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C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,
NEAR WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENT,
1849.
—their intellectual and moral elevation. Fully convinced of this fact, an appeal was made to the public last April, for funds to secure an additional territory on the coast of Africa, to form a new State for colored emigrants from the Ohio valley, where they may be able to give an example of their capacity for self-government.

The first response to that appeal has been an offer, by a gentleman of ample means, to purchase two hundred miles of coast, outside of the present limits of Liberia, as soon as it can be had on reasonable conditions. This territory he will offer to the colored people of the west upon which to organize a new State, in connection with Liberia, to be called Ohio in Africa.

The work now to be commenced, and in the accomplishment of which your co-operation is solicited, is the prosecution of the enterprise here proposed. There are in Ohio, a large number of colored men who express a willingness to emigrate to Liberia, as soon as a scheme for the advancement of colored people in Liberia is satisfactorily guaranteed by the reports in relation to the present prosperity of the Republic of Liberia. The recognition of its independence by England and France, and the neglect of our government to extend to it the same courtesy, is beginning to dispel the illusion that African colonization is a scheme of the slaveholder. The prejudices of colored men against colonization are now beginning to yield. But they still distrust white men, and wish to send out colored delegates to investigate the claims of Liberia to the colored man's attention, and to judge whether Africa is a suitable theatre for the future struggle of the colored race for national existence and national independence. They should not be asked to bear the expense of these delegates. The colonization society is willing to afford to such a deputation every facility in their passage out to Africa, but the funds placed at its disposal must be appropriated to defray the expenses of emigrants and not of delegates.

Under these circumstances we are constrained to appeal to your honorable body for aid in this important crisis in the affairs of African colonization. And there is much to encourage us in adopting decisive measures to divert the current of emigration towards Liberia. All the delegates who have gone out, recently, bring back favorable reports. The colored people of Illinois sent out one last year, who has returned, and a large number have resolved to emigrate, nine of whom will leave in the next expedition. Indiana presents a list of fifty emigrants who are enrolled for Liberia, twenty-seven of whom are also to sail with those of Illinois. The leader of this band, the Rev. Mr. Findlay, a colored man, has pledged himself to settle in our Ohio in Africa as soon as the scheme is perfected. The Rev. Moses Walker, a colored man, of Portland, Jefferson county, Ohio, who also visited Africa last year, has returned and reports favorably. He will remove to Liberia with his family, but is anxious to traverse the State and make his report before he leaves. The Colomzation Society are desirous of thus employing him, but are unable on account of their having pledged themselves, the last year, to send out 1010 emigrants. The Society are also desirous of engaging some of the present citizens of Liberia, who have manifested a desire to visit the West, and present the facts, in relation to the new Republic, before the colored people.

In this emergency, and in view of the great importance of disabusing the minds of colored men on the question of colonization, and of encouraging their emigration to Liberia, or to Ohio in Africa, it is respectfully requested that you make a suitable appropriation to aid the American Colonization Society for a few years to come, in carrying out its designs in relation to the colored people of Ohio, and in promoting the spirit of emigration to Liberia.

Very respectfully yours,

DAVID CHRISTY,
Agent of Am. Col. Soc. for the State of Ohio.

Memorial to the Legislature of Virginia.

The Report of the Special Committee, to whom was referred that part of the Governor's Message which recommends the removal of the free people of color from the Commonwealth, will soon call you to deliberate on a subject of grave import. You will give it, I doubt not, your well-studied and matured consideration, holding it neither too delicate a subject to be approached, nor too difficult for legislation.—The time has fully come when, if we do not boldly grapple with the difficulties and control them, they will control us.

Slavery was not of voluntary adoption by those who constructed the elements of society in this Commonwealth. Introduced by the authority of Great Britain, it was found at the period of our indepen-
dence a constituent of the body po-
litical; was subsequently recognized
by the Federal and State constitu-
tions, and became a part of our in-
heritance. It is, therefore, politically
and socially, constitutional. Yet
like all other things human and
earthly, it has difficulties and evils.
These were so distinctly perceived
by the foresight of our ancestors,
that they resisted the introduction of
the system itself and sought to avert
it. When introduced they labored
to mitigate its evils to both races,
and make the institution, if possible,
a blessing to each. How far this
christian effort has been faithfully
and successfully pursued, we are
willing our enemies themselves
should tell to the world in the facts
they are compelled to record, and
out of which ages to come will form
their estimate of our character. Let
us leave all feverish anxieties on that
subject, and go boldly forward in the
high duty imposed by Providence on
us now.

Among the evils that are contin-
gent to slavery, may be reckoned a
large class of free colored people, the
descendants of slaves, constituting a
tower caste in society, and yet ele-
vated above the slaves whence they
originated. This evil was early
contemplated by far reaching and
patriotic minds, defined and sought
to be modified or averted.

