address to the people of the “city of New York,” on this subject, contains opinions and assertions regarding the people of colour, as unfounded as they are unjust and derogatory to them; therefore

“Resolved, that this meeting do solemnly protest against the said address, as containing sentiments, with respect to the people of colour, unjust, illiberal, and unfounded; tending to excite the prejudice of the community,” &c.

“Resolved, that we claim *this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa*, as our mother country; and all attempts to send us to Africa, we consider, as gratuitous and uncalled for,” &c.

To these resolutions they append an address, remarkable at once for its piety and talent. And resolutions and addresses, similar to these, have been promulgated by the same class, from Boston, Baltimore, &c. &c. These are, undeniably, the sentiments of the whole, as a body; and their poor hearts are quailing, under the terrors of impending exile, as ours would quail, were there some brute power above us, *called*, though it might be, *christian* or *free*, and by us irresistible, which was threatening to send us back to the land of our Saxon, or Danish, or Norman forefathers, and which, had actually begun to execute that dreadful threat.

The following words of one of the leaders of the American Colonization Society, as published by them, in New York, 1829, entitled "American Colonization Society," "Addresses," &c. by Francis S. Key, Esq. page 27, will farther illustrate this subject—"It has been said, that the evil is too great to be remedied; that the annual increase of the coloured population is fifty or sixty thousand; that it will take a million of dollars every year, to remove this increase. That number need not be removed, *but only the producing portion of it,*" &c. And how will it be with the breaking heart of the aged mother, when she is left behind!! How will the little child feel when its parents are torn from it?!!

And what is the vision by which the real enemies and the mistaken friends of the coloured people of the United States, would lure us to unite with them in such works as these? Why that people, who are too abominable to be permitted to live in America, shall *evangelize and civilize* Africa! That the Gospel of Christ, which has no power in America for the extirpation, amongst an *enlightened people*, of the basest and most cruel prejudice that ever disgraced the strong or consumed the weak, shall, almost as soon as the worst instruments which could be chosen for its propagation, be landed in Africa, start into magical power for the extirpation of prejudices equally deep, and more inveterate, though less disgraceful, amongst an uncultivated and heathen race!! Or, in other words, that the coloured people, who are declared as a body, to be little better than devils in the United States (I was going to say, *America*, but America must not be so aspersed!) shall be commuted, by mere transportation to Africa, into almost angels!

But there are other reports, even in the United States, of this slandered and outraged class. General Jackson, at the close of the last war, thus addressed, in general orders, the free coloured people of the South.

"*To the men of colour.*—"Soldiers, from the shores of Mobile, I collected you to arms, I invited you to share in the perils, and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities, which must render you formidable to an invading enemy. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. I knew that you *loved the land of your nativity*, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend, all that is dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds."

And, in the "Friend," an American paper of January, 28th, 1832, I read—"In the account of the late dreadful fire (in Raleigh, Virginia) too much praise cannot be bestowed on the coloured population, who used every exertion in their power, to be serviceable."

Yet, what was the behaviour of the United States, to these same people? They thus proclaim it, in their 15th Report,

page 47. " In Congress, we are happy to state that the following resolution, offered by Mr. Jenifer, of Maryland, with the amendments proposed by Mr. Thompson, of Ohio, and Mr. Archer, of Virginia, and a memorial from an Auxiliary Colonization Society, presented by Mr. Conduit, of New Jersey, have been referred to a Select Committee.

" Resolved—That a select committee be appointed to enquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the purpose of removing, from the United States and her territories, the free people of colour, and colonizing them on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere !"

Oh, what tyrants would the *free* people of colour be, had they the power, and had they the mind, to remove the white people of the United States to Europe, or elsewhere, from their native land ! And wherein does it differ, except that the white people are more guilty, because more instructed ?

Virginia proclaims it by appropriating 35,000 dollars this year, and 90,000 next, to the same nefarious purpose. Many other states have also signalized themselves,—Maryland in particular.

