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Prof. J. Sparks
LETTER

TO THE

HON. HENRY CLAY,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AND

SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON,

CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN
CIVILIZATION SOCIETY,

ON THE

COLONIZATION AND CIVILIZATION

OF

AFRICA.

WITH OTHER DOCUMENTS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Ralph Randolph
BY R. R. GURLEY.

LONDON:
WILEY AND PUTNAM, STATIONERS'-HALL-COURT.

1841
PREFACE.

It may be proper to say a word of the objects of my visit to England, and of the means by which I have sought to effect those objects. The following commission, originating in resolutions passed by the Directors of the American Colonization Society, was written and placed in my hands by the distinguished President of that Society.

"Be it known to all persons whom it may concern, that the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, has been appointed, by Resolutions of the Directors thereof, an Agent to proceed to England to promote the interests of the said Society; to explain and enforce its objects; to remove prejudices against it; to communicate with the friends of African Colonization and African Civilization in Great Britain; to conciliate public opinion in that kingdom towards the American Colonization Society; to collect all useful and valuable information in respect to the designs and exertions of humane and benevolent associations and individuals to elevate the moral and physical condition of Africa; and generally to cement the friendship and secure harmony and co-operation between the friends of Africa in England and the United States, in the great and good work of introducing Civilization and Christianity into that quarter of the globe. And the said R. R. Gurley, Agent as aforesaid, is to act in conformity with instructions which may have been, or hereafter shall be, given to him by the aforesaid Directors, in the execution of his Agency aforesaid, and to make a full report of his proceedings to them.

"In testimony of the said appointment, for the purposes aforesaid, I, Henry Clay, President of the American Colonization Society, in virtue of the Resolutions aforesaid, have hereunto affixed my name, and caused the Seal of the said Society to be attached at Washington, this 20th day of June, 1840.

"H. CLAY."

On my arrival in London, I instantly sought a personal acquaintance with Thomas Hodgkin, M.D., long known to me and to thousands of my countrymen, for his firm and able support of the American Colonization Society against a host of opponents, and who, if the will could always be swayed by reasons, had been won over to his opinions by the force of his arguments and the meekness of his wisdom, and for whose cordial welcome; the deep interest then and ever since manifested by him in the objects of my mission; the time and effort cheerfully devoted amid pressing engagements to aid those objects; his good counsels, his courteous and most friendly personal attentions, it gives me pleasure thus publicly to express my gratitude, and to say, that they have been
such, as without an intimate knowledge of his merits it had been impossible for me to anticipate, and more than, as now aware of the many demands upon his benevolence, I could have deemed it lawful to desire. The delightful consciousness of well doing and the approbation of Heaven are his best rewards; but I must be allowed to gratify my sense of justice by denoting him emphatically, not merely the friend of the African, but of the whole human race.

Having conferred very fully with the respected chairman of the Committee of the African Civilization Society, I visited Scotland, and sought every proper occasion, among her hospitable and high-minded people, to correct the prevalent errors in regard to the Colonization Society, and to commend its principles and philanthropy to their benevolent and reflecting minds. Though no general sympathy was shown in the cause which I advocated, I received many civilities and kind attentions, for which my thanks are due, and am bound in my affections to that land of romance and high recollections by ties of respect and friendship which will never I trust be dissolved.

I subsequently submitted the views of the American Colonization Society to the General Committee of the African Civilization Society, expressed to them the warm interest felt by the Society I had the honour to represent in their cause and proceedings, but received from them no cordial responses or proofs of reciprocal regard. There was courteous attention, a decent respect, and liberty to retire. I would have urged their cause with pleasure, while detained in this country, as worthy of all approbation and support, upon the reason and Christianity of England; but perhaps they rightly judged it inexpedient to expose themselves to the unpopularity of exhibiting the slightest inclination to unity of sentiment with the Colonization Society. Their views will doubtless change with the coming changes on this subject in the English mind. The conquests of truth may be slow, but are sure.

The correspondence which occurred about this time, between Sir T. F. Buxton, and myself, also a letter addressed to the Editor of the London Patriot, will be found in the Appendix.

Through the kindness of the Hon. Andrew Stevenson, who so ably represents the people of the United States in the court of England, and to whom I am under many obligations, I obtained an interview with Lord John Russell, and submitted to him such considerations as might tend to prevent any interference between the English and American settlements on the African coast. He expressed his warm wishes for the success of the Colonization Society.

Subsequently I announced the purpose of delivering two lectures on the principles, policy, and success of the American
Colonization Society, in Egyptian-Hall, the use of which had been generously tendered to me by my friend Mr. Oatlin. The following brief notice of these lectures and several meetings that followed, appeared in the London Sun, of February 8th:

"Agreeably to public notice, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary to the American Colonization Society, addressed an audience on two successive evenings (Thursday and Friday) last week, in the Egyptian-Hall, Piccadilly, explaining the views and enlarged benevolence of this Society towards all classes of the coloured race in America and Africa, and replying to various objections urged against it. At the close of the second lecture, Mr. Gurley was invited by one of his auditors, Mr. John Scoble, of the Anti-Slavery Society, to enter on a debate with him. The challenge was readily accepted for Monday evening, when a highly interesting discussion took place, which was adjourned to Wednesday, Daniel Lister, Esq., presiding on both occasions. At the close of Mr. Gurley's reply to Mr. Scoble's first speech on Wednesday, the latter, offended at the course of the Chairman, (which was sustained by the meeting,) suddenly left the platform. Mr. Gurley was requested to proceed in his statements. At the conclusion of his remarks, on the motion of Dr. Costello, seconded by A. B. Wright, Esq., the meeting expressed their thanks to Mr. Gurley for the valuable facts and views he had so eloquently submitted to their consideration, and adjourned till Friday evening. At this third meeting, Mr. Lister having been again called to the chair, Dr. Costello reviewed, in a brief but pertinent and able manner, the course of the several meetings. The Chairman also made a few observations expressive of his regret that anything should have occurred which should have been deemed by Mr. Scoble cause sufficient to render his retreat necessary. Mr. Gurley then, at the request of the meeting, submitted various facts and documents vindicating the American Colonization Society and the Colony of Liberia from objection and reproof, and showing its tendency to suppress the African Slave-trade, and introduce civilization and Christianity, among the native population. Elliot Cresson, Esq., followed Mr. Gurley with many facts and statements in corroboraton of his views, and of the beneficent policy of the Society.

"Lieutenant-Colonel H. Dundas Campbell, late Governor of Sierra Leone, then rose and expressed, in a very earnest and emphatic manner, his regard for the American Colonization Society, and from his personal observations on the coast of Africa and reports from English naval officers, who had visited Liberia, his conviction of the good character of the people of that colony and of the great benefits to be anticipated from the multiplication of similar establishments. Colonel Campbell then moved a resolution, 'That the American Colonization Society is deserving of high approbation, and that this Society and the colony of Liberia are contributing essentially to the suppression of the African Slave-trade, and the civilization of Africa.' Mr. Guest, in seconding the motion, suggested by way of amendment, 'That in the lectures and debates to which the meeting had listened for several evenings, Mr. Gurley had triumphantly vindicated the American Colonization Society from all reproach, and established its character as a pure and benevolent institution.'

"Petty Vaughan, Esq. proposed to add, 'That the American Colonization Society is worthy of the approbation and support of English philanthropy.' The original resolution of Colonel Campbell, and the amendments, were then unanimously adopted. A Committee was appointed, and a subscription opened on the motion of Dr. Hodgkin, to carry forward these objects. The thanks having been voted to the chairman for his able services, the meeting was adjourned till Wednesday, 10th inst., at eight o'clock in the same place."
At a subsequent meeting, which was addressed by several gentlemen, a deep interest was expressed in the plan and success of the American Colonization Society, the question in regard to a petition to Parliament, which had been prepared and submitted by Mr. Fairburn, calling for an examination into the condition and prospects of the settlements in Africa, particularly Liberia, was considered, and the proposal for such a petition approved. The following resolution was then adopted:

"Resolved,

"That a Committee, consisting of Dr. Hodgkin, Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. Campbell, A. B. Wright, Esquire, Dr. Costello, Mr. Fairburn, Mr. Guest, Mr. Laird, Mr. P. Vaughan, D. Lister, Esquire, and Mr. G. Ralston, be appointed, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of properly framing the petition, and of waiting on Lord John Russell with a request that he would present it, and generally, to carry out the objects of this meeting."

At this, or the meeting immediately preceding, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, whose testimony in all matters connected with African affairs is entitled to great weight, said—

"That during the three years he had been Governor of Sierra Leone, he had had frequent opportunities of observing persons from the colony of Liberia, and he had always found them very superior in intellect, besides being excellent mechanics, and generally very moral and well conducted. In fact, he would candidly say that no persons in his own colony equalled them. From his knowledge of the interior of Africa, he took upon himself to say that it was by the establishment of such colonies as Liberia, that civilization would be effected there. It was useless to send out Europeans to that coast, the climate was prejudicial to them. It was the coloured man only that was fit for those regions. The great calumny that the black man was incapable of intellectual eminence, was practically refuted both at Sierra Leone and Liberia. Many of the pilots at Sierra Leone were likewise preachers, and he could truly say that one of the best sermons he had ever heard was preached by a black man, on the occasion of his (Governor Campbell's) departure from the colony. He trusted that a Society, similar to the American Society would be established in England."

Considering the war which has, for the last eight years been carried on in this kingdom against the American Colonization Society, the verdict of a very intelligent English audience, after six evenings of discussion and debate, unanimously pronounced in its favour, was certainly as gratifying as it was unexpected. It has entirely convinced me that the reasonable and benevolent throughout England, would pronounce a similar verdict could they fairly and fully examine into the facts and merits of the case. I regret extremely that I have been favoured with so few opportunities of explaining the views and policy of the American Colonization Society to the British public, and that means have not been afforded me for defraying the expenses necessarily connected with the places and preparations for large meetings. I trust the Committee to whom the cause is entrusted, may deem
it wise to adopt measures for correcting the existing errors, and imparting information on the subject to the good people of England.

If, in a few instances, letters of introduction from high sources gave me reason to expect some civilities and kindness where both have been withheld, to many gentlemen, both English and American, I am under great obligations, which I acknowledge with sensibility, and which are indelibly impressed upon my heart.

To Joseph Travers, Esq., whose high sense of honour, liberality of sentiment, and generous devotion to the great cause of human liberty and happiness, are admirable, my thanks are especially due.

From Petty Vaughan, Esq., and his venerable uncle, William Vaughan, Esq., who appear to live but for the public good, and who, by innumerable acts of kindness to Americans, are worthy to be regarded as their benefactors, I am placed under lasting obligations.

Daniel Lister, Esq., ever ready to give thought, and time, and money, to the advancement of a good cause, who presided at several of the meetings in Egyptian-Hall, and who is not less distinguished by his philanthropy than for his hospitality and unostentatious worth, is entitled to my warmest gratitude.

To George Catlin, Esq., who has won a lasting fame by the wonderful genius and energy displayed in his admirable collection of Indian costumes and portraits, has evinced a true concern for my success, and with that noble disinterestedness which belongs to his character, rendered me every aid in his power.

For much courtesy and kindness I am also indebted to Messrs. A. and G.Ralston, (who have repeatedly made very liberal donations to the Colonization Society,) to Robert Bell, Esq., Dr. Costello, D. Guest, Esq., Junius Smith, LL.D., A. B. Wright, Esq., Lieut.-Col. H. D, Campbell, Thomas Campbell, Esq.; also (in connexion with the press) to Henry Inskip, Esq., and to Messrs. Stirling, Dr. Wm. Beattie, and others.

Nor must I omit to mention the very obliging Christian attentions of the Rev. Dr. Burder, of Hackney, the Rev. John Clayton, of the Poultry chapel, and the Rev. Algernon Wells, Secretary of the Congregational Union, for each and all of whom I must ever cherish deep respect and affectionate regard.

Although the Times, in representing that the object of my visit to this country was to solicit funds, is totally mistaken, I must express the hope that far distant may be the day when the Christians of England or America may hesitate to aid each other in plans of enlarged benevolence. Though I have solicited no donations since my arrival in England, I should be happy to receive them for the Colonization Society did they proceed from
a conviction of the philanthropy of that Society—the freewill offerings of generous hearts. Nor should I be less gratified to know that contributions were coming from my own country to promote great and good objects proposed to be accomplished by the people of England. May there long exist between both countries the unity of the spirit, and the bond of peace.

In conclusion, I beg leave to submit the following remarks from the pen of Dr. Hodgkin, which I trust may receive the serious consideration of the friends of the coloured race.

"A plan which promises to suppress that enormous assemblage of crimes, the slave-trade, cannot fail to excite the interest, and engage the attention of England, from the throne to the cottage. The interest of such a plan is incalculably heightened when it comes from such a man as Sir T. F. Buxton. This would be the case were no other considerations than those of humanity involved; but there are many others connected with it, which causes the subject to be viewed under various aspects, which may account for the difference of opinion regarding the proposed remedy, which has, doubtless, been conscientiously expressed from various quarters. The Niger Expedition, in particular, is the subject of the most conflicting sentiments, in the midst of which the public cannot be too strongly impressed with the fact that, in the fitting out of this expedition, no pains have been spared to collect the most authentic information, and that the most minute attention has been given to meet and provide against the various difficulties which may be expected, and to protect the health of those engaged in the expedition, who, in regard to their peculiar qualification have been selected with the greatest care. As a whole, they constitute an exploring expedition of the most complete description. The expedition is not in itself the remedy, but a most important prelude to its application. The expedition will occupy a few months, but the introduction of civilization and legitimate commerce into Africa, which, by their union, constitute the remedy, must be the steadily increasing and advantageous labour of years, and must go forward, whether the expedition be crowned with success or not. It will therefore be well for the public to regard the question dispassionately, and to receive and weigh the opinions which are held in different quarters. In England, many of the wise and good, and of the politically important, are giving it their support; many of the same class on the continent of Europe are similarly affected towards it. The American Society for the Colonization of free American people of colour on the coast of Africa, hailed the formation of Sir F. Buxton's Society as the accession of a powerful ally to the cause of the elevation of the coloured race, and despatched their Secretary, R. R. Gurley, for the express purpose of offering cordial co-operation and friendship, and to guard against any danger of collision, which might otherwise spring up between two bodies engaged with similar objects on the same field. May the spirit of conciliation and peace be met with cordial reciprocity; and blessing to Africa, England, and America must be the result. That similar feelings to those which have prompted the American Society also exist on the coast of Africa, will be seen in the following extract of a letter from the Governor of Liberia, which possesses an additional interest in giving the opinion of a practical man, and furnishing the proof of the correctness of Sir Fowell Buxton's principle, and of its practicability of execution if properly carried out. In short, all the objections which have hitherto been raised, seem rather to apply to the details than to the principle. These details are not fully before the public, since they have not, and indeed could not, as yet, have been fixed by the Society itself."
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The following is the language of Governor Buchanan:—

“Your efforts, seconded by those of our valuable friend, Mr. Gurley, will, I trust, be successful in inducing Sir T. F. Buxton and his coadjuitors to listen favourably to the proposition of the American Colonization Society. No event, in my opinion, could be more auspicious to the general relations of England and America than a union of the good men of each in this great system of philanthropy, but to Africa it would be productive of incalculable blessings. From my experience of the practical results of colonization here, I am prepared to say that, with the blessing of God, nothing else is wanted to destroy the slave-trade, and revolutionize this whole continent in its moral and social character, than the extension of this system. Wherever you plant a community of civilized people, you gain a centre of influence to a large district of surrounding country. If the colonists are moral, orderly, industrious, and especially if they are just and kind in their intercourse with the natives, depend upon it these poor sons of the forest will soon learn to appreciate their character, and after that, it will not be long before, in some respects at least, they will begin to imitate it. The slave-trade loses its aliment under such circumstances and dies—the habits of the native improve—his wants increase with his increasing taste for civilization—he necessarily becomes more industrious, and then gradually rises to the full dignity of his nature.

“I assure you nothing could excite more general satisfaction among the citizens of these colonies than to know that the philanthropists of England were engaged with those of America in carrying on the work of colonization. They would hail such a union as a bright omen to their father-land, and the pledge of success to the cause of their race. The general affairs of Liberia are in a condition of greater prosperity than at any former period since my arrival here, and there is very little sickness in any of the settlements. Business of all kinds is brisk, and an increasing spirit of industry prevails among our people. Through the agency of the colony all the dissensions among the neighbouring tribes have been healed, and at this moment the most perfect peace and tranquillity reign over a vast region of country that from time immemorial had been distracted and devastated by the most fierce and bloody wars.”

Mr. Elliott Cresson, of Philadelphia, who has expended a vast amount of time and thought, for years, in the African cause, travelled thousands of miles, given munificent donations, and laboured with almost unprecedented activity and zeal to promote it, has submitted the project, sanctioned by the Bishops of the American Episcopal Church, of founding a seminary or Theological College for the education of clergymen in Liberia by the united contributions of England and America. Heaven grant a disposition to carry this important design into effect!

Finally, a good friend has expressed the fear that this pamphlet will be deemed by some as confirmatory of the charge urged against the Colonization Society, that it defends, or, at least, apologizes for slavery. My object has been, to place the subject in the clear light of Christianity. I regard the Divine law as binding the conscience of every human being, and that every violation of that law by the individual, or by associated individuals, should be immediately abandoned. The system of American slavery being to an extent violative of that law should,
to that extent, by the state authorities, be immediately changed. I do not soften down, I do not seek to relax the force and universal obligation of this law. Let this obligation be enforced with all energy and all eloquence, but let no one think to be wiser than God, and destroy the perfection of the law in its power to guide by pure motives the human reason, and to direct and accommodate, according to the dictates of that reason thus guided, human actions in most of the endlessly diversified relations, circumstances and necessities of society. And to expect even the full and universal illuminations of this law (should they be realized) instantly to remedy all the physical evils of our disordered state, is like expecting the shining of the blessed sun for a single day to expand the flowers of spring, or ripen the fruits of autumn to perfection. If my doctrine be at variance with that of Christ and his apostles, let it be exposed and rejected.

London, May 1st, 1841.                    R. R. G.
A LETTER

TO THE HON. HENRY CLAY, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, AND TO SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY.

Gentlemen,—I address you as representing, in an eminent manner, the more sober general views of the great body of the wise and good in England and America in regard to the measures demanded for the relief and elevation of the African race. On a subject so vast, complex, and difficult, neither you, nor those you respectively represent, may in all points agree, yet, doubtless, you and they are animated by the same pure motives, and seeking to effect the same grand object. To this object many years of my life have been devoted. My official connexion with the American Colonization Society is terminated; and from my present position I may review, perhaps, the opinions I have formed with less danger than heretofore from bias or partiality. The thoughts I express have been much considered, and I hope they may be deemed worthy of attention by the good people of the United States and of Great Britain.

There is much variety as well as peculiarity of misfortune in the condition of the African race. The great majority of this people still inhabit their ancient land of Africa, broken up into almost innumerable tribes, differing, to some extent, in complexion, customs, knowledge, and superstitions, slightly united by social ties, governed by arbitrary chiefs with little form of law, and generally and deeply degraded by long-prevailing barbarism, the rites of a debasing religion, by slavery and the slave-trade. Estimates of the population of Africa have varied from sixty millions to one hundred and fifty millions, and probably the exact number lies between these two extremes. This vast population is spread over a country of great extent and fertility, abundant in resources, penetrated by many large navigable rivers, and blessed with rich advantages for agriculture and commerce with civilized nations.

A portion of this race occupy the British West-Indian Islands, with advantages and encouragements for improvement, having been raised by the power of the English Government from slavery to freedom.

Another portion (not exceeding probably altogether, including the free blacks of Mexico, five millions) exist as slaves in the Brazils, Cuba, and the French, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, and Dutch colonial possessions in various parts of the globe.

Another portion (about 3,000,000) are in the United States, the majority in slavery in the Southern States of the Union, and about half-a-million free and scattered throughout all the States.
Finally, a considerable number (though less we presume than are in the same condition in Christian countries) are in slavery in the Mahomedan empire.

From this brief and very imperfect survey, it is evident that the whole number of Africans in exile in all parts of the world is small compared with that of those still residing on the soil of Africa. Nor can we doubt, from the facts and statements exhibited in the recent work on the slave-trade and its remedy, that the greatest physical evils endured by the African race result from the slave-trade, which, though utterly condemned by the general opinions and laws of Christian nations, is nevertheless prosecuted by avarice and inhumanity to an unprecedented extent, attended by the most shockingly criminal and cruel acts, and an immense waste of human life. Nearly or quite half a-million of wretched Africans are annually torn from their homes, a moiety of whom perish in capture, during their march to the coast, in the holds of slave-ships on their passage across the ocean, or during the first trials of toil and exposure in a foreign climate. In view of an evil so terrible, so enormous, it becomes all humane and Christian men immediately, solemnly, and with their might, to exert themselves to discover and apply the remedy, and, unmindful of minor differences of sentiment and all merely personal considerations, to unite in measures the most efficient for the relief of such inexpressible miseries, and the redress of such atrocious wrongs as are involved in the slave-trade. Yet as the source and seat of this trade is in the barbarism and degradation of Africa, all measures will prove, we fear, but palliative of the evil, which do not include as an end the civilization and elevation of the African race. The great inquiry should be, I conceive, How shall the greatest good, in the shortest time be conferred upon the greatest number of this afflicted and injured people?

In this inquiry other questions, than those concerning the injustice of establishing or perpetuating either the slave-trade or slavery are involved. I know not that in England and America the slave-trade has any advocates or defenders, and slavery as an original and permanent system will find few among civilized nations. But to show how the efforts of philanthropy shall be combined and directed, so as to suppress utterly the African slave-trade, secure the abolition of slavery, without detriment, and with advantage to all parties, and in all countries where it exists, and the civilization of Africa, so darkened and debased by ignorance, superstition, oppression, and vice, and this in the shortest possible period, is a matter of vital importance to the honour of our religion and the interests of humanity.