Mr. Jefferson, as early as 1777,
proposed to the Legislature of Vir-
ginia, to be incorporated in the re-
vised code of the State, a plan for
colonizing the free colored popula-
tion. This is the earliest conception
distinctly announced of a plan for
African Colonization. The magni-
tude of the enterprise and the state
of the country, then at war, prevent-
ed at that time, the prosecution of
the plan. Dr. Thornton, a native of
Virginia, and resident at Washing-
ton, attempted ten years afterwards,

to form a company of free blacks to
emigrate and establish a colony on
the coast of Africa. This also proved
abortive for want of means. The
legislature of Virginia took action on
the subject in the year 1800, and
again in 1816; and Mr. Jefferson
continued to agitate it until the for-
formation of the Colonization Society,
in December, 1816, at the city of
Washington.

Although eminent and good men
from other States were concerned in
the construction of this noble Society,
and to the honored name of Finley
is correctly attributed the principal
instrumentality in its actual organi-
zation—yet the mighty conception
may be found in our Virginia, the
"Mother of States;" and the embryo
of this great political structure may
be traced to the brain of the author
of the Declaration of Independence,
who is now seen to be the real Jupiter
of that political Minerva, the young
"Republic of Liberia." Liberia is
indeed our twin sister; finds her
rights asserted in the same declaration;
and though of longer gestation is now
triumphantly born, and destined like
us to regulate and govern a continent,
with our liberal constitution adopted
as hers, and the Bible as her great
moral code.

Standing by the birth of the Co-
lonization Society or aiding in its
incipiency, we find Bushrod Wash-
ington its first President, and Henry
Clay its second—John Randolph,
Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Judge
Marshall, Bishop Meade, John Tay-
lor of Caroline, Andrew Jackson, C.
F. Mercer, F. S. Key, E. B. Cald-
well, and others, Virginians by birth
and in feeling, though citizens of the
world by their works. We will
seek in the labors of that Society a
cooporation suited to the part we
took in its formation and to the in-
heritance we claim in its fame. But
for the present I return.
The free people of color, now numbering not less than 60,000 in Virginia and increasing more than four hundred per cent. in fifty years, will, without some action to prevent it, form a population of 240,000 in the year 1900, a period that will arrive during the natural life of our children. In 1950 our grand children will encounter this population increased to a numerical force of about one million—thirty per cent. greater than our present white population—and our great grand children will see a free black population of 4,000,000 in Virginia. In order to realize how near in time this result is to our own day, we have only to reflect that the active men of the present time—many whom I address as legislators—are descendants of the fathers of our independence of only the second and third generations. Some, who now live, may, before they die, see the free black population of Virginia, greater in number than the present white population.

It is readily admitted that various causes may occur to modify these calculations. But it is enough that they are seen to be the natural results of an uninterrupted progress of existing causes, and therefore possible—even probable. For, while the wide west and south-west are inviting with still stronger motives the emigration of our sons, the barriers to the emigration of our free blacks to other States are multiplied and strengthened, both by legislation and popular expression. While, therefore, our white population may be stationary, or decreased by emigration, the free blacks will be steadily advancing in an increasing ratio. But I have no time to multiply these and similar aspects of the subject. Every reflecting mind will develop them.

Connected with this series of numerical calculations, however, I ask the consideration of the fact, that history furnishes no instance of one people residing in the midst of another people as a lower caste, and excluded from an equality of civil rights, that have stopped short of violence and rebellion so soon as their strength gave reasonable hope of a successful struggle.

Mr. Jefferson perceived distinctly this evil when the cloud was not yet larger than a man's hand, and he endeavored to brush it away. It has, however, been suffered to increase till it lowers now on the horizon, and before our children's children shall occupy our places, it will obscure the sun and settle upon our fair land a darkness that may be felt. Those degenerate sons of illustrious sires who say, "let posterity take care of that," should be rebuked. Those who perilled their lives for our liberties, said not so—else we now had been riveted to a hopeless despondism.

The question which now requires your investigation is "How shall we legislate for our free colored population?" The answer, which instructs the legislator, is given in all History, and is unequivocal: They must either be amalgamated with the whites and thereby annihilated as an inferior caste;—or raised to a civil and social equality—or removed. It will be my object at a future time to show that the last is the only remedy;—that it may be done by consent of both parties—that it ought to be done, and that now is the time to do it.

I have said that the rapid increase of the free colored population of Virginia will soon bring us to the conviction that they must either be annihilated as an inferior caste by amalgamation with the whites, or raised by law and common consent to a civil and social equality, or be removed from the State.

The first cannot be. Even aboli-
tionists revolt at it when practically urged, and plainly show that their sympathies are factitious and unnatural, and therefore not only impracticable in the experiment, but null and void as a moral obligation. This inferior caste can never be lost by amalgamation.