The American Colonization Society proclaims it, by their solemn appeal in the concluding words of their 15th Report, page 24: " The suffering of our land, and the more miserable of another, put in their united claims: America, glorying in her freedom, stretches out her hand to the work, and Africa, in tears and in chains, looks to it as her hope and salvation !" That is, *the United States*, not America,—America spurns the aspersion, of no other spot in America is it *equally* true,—the United States, *glorying in her freedom, yet a mistress of slaves!*—actually holding upwards of one-sixth of her whole population in the most criminal and cruel bondage ;—the United States, glorying in her freedom, yet proclaiming through the world, by her fondling the American Colonization Society, that she is invincibly, and beyond redemption, the slave of the most base and ruinous prejudice,—stretches out her hand to the work !" To what work ? Why to the work of transporting, without a crime, from their native country, a large proportion of her whole population. And why ? Because they are helpless and outraged, and have a coloured skin. That the white man may not have his fairer complexion tarnished by the intermixture,—that the slave master may sleep, instead of trembling in his bed,—that the slaves *may be happy!* when they see none of their colour free ; and when their souls, broken down to the thorough temper of slavery, *may put on the spaniel, and put off the man!*

Africa is in tears: woe to the white man who has converted her tears from drops into rivers ! But Africa has no chain, like that of negro slavery, where free men are masters !! Africa looks to Europe and America for payment of the debt contracted to her, beyond the power of worlds to repay. But if Europe and America would really benefit Africa, as ministers of God, Europe and America must come to Africa *with clean hands.* The breeze which mourns from the west, or rushes from the

north, must not waft, amidst its murmurings, the dreadful tale, that *these Christians* still keep slaves, and that a chief motive of their *benevolence* to Africa is, that they may continue to keep slaves as long as they please, without danger or alarm. The clank of the negroes' chain,—the groan of the breaking heart of the slave—the scream of struggling innocence, writhing to avoid pollution—the bleeding wounds of the uncovered back of the prostrate woman, about perhaps to be a mother,—a mother of a murdered child! These, these, the daily doings of British and United States slavery, must cease, ere Europe and America can go over to Africa, with any better character than that of whited sepulchres, to preach to her the *gospel of peace*—the *royal law of liberty*! I do not mean, that individuals must wait till nations are pure, before they shall go forth in the battles of the Lord: but I do mean, that, whether of individuals or of nations, the words are of eternal obligation: “Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord.” Isa. lii. 11.

If, however, British Christians should agree that the prejudice of the United States against a coloured skin is invincible,—that the whites of the United States must be given over to it, as beyond repentance or redemption; and that, therefore, it would be really kind to aid in removing the coloured people, as fast as possible, from the contamination and the tyranny of such an unequalled depth of moral corruption,—there is another and a better resource than Africa.

In 1829, a dormant law of the state was revived in Cincinnati, and other places in Ohio, requiring all the free coloured people of the neighbourhood in question, to leave the state, except such as should give security of five hundred dollars, that they never would become chargeable to the public. Thirty days were allowed the remainder; and they were warned, that upon failure they would be sold for slaves!!! The astounded coloured people petitioned for thirty days more,—it was granted them. They hastened a deputation to Upper Canada, and found that *there* they would be received as any other men. They hastily contracted for a purchase of land with the Canada Company, and fled into exile to avoid slavery. Such of them as had the means, proceeded together to the London District, between Lakes Erie and Huron, and founded a settlement, which they called Wilberforce. The remainder, scattered about to seek for labour, wherever they could find it, and most of them are still obliged thus to subsist themselves. The time of the emigration was winter, and the original number about 1,100.