Nor are we in danger of over-estimating the magnitude and grandeur of an enterprise embracing prospectively the many millions, with their future descendants, of one of the largest quarters of the globe, the millions from that country now in exile and chains in other lands, with their descendants, and affecting, as in its progress and results it must, the political, social, and commercial condition of several civilized and powerful nations. Human thought and ability are often wasted upon insignificant and even unworthy objects. Those which rightly demand our sympathy and aid are frequently very limited in the number, extent, and duration of their benefits. We open the village-
school, give food, clothing, or shelter to the destitute, rear asylums for
those stricken down by misfortune, or touched in body, or estate by
the chastening hand of God, and rejoice even if a few of his rational
creatures, our brethren, derive relief, or find solace and unwonted joy
from the ministrations of our hands; but when a continent cries to
us for succour; when millions perishing make to us their appeal;
when a whole race of men, a large proportion of the entire human
family call upon us for deliverance from unutterable wrongs and
miseries, and a participation in the choicest blessings which the Divine
Father in the bounty of his grace has bestowed upon ourselves, it
were a disgrace for which we could never atone, to remain unmoved
or inactive. The evils to be remedied, the good to be conferred by
our Christian exertions in such a case surpass the boundaries of the
human imagination, the comprehension of any finite mind. As in
charity there can be no excess, neither can there be of zeal in such a
cause; for here enthusiasm is sobriety.

Though my opinion is, that of all measures of general policy for the
benefit of the African race, the colonization in Africa of free persons
of colour, with their own consent, on the principles developed in the
colony of Liberia, is the best, which can at present be adopted by
American and English philanthropists, I am not insensible to the
value of many subordinate and auxiliary plans, or to the purity of
motive by which they are sustained. In various channels and from
various points the charities of the Christian world may flow forth and
finally commingle in one and the same broad stream of beneficence to
Africa.

But if the scheme of colonization suggested, as, at present, the
main plan of benefit to the African race, surpass any and all others
in efficiency and advantage; if at its commencement, and for several
years to come, it require great energy and resources, the opinion of
England and America should be united for its support. Opinion is
becoming the mistress of states and of the world. How mighty the
reason and benevolence of these two countries acting together and for
the same end! How disastrous to the hopes of Africa should their
opinions on this subject tend in opposite directions, neutralize each
other, if not exhaust their strength in the fierceness of controversy or
the bitterness of reproach and recrimination.

And here it may be important to state the moral principle which
should govern the friends of the African race, in endeavours and en-
terprises for their benefit; and to show that it is the same, which by
the Divine law, each and every man is bound to manifest in his con-
duct towards one and all of his fellow-men. It is simply that prin-
ciple of justice and benevolence embodied in the golden rule of the
Saviour of the world. In its application to the inhabitants and
descendants of Africa there is no peculiarity unless it lie in the
strength of reasons which urge this application on account of the
greatness of their wrongs and the extremity of their miseries. Possibly,
also, we may be specially bound to remedy evils which our own crimes
or those of our immediate ancestors have produced. But with these
qualifications, our duty to the African race is the same owed by us to
any other people in like circumstances.
The law of Christianity enjoining reciprocal and equal benevolence, universally, and at all times, between man and man, is the sole foundation of human rights, and this general law can, in the innumerable cases, not defined or settled by particular Divine precepts, be obeyed only by such acts and methods as an honest reason shall prescribe. The principle of this law, perfect and immutable, holds authority over all human society, but in its application to particular circumstances, conditions, and individuals of this society, varies endlessly, involves every question of expediency, and requires the exercise of our highest faculties, of the soundest and most sagacious judgment. No one can doubt the truth of this doctrine who will reflect upon his own conduct for a single day. Why bestows he aims upon this destitute person and not upon that, sustains this proposed measure for the public advantage and not that other, but in recognition of the fact that in most of the actions and duties of life, Christianity governs by general laws, leaving human reason to study the lessons of experience, and to select and apply the means and methods of beneficence. In all domestic, social, and political life, and in ten thousand forms, this fact is manifested every hour, and while I see in it, for many reasons, a peculiar wisdom and a high moral discipline, I know that had it been otherwise, and special laws dictated and prescribed each and every act of our lives, the world itself would not contain the books that had been written.

The rights of man imply corresponding obligations, and the existence of one or both between men, presupposes human society. I am dealing now with the morale of the subject, and not with its artificial or merely legal aspects. No reasoning then, on the rights of man, is of force or value, which treats him as solitary and alone, or which rests merely upon the dignity and immortality of his nature. Nor is it possible to discover, independent of a serious attention to circumstances and consequences, from the preceptive code of Christianity, many of the rights of others, and of our particular obligations of duty; and not less rational is he, who, because God has left to him the free use of his limbs, confronts the steam-engine in its velocity, or dares the wrath of all the elements, than he who in his plans of benevolence, overlooks the fact, that not more perfect or unbending in principle, than comprehensive and accommodating in the modes of its application to human society and human affairs, is the Divine law, regulating things on earth as in heaven, partially by exact definitions and rules, but mostly by purity of motive and the all-hallowing and benign influences of reciprocal and universal love. So far as any system of political or personal slavery violates the specific precepts or the general laws of Christianity, it must be condemned, and should be immediately abolished, yet whether such a system be for a time, on the whole, right or wrong, it is clear that the duties and rights of individuals invested, thereby, with authority, or bound to submission and servitude, are affected and modified by a state of things, which exists, perhaps, (if they are in a minority,) without their choice, and which neither one nor both of them find it possible to control. As they neither established the system, may not desire to perpetuate and cannot abolish it, they must fulfil the royal law according to the Scriptures.
by such acts of mutual justice and kindness as are compatible with
the necessities of their condition and the public welfare.

Men, as individuals, and society, as a body of individuals, are
equally bound to do what they can to reform abuses, promote justice,
and seek the perfectability of all social and political institutions; yet in
regard to the means they adopt for these great ends they must be
mainly governed by their own judgments, deliberately and conscien-
tiously formed under responsibilities to the Author of all wisdom, the
Supreme Ruler of the world.

Much controversy in regard to slavery, arises from the different
meanings given by different writers to that term, some using it as
synonymous with the act of reducing a free person to involuntary and
perpetual servitude; others as that system or institution of society
which legalizes and makes hereditary this servitude; some as a wrong
involving every crime committed towards slaves where such an insti-
tution prevails; some as the mere condition of the slaves; and others as
simply the relation existing between the individual master and his
slaves, the effects of which must clearly depend very much upon the
character of the persons and the peculiar circumstances of the case.
Some deem slavery, however modified, and wherever existing, so
terribly and intolerably criminal, that for its overthrow they would
willingly hazard all consequences, and in their enthusiasm for what they
term the inalienable rights of humanity, violate the rights of independent
communities, the long acknowledged and sanctioned laws of nations.

States and individuals are alike bound by the general and special
laws of the Christian religion, and to hold or treat human beings as
mere property, I regard as a violation of the principles of that religion;
yet it by no means follows that all masters, from the very nature of the
relation they sustain to their slaves are to be condemned, or that the
state in which slavery exists is bound to proclaim immediate, uncondi-
tional, universal, and entire emancipation. The relation of master
does not oblige the master to treat the slave as mere property. The
state may repeal all laws which thus regard the slave, short of an act
of unconditional and entire emancipation. Even the liabilities to evil
to which particular slaves are exposed in the service of Christian
masters in America, may be less than those to which they would be
exposed, at present, by an act of emancipation. But it may be said
the liabilities to evil of particular slaves by emancipation could not
exist were there general emancipation. This may be true; but I am
speaking of things as they are, and not as they might be, and of the
modification of the duties of individuals by the condition of society.
To illustrate then my meaning, the slave of a humane master may
have a family connected, as slaves, with a neighbouring plantation, and
emancipation might expose him, as in some cases it would, to separa-
tion from his wife and children, by removal from the state, and thus
prove to him a curse rather than a blessing. It may be true that his
liabilities to evil in slavery are less than they would be in freedom.

If we look to a republican confederacy, like that of the United
States, of many states, in one half of which slavery exists, and in the
other not, where the evil was planted, in opposition to earnest and
repeated remonstrances from the people, then colonially dependent, by
a ruling but foreign power; where the numbers in slavery are large, in
some states a majority of the population; distinct from all other classes
in origin and complexion, uneducated, and incapable of self-govern-
ment, it is clear that those providentially entrusted with political
control, must look to the general welfare, consider the interests of
others as well as of the slaves, and that they would disregard the highest
obligations should they by sudden and rash changes expose the country
to revolution, or all the horrors of civil war. The temper of the people
is to be observed as well as the physical condition of society, the helm
of power is not to be surrendered to unsafe or incompetent hands, and
it must be remembered, for the sake of the slaves themselves, that
restraints upon the freedom of men are sometimes among their dearest
rights. My purpose, however, is not to discuss the whole question of
slavery, but to show, that in regard to that, as well as to most other
evils in the world, Christian discretion should be exercised under the
general law of Christian benevolence, and that those writers (and
many such recent ones there are) who confound all distinctions between
slavery and the African slave-trade; between the guilt of him who
reduces free men to slavery and of him who receives by inheritance an
estate upon which are slaves, made such by laws enacted by generations
that died before he was born; between the conduct of a parent nation,
forcing, for gain, this evil of slavery upon her colonies, disposed, but
unable, to resist, and that of those colonies become independent states
and in view of the differences of their free and slave population and
the near equality of their numbers, hesitating to attempt emancipation,
mainly from apprehensions that such an attempt would produce evils
greater than slavery itself; disregards or leaves unnoticed the deeper
and more important elements in the subject, from which alone we can
frame arguments for the enfranchisement of their slaves, convincing to
the slaveholders, because just to facts and to motives, and trusting
rather to their sense of obligation to do good unto all men, than to
the imagined wisdom of our own suggestions, how this obligation, in
the particular case, shall be discharged.

I have no thought or wish to apologize for any of the sins and
wrongs of slavery. The doctrine I maintain appears to me the doc-
trine of Christianity, and better adapted (as surely it must be if such)
to secure the freedom and happiness of the slaves than any one more
austere, and less capable of being discriminatedly applied to the ever-
varying existence and circumstances of human beings. It is of the
perfection as well as equity of the Divine Law, not to hold the state
responsible for crimes which no state legislation could prevent or
punish, nor the individual bound to redress wrongs and evils created
and sanctioned by state authority, and which he is unable either to
arrest or control. True every man should, by his influence and
example, plead for righteousness; and from the retirements of indi-
vidual souls must emanate the power to conquer evil; gradually,
increasingly, and without disturbance, pervade the bodies politic of
states and kingdoms, establish justice in the seats of renown, and
crown charity queen of the world,—the power of Divine truth, wisdom,
and love.

Slavery (I speak now of the system) in the United States and other
countries, is one of the many forms of oppression which all good men must desire to see speedily, and with advantage to all parties, abolished. Originating in the errors and crimes of a former age, closely interwoven with all the institutions and habits of society, strengthened by interest and time, and in America, depending upon no power or authority except of the states, individually, where it exists, the reason, conscience, and will of the masters, are the principal, if not only channels, through which the influences of truth and kindness can operate successfully for its removal. Let such influences alone operate. Censure, reproach, interference by citizens of other states, tend but to add rigour to the bondage, and gloom to the prospects of the slave population. And it should be known in England, as it is known in America, that the sentiments, the judgments, the institutions of the people of the United States are on the side of general liberty. The people of these states generally, regard slavery as an anomaly to the entire spirit and plan of their political being, and therefore its toleration and support must be traced to some powerful reasons in their minds, unconnected with their general views of politics and of society. These reasons arise from the wide differences in complexion, history, character, and condition, between those of Anglo-Saxon and African descent, which are thought to render intimate social and political union between them impracticable if desirable, and undesirable if practicable, injurious to both, and of benefit to neither, and from the dangers of collision were both free on the same soil should such union not be effected. If these ideas be erroneous, they are general and powerful, you cannot meet and overcome them by argument, for they spring from association and sympathies; they may die, but cannot be conquered.

I have expressed the opinion that the colonization of free persons of colour, with their own consent, in Africa, on the principles developed in the establishment and progress of Liberia, is of all plans, practicable at present, most deserving support in England and America, because of highest utility and promise to the African race.

The history of the colony of Liberia, though brief, is full of interest and instruction to the student of human nature, and particularly to those philanthropists who seek to civilize Africa, and elevate the minds of her children. Granville Sharp, Dr. Fothergill, and their associates, had founded Sierra Leone. The rude materials with which they commenced their work, and extraordinary disasters, soon compelled them to commit the destinies of this colony to the English Government; and though it looks out brightly and encouragingly from the African shore it has hardly fulfilled the best hopes of its earliest friends. The colony of Liberia owes its existence to a benevolent American Society, has no connexion with the Government, and from it has derived but occasional, and compared with that of individuals, but small aid. The wise and good men who, twenty-four years ago, organized the American Colonization Society, proposed a plan of benevolence to the African race so simple and unobjectionable that the citizens of the whole United States might contribute to its support, so powerful in its tendencies of good in all directions and comprehensive in its promised beneficence as to want, in theory, at least, little if anything of perfection. This plan was, to purchase, from
the African chiefs a suitable and sufficiently extended territory, and
to assist such bold and energetic free men of colour residing in the
United States, as might desire to emigrate, to found thereon a free
and Christian state, which, from the nature of its institutions, the
development of its principles and resources, and the discipline of its
circumstances must strengthen and elevate the intellect and moral
character of its citizens; by example and endeavours plant and pro-
pagate civilization and Christian doctrine in Africa; suppress the
slave-trade; react powerfully upon America to promote emancipation
by means disconnected from danger, demanded by general justice,
and fraught with blessings never yet attained by it, to the liberated
Africans and to their race; thus showing by experiment and demon-
strating in fact, how this race may cast off the incumbrances and
entanglements of their thralldom, and self-respected, because deserving
praise, stand in dignity and honour before the world. It is the
peculiar excellency of this plan, that for its success, reliance is mainly
placed upon the ability of the descendants and people of Africa them-
seves, when favoured in position and stimulated by high motives, to
rise from their degradation, assume a national character, and secure
prosperity and a name among the nations. The purpose of the
Society has been to place the objects of its bounty in such a position,
and supply to them such motives. Poor are the richest endowments
of fortune, compared with the acquisitions of the mind. Worthless
are the distinctions which others may confer on us compared with
those we may by great acts and great endurance achieve for ourselves.
It has been by toil and trial, by suffering and conflict, by self-denial
and self-discipline, by hazardous adventure and often by the iron hand
of necessity that individuals and nations have ascended from weakness,
obscenity, and disgrace, to power and grandeur.

Since a band of persecuted pilgrims, impelled by concern for the
rights of conscience and the truths of God, first trod the icy and rock-
bound coast of New England, few events of higher moral interest
or sublimity have occurred than the establishment of the colony of
Liberia. Much praise is due to the Colonization Society, but far more
to the heroic men of colour who went forth, at the peril of their lives,
with no safeguard but Providence, to plant the seeds of liberty and
Christianity in the most barbarous quarter of the world, and there, far
away from the arm of any civilized Government, in the face of a fierce
and mighty opposition to rear the fabric of a free, well-ordered, and
religious commonwealth. It is true that this small company of brave
adventurers in the cause of their race, have been assisted by teachers
and guides from among the whites, and heaven has smiled upon them;
yet it is to their own awakened energy, their industry, resolution,
courage, and faith in God that we must mainly attribute their success.
The world has little observed, perhaps less applauded them. Pro-
ably not one in a thousand in this metropolis has any knowledge of
their existence. Yet they have founded a republican and Christian
state in Africa which promises to grow and extend itself for ages, and
constituted and adapted in the whole character of its institutions and
laws to kindle the individual mind, and give full play to all those in
intellectual and moral faculties which, nobly exercised, exalt men to
greatness, may prove a central light and power to revive and renovate their country and their race.

But to be more specific in regard to the principles embodied and developed in the colony of Liberia.

It is designed for a national and independent political existence.

Its institutions are republican, or in the hands of the people.

Control over them is reserved to the people of colour.

Slavery can have no existence within the limits of the colony.

All transactions with the native tribes are to be conducted on principles of exact justice.

Both law and practice are in hostility to the slave-trade.

Provision is to be made for universal education.

No preference is to be given to any religious sect, but perfect and therefore equal toleration is secured to all.

Missionaries of all Christian denominations among the native Africans are to be countenanced and encouraged in their work.

Coloured emigrants are aided by the Society during six months after their arrival, receive donations of land, and having taken possession of the same, and cultivated a few acres, become entitled to all the privileges of citizenship.

Various, recent, and unexceptionable testimony from sources, English as well as American, might be adduced to show how, these principles, incorporated in its constitution, laws, and the manners and sentiments of its citizens are so well adapted to make it a contented, enterprising, improving, religious community, aiding to suppress the slave-trade and to diffuse a knowledge of civilization and Christianity among the native African tribes.*

This colony of Liberia, (including the settlements founded by the people of Maryland at Cape Palmas) extends from that point lat. 4° 10' south to Cape Mount lat. 6° 45' north, a distance by the coast of about 300 miles, and varying in extent interior, from ten to forty miles. The Governor of the principal colony is a white man, that of Maryland, a man of colour educated in New England. The governments of both are founded upon the consent of the people, and administered by officers of their own choice. The beautiful and thriving towns or villages of Monrovia, Caldwell, New Georgia, Millsburg, Marshall, Greenville, Bassa Cove, Edna, Bessley, Rosenberg, Harper and others adorn this coast, so recently covered with barbarism, and exposed to all the atrocities and horrors of the slave-trade. Eighteen churches and many schools are established. Of several thousand emigrants from the United States, about two thousand were manumitted by benevolent masters, and assisted to take possession of this their long lost, but now recovered, and we trust secure and permanent inheritance. The exports from this colony; consisting of ivory, camwood, palm oil, tortoiseshell, gold, beeswax, and hides, has amounted to from one to two hundred thousand dollars annually for several years, while an equal amount of American and European manufactures has been received in return. Several small coasting vessels (not fewer than twelve or fifteen) manned and navigated by the colonists, are constantly

* See note at the close of this letter.
engaged from Monrovia, the principal seaport, in a profitable trade along seven hundred miles of the coast. Seldom is the harbour of this town without foreign vessels, nearly one hundred of which, from the United States, England, France, Sweden, Portugal, and Denmark, touch there every year. The country possesses great advantages for agriculture, as well as commerce, cotton, coffee, sugar, rice, indigo, palm-oil, with ivory, and many rich gums, drugs, and spices, from the forest, may, by industry and energy, be produced or obtained in large quantities for exportation.

The respect for good morals and religion is general and great. Three years ago, there were about eight hundred members of the Christian church; profaneness and intoxication are almost unknown, and as early as 1834, a Temperance Society, in a few weeks after its organization, reckoned on its list, 500 members, at that time, one-fifth of the entire population. Nowhere is the Sabbath more regarded, or Divine worship attended with more apparent devotion. In some settlements, the sale of ardent spirits is entirely prohibited by law; everywhere the use of them is discouraged by public opinion. Some thirty African chiefs have consented by treaty to discontinue the slave-trade, and many thousands of the native population have placed themselves under the protection and authority of the Colonial Government.

The ministers of the Gospel, about forty in number, hold religious meetings during the week, as well as on Sundays, and give religious instruction in the native villages. The legislative council, the courts of justice, the lyceums, societies for mental improvement, and for purposes of benevolence, the ably conducted presses, the public library, the ardent desire for knowledge pervading the whole community, a well organized militia, and numerous civil officers discharging their duties with skill and fidelity, are impressive evidences of improvement, and of the efficiency of the principles, inculcated and embodied in the colonization of Liberia. To the mental discipline, the force of motives, elevated and constant, the kindling up of hope, in view of an almost boundless prospect of honour, and usefulness, must we ascribe the conduct and success of the people of this colony.

Nor should I omit to mention how the gates of Africa have been opened through this colony, for the admission of missionaries, and other Christian teachers, to her native population, and that sixty such persons, sustained in their most benevolent efforts, by four of the principal denominations of American Christians, have entered upon this field, never before visited, by the messengers of peace and salvation, and been welcomed by its rude occupants, ready to receive the words of Divine wisdom, and to escape from the bondage and shadow of death.

In sundry important particulars there is, between the American Colonization Society, and the African Civilization Society of England, an exact agreement.

In their utter detestation of the African slave-trade, they agree.

In the opinion, that for its overthrow, we should not rest contented, to abide the slow progression of the principles of justice, throughout the world, but lay by far the greatest stress, on all those efforts, which may tend to enlighten, and civilize the African mind, they agree:
In the choice of Africa, as the great theatre for their operations, they agree:

In the principle agents to be employed in their enterprise, free persons of colour of African descent, they agree:

In the design and importance of endeavours, by peaceful and fair negotiation, to obtain the consent of the chiefs, and natives of Africa, to abolish the slave-trade, they agree:

In many of the means for the civilization of the people of Africa; the establishment of schools, for literary and religious instruction, of manufactories and workshops, in which shall be taught, the useful arts; of model farms, to show practically the best modes of agriculture; and the encouragement of Christian missions, and, finally, in the purpose of demonstrating to the view of the inhabitants of Africa, how they may avail themselves of the vast resources of their country, and find it their interest, as it is their duty, to abolish the traffic in slaves, they agree:

In their ideas of the vast extent of good to be attained by their exertions, they agree.

On two points only, in their contemplated operations in Africa, they may differ, yet independent of any reasons which I may be able to offer in favour of a perfect union, I am not sure that even on these they will long disagree.

I refer first, to the establishment of colonies or communities of free persons of colour in Africa destined to self-government and to a permanent and independent political existence; and second to the question of temporary authority to be exercised over such colonies, for their benefit by the governments of England or the United States. The able chairman of the General Committee of the Civilization Society has indeed declared, that their object is to civilize, not to colonize; yet in the same letter he adds, "It is true, I may be desirous that we should form settlements, and even that we should obtain the right of jurisdiction in certain districts, because we could not otherwise secure a fair trial or full scope for our normal schools, our model farms, and our various projects to awaken the minds of the natives, to prove to them the importance of agriculture, and to excite the spirit of commerce;" and Sir George Stephen regards colonization (if we mistake not) as a thing incidental if not necessary to the execution of the plan of the committee; and while the chairman desires the authority of the government to be extended over such territory as may be acquired, one of his associates, perhaps not less distinguished than himself, thinks this authority, if granted, will be but temporary; and that free men of colour from all parts of the world will soon be invited and assisted to occupy this territory as independent communities. On these points it is clear the plans of the Civilization Society are not matured. That the Governments of England and America should extend, for a time, a protecting and fostering care over colonies planted in Africa by benevolent individuals or societies may be admitted; the writer has on proper occasions urged the friends of the African race in America to make their appeal to the several governments of the Union for aid to the cause of African Colonization; yet neither he nor they have once thought of turning from that object the
very lode star in their policy—the establishment of colonies with the
spirit, ability, and right to frame and build up their own social and
political institutions as a free and independent people.