It is equally certain that they can never be raised to an equality in civil and social rights and privileges. This may be attempted—but it will be a failure. It has been attempted; but when has the experiment ever succeeded? Let St. Domingo give the answer, full of solemn instruction and full of warning. Soon after the early introduction of slavery into that island, the spirit of emancipation began to create there as it has done here, a free colored population, an inferior degraded caste.—When in 1790 their number began to approximate to that of the whites, they petitioned to be admitted to the rights of suffrage and other privileges of free citizens. The National Assembly of France decreed—what the Colonial authorities rejected—the civil and social equality of the free negroes. In the progress of events these soon made common cause with the slaves, civil war ensued, and the Island was deluged in blood till the whites were exterminated.

As far as the experiment has proceeded the results have been strikingly similar. Their number, increasing at a ratio much greater than the whites, will bring their tread upon our heels before the generation now cradled and in their nurses’ arms shall have acted their part on the stage of life and died. They will naturally be clamorous for privileges. They will be urgent in petition, then in argument, then in demand. They will be first persuasive, then accusatory, and finally insolent. They are men, and even if we had no record of history, in which to read the future by the past, we may know what they will do! And will they find no sympathy, no co-operation, no aid from the whites? He must be a dull scholar indeed, who, even without the teachings of history, cannot infer the future from the present. You have made a law that the slave emancipated, shall leave the State. But you need not be told how often this law is violated, and how many may be found in every county, retained contrary to the law by a common sympathy in their behalf. It is a generous impulse which violates the law;—but a judicious law which demands a suppression of those sympathies. Thus are the free blacks increasing rapidly by the double process of birth and emancipation.

Extension of privilege is the order of every community and wider room is yielded at every demand. I come not to “repress this genial current of the soul.” I am not prepared to say the free people of color yet have the point of elevation assigned to them which they deserve—and some of them are very meritorious. But we look beyond the present. Where do these paths lead to? What is the point to which these finger boards we now read direct us? What are the tendencies, consequences of what we are now doing? As certain as there is no assignable limit to human progress, we shall in process of time find this class of our population requiring more room and demanding more privileges, “till they will come to the doors of your legislative halls and ask: “Are we not men—men of property, of intelligence, and of numbers sufficient to be known, recognized, heard among you?” I will not assume to write this history in detail. What it must be in effect all, not politically blind, can see. When it comes to this or anything like it, the answer must be
like that of the Colonial Assembly of St. Domingo. The rest is known. They can never be admitted to an equality in civil and social privileges. It only remains, then, that they be removed from the State. It will be my next object to show that this may be done, that it ought to be done, and done now.

If we have calculated and reasoned rightly, the removal of the free colored population from the State is now desirable, and will soon become absolutely necessary.

The question then arises, Can it be done—ought it to be done, and done now? We answer affirmatively—It can, ought and must be done.

They can be removed and settled in Liberia. Remaining here, we hold them unchangedably disfranchised and degraded. Can it be doubted, then, that we do our duty if when our safety and interests require their removal, we place them in a community of free men, themselves free and equal, the proprietors in fee simple of the soil they cultivate, and under the protection of good laws like our own in their fatherland. This we may do by providing for their emigration and settlement in Liberia.

By an act of the Legislature of Virginia in 1833, an appropriation was made of $90,000 to be paid in five annual instalments for the deportation of the free colored people to Liberia—thirty dollars to each emigrant. No part of this appropriation was ever drawn from the Treasury, because no voluntary emigrants were to be found.

Now if the Legislature, instead of a forcible removal of this people, should revive the act of 1833, making an appropriation of $90,000, or what would be still better, twice that sum, what would be the effect? Would the free negroes avail themselves of the provision? And if they should, would its disbursements make any sensible impression on their numbers, either to extinguish or greatly reduce them? Are they willing to go? Can they be induced to go?

That the appropriation could now be easily applied to its object, there can be no reasonable doubt. It may readily be shown that Liberia is the proper home of the free colored man. He can be made to see that. It was very different in 1833, when the former invitation was extended to him and rejected. Liberia was then a colony, struggling with difficulties incident to its unsettled state, its climate not well defined, its virgin soil hardly turned by the ploughshare, its resources not developed, not even counted in their number and value, the savage border tribes still restless and of doubtful friendship, and all the early calamities of the colony in its infant state still fresh in recollection. Now the Republic of Liberia stands among the nations of the earth, recognized by other nations, inviting the emigrant to a free government of constitutional laws; to a soil not surpassed in fertility; to social, intellectual and religious privileges by no means inferior to those he leaves. We say, then, he may become a voluntary emigrant, because it is for his interest to go. It is not expatriation, but rather the return of the exile home. So he sees it, when he looks beyond his prejudices to the facts in the case.

But we are not left to probabilities in this matter. We are told by those who have addressed them on the subject, that they are easily made to desire a removal to Liberia. Receiving the facts in the case well authenticated, they say—"let us go to our father land." The Colonization Society has now more applicants than means of transportation.