These want our aid. Their minister, the Rev. N. Paul, highly recommended, is now in this country, to solicit it. The facts and principles which commend it to us as Christians, and as Britons, are as follow:—

As Christians.—The emigration, as far as we shall have to do with it, will be voluntary, not in pretence but *in reality*. The coloured people will be as effectually out of the prejudice which slanders and oppresses them, as they could be any where. The climate of the region in question; that is, of the *Peninsular* of



Upper Canada between Huron and Erie, is vastly superior to that of Liberia. The soil is one of the finest in the world. They will be removed to a civilized and friendly people. We shall be opening an asylum, and a vista of hope, always growing, for all the enslaved people, who may succeed in making their escape thither. Canada will be a city of refuge for God's poor. We shall be setting the whites of the United States an example, on their own borders, and under their own eyes, of righteous superiority to criminal prejudice, and we shall be proving to them, beyond denial, that it is not so invincible as they slavishly think. Even Jamaica, and several other of our wretched slave colonies, have already proved this to them, for one of the chief ornaments of the Jamaica legislature, is actually a coloured man. But a distant proof strikes not like a present one. Tell me of a battle in which a hundred thousand fell, and I scarcely feel it: but shew me only a bleeding limb, and my heart is roused. What the whites of America want to be taught, in this respect, is, that the same Gospel which can bring back the rebel to his God, can bring back the man to his brother; and that the deadly infatuation of sin, founded by pride and cruelty upon a difference of colour, is no more beyond the reach of Christ, than the other endlessly varied and varying forms of human and demoniac wickedness.

As Britons, or Canadians.—The thousands who might resort to us would form one of the most formidable bulwarks of our safety, should we ever again be there assailed. And *this further hope* seems to me to rise brightly on the process, that the whites of the United States, finding that there was a Christian and a British asylum at hand for their runaways, and an evidence continually before their senses, that the coloured people could intermingle most happily and holily with the whites, would be won, by the soul compelling power of truth and love, to abolish negro slavery, and to make amends to the insulted and long wronged black man at home, instead of exiling him to a foreign and barbarous land, in order to do him good.

The modes actually adopting by the white men and by the coloured men in the United States, for the same professed object, certainly do not argue the white man to be superior, either in intellect or in feeling. The white man aims, as he deems it, at the best interests of the coloured man, by doing all that he can to remove him, under the most plausible pretexts, from his native country, to a distant and barbarous land:—the coloured man is doing all that he can to improve himself, and “to overcome evil with good,” in his native country.—The white man, in order to get the coloured man off, *with his own consent*, is doing all that he can to keep the coloured man in ignorance; and all that he dares, in the face of the moral sense of the world, to provoke him to crime:—the coloured man is struggling earnestly after knowledge; and since, within the last year, the Liberian mind has shut him out from the pursuit of his noble object in his own country,—the United States, he is turning his views to Canada.

The brief history of this fact is as follows: From the 6th to the 11th of June inclusive, 1831, the free coloured people,

patronized by their real and generous friends in the United States, amongst the whites, held their first Annual Convention, in Philadelphia. This Convention took up the subject of establishing a college for the education of their own youth, as they are generally rejected from the colleges of the white men. Their deliberations were dignified, cordial, and wise. Their company was graced with the presence of Arthur Tappan, of New York, a name always foremost in every deed of munificence; and with that of Jocelyn, Lundy and Garrison, the Granville Sharpes of the United States. They determined upon the beautiful, and as it was deemed, christian city of New Haven, in Connecticut, for the site of their building, and all promised fairly. What impeded? The white Mayor of New Haven, convened the inhabitants, and obtained a public resolution, to use every legal method, in order to prevent the projected college from contaminating their limits. "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another." The free coloured people have done so; they have abandoned New Haven to her white man's christianity, and they have now fixed upon Wilberforce, in Upper Canada, as the place of their choice. There, they are preparing to erect their college. There, amidst our Canadian forest wilds, they are preparing to place upon our brow, a gem, of the purest lustre, which the United States have proudly dashed away. They need and implore our help. Two words more:—

1st.—Let not Britons be deceived: When the free coloured people of the United States, are said to go willingly to Liberia, the general or frequent process, is like the following:—An agent of the Colonization Society meets one of them, and after pointing out to him strongly, the dangers of remaining at home, asks, "Do you wish to go to Liberia?" "Yes." "Then put down your name, and you will be safe." "No." "Then ruin hangs over you, and there is none to help." "The Genius of Temperance," a New York paper, of Wednesday, June 6, 1832, which I have just received, strikingly, though unintentionally, portrays this state of things, under the head:—