For one, I hold, that in our endeavours to civilize Africa, it is unwise to
rely solely or mainly upon individual missionaries, or upon any com-
panies of men not bound together voluntarily by social and political ties,
and that the colonial system of England, though not on the whole an
evil,* is very imperfectly adapted to develope the power and exalt
the character of the native population of the countries over which it
extends. The author of the work on the Slave-trade and its Remedy,
will concur in this opinion. But to multiply colonies of free men of
colour in Africa on the principles of Liberia is to introduce impressive
examples of order, law, and government, to furnish to the colonists
themselves the strongest and most animating motives for improvement,
and to command the respect while we enlighten the minds of the
native population. The opinion of the learned and able superintendent
of the Missions of the London Society, at the Cape of Good Hope,
(Dr. Philip) is entitled to high respect. "I say nothing," he observes,
"of the advantages America may gain from the colony of Liberia, or
of the advantages the people of colour may gain from becoming citizens
of this new country. I leave such questions to be settled by the
citizens of the United States, who are by their local knowledge better
qualified than I am to decide them. But so far as our plans for the
future improvement of Africa are concerned, I regard this settlement
as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half-a-dozen such
colonies, conducted on Christian principles, might be the means, under
the Divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the
globe. Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must
have in it the seminal principles of good government, and no better
plan can be devised for laying the foundation of Christian governments
than this new settlement presents. Properly conducted, your new
colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of
shedding the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of
this divided and distracted continent."

Concurring, then, in many and very essential particulars, as well as

* "Our colonies, which, owing to their youth and distance from the parent
state, ought to have excited and called into operation a larger share of maternal
interest, have been sadly misused. The incalculable riches which from the lap
of abundance they have even offered to pour forth on the shores of Albion, have
been gratuitously in many instances rejected, and the golden opportunity of
binding with a silken chain of commerce the east and the west, and the south
and the north of the empire, too often sacrificed for the sake of private gain and
the promotion of selfish interests. But it is to be hoped that the progress of know-
ledge—the extension of colonial commerce, and the light of the Gospel with
which the ministers of religion are illumining every land, will awaken attention
to the transmarine dominions of England, where the statesman, guided by the
precepts of Christianity, may fortify our empire for ages, where the merchant
may in activity follow his peaceful and civilizing pursuits, where the naturalist
may delight in scenes of exquisite and endless beauty, adorned with every
variety of the animal and vegetable creation, where the philanthropist may
exult in the progressive improvement of his fellow-creatures, and, above all,
where the Christian may rejoice in the anticipation of that prophesied kingdom
whose branches and roots are to extend throughout the universe."—M. Martin.
in benevolence of motive, it remains to be seen whether the African Civilization Society of England, and the American Colonization Society will, on those just specified, ultimately agree. My confidence, at least, hope that they will do so, rests upon a firm conviction that the principles developed and applied in the colonization of Liberia, are so just in theory, and beneficent in practice, as finally to command the approbation of all philanthropists. I have great confidence in the candour, reasonableness, and benevolence of the African Civilization Society, and of the good people of England. They have recently shown an ardent and generous zeal in the cause of the suffering Africans. I believe them capable of disinterested and glorious deeds, nor do I deem my own countrymen less capable of such achievements in this or any other enterprise of humanity. The two nations do not know, respect, trust, or love each other as they ought. Of one descent and religion, and living for common objects, the Christians of both countries should feel bound together by sacred and indissoluble ties, as the heirs of an eternal inheritance and communion, once exalted to which, (if for them regret and shame there exist) for few sins will they experience more than for their violations towards each other of justice, brotherly kindness, and charity.

The plan of colonizing Africa developed in Liberia, I regard as the best general plan, at present, for the benefit of the African race.

1st. Because it gives the noblest exercise to the minds of those who engage in it, and thus most effectually improves and elevates their character. What work more honourable than to lay the first foundations of good government and the church of God? What can so arouse the minds of a people, or so fan into a flame their enthusiasm for virtue, as to summon them to great and worthy actions—to give existence and form to a state,—to enact and administer laws,—to send out among uncivilized and untamed men the voice of instruction and authority,—support the high prerogatives of justice—and as responsible to posterity, the world, and to God, to mark and seal the institutions of a newly-organized society with indelible characters of wisdom. Nor let us think the people we would colonize unsusceptible to the influence of lofty motives, or that by self-discipline, in circumstances adapted to call into life their energies, and to invigorate them, they may not win the reputation of wisdom. In minds improved only as theirs, she is the daughter of experience and high resolve. The free blacks of the United States, and many of the slaves also, are in that state from which nothing great is to be expected, while they continue unexcited and in the shade of a greater people, but from which they must rise when untrammelled, and sent forth with due encouragements, to build up, unp supposed by superior civilization, on the vast and rich lands of their mother-country, their own fortunes, and to redeem their race. Their advantages for this work, inferior in some respects to those of the first settlers of America, are superior in others. With less knowledge of letters, they have more of the useful arts, of the free spirit of Christianity, and of the practical operations and benefit of free government. They have the records of their experience, and the light of their example, and before their eyes the mighty results of their deeds. Commerce brings them into connexion with every enlightened and powerful people. The
benevolence, the missionary spirit of a great nation, a spirit unequalled in any preceding age is ready to second their exertions. Responsibilities are thrown upon them of surpassing interest and magnitude. Millions, their brethren, bound by superstition and slavery, appeal to them for light and deliverance. And, finally, defeat must be ruin, while success will be the attainment of every earthly blessing and eternal honour.

The plan of Liberian colonization is, then, peculiarly to be commended, because bringing into play and vigorous action the noblest mental faculties, and thus elevating the character of the colonists. I know of no other plan which does, I can hardly imagine another which would do this, so effectually. Depressed by ages of servitude and habits of dependence, such exercise and discipline the African race especially need; nor without it can we anticipate their rapid or great improvement. To exalt human character we must touch the springs of the understanding, and move the deep and generous passions of the heart.

In the second place, I regard this plan as chief and best, because, relying mainly for success not upon precarious, individual, or transitory effort, but upon the permanency, growth, and moral influence of well-organized communities.

A few individuals might die, a few schools be broken up, a company of missionaries, animated by the purest motives, and prepared to sacrifice every interest for the Christian cause, might be cut off by disease, or dispersed or slain by savage foes, but a well-founded commonwealth is destined, ordinarily, to a continued and increasing existence. Though feeble in its origin, it has within it durable elements of life and power. The settlement rises into a state, the state to empire. The colony of Liberia has already within itself the means of self-defence and self-improvement. And if, in two centuries the Republic of North America, embracing a population of more than seventeen millions, has arisen from the humble beginnings of civilization on the shores of New England and Virginia, we may hope that our African settlements, so attractive (if politically free and morally deserving), as they must be to the exiled children of Africa, will rapidly expand into communities commanding respect by their wealth and numbers, their intelligence and strength. Their sons, natives of the soil, educated in all the arts of civilization and in the doctrines and wisdom of Christianity, will go forth, not by hundreds but thousands, to instruct barbarous and degraded tribes, and lead them to knowledge and liberty, and the worship of the true God. Let them convert the wildnesses of Africa into fruitful fields, her savage and enslaved people into civilized men, her victims of a cruel superstition into the meek disciples of Christ; let them "build one great city,"* for beauty and strength to be admired, and demonstrate their ability honourably to fulfil all the duties of an independent state, and the reproach of their race, and African slavery throughout the world must for ever cease. The plan, then, is admirable because designed to trust for the elevation of the African race, not to uncertain,

* Dr. Breckenridge.
uncombined, and transitory efforts, but to the bringing into existence and action the mighty moral machinery of a well-formed and compacted state.

In the third place, I cannot but regard this plan as worthy of universal and all possible support, because (if I may continue the figure) this moral machinery is rightly placed,—in Africa. The colony, or colonies, are to be established in Africa: the country of the African race, where most of them reside, the seat of their ancient greatness, and of their more recent, long-continued, and present sufferings and disgrace, where alone, if, as a people, they are to be civilized and taught the truths of our religion, the work can be accomplished. Here the intellectual and moral power should be planted, to act as from a centre, most rapidly, extensively, and effectively to redress the wrongs and renovate the character of the race. Its benefits will not be limited to Africa. A civilized state of coloured emigrants upon her shore will be an object of universal interest, react to raise their brethren in all those countries from which the colonists have come forth, disturb no passions of jealousy or fear, but speak persuasively to all hearts in favour of emancipation, and thus not only shed light upon Africa, but upon the destiny of all her children. It has been well said that, raise the character of a "single man of colour, and you do a benefit to his race;"* and we may add, let one commonwealth or nation of Africans attain honourable distinction, and their brethren in all lands, and Africa herself is free. The work should be done in Africa; for if it could be done elsewhere, nowhere else could it be done so advantageously or so well. Here are by far the greatest number of Africans, and this the seat of the slave-trade and their most wide-spread and appalling miseries. All the peculiar evils which afflict Africans here, and here only can we attack their foes in the fortresses of their strength.

Fourthly, every candid and reflecting man, in addition to these reasons for giving support to this plan, may find inducement in the facts, that it most effectually promotes emancipation—aims to secure for the people of colour now free, and those who may be manumitted and to their race, a good far above and beyond mere emancipation—and, finally, that avoiding angry collisions and controversies, combining more elements in which the friends of the Africans agree, and fewer in which they differ, than any other; if in itself no better, it may be more productive of good, because strengthened by the union of more minds, it may be executed with greater power.

For evidence that it promotes emancipation I appeal to the opinion and testimony of all sober and Christian men in the southern states of the American Union. No one acquainted with these will deny that they confirm my statement. And certainly the judgment of those men, of the effects of moral causes operating in the midst of them, is not to be disregarded.

By providing a home for the liberated, preferable to that in which they must unequally contend with the abilities and influence of the whites, it encourages the humanity that disposes to emancipation.

* Dr. Bacon.
By the same means, it removes one, probably the greatest obstacle to emancipation, founded in the apprehensions of collision between the coloured and white races should both be free upon the same soil; an evil which it is thought would be worse than slavery itself.

By demonstrating how emancipation in the United States may (as on no other plan it would) secure the highest boon of freedom, to the manumitted an independent political existence, and through their agency contribute to work out the redemption of their whole race, it supplies to the honour and Christianity of the master the most powerful motives for the act.

And, finally, it has secured the voluntary manumission of slaves (about two thousand) in value (viewed as property) nearly, if not quite, equal to the whole amount of funds given for the establishment of Liberia; while its influence to prepare for future emancipations it were difficult to estimate.

This plan of African colonization seeks for the free people of colour, for those that may become free, and through them for their race, a good far higher than mere emancipation.

He must be ignorant of the social and political condition of the United States, who imagines that emancipation to the slaves there, if it could be effected, and they remain on the soil, would prove for some centuries at least, if a benefit, more than a very limited and imperfect one. But the scheme which we advocate opens to them the treasures of the best ordered and most favoured existence, the means of thoroughly developing and combining their energies—of ascending, not individually, but as a people, to wealth, and fame, and power—of cultivating every field and advancing in every path of national improvement, and beneficence, and glory. What other plan spreads out before them so fruitful and inviting an inheritance, or reveals in the distant horizon such bright and shining lights?

That this plan embraces more points in which the friends of the African race agree, and fewer in which they differ than any other, must be regarded in its favour; for though general opinion that a scheme is right does not necessarily make it so, such opinion cannot be disregarded, but must always enter into the calculations of a wise man. And as the effects of most schemes depend very much upon the manner of their execution, one which for its success demands the united exertions of communities or nations, may offer valid reasons for its support in the fact, that the general verdict of opinion may probably be pronounced in its favour. Indeed, a plan theoretically the best, if certain to be condemned, retarded, opposed, may be less deserving support than an inferior one generally approved, and which can be wisely and energetically executed.

Two plans of general policy on this subject divide the friends of the coloured race in England and America. The one is sustained by those who, turning from all the wrongs and miseries of Africa, direct their efforts mainly, if not solely, to the emancipation of all slaves in Christian countries, by sounding out the doctrine of immediate abolition as a duty to be instantly performed by masters in recognition of the inherent right of the slave,—the other of the African Civilization Society, and of those who, by founding free states of voluntary coloured
emigrants in Africa, look for emancipation and the elevation of her children to the success and moral influence of this experiment. That the colonization scheme avoids those collisions and angry controversies inevitably connected with the scheme of abolition is certain; and that the elements of most efficient and extensive union are with the colonizationists and not with the abolitionists, I hold to be equally clear. That the two schemes do not necessarily conflict, that the same person may, without inconsistency, advocate both, I admit; yet a union at present of the citizens of the southern states of the American Confederacy with the philanthropists of other states or countries, for the benefit of the people of colour, on any other than the colonization plan, is not to be expected. This fact will prevent most of the citizens of the non-slaveholding states from entering into associations of their own, or combining their efforts with foreign associations on the abolition plan. They know that nothing can be wisely, humanely, or effectually done for the abolition of slavery, but with the will and consent of the masters, and that they are bound in good faith, and by the constitution of the country, to forbear all attempts to control or disturb the peculiar institutions of the south. They desire the liberty of the slave, but love honour, fidelity, and that union, in the stability of which is involved the cause of republican freedom, as well as the best hopes of the slave, more. Seven-tenths at least of the white population of the United States, I believe to be colonizationists: not because (in so far as the people of the non-slaveholding states are concerned) of opposition to emancipation, with permission to the liberated to remain upon the soil, should this be approved by the south, but that not being at present thus approved, they will not usurp the right of intervention in the case; and because, convinced that the colonization plan has great and comprehensive merit, that in no other will the south concur, and that if this plan be not a remedy for slavery it is preparing the way for such remedy.

I will not question the honesty and benevolence of the great body of English and American abolitionists, yet I regard many of their writings and proceedings as unjust to the people of the United States, particularly to the slaveholders, and pernicious in all their tendencies. No one can more desire than the writer to see modification and amendment of the legal codes of the slaveholding states in favour of the slaves. Atrocious crimes and cruelties are doubtless occasionally committed, in those states, on the persons of slaves. In what country are not oppression, cruelty, and crime found to exist? Have they no existence in England? Generally (and I speak from personal observation and inquiry in nearly all the southern states of the American republic) the citizens of those states are kind, humane, generous, and, in a proportion to the whole population, equal to that found in most parts of Christendom—devout and exemplary Christians. No better friends have the slaves in any part of the world than are to be found in those states. Cases of harsh treatment, of severe punishment, of wanton disregard of their feelings, of the voluntary and cruel rupture of their domestic ties, of withholding from them the necessaries of life, or denying to them opportunities to hear Christian instruction and worship God, are not common—they are exceptions, not the rule.
Liabilities to evil in the system of slavery are great, trying separations and wrongs among slaves are frequent; yet many laws which darken the statute books of the slaveholding states are in practice nearly, if not quite, obsolete; and humanity and religion are exerting a mighty and increasing influence for the protection and good of this dependent people.

Many, very many, masters and slaves are bound together by ties of mutual confidence and affection. A large proportion of the slaves exhibit an aspect of comfort, contentment, and cheerfulness. There is much to regret, much to condemn, fearful evils which are perhaps never brought to light, in the system of slavery, yet all things (the very heavens themselves as some would represent) are not wrapt in gloom. It is not to diminish the general sense of the injustice as well as impolicy of slavery, viewed as a permanent system, that I thus write, nor that I would lessen the moral powers that are working for its abolition, but in reverence to truth, and because he is blind who sees not that injustice to the master is injury and a crime against the slave. He who bears false witness against me, and seeks to destroy my reputation, must not expect to be my counsellor. If the abolitionists of New England and of Old England have no influence among American slaveholders, and little with the citizens generally of the United States, to their errors in principle, and more to their faults and offences in practice, must they trace the cause. If their errors and faults originate in ignorance they might be pardoned, and may be corrected; but while persisted in, they sunder all bonds of respect and moral union between their authors and the citizens of the southern states of America, and indeed of a great majority of the Americans. They tend to produce between England and America hostile sentiments, perhaps actual war. Indeed, having excluded themselves utterly from the confidence of those upon whom, under Providence, depend the hopes and destiny of the slave population, some of their number, in the ardour of their ill-regulated enthusiasm and the darkness of their perverted understandings, are ready to stake upon war, the success of their cause. But the idea that England should make war upon America to abolish slavery, is so unmerciful towards the slaves, as well as preposterous and atrocious in every respect, that I doubt not it will be reprobated by the general reason and humanity of the English nation. As I wish to show that the principles of extensive and efficient union for the benefit of the African race are with the colonizationists and not with the abolitionists, I deem it pertinent to quote two or three passages from recent abolition publications in England, containing sentiments which, if their folly did not equal their wickedness, would be alarming to the true friends of the slaves and of peace.

On the 14th of September last, Mr. Remond, a man of colour, from the United States, addressed a public meeting of the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society, in the Rev. Dr. Heugh’s church, and among other things said,—

"Such was the state of things on the opposite side of the Atlantic; and now he would put the question, what were the friends of Anti-
Slavery in Britain to do for the abolition cause. A reference was, in the letter he had read, made to the north-east boundary question. After referring to the ardent desire for war with England, manifested by the state of Maine, about a few acres of land, and their inconsistency in refusing to give liberty to the slave, Mr. Remond proceeded to show that a war with England would inevitably lead to the emancipation of the slaves. He believed that England held the means in her own hands in relation to the system of slavery, and he trusted she would not shrink from the contest; for, dearly as he loved his country, and to dwell upon the associations which he had experienced there, he felt that emancipation from any other quarter was not to be hoped for—and God grant that it might arrive early. The American nation, he observed, had everything to lose by a contest with England. This sentiment, he knew, might cost him his head; he knew he would be in danger, the moment he stepped on his native shore, for having given expression to such views as these, but he cared not; it would at least be known that one coloured American had dared to speak freely and boldly on this subject. (Cheers.) He would not give up the privilege and the prerogative of speaking out, as a free man, while the breath was in his body. (Cheers.) That right belonged to every human being; and if he were a slave to-morrow, he would not shrink from asserting it. (Cheers.) If a slave, if he could not obtain his freedom by any other means, he would walk over the prostrate body of his master. (Cheers.) He would make every appeal to him; but, after that, if unsuccessful, he would assert his freedom by all the means he possessed. (Cheers.) Let there be war between England and America, and the shackles which now held so many in bondage in his country would be broken to-morrow.”

The Rev. Mr. Keep, from the Oberlin Institution, United States, attempted to apologise to the audience for the warmth of his friend Mr. Remond, who is subsequently reported to have said,—

“He would not have any one suppose that he would return to his country with the view of inciting the slave to insurrection against his master. He did not think it would be necessary; for he believed the slave would be freed only by the progress of peaceful truth. He only spoke what were his own sentiments in relation to himself; and he did not wish to soften down the sentiment in the least. (Cheers.) Were he a slave, and could not get his freedom by any other means, he would grapple with his master, and rather—(The remainder of the sentence was lost in loud cheering.)”

I leave it to those who can better reconcile differences than myself to show Mr. Remond’s consistency in urging a war as affording the only hope for emancipation, and then avowing a belief that the slave would be freed only by the progress of Christian truth.

The editor of a newspaper (published, if we mistake not, at Ipswich) gives the following paragraph evincing ignorance, and marked by sentiments, better suited to the inmate of a lunatic hospital, than
to one standing forth as adviser of a humane, wise, and puissant nation.

"We are afraid there is a wish on the part of the thousands in America, who are implicated in the slave traffic, to provoke hostilities with England, in order to divert attention from the abolition question, and get rid of the present agitation created by the laudable perseverance of philanthropists in both countries. If war be inevitable our heart's desire is, that it may lead to the annihilation of American slavery. The horrors of the slave system, as pursued in the southern states, are unutterable; nothing that the wildest imagination can conceive surpasses the cruelties inflicted on the wretched negro victims; and if it were in our power to stir up the spirit of the slaves to rebel against the heartless planters, and by one effort shake off their fetters, we would use that power, though all America were thrown into disorder, and presented one wide field of bankruptcy and ruin. If the sword of Great Britain should be unsheathed, let her not draw back her hand until she has secured the freedom of the slave—let, at least, this philanthropic act result from the dreadful and bloody contest, and 3,000,000 of human beings, bound down by cruelty, and reduced by the most savage atrocities below the beasts of the field, shall be invested with the full dignity of their nature, and acknowledge with gratitude the power that set them free. We would that America had listened to the voice of reason and mild remonstrance from the British shores, and suppressed the lingering abomination amidst the acclaming cheers of humanity; but she persists in the unholy traffic—she welcomes to her shores the infernal slave-ship, filled with bales of human merchandise, she still promotes the detestable system of slave-breeding in her states—she heeds not the groans and tears which fill her land, the boasted land of freedom, equality, and civilization. We believe the day of retributive justice is at hand, when the most disastrous results shall ensue upon all the owners of slaves, and the unrighteous traffickers in human life.

"The horizon is dark and troubled—we know not where war with America will end—her curse is of slavery; of all the dangers that threaten her, that of slavery is the greatest—she is wedded to the evil, and to utter the word abolition in the southern states would be to defy death. What is the duty of England is a serious inquiry. We wish for nothing but moral influence; but if there must be physical conflict, let not the abolitionists, even in war, be diverted from their course, but strive more energetically to merge all dissensions and distinctions in the overwhelming unity of demand—Annihilate slavery in America."

In the number of Frazer's Magazine for the present month (April), appears an article entitled, "War with America a Blessing to Mankind." While calculated (we fear designed) to stir the passions of the unthinking, to well-informed and virtuous minds the falsehood of its statements and its detestable sentiments, carry with them their antidote. While this sage writer sees no hope of success in any war with America which should fail to arouse the slaves to general insur-
rection, in the excitement of these people to a murderous contest for liberty, he discerns the means of a short and easy conclusion of the struggle: "A conclusion in every way honourable and advantageous to England, and in the highest degree desirable to the whole human race."

"America (he says) in one respect is the most sinful nation in the world; and in her sin, as Divine and retributive justice ordinarily provides, she finds her weakness and her punishment. She holds nearly three millions of unoffending human creatures in the most cruel bondage; in a thralldom infinitely worse than Egyptian, Turkish, or Slavonian. In fact, we doubt if the annals of the human race afford an example of any system of oppression at all approaching to that which is proved, on the clearest, fullest, and most irrefragable evidence, to exist in a country which vaunts itself to be the freest nation on the face of the earth."

After quoting evidence concerning the atrocities of American slavery, from a work entitled "Slavery and the internal Slave-trade in the United States," by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a work as fairly and justly representing American slavery and the American character, as the records of the London police-offices, the trials at the Old Bailey, or the Newgate Calendar, would the character of the English people, and introducing the shocking details of two cases in which coloured men, murderers, had been burnt by mobs, with the remark, "We will adduce only a sample or two of what seems a common practice in the slave states of America," he adds;—

"Such, then, is the sin and weakness of America. It may be a doubtful point, how far another nation would be justified, in a time of peace, in embarking in a crusade of philanthropy, and endeavouring to force an independent people into the relinquishment of a national sin. But what possible doubt can exist as to the propriety, the expediency—nay, the absolute duty, of making a war subservient to the great and pre-eminent object of freeing these three millions of cruelly oppressed human beings?"

"Policy, too, not less than philanthropy, prescribes such a course of warfare. By this mode, and this only, a war with America might be brought to a speedy and inevitably triumphant close. As we have already observed, a struggle between the people of England and their descendants in America, must be a fearful, a protracted, and a lamentable one. But if assailed in this quarter, a vital point is instantly and surely reached—the Union is dissolved, and the war is at an end.

"Among the three millions of slaves, we may fairly calculate the adult males at nearly one million. Every man of all this multitude would eagerly rush to embrace an emancipating invader, and within a few days' sail of the coast, repose the free and happy blacks of Jamaica. In one morning a force of ten thousand men might be raised in this quarter, for the enfranchisement of their brethren in America. Such a force, supported by two battalions of Englishmen; and supplied with twenty thousand muskets, would establish them-
selves in Carolina, never to be removed. In three weeks from their appearance, the entire south would be in one conflagration. The chains of a million of men would be broken, and by what power could they ever be again riveted?

"We say, that this course is dictated alike by policy, by self-preservation, and by philanthropy. By policy—for nothing would render our own possessions so secure as a dissolution of the Union—an inevitable result of this line of action. By self-preservation—for England must not venture to involve herself in a protracted contest in a distant quarter of the globe. By philanthropy—which tells us that if, contrary to our own inclinations, we are dragged into this unnatural war, it is our duty at least to endeavour to bring good out of evil. In whatever way, then, we contemplate the subject, we come to this conclusion.

"If we must have a war with America, let us make it a war for the emancipation of the slaves; so shall our success be certain, and our triumph the triumph of humanity."

Some indignation we might feel at these remarks were they not absolutely ludicrous, and the parting counsels to the English government to take possession of Cuba such as might produce smiles rather than anger in the United States.

"Now," he observes, "England could, if she chose, very speedily put an end to slavery.

"The three great markets for slaves—to supply which the trade is kept up—are the United States, Brazil, and Cuba. The first of these, we feel persuaded, will be broken up whenever a war breaks out; and even without a war, the system would lead to some dreadful internal convulsion before long. But the last of these, Cuba, is open to our approaches even at this moment.

"Cuba belongs to the crown of Spain. But what is the crown of Spain?—a shadow.

"It is abundantly obvious that England could add Cuba to her colonies to-morrow, if she chose to do so. But could she do so with justice and honour? Most unquestionably she might. Has not England expended upon Spain, within the last twenty years, many millions of sterling money," &c.

From works more grave, such as the British Critic, the Eclectic Review, and the Congregational Magazine, the pages of which are enriched by the thoughts of sober and charitable Divines, recent passages might be cited showing that even enlightened minds in England are misinformed or misled on the subject of American slavery and the Colonization Society. They consider "American Slavery as it is," and the work on "Slavery and the internal Slave-trade in the United States," as giving a just general view of that slavery, whereas a detail of crime connected with the manufacturing, or poor-law systems of England, would give as just a view of those systems. I have no wish to recriminate. But a remedy for our censoriousness towards the faults of others may often be found in reflection upon our own; and Divine
wisdom instructs us that to condemn the sins of others is no virtue while guilty ourselves of doing the same things. Besides, he who is ignorant of the sentiments of others towards him, or disregards them, will find that purity of motive does not always give him influence, and that his good intentions will find the door closed, unless humility, discretion, and charity, have first opened it. Let, then, the pious and philanthropic of England, her learned and venerable clergy, imagine with what sentiments they would peruse in an American Magazine, or Review, the following article, and they will understand the impressions which the passages we have quoted will make upon the American people.

"A War with England a Blessing to Mankind.

"The arrogance, pride, and selfishness of the English nation are insufferable. We are no friends to war, but are not sure that a declaration of hostilities against this haughty and oppressive power is not a duty to ourselves and to mankind. With high professions of respect to justice and the rights of man, England has for centuries continued to violate both to an incredible extent, and without remorse. Think of her conduct towards this country. Compare it with our own towards her (the best English statesmen themselves being judges) in the great contest of the revolution.

"The Earl of Chatham said—'Your ministers have gone to Germany, they have sought the alliance and assistance of every pitiful, beggarly, insignificant, petty prince, to cut the throats of their legal, brave, and injured brethren in America. They have entered into mercenary treaties. They have let the savages of America loose upon their unoffending brethren; loose upon the weak, the aged, and defenceless; on old men, women, and children; on the very babes upon the breast; to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, boiled, roasted, nay, to be literally eaten. These, my Lords, are the allies Great Britain now has. Carnage, desolation, and destruction wherever her arms are carried is her newly-adopted mode of making war. Our ministers have made alliances at the German shambles; and with the barbarians of America, with the merciless torturers of their species. Where they will next apply I cannot tell. Was it by letting loose the savages of America, to imbue their hands in the blood of our enemies, that the duties of the soldier, the citizen, and the man came to be united. Is this honourable warfare, my Lords? Does it correspond with the language of the poet? 'The pride, pomp, circumstance, of glorious war, that make ambition virtue.'

"The Duke of Richmond said—'But, my Lords, I wish to turn your eyes to another part of this business. I mean the dreadful inhumanities with which this war is carried on; shocking beyond description to every feeling of a Christian, or of a man. If ever a nation shall deserve to draw down on her the Divine vengeance of her sins, it will be this, if she suffers such horrid war to continue. To me, who think we have been originally in the wrong, it appears doubly unpardonable; but even supposing we were right, it is certainly we who produce the war; and I do not think any consideration of dominion or empire sufficient to warrant the sacrifices we make to it. To-arm
negro slaves against their masters, to arm savages who we know will put their prisoners to death in the most cruel tortures, and literally eat them, is not, in my opinion, a fair war against fellow-subjects.'

'Col. Barre said—'The Americans have been branded in this House with every opprobrious epithet that meanness could invent—termed cowardly and inhuman. Let us mark the proof. They have obliged as brave a General as ever commanded a body of British troops to surrender—such is their cowardice. And instead of throwing chains upon these troops they have nobly given them their freedom—such is their inhumanity.'

'Mr. Burke observed—'The Americans had been always represented as cowards; this was far from being true; and he appealed to the conduct of Arnold and Gates, towards General Burgoyne, as a striking proof of their bravery. Our army was totally at their mercy. We had employed the savages to butcher them, their wives, their aged parents, and their children; and yet, generous to the last degree, they gave our men leave to depart on their parole never more to bear arms against North America. Bravery and cowardice could never inhabit the same bosom; generosity, valour, and humanity, are ever inseparable. Poor, indeed, the Americans were, but in this consists their greatest strength. Sixty thousand men had fallen at the feet of their voluntary poverty.'

'And what has since been her conduct? Having driven us into a war in defence of our maritime rights, which we nobly vindicated on that ocean that she vainly imagined was her own, she has recently again violated those rights in the African seas, as though she only sought to overthrow the slave-trade, and to monopolize all credit in abolishing it, might violate the law of nations. Has she not, in time of peace, and on our own soil, burnt our property and murdered our citizens? witness the affair of the Caroline. Not content with denouncing us as infamous before the world for an evil which, from mere mercenary motives, she forced upon us, in the days of our weakness and her tyrannous control, her ecclesiastical bodies would exclude, on account of this evil, from Christian fellowship, nearly one half the churches of this Union, and as if growing more hardened in iniquity she dares to speak not of a magnanimous and open war, but (unparalleled atrocity!) of exciting our slaves to insurrection—of lighting the flames of servile war throughout all the southern states of this confederacy. And who are those that with more than savage ferocity, would introduce amongst us all the horrors which, a few years ago, darkened the heavens, and made red with the blood of indiscriminate massacre, the fields of St. Domingo? Our enlightened, Christian, English brethren!! A people who boast of the treasures of their wisdom and the purity of their faith, who are justly proud of the immortal names of Shakspeare and Milton, of Bacon and Burke, of Hanway and Howard and Wilberforce. But has England no sins to answer for, that she should take the work of retribution into her hands, and inflict the Divine vengeance upon our guilty heads? What nation was it, that through several of its successive monarchs, two centuries ago, called for subscriptions to joint-stock companies for the prosecution of the slave-trade in order to supply labourers to her American plantations? What nation,
that in 1713, formed a treaty with Spain, which, in the words of Lord Brougham, 'the execrations of ages have left inadequately censured,' by which it was stipulated that she should introduce 4,800 negroes into his Catholic Majesty's dominions, for the space of thirty years successively? What nation that, for a long period, employed from one hundred and fifty to two hundred ships in the slave-trade, and carried off on the average forty thousand negroes annually; at times one half more, and which is stated by Anderson, in his History of Trade and Commerce, about 1753, to have supplied her American colonies with negro slaves, amounting in number to above one hundred thousand every year? It is the nation of which Mr. Pitt said, 'The truth is, there is no nation in Europe which has plunged so deeply into this guilt as Britain. We stopped the natural progress of civilization in Africa. We cut her off from the opportunity of improvement. We kept her down, in a state of darkness, bondage, ignorance, and bloodshed. We have thus subverted the whole order of nature, we have aggravated every natural barbarity, and furnished to every man motives for committing, under the slave-trade, acts of perpetual hostility against his neighbour. Thus had the perversion of British commerce carried misery instead of happiness to one whole quarter of the globe.'

"And has England, by extraordinary acts of merit, so atoned for these enormous wrongs, so cleansed her garments from the blood of Africa, as to be entitled to carry revolution into foreign states? Even in her boasted act of West-Indian emancipation, she violated (as Granville Sharp the venerated Father of Abolition in England would have said) the rights of her own subjects in denying them a representation in her national legislature. Her liberality of compensation we admit. But by what authority of justice, while conferring personal freedom on one people, does she hold in political servitude another. She treated with contempt the remonstrances and petitions of her American colonies against the slave-trade, and now she presumes to dictate to these colonies, risen to independent states, where and how they shall abolish slavery on pain of her high displeasure.

"And has she no evils at home to remedy that she must cross the ocean to excite civil and servile war in America? Let her look to India, to South Africa, to every remote province of her empire, and see the foot-prints of desolation, or the signals of dismay or sorrow wherever she has conquered. Whole tribes and nations have wasted away before her—while more than a hundred millions bow their necks to her arbitrary and iron will. What is the condition of Ireland? More than 2,000,000 of her people in rags and wretchedness, and compelled to solicit charity for at least half the year. And what is done to give religious instruction to three millions, speaking only the Irish language? And what political rights has Ireland? Out of three counties containing more than 1,000,000 of inhabitants, there are a little more than 4,000 voters. Little better is the condition of things in England. Ground to the dust by taxation, to support a Government the most lavish for expenditure in the world, no provision is made for general education, and thousands are transported annually for crimes of which ignorance may be regarded as the parent. An overgrown aristocracy, vast wealth, and boundless luxury, are
here seen in contrast with ignorance, misery, and starvation. Talk of American slavery, while in one city of Great Britain, and that not the largest, 16,000 persons are found seeking food and shelter in a single year; and while typhus fever, produced by destitution, is never absent, and when an able physician writing of Limerick, says (in reference to the houses in the worst part of the old town)—'I myself have known several of those houses occupied by 8, 9, 11, 13, and I have heard that some of them are occupied by 16 families. I have seen three families living together in a room scarcely seven feet square! It would indeed be a most interesting subject for investigation, and one which I am sure would tend to great practical good, an inquiry into the condition of these poor strugglers.—The number to each house—the rents they pay—their mode of obtaining a livelihood, and other particulars regarding them; but I fear I should not be able to devote sufficient time to it. Here, amid broken bannisters, falling staircases, sinking floors, and shattered roofs that admit every blast, may be witnessed every variety of privation, misery, and suffering in all its horror which it is possible for the human mind to contemplate. I have read all that has been written on the condition of the poor in Scotland and other places, and in nothing they describe do they exceed what is exhibited in Limerick. I have seen a wretched mother lying sick on a mat in the corner of a garret, her only covering a few rags—without a drop to wet her lips for three days but cold water; her husband dead, and three little children on the floor, who were frequently eight-and-forty hours without tasting a morsel of food. But this last, is by no means an uncommon occurrence among them, and sometimes the interval passed without food is much longer. I have seen children not otherwise unhealthy, fall into a dropsical state, and die from the absolute debility produced by repeated abstinence. I have known a wretched young creature, a widow, without clothing, food, or fire, when every rag was pledged, place her dying infant between her lower limbs in its last moments, in a position which is not easy to describe, in order to keep some warmth in it while it was expiring.' Thrice happy are slaves, so far as physical comfort is concerned, in America, compared with the thousands perishing for want in this kingdom. And then her manufactories. But more than enough—her people are beginning to open their eyes—the 'Hereditary bondmen of Ireland,' as Mr. O'Connell has it, will not always be slaves. Her old, rotten institutions must give way—the sooner they are in the dust the better. Let us, for the sake of Ireland, and India, for freedom and humanity, declare war, and millions will clap their hands. At all events England should know, that an attempt on her part to rouse the slaves to insurrection, will unite every American against her, nor will they rest until the Canadas shall be released from their chains, and not an Englishman left on the shores of the New World. The pride of England must be humbled. Our voice then is for war, and we conclude, as we began, 'A war with England a Blessing to mankind.'

If an Englishman turns from this article with abhorrence or disdain, let him consider, that the language I have quoted from recent
publications in this country, more malignant, and certainly not more just, must excite similar sentiments in the American mind. And is it by such publications that England and America are to be united in works of piety and philanthropy? Will mutual attacks upon character, the application to each other of undeserved censures and cruel reproaches, bind us more in amity together? By concealing each other’s virtues and exaggerating and gladly holding up in the face of Heaven each other’s faults, shall we become wiser and better and show more impressively to the world the meekness and power of Christian love?

Suppose a society established in the United States, for the avowed purpose of effecting a revolution in England, by inflaming the passions of her labouring classes, insisting upon their right to share equally with the nobility in the government of the empire; that the hands ought to be their own, which they have so long cultivated for very inadequate rewards; putting arms into the hands of her Chartist population, and maintaining that it was utterly repugnant to the democratic spirit of Christianity, that thousands should pine in workhouses or starve out of them, while others, no better than they, dwell in palaces and drink wine out of bowls; and that a Throne, based upon the miseries of the people, should be overturned by their hands; suppose they should collect all reports of crime and suffering, throw the responsibility for their existence upon those in power, and pronounce all authority in England null and void before God: would the good and wise in this country have patience with such a society, welcome to their shore its agents, or distribute its publications? I suspect such interference in the national concerns of England by the people of a Foreign State, would be likely to add new tenants to the prisons, or send out additional companies of disconsolate, if not chained captives, to till the soil of her Majesty’s Australian dominions.

I shall not argue the point whether such a society in America, would furnish an exact parallel to the Abolition Society of England, for my object is but to say, that the movements of the latter, so far as directed to excite the slave population to insurrection, or in any way to coerce emancipation, are regarded, universally, in America, with detestation and horror. And here, I may be permitted to correct some of the errors in the quotations I have cited from recent English publications, and which I fear may have been adopted too extensively in England concerning American Slavery and the American Union.

1st. The idea propagated by the Times, as well as various other papers, that the consequence of war would be a speedy dissolution of the American Union is wholly false—on the contrary, nothing could strengthen the American Union like war with a foreign power. The bonds uniting the several states of that union can be relaxed and broken only (if at all) by internal dissensions in days of peace.

2nd. To represent the citizens of the southern states of America as generally guilty of rigorous, inhuman conduct towards their slaves, is an outrage upon truth as well as charity. If my testimony, derived from extensive personal observation, be called in question, I appeal to the Venerable Bishops of the Episcopal Church, in those states, to confirm it, and desire those who would try the question to seek their
testimony on the subject. Much oppression doubtless exists, but a concern for the physical comfort, religious instruction, and ultimate freedom of the slave population is increasing, and will continue I trust, more and more, to increase.

3d. Neither fanaticism nor mistaken philanthropy may gratify itself with the idea, that the slave population of America are one and all ready to fly to arms against their masters, at the bidding of a foreign foe. Not a few have too much sense to do this, not a few too much piety, and a large proportion, probably, would prefer the protection of humane masters whom they know, to a foreign soldiery (if such could be landed (which it could not be) of which they know nothing.

4. The idea of securing freedom to the slaves, by urging them to insurrection, and aiding them in the work, is a dream of his folly or insanity, who might smile at the conflagration of cities, or the destruction of nations. Cruel to all classes in America, especially to the slaves, should it once rouse them to action, unimaginable evils must be brought upon society, probably utter ruin upon themselves. All this is clear to those who can think, and for others I do not write. Fidelity and good conduct on the part of slaves, will prove their best passport to liberty; and far wiser is it for them to rely upon the justice and kindness of their own masters, under the growing influences of Christianity, than upon the interference of foreign philanthropists.

And here, I conclude what I have to say on the errors connected with this subject, by the remark, that the various compound poisons, as Coleridge terms them, circulated to excite discontent in the humbler classes, who receive but a small share of the fruits of society, appear to me, to have been in great demand among the Anti-Slavery Societies both of England and America.

"1st. Bold, warm, and earnest assertions, it matters not whether supported by facts or not; nay, though they should involve absurdities and demonstrable impossibilities.

"2d. Startling particular facts, which, dismembered from their context, enable a man to convey falsehood while he says truth.

"3d. Arguments built on passing events, and deriving an undue importance from the feelings of the moment.

"4th. The display of the defects, without the accompanying advantages, or vice versa.

"5th. Concealment of the general ultimate result behind the scenery of local and particular consequences.

"6th. Statement of positions that are true, under particular conditions, to men whose ignorance or fury make them forget that these conditions are not present, or lead them to take for granted that they are.

"7th. Chains of questions, especially such questions as the persons best authorized to propose, are ever the slowest in proposing; and objections intelligible of themselves, the answers to which require the comprehension of a system.

"8th. Vague and common place satire," &c.

I am aware that the exhibition of particular errors, and the correction of them, is not absolutely necessary to my argument, though I
trust not impertinent to the general object of this letter. I have sought to show, that the elements of a general union are with the friends of African civilization, and colonization, and not with the abolitionists. These elements may respect the instrumentalities, and the particular end. Agreeing mainly in both, the former (the friends of civilization and colonization,) may expect to unite to them the mind and energy of the people of the southern states of America, a matter vitally important to the interests and hopes of the slaves, to any extensive union of their friends in that country; and of highest consequence to the civilization of Africa. Agreeing already in the field for their operations, in the agents to be employed, in many of the subordinate means to be used, in the great principles of Christian discretion to be adopted, and the grandeur of their design,—the moral and intellectual elevation of an entire race of men,—time and experience, will, I trust, perfect their union—correct any irregularities, supply any defects in their policy, and show the embodied wisdom and power of two great nations, harmoniously working for the civilization and salvation of Africa.

I have but alluded to the effects to be produced by the civilization of Africa upon the commerce of the world. To England, by opening a vast market for the innumerable products of her manufacturing skill; and to America, by creating large demands for the fruits of her agriculture, the benefit would be inestimable.

Gentlemen,—To you, as justly possessed of the public confidence in your respective countries, and presiding, the one over the American Colonization Society, the other over the African Civilization Society, I venture to address this letter, in the hope, that the institutions you represent will gather around them the affections and strength of England and America,—that minor differences of opinion, will be merged in a common sensibility to the wrongs and miseries of the Africans,—that these institutions, already agreeing in most things, may soon concur in all,—that mutually imparting to each other the results of their inquiries and experience, the pathway of both may become brighter with wisdom and beneficence—that liberty to the whole African race may follow in their footsteps—that among their blessings may arise a holy and inextinguishable spirit of unity between the Christian people of England and the United States; that future ages may behold and admire, in the civilization of the most barbarous quarter of the world,—the morally renovated character, the political elevation and independence of her now rude and enslaved sons,—the efficacy of generous motives, supplied by philanthropy, to produce self-discipline, to train and exalt depressed and darkened minds,—and, finally, that they may discern light cast upon the mysteries of that Almighty Ruler who subverts or builds up empires, and extending his decrees through all space and eternity, often educes the fairest forms of a new creation, from the chaos of turbulent events, disordered passions, perverse counsels, and untold calamity; and while lifting their voices of praise to that God, who left his chosen family for centuries under the oppressor’s rod, that he might bring them forth, attended by art and civilization, from the magnificent cities of Egypt to their promised home, the anthems of a devout thanksgiving may
break out from the habitations and temples of Africa, to augment and
surpass all other songs of earth before his throne; and that the benig-
nant Father of all men, may rejoicingly cast his eye upon that land
made beautiful as the gardens of Solomon and the gates of Zion.

Well do I know that not a few ardent and judicious philanthropists,
condemn the recent policy of the African Civilization Society, and of
the English Government, believing that the Niger Expedition will
secure no advantages to compensate for the large expenditure, and
the probable, nay, almost certain loss of life. Possibly the funds
applied to fit out and defray the expenses of this expedition, might
have been more usefully employed in improving and extending settle-
ments or colonies already founded in Africa. But I am not sure of
this, and I have no disposition to find fault. Much valuable informa-
tion will be acquired, I trust, also great and good results secured by
this expedition. Whether it proceeds on the most economical plan, or
with the best instructions, I am incompetent, being without informa-
tion, to judge. I wish it all possible success; and I fervently pray, that
the generous conduct of the English Government, in this case, may be
soon imitated by the Government of my own country.