"*Spirit of Emigration.*" "This appears to be increasing rapidly among our free people of colour. A few days ago, two very respectable men from the valley of Virginia, entered the office of the [American Colonization] Society, &c. These men had, on their way to Washington, been taken up, owing to some informality in their papers, thrown into jail, and, after a delay of six days, and at the expence of twelve dollars, obtained their liberty. Both were men of some property; one of them owning a considerable tract of land in Virginia; but so convinced were they of the propriety of removing, that, after learning what they might expect in Liberia, &c. they, and many others with them, hastened to leave the United States." Such is the willingness with which the free people of colour are hastening to Liberia. The following quotations may further illustrate this subject:—

"Minutes of the proceedings of the first Annual Convention of the people of colour, held in Philadelphia, from 6th to 11th of June, 1831, page 5—" And, lastly, your Committee view

with unfeigned regret, and respectfully submit to the wisdom of this Convention, the operations and misrepresentations of the American Colonization Society, in these United States.

“ We feel sorrowful to see such an immense and wanton waste of lives and property, not doubting the benevolent feelings of some individuals engaged in that cause. But we cannot for a moment doubt, that the cause of many of our unconstitutional, unchristian, and unheard of sufferings, emanate from that unhallowed source; and we would call on christians, of every denomination, firmly to resist it.”

Page 10—“ Resolved, that the Convention, recommended to the people of colour, throughout the United States, to set apart the 4th day of July,\* as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer; and to beseech Almighty God, to interpose on our behalf, that the shackles of slavery may be broken, and our sacred rights obtained,” &c

Page 11—“ The Convention recommends to the people of colour, throughout the United States, the discontinuance of public processions *on any day*; considering them as highly injurious to our interests as a people.”

Page 15—“ The Convention has not been unmindful of the operations of the American Colonization Society, and it would respectfully suggest to that august body of learning, talent, and worth, &c. that they are pursuing the direct road to perpetuate slavery, with all its unchristian-like concomitants, in this boasted land of freedom, &c. If we must be sacrificed to their philanthropy, we would rather die at home.” So speak and so act the coloured people.

Now let us see how their white opponents behave:—Page 4—“ At a city meeting, duly warned, and held at the City Hall, in the city of New Haven, on Saturday, 10th of September, 1831, to take into consideration a project for the establishment, in this city, of a College for the education of Coloured Youth; the following preambles and resolutions were by said meeting adopted, viz.

“ Whereas endeavours are now making to establish a college, in this city, for the education of the coloured population of the United States, *the West Indies*, and other countries adjacent; and in connexion with this establishment, the *immediate abolition* of slavery in the United States, is not only recommended and encouraged, by the advocates of the proposed College, but demanded as a right; and whereas an omission to notice *these measures* may be construed as implying, either indifference to, or approbation of the same, &c.

“ Therefore resolved, by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Freemen of the city of New Haven, in city meeting assembled, that we will resist the establishment of the proposed college in this place, by every lawful means.

(Signed)

DENNIS KIMBERLY, Mayor.

ELISHA MONSON, Clerk.”

\* The day the *white* people in the United States celebrate the declaration of their independence.

Which of these two classes best deserve to be transported? In this light, at least, is not the coloured man the ornament, and the white man the disgrace of America? But there is power on the side of the white man! That is no reason why *we* should pander to their iniquity. If they *will* thus dreadfully abuse their power, let us leave to them all *its glare, and all its rewards!* They are heaping treasure together for the last days, James v. 3.