In retiring from all public connexion with a cause to which the
best powers of my mind, and the best years of my life have been
devoted, I have felt impelled, I trust by a deep sense of duty, to
submit these thoughts to you, Gentlemen, and to the friends of Africa,
and her afflicted children in England and the United States. If they
contribute in the least to allay animosity, to promote truth, justice,
and charity; if in a single mind they awaken a more powerful sym-
pathy for a people bound in chains, and trodden in the dust; if to a
single unfortunate man of colour they reveal, even faintly, and in the
distance, the star of hope for himself, and the ancieft and once
renowned mother-land of his progenitors, and rouse him to the high
ambition of rebuilding her ruins, and restoring to her embrace her
long-lost children; if they impress upon the masters of slaves the
great and universal law of Christ, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as
thyself” if, finally (and would that I could hope so much) they should
incline American and English philanthropists to unity of opinion, to
mutual and friendly co-operation on the same plan, because the best
plan for the civilization of Africa and the elevation of all her people, I
shall not have lived in vain.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Very respectfully your friend, &c., &c.,

April 30, 1841.

R. R. GURLEY.

P. S. In enumerating the different portions of the African race, the
following was inadvertently omitted on the 1st page—“Nearly one
million of this people are in Hayti, self-governed, and, I trust, slowly
improving, having by a fierce and bloody conflict cast off the chains of
their former bondage.”

The reader will also be pleased to substitute by for of in the last
two lines on page 16.
LETTER FROM THE REV. B. R. WILSON TO MR. GURLEY.

The writer of the following letter is a coloured missionary, of the Methodist church, a native of Virginia, who visited Liberia seven or eight years ago, and remained ten months, in order to decide, whether or not to remove thither with his wife and six children for a settlement. He returned satisfied that it was his duty to do so. With a very imperfect education he has a fine understanding, much eloquence, and a noble, Christian heart. For three or four years past he has had charge of an institution founded by the Methodist Missionary Society for the instruction of native children.

"West Africa, White Plains,

"April 12th, 1840.

"Rev. and Dear Sir,—I received your very kind letter, and was truly glad to hear from you, and I now embrace this opportunity of answering it. In reference to my own affairs since I have been in Africa, up to the 1st of December last, I can truly say I have enjoyed almost uninterrupted pleasure; but since that time, I have had sorrow upon sorrow. My eldest son was sent by the Governor to a hostile native prince with the terms of peace, and this fellow would have nothing to do with the ambassadors, but drove them from his town, and they were followed by a merciless mob, and my son, with our Peal, a very worthy man, was slain on the 2d of December last. I would give you a detail of the whole affair, but it will be seen in the Luminary. This has caused much grief, but I hope the good Lord will give us grace. Pray for us White Plains here. We are doing well; we have been greatly blessed in our labours here; our native boys and girls make rapid improvement, they read and write; many of them promise great usefulness and future blessing to their own generation, for many of them already embrace the religion of Jesus Christ. We have a considerable farm under cultivation, and we intend to connect a sugar plantation and a saw-mill to this institution. Our workshops are doing well; we are making wheels, bedsteads, tables, and other useful articles, such as are useful in the colony. The native boys are remarkably ingenious; indeed, Sir, there is a glorious reformation going on in this vicinity; and as we believe the pressing war is very near at an end, we look forward to a more glorious day. But I must say that a great deal depends on the advancement of the colony, for we plainly see as she grows and strengthens, in the same proportion doth the Heathen's superstition yield to her influence, and thus the way is opened for the Gospel. This we have sufficiently proved. Our first object was to extend our labours as far as possible in the interior, even beyond the general influence of the colony, but we soon found that our labours were lost; thus we changed our labours to the natives under the influence of the colony, and we find that everything goes on well, and my opinion is, that the only thing now wanting is men and means, and the barren land will soon become a fruitful field. Time will not permit me to give you all my views on this subject. My opinion of the country has not been changed by my misfortunes. I still believe that there is no place under the sun that promises so many advantages to a coloured man as Africa; and it must be acknowledged that Africa is the only home for a coloured man. I will not say much about the fertility of the country; this has been declared to you by a hundred pens as a fertile soil; I will only say, that an industrious man may make a good living in this country. The colony at the present time is improving, and the people in general appear to be contented and happy: there are but very few of our citizens that are not members of some Christian church. Yea, we may say, that our community is a religious community, and the Lord has been with us throughout the colony, and greatly blessed our labour, and the work is going on both in the colony and among the natives, and we have great encouragement and continue our labours, and thus we see that the Heathen will be soon given to Christ for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his inheritance. O! pray for this. When I have been at some of our interior stations, and heard the natives speak of the
goodness of God and unite in singing his praise, I have often wished you, with many other warm-hearted friends of Africa, could have been with me an hour or two to behold the glory of God displayed among the Gentiles. I have often been carried away at the reflection that God had made me the honoured instrument in his hands to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. O! dear Sir, I greatly desire to see you again in the flesh, and I was determined to come over to the States this year; but finding our work greatly enlarging, and the claims upon us increasing, I was not there to mention it, for the word was, Let every man be at his post, for we have not a man to spare from the field; for, 'the harvest truly is great, and the labourers are few.' But I expect to come at some future period, if the Lord will. But let this be as it may, believe me when I say you occupy a warm seat in my heart, and a letter from you at any time is of more importance to me than gold. I should like to hear from your little son. I should be glad to write often to my friends about the colony, but I have so much business to attend to I can scarcely get time to write at all. However, I have answered all your letters, and will be glad to have the privilege to answer the next.

"Believe me to be your most sincere friend and fellow-labourer in the common cause of our dear Redeemer. And now may the blessing of our good Lord, and his Son Jesus Christ, be with you and your dear family for evermore. Amen. Amen.

"Written by

"B. R. WILSON,

"To his devoted friend, the Rev. R. R. Gurley."

A very few small errors in the spelling of this letter are corrected, but no change has been made in the arrangement or style. Mr. Wilson states that it was copied by his son not ten years old.

[Extracts of a Letter from Captain Hubert to Dr. Hodgkin, 1836.]

"With regard to the present state of slave-taking in the colony of Liberia, I have never known one instance of a slave being owned or disposed of by a colonist; on the contrary, I have known them to render great facility to our cruisers there in taking those vessels employed in that nefarious traffic, by obtaining from the natives of the slave-factories information of the time those vessels would sail with their cargoes. In November last, while I was trading at Edina, there came into the cove two Spanish vessels, evidently slavers, seeking for British arms, ammunition, and clothes, for which they would have given specie; yet there was not one colonist to be found who would trade with them, notwithstanding the extensive profit which could have been made. I have had frequent opportunities of conversing with the settlers on the subject of their emigration, and, with few exceptions, have found them not only contented with their change, but happy; for there they have become members of a community in which they are not only free, but equal."

[Extract of a Letter from Samuel Benedict to Dr. Hodgkin, dated Monrovia, 1838.]

"Sir,—In leaving America, my principal object was not to get rich, although such exaggerated tales were circulated about the trade of the colony: I thought to retire to a part of the world where we would live, with the blessing of Heaven, as others do—by their labour; and where we could enjoy religious, civil, and political liberty; and where we could have a voice in the making of laws suiting our circumstances, &c.; also to assist in civilizing and Christianizing this dark, uncultivated continent.

"I have been here now near three years, and, in truth, I have not lost three days, in all, by sickness. The company I came out with consisted of sixty-four—a few very old, and several young and feeble infants, and up to this time seven have died."

[Extracts of a Letter from Governor Buchanan to Dr. Hodgkin, dated Monrovia, 1840.]

"It has been said, that the colonists were not unfavourable to the slave-trade, and, in proof of it, some isolated fact, such as I have mentioned, is adduced as
conclusive. The mode of proof is as unfair as the charge is false. The general
voice of the colony has ever been loud against the slave-trade, nor has any indi-
vidual directly participated in it. Indeed, I am confident that the penalty of
the law against it, which is death, would have been inflicted on any one who
would have dared to violate it, even during the period I have alluded to, when
the colony was actually left to itself. The vessels which visited our waters
were generally under the American flag, and, in all cases, claimed to be regular
traders; while the intercourse carried on with the colonists was in itself per-
fectly proper. But the very fact, that they were obliged to conceal their real
character, in order to procure that intercourse, shows, conclusively, the disposi-
tion of our people against them.
* * * The colony is an asylum
to the oppressed and enslaved of all the tribes around it! Here they flee from
the storms of war, and the horrors of bondage, in the full confidence of protec-
tion and safety. The whole history of the colony, almost from the first day of
its existence, is crowded with instances. At one time, during the month of
July last, a king, with several hundreds of his people,—the wretched remnant
of a once powerful tribe,—fed to us for protection against a merciless foe, who
had ravaged his country for the purpose of making a whole nation slaves! Num-
bers were killed, and many more were captured, and the fugitives were closely
pursued to the very boundary of the colony; but, the moment they passed it,
they were safe and free!—the enemy, though flushed with victory, and thirst-
 ing for victory, dared not pursue them into our territory.

"About ten days since, I had an unsolicited visit from eight kings, some of
them living far in the country, for the express purpose of 'making book,' as they
term it, by which they declared their devotion to the colony—their subject
ion to its laws—their co-operation in putting down the slave-trade—and, in return,
requested the friendship and protection of the colony. It is our constant aim to
extend, by every proper means, political alliances not only, but also commercial
relations and intercourse."

[Excerpts of a Letter from Samuel Benedict to Dr. Hodgkin, dated Monrovia,
1840.]

"It has been five years since I arrived in this land of privileges, and, from
then until this, I have not lost more than about eight days, in all, by sickness;
and I think I can say, with propriety, that I have not lost as many days by in-
dolence or inactivity. * * * The missionaries here have done much good
among the natives. A small tribe, not far from this, has nearly entirely changed
their former habits, and embraced that of the Christian, but there remains much
for all of us to do. Agriculture, with us, is becoming more general. Many of
us are trying the cultivation of the sugar-cane, of which some fair sugar has
been made, but not enough, as yet, to even talk of."

[Copy of a Letter from Captain Stoll to Dr. Hodgkin, dated Piccadilly, 1840.]

"My DEAR Sir,—I had not returned from the country at the time your
meeting was held, to which you were so kind as to invite me: this will account
for my silence; and I am sorry that the press of affairs on me at this moment
should interfere with my contributing my mite for the African race. In case I
should not meet you before leaving London, I shall commit the following facts
to paper, all of which are from my own observation, relative to the American
colony of Liberia, in which you are so much interested, and justly so. My
opinion, though not of much value, is, that it promises to be the only successful
institution of the sort in the coast of Africa, keeping in mind its objects—
namely, that of raising the African slave into a free man; preparing him for the
exercise of civil liberty in its various branches, from the Governor to the
labourer; the extinction of the slave-trade; and last, though not least, the reli-
gious and moral improvement of Africa at large. First, then, from the carriage
and conversation of the emancipated slave, you perceive at once that he feels
himself a free man. They one and all told me they were men now, which they
never were before, and had a prospect for their children; not in the least regret-
ting their departure from America; on the contrary, desirous of getting their
relations over to join them. Secondly, the affairs of the colony are conducted,
with the exception of the Governor, entirely by coloured men, chiefly liberated
slaves; and Mr. Buchanan, the present Governor, a most able and zealous
friend of the African, assured me, that their judicial administration would do
credit to any state in America, and, that they were most reasonable in all their
propositions and debates in their House of Assembly. They are all quite aware
that nothing but industry can conduxe to their wealth and comfort, and practice
it. Even the Africans, captured and located by the American Government,
have followed the example set by the colonists; for, when I visited them about
3 p.m., the hottest part of the day, I found them all at work in their farms.
Thirdly, no one, in the remotest degree connected with the slave-trade, is
allowed even to communicate with Liberia, much less trade; and, from a little
affair with myself, and other oculur proofs, they are always ready to join in any
expedition for the destruction of slave-factories. Fourthly, they are preparing
missionaries from amongst themselves, and have already attempted it on a small
scale, but with what success I am not ready to say, not having had an oppor-
tunity of personal inspection; but their schools do them credit, more especially
when their small means are considered. The colonists, with few exceptions,
are all members of churches; and I can most safely testify, that a more orderly,
sober set of people I never met with. I did not hear an improper or profane
expression during my visit. Spirits are excluded in most, if not all, the settle-
ments. They have formed themselves into various societies—such as agricultural,
botanical, mechanical, for promoting Christian knowledge, also a ladies' society
for clothing the poor, &c. The surrounding Africans are aware of the nature
of the colony, taking refuge when persecuted by the few neighbouring slave-
traders;—the remnants of a tribe have lately fled to, and settled in, the colony
on land granted them. Between my two visits, a lapse of only a few days, four
or five slaves sought refuge from their masters who were about to sell, or had
sold them, to the only factory on that part of the coast. The native chiefs in
the neighbourhood have that respect for the colonists, that they have made trea-
ties for the abolition of the slave-trade, as also constituted the Governor judge in
the disputes amongst themselves, and a remarkable instance had occurred only
a few days previous to my visit:—One chief submitted to the arbitration of Mr.
Buchanan, though contrary to his own ideas of right and justice, and paid the
fine imposed upon him. I could say much more, but my time does not admit;
and I must conclude this rambling and hurried account of my visit to Liberia
with this observation, that I went there unbiased, and left it with a conviction,
that colonies on the principle of Liberia ought to be established as soon as pos-
sible, if we wish to serve Africa; and the materials for such colonies, I think,
can only be procured from the slaves of the United States. I am not disposed,
from what I have seen and known of the West-India blacks, to select them for
this great work, if for no other reason, the American black speaks pure English.
Excuse this hasty production with all its faults; but, rather than break my
word, I send you this; and, with every wish for your success in your philan-
thropic exertions,

"I remain, my dear Sir, yours, most truly,

"JOHN STOLL."

[Extract of a Letter from Captain Henry Irving to Dr. Hodgkin, dated London,
1840.]

"With regard to Cape Palms, I must positively say, it is fast improving. I
spent two days there in the latter end of 1837, and, one of them being Sunday,
I attended Divine worship, and was surprised to see so respectable a congrega-
tion. I asked several of them how they liked their new country? and they
answered, much better than America; for, although their means were at pre-
sent limited, and the land of course to be cleared, yet they expected, in a short
time, to be in easy circumstances. I was there about two years afterwards, and
found a great improvement—the roads much better—houses more numerous
and better built—several of the country oxen broke-in to harness, and a school
for the education of native children. They were also living on the very best
terms with the natives; and such confidence have they of their neighbours,
that all their palaver of consequence are settled by them. You ask me if they
aid in the slave-trade? I answer you, No! and, I am sure, the colonists would
feel much hurt should they know such a question could possibly arise in
England."
APPENDIX.

No. I.

Address at the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Nov. 11, 1839. By R. R. Gurley. Published by request of the Society.

Though deeply sensible of the honour conferred on me, by your invitation to occupy, for a brief time, this place on this occasion, I must be permitted to express regret at my inability to fulfill expectations which may reasonably have been cherished in view of the annual assemblage of the members and friends of this association; and, especially, that the gentleman* to whom this invitation was first extended, so esteemed for his virtues, and admired for his eloquence, found it necessary to decline the duty, which the speaker, relying upon your generous indulgence, will attempt, however inadequately to perform.

But if the remark be just, that "in all exertions of duty something must be hazarded;" that, on occasions and questions involving great public interests and common dangers, the purity of the motive is held to atone for the indiscretion of the deed, and the weakest hand may well be stretched out to defend or sustain truth and right, apologies are unnecessary, perhaps impertinent, in presence of a subject which appeals by its magnitude, and demands by its importance, the combined reason and benevolence of the Christian world.

No scheme of selfishness, of ordinary charity, of mere patriotism are we convened to promote. Your hearts respond to the appeals; daily almost are your hands extended for the relief of the suffering. The noblest ornaments of this city are her institutions and asylums, thrown wide open to the varied forms of human distress; in which want finds provision, infirmity support, sickness medicine and aid, the widow a home, the destitute aged repose and consolation, and the orphan a shelter; in which those shut up from communion with nature by one of the senses, are taught to converse with her through another, and the intellect shattered by misfortune, or deranged mysteriously by His hand who formed it, is guarded from the rude irritations of the world, and gently soothed by the ministrations and smiles of Christian love.

Greater far than any, than all these, is our object, encompassing within the wide range of its promised beneficence, the character and destinies of two races of men, and two quarters of the globe.

Nor here can I hesitate to congratulate the friends of African colonization in this city and throughout the country, on the occurrence of recent events and of recent changes of opinion, in both America and England, favourable to the progress of their enterprise, and its final consummation, on a scale commensurate with the extent and inveteracy of the evils it was designed to remedy, and the vastness of good it was intended and expected to confer upon this nation and the African race.

The manifest impotency of direct and fierce attacks by societies exclusively northern in their origin and action, to produce the immediate, unconditional, and voluntary emancipation of slaves on the soil of the south; the confirmed faith of the humane and religious of that portion of the union in the patriotism, practicableness, and philanthropy of the scheme of this society; the rapidly rising prosperity and influence of the communities of Liberia; the application of steam to ship navigation, soon to unite in commercial relations and frequent intercourse the civilized with remote and barbarous nations; the act of West Indian emancipation; and, above all, the increase, since that act, of the African slave-trade, working conviction in the minds of the great leaders of that measure in England, that this traffic can be surpressed only by introducing into Africa herself civilization and Christianity, encouraging her industry, developing her exhaustless resources, and gathering, by humane arts, and new incen-

* Rev. Dr. Bethune.
tives to exertion, the rich and varied productions of her mines, her forests, and her fields, into the channels of legitimate commerce: all these must be regarded as elements about to meet and coalesce in a mighty movement, under the all-directing hand for the advancement of our cause, and the redemption of Africa.

It is a fact worthy of record, and one of pregnant import to those who discern only cruel injustice in the principles and policy of the American Colonization Society, that long before its origin these principles and policy were adopted and made practical by distinguished friends by immediate emancipation both in Old England and New. If the opponents of this society claim Dr. Fothergill, Granville Sharpe, Dr. Hopkins, and Paul Cuffee as advocates of their doctrine, we point to the example of these individuals in defence of our practice; and especially to this example do we refer in evidence that there exist, to the judgment of wise and good men, valid reasons for the scheme of African colonisation, independent of any or all opinions on the subject of slavery. The illustrious names of Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharpe are recorded among the chief founders of the colony of Sierra Leone; while to their enterprise the Rev. Dr. Hopkins and Captain Paul Cuffee (one of the most sensible, philanthropic, and best-educated coloured men ever born in New England) gave both their sanction and their aid. These early and true-hearted friends of the coloured race never deemed the spirit of colonisation unworthy to dwell in their hearts in communion with the spirit of universal liberty—never dreamed that benevolence towards Africa should be limited in its efforts to the partial elevation of her exiled children in disregard of the millions of her home population sunk in more deep dishonour, and more hopeless ruin. They forgot not the many in their concern for the few.

Were the Genius of Great Britain now to stand before us and survey that empire upon which the sun is said never to set, to what region would he more exultingly point—to what spot look with an eye more brightly kindling with delight than to this reproached colony of Sierra Leone? A territory, reclaimed from the waste of barbarism and the horrors of the slave-trade, brought under the shield of civilized power and the Divine light of Christianity to be an asylum for Africans unloosed from intolerable chains, and led forth to liberty from the despairs prison of the slave-ship. The smiles, the songs, the gratefully uplifted hands of from twenty thousand to thirty thousand victims of this atrocity fed, clothed, instructed, tamed from the fierceness of a savage nature, and, casting aside the badges of superstition and shame, testify to the philanthropy which founded, and, with invincible resolution and at great expense, has sustained the colony of Sierra Leone.

A more enviable renown England never won—no, not when from the reluctant hand of the throne she wrung the charter of her liberties—not when beneath the raging waves she sunk the Spanish armada—not even when her power struck down Napoleon—than when the persisting African cried to her and she listened and saved.

The American Colonization Society rests upon enlarged benevolence towards the whole coloured race.

What were the facts evident to the founders of this society, convened to devise some practicable scheme of good for this unfortunate people?

They saw two millions or more of the coloured population of this country in slavery, and that the system, in regard to its continuance or abolition, was left by the Federal constitution under the exclusive control of the States in which it exists:

That the free people of colour (then in number 250,000, now much more), dispersed abroad in all the States, were denied everywhere, by law, custom, circumstances, or all combined, many of the richest blessings of freedom:

That, in the undivided judgment of the south and the general mind of the north, the elevation of this race on this soil to social and political equality with the whites, was impracticable from the nature of the case itself, from the force and fixedness of opinion against it (dictated, in the view of those who hold it, as well by benevolence as political necessity), and that no plan, based on this idea, could unite in its execution the hearts and means of our citizens in all sections of the union. Whether the causes referred to render such elevation absolutely impossible in all future contingencies, is, in regard to immediate
duty, of little consequence. They are of sufficient magnitude and power to control the present policy of benevolence and wisdom:

That any great plan of good to this race must depend mainly for success upon such union:

And, finally, that there was an unsurpassed moral fitness and grandeur in the colonization of Africa, by our free people of colour, with their own consent, inasmuch as, while securing to them an unembarrassed position and a national character, all means and motives for self-culture and self-exaltation, it afforded opportunity and inducement for the highest beneficence in unbariring the iron gates of Africa, and connecting their own moral, intellectual, and social improvement with the gift of law, letters, art, liberty, and Christianity to the untutored and uncounted tribes of their ancient mother-country.

The organization of the American Colonization Society, avowing in its constitution that, "The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient; and that the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the general government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject," was, in view of these facts, the result of the united wisdom and counsels, of distinguished patriots and Christians, assembled in convention from widely separated and most differing portions of the union.

It is asserted by the enemies of this Society, that in its constitution there is not a clear development of moral principles, and, consequently, that the scheme proposed has no moral sanction.

And where in the constitutions of your humane and Christian associations, too numerous to mention, for the instruction of the dumb and the blind, the protection of orphans, the relief of the destitute and the sick, is a development of moral principles, or the emblazoning forth of a moral sanction? They need no signals of character. Their objects indicate their principles—the actions show the motive.