2nd. Our unquestionable duty is, to emancipate our own slaves. For this our every nerve should be strained. Our internal foes in this work of love are powerful enough, without admitting auxiliaries to them from the United States. Parleying with sin, is Satan's mode for perpetuating, not God's for exterminating it: the right hand lust wants to be cut off, the right eye iniquity to be pulled out, if we would be any thing better than hypocrites, or receive any thing better than the hypocrite's reward. Our time, our money, our hands, and heads, and hearts are imperiously called upon, for every fragment of energy which is compatible with other duties, in this sacred work. Let us not fritter away, by dividing our strength; let us not palsy our souls, by bending to temporizing, and man-fearing, and man-courting expedients; especially when, as in the case before us, we should be injuring the multitude, in order to benefit the few, and should be encouraging and sympathizing with the wrong doer, instead of taking, without any cause or pretence against him, the part of the poor sufferer of wrong. Let us abolish negro slavery ourselves, and let us establish an asylum of God and of Great Britain, for the outraged coloured people, whether enslaved or free, in Upper Canada; and we shall be doing more for the holy cause of christian liberty and of christian philanthropy in the world, than by all the *ameliorations* of sin which wisdom can devise, which money can purchase, or which energy can effect.

I call the impartial attention of my fellow men to the 13th, 14th, and 15th Reports of the American Colonization Society, above mentioned; to "The Liberator" of Boston, by W. L. Garrison; "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," of Baltimore, by B. Lundy; "The African Sentinel," of Albany; "The Friend," by Smith of Philadelphia; a pamphlet, entitled "College for Coloured Youth," published 1831, in New York; another, entitled "Minutes and Proceedings of the first annual Convention of the People of Colour, Philadelphia, 1831"; and particularly to "An Address, by Wm. Lloyd Garrison," delivered in the United States, in 1831, and published at Boston, 3rd edition.

And to all who persist in substituting *mitigation* for *abolition* of wrong, I solemnly and affectionately propose the question which God asks, Ezek. xxii. 14—"Can thine heart endure, or can thine hands be strong, in the days that I shall deal with thee? I the Lord have spoken, and will do it"; because, "The Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed," Psalm ciii. 6; and his command is, "Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy." Prov. xxxi. 9.

## APPENDIX.

In 1829, a Petition from the Colonization Society for the removal of the coloured people to Africa, was referred to a Committee of the Senate of the United States. Their report may be summed up as follows:—

Removal of free people of colour .....	Dollars 28,000,000
Ditto their annual increase .....	700,000
Ditto increase of slaves .....	5,700,000
Ditto all the slaves .....	190,000,000

294,400,000

Or, an expence of about £ 45,000,000. sterling, for the *benefit or pleasure* of transporting to Africa, without even the imputation of a crime, of about one-sixth of their whole population. The Senate decided that it was too expensive. They ought to have decided that it was too criminal.

### *The following Observations also need attention.*

Taking the ground which the advocates of the American Colonization Society, in this country, offer to us, we will suppose, that the object of that society, is to extinguish slavery in the United States, by getting all the slaves, as well as all the free coloured people, removed to Liberia.

Now, in order to accomplish this, (not here questioning whether it would be right or wrong,) what would they have to do.

1st.—According to the estimate above given, by the Committee of the Senate of the United States, in 1829, the expence of transportation alone, would be ..... Dollars 224,000,000

2d.—In the above estimate, no attention is paid to the purchase of the slaves from their masters. Doubtless, many of them would be given up without purchase; but why? Why, because their masters are trembling at their numbers and increase. But let the Liberian plan thin their numbers and prevent their increase, and this danger will no longer exist. At the same time, the slaves being fewer, would be more valuable. Will their masters then free them gratuitously for transportation? Generally speaking, there is no reason to believe it. No. If the Colonization Society would continue to send them, it must purchase them, and purchase them at an enhanced price. There are now upwards of two millions. Suppose half of these to be freed gratuitously, the other half must be purchased, and at an average, probably, of 200 dollars each. That is 1,000,000 purchased for transportation at 200 dollars each, would require for purchase ..... Dollars 200,000,000

3d.—Besides, with few exceptions, these all are poor, and one-fifth of the whole would be helpless from age, infancy, sickness, &c., and would require extra help in Liberia. Enslaved and free, there are upwards of 2,300,000. Say 2,000,000 of these are poor, and would require extra help, merely as being poor, for the first six months after reaching Liberia; suppose four cents each per day ..... 15,400,000

Say one-fifth of the whole, or nearly 500,000, are helpless from age, infancy, &c., and as such would need further help, let every one conjecture for himself, how much more this would be.

Total Dollars ..... 439,400,000

or, in sterling money, about ..... £90,000,000

And for what, this tremendous waste? For Africa? No. Africa may, doubtless, be benefited by really voluntary Emigrants, well selected; but it can only be injured by such a deluge of wretched and untutored souls. For

America, No! unless it can really benefit a country, forcibly, to expel upwards of one-sixth of its whole population; that one-sixth, probably, forming one-third of all its labouring strength. For humanity? No. Humanity will bleed at every pore, in the forcible rending asunder of all the ties of nature, which is a fundamental feature of the Colonization plan. What for, then? What for, but that a colour, which above all others is disgraced by its crimes, should retain none of the tinge, which it has outraged without provocation, and adulterated with the most licentious brutality.

But the United States is worthy of nobler things. Her Bible, and Missionary, and Sunday School efforts, &c., present her under a better aspect, and claim for her a better love. Let us not pander to her crimes—let us not hate our sister, by suffering sin upon her;—But shew that we honor and love her, by doing our best to recall her from her fatal delusion; and to lead her into the holy paths of real love and peace:—That she may no longer rob the poor, because they are poor, neither oppress the afflicted in the gate. “For, the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoil them.” Proverbs xxii. 22, 23.

#### THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE CAPITOL.

“At the very time when the procession which contained the President of the United States and his Cabinet was marching in triumph to the Capitol, to celebrate the victory of the French people over their oppressors, another kind of procession was marching another way, and that consisted of coloured human beings handcuffed in pairs, and driven along by what had the appearance of a man on a horse! A similar scene was repeated on Saturday last; a *drove* consisting of males and females chained in couples, starting from Robey’s tavern on foot, for Alexandria, where, with others, they are to embark on board a slave-ship in waiting to convey them to the South. While we are writing, a coloured man enters our room, and begs us to inform him if we can point out any person who will redeem his friend, now immured in Alexandria jail, in a state of distress amounting almost to distraction. He has been a faithful servant of a revolutionary officer, who recently died—has been sold at auction—parted from affectionate parents, and from decent and mourning friends. Our own servant, with others, of whom we can speak in commendatory terms, went down to Alexandria to bid him farewell, but they were refused admission to his cell, because, as was said, ‘the sight of his friends made him take on so.’ He bears the reputation of a pious man. It is but a few weeks since we saw a ship, with her cargo of slaves, in the port of Norfolk, Va.; on passing up the river, saw another ship off Alexandria, swarming with the victims of human cupidity. Such are the scenes enacting in the heart of the American nation. Oh, patriotism! where is thy indignation? Oh, philanthropy! where is thy grief? OH SHAME! WHERE IS THY BLUSH?”—*American Spectator*.

*The following highly honourable Testimonial to the Rev. N. Paul’s respectability, by his Excellency SIR JOHN COLBORNE, K. C. B. Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada, is affixed:—*

*Upper Canada, York, 26th July, 1831.*

“The bearer, Mr. Nath. Paul, has, for a considerable time, officiated as Minister to the people of colour, and is now settled in the township of Bidulph, in the London district. He has employed himself with much success during the last nine months, in establishing schools for the people of colour under his charge; and has acquired the esteem and friendship of the settlers located in his neighbourhood, for his good conduct and exertions in the cause of religion and education.

“His object in proceeding to England, being for the purpose of obtaining assistance, to enable him to complete the establishment, and to promote the welfare of the families residing on the blocks of land purchased from the Canada Company by the people of colour, who have lately been obliged to sell their property, and leave their native country. He is deserving of encouragement from the benevolent.

“J. COLBORNE, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.”





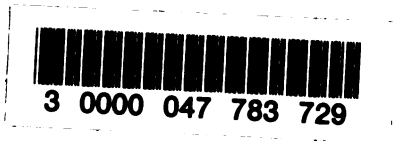








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