And does any reflecting person doubt that the existence of the Colonization Society for the object it avows, implies a conviction in the minds of its founders and friends, that our free people of colour are unfortunate and depressed, and should be assisted to rise; that it is a duty (should they concur in the plan) to aid their establishment in a position where they will enjoy not partial liberty, but its full power, and rear for themselves, and transmit to their descendants, institutions social, political, and religious, equal to any yet known in human society?

Is it to be imagined that those who would, by the only means which they believe effectual for the end, confer upon these people these richest blessings, wish to deny to them any inferior good, diminish their present advantages, or retard under any circumstances their improvement?

And who can fail to infer, that if duty (or benevolence, another name for the same thing) demands our efforts to raise men, who have gained something, perhaps, by liberty, to a condition in which they may possess more, it equally demands of those who have the right and power to prepare men, not free, for freedom, and then, if practicable, so to bestow this freedom upon them, that all its appropriate and choicest blessings may be theirs?

And is it not clear to demonstration, from the nature of our moral sentiments, that those who aim to elevate the free people of colour to the loftiest privileges of humanity, and open a way to these privileges, with the consent of the master, to the slave, must embrace Africa and her unnumbered barbarians, indeed the whole coloured race within the circuit, and, as they may, within the active influences of their beneficence. True regard to one human being can never be divorced from goodwill to the many. True benevolence to the individual must always be identified with benevolence to the race.

But men may err, you say, in their judgments touching their own interests; and may not the wise and the good err in their plans and endeavours to promote the interests of others? We admit your society's motives to be pure, but we deny its practical philanthropy.

Hence arises a question of the enlarged practical beneficence of the policy and proceedings of the American Colonization Society. We maintain that in
reason, so far as the aid of this Society is accepted, they confer inestimable and enduring good upon our free people of colour—add strength and security to our national union—work extensively and powerfully in favour of the voluntary emancipation of slaves,—and bestow the best blessings Heaven permits man to enjoy upon Africa.

The comparison, by one of our ablest divines, of the condition of the free people of colour in the United States to that of the germ springing from the acorn at the foot of the parent tree, was true as fact and of more force than argument. You may say it is of the same nature with the old oak, and has as good a right to be there, yet it must wither unless you take it from the shade. This people are in the shade of our towering and overspreading greatness, and to improve their condition and exalt their character effectually, you must change their circumstances and their place. The wealth, honours, and government of the country are in other hands than theirs. Many of them, doubtless, are respectable for intelligence and moral worth, and their merit is the greater in proportion to the temptations resisted, and the obstacles overcome. Their condition is much the same in all the states, and too generally they may be said to feel the evils of servitude without its alleviations, to be free without the dignity or inspiration of freedom. Posts of distinction, offices of trust, the higher pursuits and rewards of enterprise, art, and genius, they despair to obtain, and therefore do not seek. With heavy incumbrances to keep them down, they want many of the means and motives to rise.

Of different descent from the whites, distinct from them in complexion, history, habits, and employments, they suffer neglect as aliens in the land of their birth; mental bondage in the atmosphere and beneath the expanded wings of liberty. I speak not to disparage, to discourage them, but rather to direct their eyes to that orient star already standing over the spot of their national redemption and coming renown. To what are they invited by this society? To what summoned in the providence of Almighty God? To tread, in rightfull possession, the wide, magnificent, but depopulated territory of their mother-country, avestruck by no superior power, subdued by no mighty competition, restrained by no force of prejudice, custom, or law, depressed by no sense of weakness or of wrong, and in the consciousness of freedom, of all human power, to build up among barbarians the Church of God and a republican empire. Escaped from the despotism of the mind, they feel that liberty of soul, which is the parent of greatness, which turns adverse events, the rigour of discipline, and the shocks of calamity, to the account of wisdom, and makes nature in all her forms tributary to its power; that mental liberty which admits in all their force the influence of all the motives which strengthen and ennoble our immortal faculties, give clearness and comprehensive reason to row, vigour to imagination, and invincible energy to the will—which arm fortitude, elevate hope, make courage resolute, and, guarding and cherishing the domestic and social affections as the seeds of public virtue, by ties of patriotism, indissoluble because sacred, bind man to his country, and by the golden chain of an all-comprising philanthropy, link him for ever to the destinies of mankind. Is it no good we confer, when assisting them to make Liberia to their country what Plymouth and Jamestown have been to this? to do for themselves what all the world can never do for them? to do for their race what can only be expected from their prayers and their labours? They go to Africa for great purposes—to build up their own fortunes, redeem the character of their people, and thus command the respect of the world: to establish upon her shore civilization and free government; to lift the covering of night from her face, and call forth her ignant, savage, enslaved children from the desert where the lion roars, or the wilderness where he slumbers from clay-built huts, from dens and mountain caves, to a purer, nobler life; to rekindle the gone-out glories; to rear anew the prostrate, decayed, but giant-monuments of her ancient might; to wave the torch of wisdom in the face of superstition and amid the haunts of ruin; to carve their names as benefactors in her eternal rocks, and bring back that quarter of the earth, long lost to science, liberty, humanity, and religion, to the empire of reason and God. What heart can be weak, what hand want strength in so Divine a work? To attempt and fail in so many things, must be great, to succeed in all, glorious. It is in the very nature of the enterprise of African colonization that we discern the elements of life and power to our free coloured
population—that which must rouse, dignify, exalt them. No man, no people were ever made great by others. It has been by circumstances acting on themselves, by themselves acting with inbred energy on circumstances, that they have commanded distinction and everlasting fame. By toilsome effort only do the bold and daring gain the Alpine heights, and the eye that thence sees the sun behind small eyes, zero beneath the clouds, beams bright with health as honour. On this subject our own national history is full of meaning and instruction. It was because the wintry wind howled around the dwellings of our fathers, and necessity trained them in her school of trial, and their early pathway was rugged and thorny through the wilderness, and tracked by their blood, that they became what they were—unequalled for activity, sagacity, and enterprise, and capable of binding, we had almost said, capricious fortune, and nature opposed to their designs, in subserviency to their will. Mr. Burke, long before the revolution, saw the effect of trial and circumstances upon their character, and in the British Parliament exclaimed with admiration, “and pray, Sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson’s Bay and Davis’s Straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and a resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people yet, as it were in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.” Can we point our free people of colour to an example more instructive than that of our fathers? Can they seek a good or glory greater than theirs?

We have said the operations of this society add strength and security to our national union. Strong and secure as we trust this union is, the discussions, during the last six years, on the subject of slavery, have been such as to alienate, in no small degree, the affections of one-half the country from the other, and excite, in the minds of sober patriots and able statesmen, a sense and apprehension of danger. If the bond of the federal union is to be sundered, few doubt that differences concerning our coloured population will be the cause. On this subject a fierce conflict of opinion may foretold, and be hardly less terrible than the shock of arms. Since the union involves interests greater than those of any one people, it should be guarded as we guard our firesides, or the temples and altars of our faith. The hopes of the slave, as well as of his master, depend upon its existence. By common consent the agitations threatening it should be allayed, the spirit of internal discord banished for ever. The citizens of this union are trustees of truth and liberty, not only for themselves and their posterity, but for the world. On a subject the greatest, most difficult, most dangerous, that can ever occupy the mind of the country, this society furnishes a bond of union between the south and the north; a channel in which their mutual sympathies, opinions, and charities may commingle; a broad and lofty ground on which the citizens of both may co-operate in good faith to each other and the constitution, for the benefit of the coloured race. Who can well estimate its effect already to repress the rash over-action of the north, and arouse the too lethargic spirit of the south? to prevent the general adoption of one false opinion on this side of the Potomac, and of one equally false but directly opposite on the other? to save the north from a direct and relentless war upon slavery, and the south from defending it as of Divine right and perpetual obligation? Who can tell how much the public tranquillity is owing to the existence and movements of this society, or the evils that might arise should its influence cease to be felt? The thoughts, the sentiments, the government of the union are favourable to universal freedom, and no power or agency is to be lightly regarded, which tends to reconcile all particular interests, and individual and state rights, with the natural influences of our institutions, the spirit of the age;
and the progress of liberty. Nature, in her great and benign changes, shows in
gentleness and silence the signs of power. The fury of the tempest, the con-
cussions of the earthquake but desolate, rend, and destroy. If our federal con-
stitution must perish by a suicidal spirit, by the internal hands, which have been
pledged mutually for its support, the whole earth will feel the cruel wrong, and
human hope, we might almost say, struck down like an eagle soaring "in his
pride of place," must expire upon the ruins of the republic. All nations will
gather in grief around the agonies of our dissolution, as old Ocean and his
dughters gathered with sympathising hearts around the tortured Prometheus,
chain-bound inexorably by Force and Fate to the Caucaisan rock. At the
horrors of the scene they might be tempted to cry out, with upbraiding of
destiny, in the words of the ancient tragic chorus:

"I see, I see—and o'er my eyes,
Surcharged with sorrow's tearful rain,
Dartly the misty clouds arise—
I see thine adamantine chain:
In its strong grasp thy limbs confined,
And withering in the parching wind.
"Is there a god whose sullen soul
Feels a stern joy in thy despair?
Owes he not pity's soft control,
And drops with sympathy the tear?"

Oh! in case of so dreadful a catastrophe, where will be found a heaven-born
Prometheus, to reanimate, with a Divine spark, the lifeless form of liberty?

Time will hardly allow me even a brief expression, on this occasion, of the
thoughts which have occurred to me on the subject of slavery in the United
States, nor would they be very relevant, perhaps, to my main purpose here, that
of showing the influence of the American Colonization Society to promote volun-
tary emancipation. Permit me, however, on this great subject to ask a moment's
indulgence.

Human rights are founded upon the moral law or obligation of reciprocal
benevolence, ordained by reason and God, to exist between man and man in all
circumstances, places, and times. This law exists independently of the will of
man and pre-supposes human society. Hence no reasoning is of force, con-
cerning the rights of man, that is founded merely upon his nature, or upon any
original compact between him and others, because certain relations of us univer-
sally to each other are implied in the very terms of the law, and whether
they approve it or not, they are equally bound to obedience. Were there but
one man in the world, it is clear he could be the subject of no law which, in
the duty it enjoined, took for granted the existence of other men. The golden
precept of the Saviour of the world, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,"
so justly termed by Lord Bacon "the perfection of the law of nature and nations,
specifies the universal and unalterable principle of duty men owe to each other,
and the method by which they should decide the varying and innumerable cases
to which it must be applied. In each and in all these cases we are to try our
benevolence by our self-regard—to imagine our neighbour (and such is every
man) in our circumstances, and we in his; and in that view, and in view also
of the relations of each of us to others, to do for him as our moral judgment
tells us, we might reasonably expect him to do for us. Not that we are to treat
all men alike, or deem their desires or judgment our rule of duty, or the interests
of the individual of equal importance with the public good. The law binds
every man to be the friend of every other man, and every other man to be the
friend of him; but in each and in all cases, in which the principle is to be made
practical, the mode and manner, (those only excepted where these are fixed by
its Author,) are left to the reason of the individual under responsibilities to
his conscience and God.

In applying this Divine law to the question of American Slavery, while we
believe that it should be enthroned supreme in the hearts of states as in that of
individuals, and with Dr. Channing "that statesmen work in the dark until the
idea of right towers above expediency and wealth," we also believe that society
may be so deranged and disordered by the errors, crimes, and misfortunes of a
former age, that no human power can instantly correct the evil, and that neither

*Aeschylus.*
individuals nor society are bound to do impossibilities. Great moral evils may justifiably be tolerated by the state for a time, when acts to prevent them will clearly produce moral evils more terrible and extensive. Such toleration, however, can never rightly be pleaded in justification of individual crime, nor should such evils by individuals, as such, or to remove them. State necessity can never be rightly urged in justification of any policy which tends to limit for ever the influences of the word of God. Providence and revelation are allies, and the order of the one can never contravene the declarations of the other. Dr. Channing has well said: ‘Slavery in the age of the apostles had so penetrated society, was so intimately interwoven with it, and the materials of servile war were so abundant, that a religion preaching freedom to its victims would have shaken the social fabric to its foundation, and would have armed against itself all the power of the state. Of consequence, Paul did not assail it. He satisfied himself with spreading principles which, however slowly, could not but work its destruction.’ If there be reason in these sentences and if the observation of South be just—‘and in the government of the visible world the supreme wisdom itself submits to be the author of the better, not the best, but of the best system possible, in the existing relations, much more must human legislators give way to many evils, rather than encourage the discontent that would lead to worse remedies’; if Coleridge says truly that ‘an evil which has come in gradually, and in the growth of which all men have more or less conspired, cannot be removed otherwise than gradually and by the joint efforts of all’; and Burke, that to remedy evils in the state, ‘a permanent body, made up of transitory parts, it is good to follow the method of nature,’ and be in what we improve never wholly new, and in what we retain never wholly obsolete, then must we be permitted to think that the state, in which slavery was deep-seated, interwoven with all the habits and rooted in the very constitution of society long before the existence of the present depositories of its political power, is bound to act on the same principle of benevolence, prescribed, it is true, to individual man, but with a broad and full view of the elements and relations involved in an extended organized society, and taking things as they are, by the light of its reason and the wisdom of experience, make them as they should be in the time and manner that it seems best conducive to the interests of all concerned. Two causes only should in our judgment retard emancipation for a moment—the incapacity of the slave for self-government, and the danger of collision between the coloured and white races were both free on the soil of the south. By suitable instruction the first may be removed, and colonization for the second affords an adequate remedy. With the consent of the south, most justly, in our opinion, might the national resources be applied to aid the work.

* My view of the system of slavery, as it exists among us, is briefly this:—individual masters are morally bound to treat their slaves as their consciences, honestly consulted, decide that they themselves would reasonably or rightfully expect to be treated in the same condition and circumstances. And this absolute law of Christianity, should govern political bodies, no less than individuals. Accepting this, the royal law of Christ as a universal, perfect rule of duty between man and man, in all conditions, circumstances, and times, it follows, therefore:—

1st. That any doctrine or practice which would justify or maintain slavery as a perpetual system, is abominable; because reason and conscience in the breast of every man, assert his natural capability for freedom, and of course, that this capability belongs to other men. And as his judgment must decide that it could never be right for others to enslave him and his posterity to perpetual and involuntary servitude, so does it equally, that he can never justly contribute to perpetuate a system which consigns others to that condition.

2d. That human liberty should never be weighed in the balances with money, or estimated by dollars and cents. There is no man who does not regard his own liberty as more precious than property, and in the same light, is he to regard the liberty of others.

3d. All rigorous laws imposed on those subjected to this system (not necessary for the good of the enslaved, or indispensable to the preservation of the public peace and safety) cannot not too soon be abolished. Such, I believe there are; and every humane and Christian man should exert his influence to have them erased from the State codes.

4th. Where the system exists, those who have the political power, are as much bound to proceed benevolently in their measures to remedy and remove it, as they are to proceed at all. They must not forget that ‘civil society is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is (or should be) beneficence, acting by rule.’ Nor that ‘restraints on men, as well as their liber-
ties, are to be reckoned (in a sense) among their rights.’ They ought not to attempt to do that suddenly and by a blow, which they know may be done more safely and beneficially with caution and preparation.

5th. It may be the duty of individual masters to liberate their slaves, before the State is morally bound to enact laws for the entire and universal abolition of slavery. For particular slaves may be qualified for freedom, and their masters may have ability to place them where
By abstaining from measures unconstitutional and dangerous in the judgment of the south to urge onward abolition;* by acknowledging that this can only be effected with their free will and consent, by co-operating with them in a plan which, as benevolent to the whole coloured population has received their sanction, and exhibiting an asylum to which the liberated can be sent without injury to the state and infinite advantage to themselves, and which in the rising character and hopes of the free who occupy it, appeals to their deepest sympathies and most generous sentiments in behalf of the slave; by interchanging the sober opinions of the north, in regard to our coloured population, with the philanthropic sentiments of the south, this society effectually promotes the cause of freedom, and presents motives of persuasiveness and power in favour of emancipation. The demonstration in Liberia of the capabilities of the coloured race for self-government, every deep sh*t from that colony, every ship that sails thither, every example of emancipation, that those covered with the dust and d&hances of servitude may share the dignity and hopes of its citizens, plead eloquently the cause of human freedom. Fifteen hundred slaves, standing as freemen at the will of their masters, on that shore, and propertied, including the value of those liberated, exceeding probably 2,000,000 dollars given as a freewill offering to the cause of this society, sustain the truth of our position.

This society comes forward to bestow the best blessing Heaven permits men to enjoy, upon Africa.

This intelligent audience know what Africa was and what she is—her former glory, her present shame. Alas! it is for none of us to know or imagine the extent of her miseries, the depth of her degradation. Anciently the seat of art, genius, empire; the land of Thebes, Egypt, Carthage, and even now bearing marks of grandeur amid the fragments of her ruins. Some faint glory lingers around her time-worn but undecayed monuments, temples, and pyramids—a light dimly burning upon the sepulchre, a smile to make us sad upon the countenance of death. With an immense and fertile territory spread out beneath a climate adapted to mature the richest products of the earth—a population of at least 60,000,000, fine navigable rivers, and every advantage for a wide, profitable commerce— for centuries has she been a prey to ignorance, imposture, superstition, barbarism, and the slave-trade, that giant-sin and outrage of the civilized world, showing sights of horror at which the rocks might weep and the fierce and savage winds, unused to pity, speak out in tones indignant and appalling, to startle the faithless conscience of the nations. But even inanimate nature would, we fear, utter her terrifying rebukes in vain. If the writings and labours of Clarkson, the eloquence of Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce, if no sense of justice, no compunctions of conscience, no sentiments of compassion, no Divine precepts of Christianity—if neither courts of mixed commission, nor the British emancipation, nor the powers of Christianity have even diminished this cruel commerce, what, without a change of policy is to be expected, is to be done? It is a fact of deepest interest that Thomas Fowell Buxton, member of the British Parliament, upon whom rests the mantle of Wilberforce, who stands first and foremost among living statesmen in endeavours to suppress the slave-trade and civilize Africa, has, in a work just published, developed facts and principles, and expressed opinions going to sustain the views and policy of the Colonization Society, as those, by which alone the great and benevolent objects of the friends of Africa can be fully attained. Mr. Buxton has shown, from a deep and

such freedom would be to them a benefit, while the great mass of the slave population are unqualified for perfect freedom, and the State feels prohibited by motives or enlarged benevolence, from conferring it, instantly, upon them. There is no danger that either States or individuals at the South, will act too soon or too earnestly on the subject. The great object should be, I humbly conceive, to awaken in all minds a sense of justice and benevolence towards our whole coloured population. All should immediately and earnestly unite in preparing them for freedom. When qualified therefor, there should be no hesitation in conferring it upon them. "It is advanced in the eternal constitution of things, that men of in-temperate minds, cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."—Life of Ashmun.

* My impression is, that, with the consent of the south, the whole system of slavery might with safety be immediately so modified, as to place the slave population in a situation to enjoy all the privileges in which men so rude and degraded could find advantage; and, in connexion with the policy of colonization, to prepare them, at no remote period, for entire freedom. Peculiar legislative enactments might, for a season, be indispensable, and of the nature and extent of these, benevolent and enlightened citizens in the south can best judge.
thorough examination into all the sources of evidence in the case, that the slave-
trade has increased both in the number of its victims and the horrors of their
sufferings in defiance of all efforts for its extinction; that "twice as many hu-
man beings are victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson entered upon
their noble task;" that the number annually lost to Africa, either perishing in
seizure, on the ocean, or consigned to inexorable bondage by the Christian or
Mahomedan slave-trades, is 475,000; "that every day which we live in security
and peace at home, witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes
of Africa to slavery or death; every night villages are roused from their sleep
to the alternative of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle;" that at this very
moment "there are at least twenty thousand human beings on the Atlantic, ex-
posed to every variety of wretchedness which belongs to the middle passage;"
that the Christian powers are generally unfaithful in the execution of their own
enactments for the overthrow of this traffic; that little ground exists for hope
that it will be made piracy by the law of nations; that if it were, the extraor-
dinary gains of the slave-trade would defeat all laws and movements against it,
and finally avows his conviction that the slave-trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued.

Turning from this system in despair, he boldly declares: "A legitimate com-
merce with Africa would put down the slave-trade, by demonstrating the superi-
or value of man as a labourer on the soil, to man as an object of mer-
chandise, and if conducted on wise and equitable principles might be the pre-
cursor, or rather the attendant, of civilization, peace, and Christianity to the
unenlightened, wretched, and heathen tribes who now so fearfully prey on each
other to supply the markets of the new world." "I firmly believe," he says,
"that Africa has within herself the means and the endowments which might
enable her to shake off, and to emerge from her load of misery, to the benefit
of the whole civilized world, and to the unspeakable improvement of her own
now barbarous population." He urges all Christian nations to unite in one
great confederacy "for the purpose of calling into action the dormant energies
of Africa," and, avowing the opinion that, the slave-trade once suppressed, she
would present "the finest field for Christian Missionaries which the world has
seen opened to them," regards as a circumstance unique in the case of her popu-
lation, "that a race of teachers of their own blood is already in a course of rapid
preparation for them; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery
and the slave-trade for this end; and that from among the settlers of Sierra
Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children
now receiving Christian education, may be expected to arise a body of men
who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying Divine truth and all its con-
comitant blessings into the heart of Africa."

We almost forget for a moment these shocking statements touching the slave-
trade, in delightful astonishment at the views, convictions, and hopes of Mr.
Buxton, representative, we doubt not, of those of the wisest and best philan-
thropists of England, blazing suddenly out from thick mists of doubt and error,
like a new constellation in the heavens, to cheer our heart, give new courage to
humanity, and shed sweet influences upon the land of slaves. The world is
coming forward to sustain our enterprise. Mr. Buxton has only adopted the
original principles and policy of the American Colonization Society; his plans
are but a republication of theirs. Liberia was planted, has been sustained to be
a civilized state, a Christian commonwealth of free coloured men on the shore
of Africa, to suppress the slave-trade, to impart instruction in letters, the useful
arts, in agriculture, law, and religion, to her barbarous tribes, to guard their
rights, encourage their industry, reform their manners, rouse their enterprise,
and exhibiting before their eyes, and offering in their markets the articles of our
skill tempting to their wants or their fancy, to turn them from a detestable to a
lawful commerce; and, finally, by developing her resources, and stimulating the
energies, slumbering, but not extinct, in her bosom, to bring her up from the
shadows of the wilderness and the eclipse of ages, to stand with devotion in her
heart, power in her aspect, and honour on her brow before the world. What
blessings richer can be conferred on her? What greater can she enjoy?

Such is our theory; you must look across the ocean for the exemplification of
its truth. Cast your eye then upon Liberia. See what has been effected by
this society.
- What well-built town stands on that bold height, recently trod by the slave-trader, now bearing the flag of freedom, reflecting the light of civilization on the waves, and pointing its church spires, emblematic of human hope, towards the throne of the Almighty, with schools, courts of justice, and a periodical press; the seat of order, industry, and law; accumulating property, opening new resources of enterprise, and extending its commerce and its influence? It is Monrovia; beautifully looking out upon the rough mariner, like the eye of mercy from beneath the shaggy brow of despair.

And that sweet village near by? It is New Georgia, the home of some four hundred recaptured Africans, rescued from slavery, and by the humanity of our government restored to their country. Order, comfort, neatness mark their dwellings; their streets planted with shady trees; their well-cultivated fields and gardens; their children thronging to the school, and the churches in which they worship the common Father of us all, show that they have thrown off the customs of savage nature, and clothed themselves in the beautiful garments of Christian life. Ask them what this society has done, and let the nearly two hundred of them who have been baptized in the name of Christ make reply.

And here, a few miles distant, look down upon the agricultural settlement of Caldwell, the residence of emigrants, who are converting the wilderness into a fruitful field, and demonstrating how the soil of Africa will reward the hand of labour, and her children, once trained to its cultivation, its rich and varied products, its coffee, cotton, rice, indigo, and sugar, supply themselves with whatever necessity can demand or luxury desire.

Higher up, on the margin of the river St. Paul's, observe the village of Millburg, its white houses adorning the hill side, and smiling through the trees. More retired than the others from the visits of strangers, and more eligible, perhaps, both for health and agriculture, it has been selected by our Methodist brethren for the seat of an institution in which native Africans may be educated to become teachers and guides to the inferior tribes.

Return, if you please, to the sea-coast, and thirty miles below Monrovia pause a moment at the settlement of Marshall. Pause, at least, in honour of that name, engraved on the hearts of Africa and America; a name of power to plead this cause, while the admiration of virtue or of liberty inhabits human hearts.

And farther down, on the mouth of the river St. John's, rest and contemplate that little sisterhood of towns planted by the zeal, cherished by the affections of your society. The fountain in the desert, the flowers that bloom by its side are not more charming. See in these prosperous and rising settlements, that owe their existence to your benevolence, the seeds of life, the budings forth of virtue and immortal hope to perishing Africa.*

Five thousand coloured emigrants from the United States, extending their laws over an extent of coast for three hundred miles, with eighteen churches, the means of education, sharing in all the blessings and responsibilities of free government, embodying eight hundred members of the Christian church, are there stirred with the sublime enthusiasm of liberty to expel from Africa the invaders of her rights, and the murderers of her children, and carry the triumphs of Christianity to her central mountains, and the waves of the Niger. Is this nothing to be accomplished by a benevolent society in less than twenty years, and at an expense of a little more than half-a-million of dollars?

- Nor let us fail to examine the settlement of Greenville, at the mouth of Sinoo river testifying the interest of our far-distant but most generous friends in Mississippi and Louisiana in this cause; destined to stand a noble and enduring monument to their praise.

And the colony of Cape Palmas, founded by Maryland, and guarded and sustained by her government, with its well-disciplined population, great commercial advantages, and ample means of social advancement, proclaims what a single state can, and what the United States might and should do for this cause.

The Christian missionaries, some thirty in number, representing not fewer

* The pure spirit of that meek female Friend, Mrs. Beulah Sansom, who awoke so many minds in this city to a holy enthusiasm of benevolence towards Africa, must look from her eternal home upon the schools planted through her efforts in these villages with delight, and gratefully bless Him whom she worships, for permission to thus open the path of wisdom to the simple, and of salvation to the lost.

† Now sixty.
than four religious denominations in our country, have, through the influence of these settlements, found admission to the heathen in their vicinity, and under their protecting wings are successfully engaged in their Divine work. Nor will minds capable of deep reflection, (even should opinion, from some sources entitled to respect, be expressed to the contrary,) doubt the soundness of the judgment of Dr. Philip the learned and eloquent superintendent of the London society's missions in South Africa, when he says:—

"Half-a-dozen such colonies, conducted on Christian principles, might be the means, under the Divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe. Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government; and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundations of Christian government, than that which this new settlement (Liberia) presents. Properly conducted your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of shedding the blessing of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent."

To what does duty now urge the friends of this society? That almost solitary white man, who, in the spirit and power of Ashmun, is heading the forces of these infant colonies, and nobly adventuring his life in conflict with the slave-trade; who weeps over the dishonoured flag of his country, and bleeding and outraged Africa, and appeals to America and the world to sustain freedom and Christianity in their struggle against the powers of darkness; he appeals to you. Would that his fine manly form were in the midst of us; that in this hall we could look upon his countenance, and hear his voice. He speaks to you from the scene of his trials. He entreats aid. Your generous hearts will respond to his appeal.

Let us act with entire confidence in the practicability, to the utmost extent of the scheme of colonization. No power can restrain its complete execution, on the largest scale desired, when its beneficence, in all its aspects and influences, is demonstrated to the universal reason of men. The only imaginable obstacles to its entire practicability—the opposition of the free people of colour; a deficiency in means to aid them, and indisposition to emancipate slaves—must vanish when all are compelled to acknowledge its philanthropy. The sense of interest and of duty will co-operate for its success. Africa herself will offer restless attractions to her long-lost children, and bring forth her treasures to hasten their return.

And shall we not, by an organization the most efficient, by our zeal and activity, by the invincible energy of our purpose, and all the power of the press, make prevalent our opinions in the mind of the country? Let us submit our plan to the National Congress, assured that discussion on its merits there will prove of infinite advantage; never despairing of aid from the power and treasure of the Union.

Let the grandeur of the enterprise impress our hearts. Great are our allies, Truth, Time, and all-conquering Providence. Our work is for a nation and an age; its results will be felt by nations in two hemispheres for ever. The wisdom of antiquity was wont to decree the highest honours to the founders of states; and when, through the energy of our free-coloured population, and the agency of this society, a constellation of Christian states shall adorn the whole extended coast of Africa, the historian will recur to the evidence of a prophetic sagacity in the lofty sentiments expressed by the late General Harper at the very dawn of this enterprise:—"How vast and sublime a career does this undertaking open to a generous ambition, aspiring to deathless fame by great and useful actions! Who can count the millions that, in future times, shall bless the names of those by whom this magnificent scheme of beneficence and philanthropy has been conceived, and shall be carried into execution? Throughout the widely-extended regions of middle and southern Africa, then filled with populous and polished nations, their memories shall be cherished, and their praises sung, when other states, and even the flourishing and vigorous nation to which they belong, now, in its flower of youth, shall have run their round of rise, grandeur, and decay, and like the founders of Palmyra, Tyre, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, shall no longer be known, except by vague reports of their former greatness, or by some fragments of their works of art, the monu-
mements of their taste, their power, or their pride, which they may have left behind."

Then will be discerned the propriety, the inimitable beauty with which that greatest man of all men, (Lord Bacon,) he whose spirit still rules in the kingdom of philosophy, recommends to the English monarch the colonization of Ireland. Of several considerations, he says:—"The first of the four is honour, whereof I have spoken enough already, were it not that the harp of Ireland puts me in mind of that glorious emblem or allegory, wherein the wisdom of antiquity did figure and shadow out works of this nature. For the poets feigned that Orpheus, by the virtue and sweetness of his harp, did call and assemble the beasts and birds, of their nature wild and savage, to stand around him, as in a theatre; forgetting their affections of fierceness, of lust, and of prey, and listening to the tunes and harmonies of the harp, and soon after called likewise the stones and woods to remove and stand in order about him: which fable was anciently interpreted of the reducing and plantation of kingdoms; when people of barbarous manners are brought to give over and discontinue their customs of revenge, and blood, and of absolute life, and of theft and rapine, and to give ear to the wisdom of laws and governments; whereupon immediately followed the calling of stones for building and habitation; and of trees for the seats of houses, orchards and enclosures, and the like. This work, therefore, of all other most memorable and honourable, your Majesty hath now in hand; especially if your Majesty join the harp of David, in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, with the harp of Orpheus, in casting out desolation and barbarism."

Gentlemen of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society:—

Very imperfectly, I am sensible, have I performed the task assigned me. For a patient kindness of attention you and this audience have my heartfelt thanks.

I have sought to show that the American Colonization Society arose from the united wisdom and benevolence of the country, and that it rests on enlarged humanity to the coloured race. Slavery is left by the federal constitution under the exclusive control of the states in which it exists. The citizens of these states will unite with those of the north in a plan of good for this race, limited in its direct action, by the terms of its constitution to the free; and in thus uniting, they do it from awed benevolence to the free people of colour, to the slaves, and to the millions of Africa cast down in shame and darkness, vice and ruin, far worse than they. They deem that duty, solemn as the fate of two nations, and two continents, for all coming time, urges the execution of a plan which will place our free coloured people, with their own consent, where they may not only bear the name, but feel the power of freedom, and national and independent, command respect, and redeem their race. With their aid and blessing a few magnanimous and heroic spirits of this oppressed and dishonoured people have gone back from exile, and by the might of His outstretched arm, who demolishes or builds up empires, founded the free Christian commonwealth of Liberia. Higher motives, a kindling spirit and the sense of grandeur, have made them men. They are struck down by no superior power. Not that celestial fire in which the goddess-mother of Achilles bathed her son to render him immortal, has touched their souls, but that diviner flame, shed upon the first Christian church, enduing it with the richest gifts, and consecrating it to the noblest service of humanity. It is a truth for history. Those who directed its first movements, most of its guides and governors have been men of God. Scarce more signally was the great Jewish lawgiver chosen to found that commonwealth, in which shone the visible glory of the Most High, than was Ashman to guide this colony in its first hours of peril, and stamp it with honour. Beneath that soil, in hope of resurrection to a nobler life, sleep the precious remains of Bacon, Andrews, Carey, Cox, and others, who, in their sublime endeavours to save souls, lived but to see the day dawning on Africa, and the day-star rising in her heart. Twelve hundred slaves or more, casting away their chains at the bidding of their masters stand there erect, to share, in equal measure with the freest, all that gives worth to society, or value and dignity to life. Towns, villages, schoolhouses, churches, for three hundred miles, throw a smile of beauty on the barbarous features of that continent. Broken open are
the huge doors of that vast prison-house—one quarter of the world—where iron-hearted despotism and the accursed slave-trade have poured trembling into millions of hearts, shorn humanity of all its honours, "stirred the worst passions of the human soul, darkening the spirit of revenge, sharpening the greediness of avarice, brutalizing the selfish, envenoming the cruel, famishing the weak, and crushing to death the broken-hearted." * And must all our pity fall upon two millions of slaves in a humane and Christian country? Have we not a drop to spare for their more numerous, more afflicted brethren in their mother-land; a country struggling, like the fabled giants, beneath mountains of calamity, and consumed by volcanic fires. I am silent. I see on that distant shore an august form; his step is stately; his eye flashes indignation; strength is in his arm; power on his brow. His shadow once made Burns exclaim:—

"Had a statue been of stone, his darin' look had daunted me,
And on his bonnet graved was plain, the sacred posy, Liberty,
And from his harp sic strains did flow,
Might rouse the slumbering dead to hear."

His harp is thrown aside for the trumpet; its tones ring out over land and sea; he has struck the Devourer of millions; shall he not give the death-blow to the monster, that his dragon-wing of darkness may droop in death for ever? And by his side is sweet Pity, beautiful as an angel, her eyes glowing even through tears with a Divine compassion, and in tones more touching than those of the modest charming bird who greets with hymn enchanting the evening star, she speaks to those who best represent her in this audience.

"The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
It droppeth like the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath: It is twice blessed;
It blesseth him that gives, and him who takes."

And awful Justice is there, frowning upon our apathy, and pointing to the omnipotent and unerring tribunal before which we must all shortly stand; and Religion! meekness and majesty in his countenance, stretching out his hand, with the bread of life and the cup of salvation, to that scarred, wo-clad, chain-bound, heart-stricken mother of enslaved millions. Speak to us, thou most wretched! She is dumb with agony. Not like Rachel or Niobe,

"Childless, but crownless in her voiceless wo."

Her tears fall more for the living than the dead. See through her tattered garment her fresh bleeding stripes. The iron enters her soul. Can you look upon her and not weep? Oh, Africa! if I forget thee, (here, in the presence of Almighty God, will not each of you unite with me in saying,) oh, Africa, "if I forget thee, let this right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

* Judge Story.
CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN SIR THOMAS F. BUXTON, BART., AND MR. GURLEY,
THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION
SOCIETY.

[First published in the Morning Post, Dec. 26, 1840.]

(London, Sept. 3, 1840.)

Sir,—Since I had the honour of a personal interview, and submitted to your consideration the objects of my mission, as a representative of the American Colonization Society, to the friends of African civilization, and of the African race, in Great Britain (among whom you, Sir, are eminently distinguished), I have become more deeply, if possible, than ever impressed with the importance of a union (in sentiment at least) of the English and American mind, for the accomplishment of the vast and truly philanthropic scheme so ably developed in your recent work on the slave-trade, and its remedy.

My great respect for your understanding, and perfect confidence in your candour and benevolence, are all the apology I need offer for asking you, very respectfully, to consider how numerous and powerful must be the advantages which will be secured to the African Civilization Society, in this country, should its course be such as to command the regard and confidence of the great majority of the Americans, and especially of the wise and good men in the southern States, upon whom mainly depends the improvement of the people of colour in those States, and who possess such ample means of cooperation, through the agency of these people, for the moral and intellectual renovation of Africa.

You may, Sir, I think, rest assured that in the opinions of the best men in all the southern (or slave-holding) States of the American Union, in the undivided judgment of the south, so far as that judgment inclines to the elevation and freedom of the coloured race, and in the general opinion of the north, the plan and policy of the American Colonization Society are deemed, for the present, as the chief plan and policy, most benevolent towards the coloured race, tending to more good in all directions than any other for the same end which have arisen in the United States;

That all those in the south who desire the ultimate freedom of the slaves are the friends of the American Colonization Society, and those who desire to perpetuate slavery are its opponents;

That the principal hope cherished in America of the abolition of African slavery in the United States arises from the opening prospects of civilization in Africa, and the establishment on her shore of communities or states of coloured emigrants, free, self-governed (or training to become such), and Christian;

That as the prospect of an inviting home in Africa for the coloured population of the United States appears more or less encouraging, the spirit of emancipation rises or declines;

That whatever may be the effect of time, of reason, of reflection, of the noble experiment of West-India emancipation on the governing mind of the southern States, any interference at present of societies exclusively northern or foreign in their organization, in the spirit of reproach or denunciation, to abolish slavery, but exasperates, and tends to array in hostility the northern and southern sections of our Union against each other, and to destroy all bonds of confidence and sympathy between the master and the slave;

That the vast scheme for Africa which you propose is approved by the American Colonization Society, is deemed very similar to their own, and, if wisely and vigorously prosecuted, must secure the freedom and happiness of the negro race in Africa, and, by means the most unexceptionable, I trust also throughout the world;

That there exist in the United States some means for the advancement of this
scheme to be found nowhere else; and should bonds of sympathy be created between the citizens of that country and the society of which you, Sir, may be regarded as the founder, a great gain would (at least so it appears to me) be secured to the cause of humanity. At all events, may we not hope that in Africa, as we have a common object, there may be mutual kindness and co-operation?

This can require no abandonment of principle on either side. You have well said, "The field there is wide enough for the exertions of all, without jealousy or collision."

All the experience of the Colonization Society will be cheerfully placed at your disposal.

Before I have the honour of an introduction to your general committee I wish to be favoured, if agreeable, with another personal interview with yourself. There are many points relating to the state of public sentiment in America, on the subject of slavery and the influence of the Colonization Society, which I should be happy in conversation to have the honour to explain, and the more so as I am informed that much excitement has been produced in my own country by the proceedings of the recent anti-slavery convention in this city. It will afford me great pleasure if I can in any way, while in England, promote the interests of the African Civilization Society. I think the objections urged from various quarters against it have little force. It is a great and noble scheme; you have proposed for the deliverance and happiness of millions. May your invaluable life be long spared to promote it.

I have the honour to be, Sir, most respectfully your obedient servant,

Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart. 

R. R. GURLEY.

(No. 2.)

FROM SIR THOMAS POWELL BUXTON, BART., TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY,
SECRETARY TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Sir,—It is with real reluctance that I address you upon the subject of those plans for the African race which you so ably and (I doubt not from a conviction of their excellence) so zealously advocate, but on which I find myself compelled to differ from you. Some observations which have appeared in certain late American publications, as well as your letter of the 6th of September, seem to leave me no plea for silence, since it would be unfaithful to my views of truth, and unfair to you, were I to withhold a renewed expression of my sentiments with regard to the American Colonization Society.

Before I enter upon it, however, let me thank you for the very friendly mention (far too flattering indeed) which you have made of me personally; and let me again assure you that the difference of our opinions cannot alter my estimate of the sincerity of your desires for the good of Africa.

My opinion of the tendency of the American Colonization Society was, as you are aware, publicly given some years ago. My attention at that time was wholly directed to the question of existing negro-slavery. The principles of emancipation were then progressing in our land, they were dawning in yours, and, believing the Colonization Society to be practically, if not theoretically, an impediment to them, I joined with some of the most tried and experienced English abolitionists in expressing my dissent. Since then the question of negro-slavery having been, in our case, happily disposed of, my attention has been specially directed to the slave-trade. A more close and accurate study has altered, or perhaps I should say enlarged, my opinions upon it, and upon the methods to be employed for its eradication. I can no longer believe in the efficacy of external force—I can no longer rest contented to abide the slow progress of the principles of justice throughout the world. Persuaded as I am that the slave-trade is as great a loss of wealth to the African, as it is a present gain to the European, I now think that the opening of the eyes of the former to the true economies of the case, offers a powerful means of abolishing the trade; and, while I would most joyfully aid in any method of checking the demand, and would also for a time continue our measures of compulsion, I would lay by far the greatest stress on all those efforts which may tend to enlighten and civilize the African mind.

These views have been represented as coming round to, and uniting with, those of the American Colonization Society, and a misapprehension, I per-
ceive, exists in the minds of some of your countrymen with regard to our Civilization Society, even in denominating it a Colonization Society. This is a serious mistake. It is in spirit, as in name, a society, not for the colonization, but for the civilization of Africa. Our object is to civilize, not to colonize; not to make ourselves masters of the resources of that continent, but to teach its natives their use and value; not to procure an outlet for any portion of our surplus population, but to show to Africa the folly as well as the crime of exporting her own children. It is true, I may be desirous that we should form settlements, and even that we should obtain the right of jurisdiction in certain districts, because we could not otherwise secure a fair trial or full scope for our normal schools, our model farms, and our various projects to awaken the minds of the natives, to prove to them the importance of agriculture, and to excite the spirit of commerce. But beyond the attainment of this object, I have no ulterior views; it is no part of my plan to extend the British empire, or to encourage emigration to Africa, excepting so far as may be requisite for the benefit of that country.

This is the distinct character and object of our society. Your objects, as I understand them, profess to be, primarily, to abolish slavery in the United States, by gradually moving your whole black population to Africa; and, secondly, to benefit Africa, and check the slave-trade, by establishing colonies of emancipated negroes along her coasts.

Our professed objects, therefore, though akin, are not the same; the field of your operation is primarily America, that of ours Africa. But you will say that, since your society collaterally aims at the same end as ours, we ought to give yours that support of name and influence to which you are pleased to attach some importance. We cannot do this; and I will in a candid and friendly spirit state to you the reasons. But I must premise that I am not prepared to say that Liberia, constituted as it is, may not have been the means of spreading civilization, and thereby diminishing the slave-trade, in Africa; and so far as the colony has this effect, it has my good wishes that it may continue, to prosper. But even as regards Africa there is a wide difference in our views. We wish to send to Africa but few persons, and these in the character of teachers. We wish them to be diffused as a leaven amongst her people, not to form colonies for their own advantage. It is my anxious wish to send to Africa none but those who are actuated by an ardent desire for her improvement, and on whose moral and religious principles we can rely.

The purpose of your association is to collect coloured people for emigration to Africa, without, if I mistake not, insisting on any very special regard to character or ability. When, however, we come to the American part of the question, I fear we shall be found to differ much more widely. There is nothing in your institution, abstractedly considered, to which I can object. If the free coloured people desire to emigrate from their native soil, and to settle elsewhere, I can see no reason why you should not form a society to aid them in so doing; and further, if they be ignorant of the benefit of such emigration, I can see no objection to your enlightening them as to its advantages. Confined to such aid and persuasion, your society would at least be harmless, and probably beneficial. My objection, then, lies not so much against the principles of the Colonization Society, as set forth by the letter of its constitution, as against those which I find promulgated in the speeches and writings of its advocates, and against what I believe to be the practical tendency of the institution itself. I hardly need tell you that I am, in the fullest sense of the term, an "immediate abolitionist," that I conscientiously believe that man can have no right to property in man, and that the restoration to freedom can in every country be effected without permanent injury to either party, and greatly to the eventual benefit of both master and slave. With this confession of my faith on this subject, how can I be expected to unite with a society which, by the mouth of its best advocates, and in almost all its public declarations, if it does not justify, yet palliates the iniquity of slavery? which, allowing the system to be an evil, soothes the conscience of the slaveowner by maintaining it to be a ne-

* The second article of the society's constitution declares, that "The object to which attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient."
cessary evil, obstructs the efforts of the abolitionists by declaring immediate abolition to be impossible, which diverts attention from the great principles of truth on the subject, and, by holding out a hope of emancipation, which too obviously will take centuries to realise, tends practically to rivet the fetters of the slave? Further, I am of opinion that the strong line of demarcation attempted to be drawn between white and black is unjust, and not accordant with the Apostle's declaration that God “hath made of one blood all nations of men.” How can I then support a society which acknowledges, excuses, and fosters this spirit of caste?

Again, I apprehend that your society, though doubtless unintentionally on the part of many of its members, has practically proved an instrument of oppression to the free blacks in your land. In order to induce them to emigrate, various methods, more or less coercive, are resorted to. You have had every opportunity of displaying to them the advantages of the plan, yet throughout the Union they refuse to embrace it, or do so with extreme reluctance; they persist in regarding Liberia rather as a place of exile than a desired home, and prefer their claim to live as free citizens in America. But I have still another objection. Were the free people of colour even indifferent, and as willing to go as to stay, I question whether, regarding the interest of the slave, it is a justifiable measure to remove them. Those who have escaped from bondage ought to be the natural protectors of those of their colour who still remain in slavery, and, I think, it is hard to press a plan to withdraw from those who have so few friends their natural allies and ablest champions. The arguments employed for your scheme are, in themselves, I must own, repulsive to me. Your language is, “Be abolition a duty or not, the slave States will not abolish slavery—cease, then, your struggle for the slave; employ your benevolence for the free. Whether the feeling against the coloured man be a prejudice or not, it is insurmountable. Assist, therefore, to remove him to another country.”

I grant that slavery and prejudice are now triumphant; but I deny that they will always remain so. It is my conviction that “Truth, by its own sinews, will prevail,” and that its being borne down for the present is no argument why the efforts of its champions should be relaxed; but, on the contrary, the strongest argument why they should be redoubled. I cannot take lower ground than this, and therefore it is that I cannot join in the Colonization Society. Still, in making this declaration, I desire to abstain from any harsh, or even uncourteous expressions towards an institution which, though, as I think, adopting a mistaken line, avows its aim to be the alleviation of human suffering.

I can also feel for the slaveowner, and make allowance for the toils cast around him by habit, education, and circumstances; but I must reiterate my firm opinion that, for nations as for individuals, the path of justice is the path of policy. I am persuaded, therefore, that the line of expediency adopted by the Colonization Society, though it may now appear to be the easiest, will not in the end be found either so safe or so short a way out of the difficulties of the case as the direct road of strict equity.

And here, Sir, allow me to express my hope that, since you possess unusual opportunities of conveying information to your fellow-countrymen, having the ear of the south as well as of the north, you may be disposed to acquaint yourself very accurately with the results of our experiment of emancipation for their benefit. You are, I am persuaded, no advocate for the vested right of man in the blood and sinews of his fellow man. You have repeatedly acknowledged that you are adverse to immediate abolition, only because you fear it would be a source of anarchy, and would entail misery on the negro himself, not because it might, for a time, involve a pecuniary loss to the master. Let me, then, entreat you to look at the actual condition of our West-India Islands. There you will find the utmost social order and political tranquillity, and a peasantry as peaceable, and probably as moral, as any in the world. When you shall have convinced yourself of these facts, I do you the justice to believe no arguments of mine will be needed to induce you to employ your talents and influence in bringing them home to the minds of your countrymen.

Before I conclude, let me express my cordial concurrence in the hope “that in Africa,” as we have similar, though not identical, objects, “there will be mutual kindness and cooperation,” and let me assure you that I do not, by any means, underrate the aid of the American public. I still look for the e-
istance of all foes to the slave-trade, however we may differ in our views on any other points. Accept my thanks for the liberal manner in which you have imparted the results of your experience in Africa, and believe me, with sincere respect,

Yours faithfully,

Northrepps Hall, near Aysham,                     (Signed) T. FOWELL BUXTON.

Oct. 9, 1840.

(No. 3.)

London, Nov. 7, 1840.

Sir,—Having been absent for several weeks from London, I have had the honour but recently of receiving your letter of the 9th of last month. The spirit of candour and liberality which pervades this communication is worthy of your high character, and will be justly appreciated by the members and friends of the American Colonization Society.

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat that I approve of the scheme of the African Civilization Society, as developed in your recent able work, and deem it in its main features, so far as it relates to Africa, the same, or nearly so, with that of the American Colonization Society. It is true you draw some distinctions between these institutions in reference to their designs and operations in Africa. These distinctions may, if I correctly apprehend your language, be reduced to two—first, that the Civilization Society proposes no settlements as a home or asylum for a surplus population, but such only as may be required for the benefit of Africa; and, second, that it is her anxious desire to send out such only as are actuated by an ardent purpose for her improvement, while the Colonization Society would found settlements that may prove inviting asylums to the coloured population of the United States; and in the next place, that this society insists on no very special regard to the character and ability of its emigrants. In respect to Africa, you admit their objects are nearly, if not entirely, the same—the suppression of the slave-trade and her civilization. In the chosen agents for effecting these objects, free men of colour, they agree. In the establishment of schools, and model farms, and legitimate commerce with the native tribes, and negotiations and treaties for the abolition of the traffic in slaves, they agree; and I am happy to know that "you may be desirous that we (the Civilization Society) should form settlements, and even obtain the right and jurisdiction in certain districts, because we could not otherwise secure a fair trial or full scope for our normal schools, our model farms, and our various projects to awaken the minds of the natives, to prove to them the importance of agriculture and to excite the spirit of commerce."

Several distinguished friends of the African Civilization Society have recently given their thoughts upon it to the public. Of course neither you, Sir, nor the society over which you with such ability preside, are to be held responsible for their sentiments. Yet it is worthy of observation that both Mr. Jeremie and Sir G. Stephen regard the plan of your society as one of colonization. It is true Mr. Jeremie condemns the American Colonization Society; yet the Eclectic Review, after quoting the severe but unjust remarks of this gentleman on that society, adds, "Now, agreeing as we do in all that is here said, we think Mr. Jeremie leaves the case just where Mr. Gurley has put it, namely, that, in so far as they regard Africa, the two systems (the civilization and colonization) are one, so much so that they would be wholly one if America would let her two millions go free." Sir George Stephen expresses himself boldly and strongly on this point—"If we found settlements in Africa, colonization must follow; wherever the British flag is raised, thousands and tens of thousands will seek protection under it; it is sheer hypocrisy to pretend that this is not the consequence of our civilization plan, if fairly carried out; and therefore I do most deeply regret the postponement of a legislative or, at least, an official declaration of the principles on which the civil government of all British possessions in Africa will hereafter be conducted," &c.

Whether the settlements proposed be more or less extended, I must be permitted to express my entire conviction that their benefit to Africa will greatly depend upon their organization into communities, with laws and government founded upon their choice or consent, and mostly administered by themselves, and, so far as the establishment of such communities or colonies is not contem-
plated by the Civilization Society, I must regard its scheme as defective. Your own idea of forming settlements, and acquiring jurisdiction over certain districts of country, settlements composed principally of free persons of colour, permanent it is to be presumed, includes, it would seem to me, the main elements and principles developed in the colonization of Liberia, unless all political power is to be withheld from these settlements, which would be very detrimental to the influence and prosperity. Models of good political and social institutions are of infinite importance to Africa; nor could you if you would, nor would you if you could, limit the emigration of enterprising coloured men to those settlements, allured thither by prospects of profitable agriculture, of gainful and lawful trade, of honourable distinctions or of extended usefulness. And surely, while the civilization of Africa affords the strongest motive to your society, I see not why a due measure of regard should not be extended to those who devote themselves as permanent settlers on her soil, and from whom, as from small and weak beginnings, may arise the power and grandeur of states and empires.

But your society would send out such persons only as are actuated by an ardent desire for the improvement of Africa, and the Colonization Society shows no special regard to the character and ability of its emigrants. To say nothing here of the extreme difficulty of planting settlements with sufficient numbers by persons animated exclusively by the high motives of religion, or of the question whether feeble communities of this character will prove of the same benefit to Africa as larger ones of a less pure and unmixed description, you may rest assured that the Colonization Society has not been regardless of the moral character of its emigrants; that the decidedly incapable and vicious are, when known to be such, excluded from its aid; and that from the first the directors have sought to impress the minds of those about to embark for Liberia with the greatness of their responsibilities to their posterity, their race, and their God, and to provide the best means for their intellectual and moral improvement, and for the education of their children; to animate them with the spirit of industry, enterprise, sobriety, and liberty; and, in fine, to make them realise that no people has Heaven ever entrusted interests more precious than to them, inasmuch as an almost boundless territory and millions of barbarians may by their influence be reclaimed, and a free state and commonwealth of Christians tower above the frowning wildernesses and more horrible superstitions of Africa. And what is the actual condition, what the moral influence, of that colony? And here it may be pertinent to allude to the sentiments cherished by the citizens of Liberia towards the American Colonization Society. On the 29th of September, 1836, in pursuance of public notice, the citizens of Monrovia (the principal town of the colony) assembled to express their opinions of the scheme of colonization. The following among other resolutions were adopted:

On motion of Mr. H. Teage:

"Resolved.—That this meeting regard the Colonizing Institution as one of the highest, holiest, and most benevolent enterprises of the present day; that as a plan for the amelioration of the coloured race it takes the precedence of all that have been presented to the attention of the modern world; that in its operations it is peaceful and safe—in its tendencies beneficial and advantageous; that it is entitled to the highest veneration and unbounded confidence of every man of colour; and that what it has already accomplished demands our devout thanks to those noble and disinterested philanthropists that compose it, as being, under God, the greatest earthly benefactors of a despised and depressed portion of the human family.

"Whereas it has been widely and maliciously circulated in the United States of America that the inhabitants of this colony are unhappy in their situation, and anxious to return."

On motion of the Rev. B. R. Wilson:

"Resolved.—That this report is false and malicious, and originated only in a desire to injure the colony, by calling off the support and sympathy of its friends; that, so far from a desire to return, we would regard such an event as the greatest calamity that couldbefall us."

On motion of the Rev. Amos Herring:

"Resolved.—That this meeting entertains the deepest gratitude to the members of the Colonization Society for the organization and continuance of an enterprise so noble and praiseworthy as that of restoring to the blessings of liberty
hundreds and thousands of the sore-oppressed and long-neglected sons of Africa; that we believe it the only institution that can, under existing circumstances, succeed in elevating the coloured population; and that advancement in agriculture, mechanism, and science will enable us speedily to aspire to a rank with the other nations of the earth."

That the emigrants have been judiciously selected, or, if not, have been placed in circumstances to acquire the dispositions and abilities for the successful discharge of their duties, must be clear, if they prosper and exert an extensive influence for the suppression of the slave-trade and the civilization of Africa. As a body, they have indeed been chosen with some care, and their new circumstances have powerfully contributed to improve and elevate their character. The testimony I adduce concerning both is of recent date, and from entirely authentic sources. The present Governor, Mr. Buchanan, a gentleman personally known to me, and of the highest integrity, in a letter, dated the present year, to that eminent philanthropist, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, observes, "It has been said, both in America and England, that the colonists were not unfavourable to the slave-trade, and, in proof of it, some isolated fact, such as I have mentioned, is adduced as conclusive. The mode of proof is as unfair as the charge is false. The general voice of the colony has ever been loud against the slave-trade, nor has any individual directly participated in it. Indeed, I am confident that the penalty of the law against it, which is death, would have been inflicted on any one who would have dared to violate, even during the period I have alluded to." Again, "No fact is more notorious along the coast than the uncompromising hostility of the colony to the slave-trade. There is one aspect of the case of peculiar interest to the poor native, in reference to which, if his testimony cannot be heard, his conduct may at least be quoted. The colony is an asylum to the oppressed and enslaved of all the tribes around it. Here they flee from the storms of war and the horrors of bondage in the full confidence of protection and safety. The whole history of the colony, almost from the first day of its existence, is crowded with instances. Some of the most interesting and memorable character have occurred during my residence here. At one time, during the month of July last, a king, with several hundreds of his people, the wretched remnant of a once powerful tribe, fled to us for protection against a merciless foe, who had ravaged his country for the purpose of making a whole nation slaves. Numbers were killed and many more captured, and the fugitives were closely pursued to the very boundary of the colony, but the moment they passed it they were safe and free. The enemy, though flushed with victory, and thirsting for victims, dared not pursue them into our territory. These and many hundreds more who have in like manner escaped from the knife and the chain are now living on the lands of the colony in peace, secure from all their foes." Equally decided is the testimony of Governor Buchanan to the beneficial influence of the colony, in exciting desires among the native population for the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, in arousing their industry, awakening emulation, and by exhibiting the order and harmony of well-organized society, the mildness and justice of good government, and the blessed influences of Christianity on the social and political relations of life, impressing their minds with the value and dignity of knowledge, civilization, and our holy religion. "I do not mean to say," he adds, "that there are no exceptions to this general good influence, nor that the natives are all at once raised to the desired standard; far from it. There are counteracting causes found among the colonists, and the superstition and indolence, the ignorance and degradation, of the natives are immense barriers to their improvement. But this I can say, the adverse influences at work in the colony are weak and limited, while the good are many and powerful; and as to the natives, while a respectable number have put on the garb of civilization, and are making rapid advances in the knowledge and practice of true godliness, the mass are in the way of improvement. They generally are anxious for schools and religious teachers, and are making commendable efforts in acquiring the arts of civilized life. The work is one of time, but it is begun, and will go on with ever-increasing rapidity to its complete and glorious consummation."

Captain Stoll, of the Royal Navy, who, if I mistake not, visited the colony in the present year, in his letter of the 17th of July to Dr. Hodgkin, after avowing the belief that it promises to be the only successful institution of the sort,
"keeping in view its objects—that of raising the emancipated slave into a free man, preparing him for the exercise of civil liberty in all its various branches, from the Governor to the labourer, the extinction of the slave-trade, and the religious and moral improvement of Africa at large"—testifies to the contentment, industry, and generally moral and religious character of the colonists, their good management of public affairs, and that "no one in the remotest degree connected with the slave-trade is allowed ever to communicate with Liberia." He speaks of missionaries as being in a course of preparation for their work, and of the schools as creditable when the small means of the people are considered. "The colonists, with few exceptions," we quote his words, "are all members of churches, and I can safely testify that a more orderly, sober set of people I never met with. I did not hear an improper or a profane expression during my visit. Spirits are excluded in most, if not all, the settlements. They have formed themselves into various societies, such as agricultural, botanical, mechanical, for promoting Christian knowledge; also a ladies' society for clothing the poor," &c. Finally, he concludes with this remark—"I went there unbiassed, and left it with a conviction that colonies on the principle of Liberia ought to be established as soon as possible, if we wish to serve Africa." But allow me to add a few facts, gathered from the recent report of the New York Colonization Society and from late numbers of The Africans Repository. Hundreds of native Africans, some recaptured by the authorities of the United States, when about to be consigned to perpetual slavery, and placed in Liberia by the humanity of the American Government, others rescued from slave factories by the colonists themselves, are now industrious citizens on its soil, capable of managing their own affairs, and enjoying the benefits of education and the light of Christianity. More than thirty kings and headmen have, by treaty with the colonial Government, renounced the slave-trade. Several tribes have placed themselves under the protection of the colony, and look for redress of their grievances to its laws and tribunals. Some of the chiefs, who have abandoned the slave-trade, are turning increased attention to the cultivation of the soil: new seeds, plants, fruits, and agricultural implements have been introduced, their young men are taught the mechanic arts, and the whole people are stimulated by powerful motives of example and interest to improvement.

And must not reflection on these statements—in connexion with the fact that, under the shield and through the gates of this colony, introduction has been given to about sixty missionaries (including ordained ministers and teachers) into this region of Africa, where, before its origin, not one was to be found; that several seminaries for education in letters and the mechanical arts have been founded, native languages reduced to writing, books and tracts in those languages issued from the press, and that at a single station are fifty-nine hopeful African converts to the faith of Christ—prompt every disciple of the Saviour to acknowledge that a good Providence has guarded there the dawning light from extinction, and made Liberia, even in its early growth, fruitful in blessings? Sir, many of the founders of this colony, in faith, hope, charity, and patience, have laboured and died; but they have left a monument to their praise on that shore indestructible. We see in Liberia a well-modelled, well-proportioned republic of coloured men; a miniature republic, it is true, but destined, we may trust, to a rapid growth, adorned not only by the abodes of civilized men, but by the villages, schools, churches, legislative halls, judicial tribunals, all the social and political institutions of a free and Christian people, kindling to enthusiasm by the spirit of liberty, and aspiring to extend far over Africa the wisdom and beneficence of their manners and laws. Under their protection the missionaries of many communions are assembling to devise and execute plans for the regeneration of Africa. Superstitition retreats before them; and her victims, dejected, in iron bound, and shorn of honour, come forth from clay-built huts, from forests, dens, and mountain caves, to hear those Divine words of mercy which shall turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

But I may have occupied too much space on this part of the subject. You seem disposed to admit that Liberia has been the means of spreading civilization, and thereby diminishing the slave trade, and to cherish wishes for its prosperity; yet, in regard to what you term the "American part of the question," you imagine, Sir, a wide, if not an irreconcilable, difference between us. I am
happy to observe, however, that to the Colonization Society in itself, or as its purpose and policy are developed in its constitution, you have no objection. "There is nothing," you remark, "in your institution, abstractedly considered, to which I can object. If the free coloured people desire to emigrate from their native soil, and to settle elsewhere, I can see no reason why you should not form a society to aid them in so doing; and, further, if they be ignorant of the benefit of such emigration, I can see no objection to your enlightening them as to its advantages."

"If confined to such aid and persuasion your society would at least be harmless, and probably beneficial."

Some surprise, I confess, I have felt at these admissions, since in referring to the scheme of the society, as set forth in the second article of its constitution, which declares that "the object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of colour residing in our country in Congress, or other places, as shall deem expedient," you interpret this object to be, primarily, to abolish slavery in the United States, by gradually moving your whole black population to Africa; and secondarily, to benefit Africa and check the slave-trade, by establishing colonies of emancipated negroes along her coast; and declare your objection to its practical tendency, among other reasons, "because it directs attention from the great principles of truth and justice on the subject, and, by holding out a hope of emancipation, which too obviously will take centuries to realize, tends practically to rivet the fetters of the slave;" and, further, because, "were the free people of colour even indifferent, and as willing to go as to stay, you question whether, regarding the interests of the slaves, it is a justifiable measure to induce them to remove." "Those," you add, "who have escaped from bondage ought to be the natural allies and protectors of those of their colour who remain in slavery, and I think it hard to press a plan to withdraw from those who have so few friends their natural allies and ablest protectors."

If the very scheme of the society be a delusion, tending to rivet the fetters of bondage—if it present as reasons for emigration to the free people of colour the advantages of this scheme, to themselves, and through them to their whole race, by the civilization of Africa (for in no other way has the plan been pressed upon them), be unjustifiable, considering their relations and duties to the slaves, I see not how the society might, upon any hypothesis, "be harmless, and probably beneficial." Yet, with my own convictions that to encourage manumission by colonization is among the most effectual means at present of promoting general emancipation, and that the establishment, by our free people of colour, of civilized and Christian institutions in Africa, and the exaltation of their own character by so great a work, will most effectually contribute to the interests and ultimate freedom of the slaves, I should, even had I adopted the principles of immediate abolition, sustain the Colonization Society.

I am persuaded that the American Colonization Society (whether the doctrine of immediate abolition as a universal doctrine be true or false, and as such a doctrine, unless confined simply to the mental renunciation of a right to regard man as mere property, and the recognition of his right to equal benevolence with other human beings, it appears demonstrably false), with all the errors which may exist among its individual members, has adopted, and is executing a policy more conducive than any other which can at present be adopted by any organized society in the United States for the benefit of the coloured race.

On the whole subject of American slavery and the American Colonization Society the darkest errors and misrepresentations, you will permit me to say, prevail extensively in England.

"I am persuaded, therefore," you remark, "that the line of expediency adopted by the Colonization Society, though it may now appear to be the easiest will not in the end be found either so safe or so short a way out of the difficulties of the case as the direct road of strict equity." But if Christianity enjoins the doctrine of expediency as, in many cases, the only rule of strict equity—if the Civilization Society think it right, because expedient, rather to attack the slave-trade in Africa than devote all their resources and energies to secure the triumph of the principles of justice throughout the world—the Colonization
Society may plead in its defence the authority of the Civilization Society and of the Divine word."

The golden rule of our Saviour, justly pronounced by Lord Bacon the perfection of the law of nature and nations, holds authority over man in all conditions, relations, and times, yet in most cases the reason and conscience of the individual or society must, under responsibilities to the lawgiver, decide upon the particular mode of obedience. The existence of the obligation of reciprocal benevolence, imposed by this law, between man and man, in all possible circumstances—a benevolence constant and enlarged as self-love—is to be recognized, yet the modes of expression or conduct thereby required vary endlessly as the relations and circumstances of human beings. This obligation is the sole foundation of human rights, and, except where human actions are defined and restrained by less general and more specific precepts, involves the whole doctrine of Christian discretion, as inculcated by the Saviour, and exemplified in the practice of his apostles.

"Nothing," says the great Edwards, "can be more evident from the New Testament (alluding to the introduction of things new and strange into the Church) than that such things ought to be done with great caution and moderation, to avoid the offence that may thereby be given, and the prejudice that might be raised to clog and hinder the progress of religion; and the apostles avoided teaching the Christians in those early days, at least for a great while, some high and excellent truths, because they could not bear them yet." "And how did Christ himself, while on earth, forbear so plainly to teach his disciples the doctrines of Christianity concerning his satisfaction, and the particular benefit of his death, resurrection, and ascension, because in the infant state in which the disciples then were, their minds were not prepared for such instructions. "I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now." These things might be enough to convince any one who does not think himself wiser than Christ and his apostles, that great prudence and caution should be used in introducing things into the church of God that are very uncommon, though in themselves they may be very excellent, lest by our rashness and imprudent haste we hinder religion much more than help it."

Unless in the application of the Saviour's golden rule, Christian discretion, as here enforced by Edwards, both from Divine and apostolic example, is in most cases to be exercised, the language and conduct of Christ enjoining wisdom and harmlessness of action and accommodation, as far as consists with integrity to the circumstances, habits, and prejudices of mankind, seems unintelligible. Indeed, no doctrine in moral or physical science is more entirely settled in my own mind than that expediency, controlled and directed by the more general law of reciprocal benevolence, as already explained, must be our only guide on all questions involving the interests of the coloured and white races in America. To deny this doctrine, and, independent of all circumstances and consequences, to demand immediate emancipation and social and political equality for the black race, in compliance with the claims of what is called abstract justice, is Jacobinism, and, the principle carried legitimately out, would subvert the government of England and every government in Europe. "If it be contrary," said Mr. Calhoun recently in the Senate of the United States, "to the laws of nature and nations for man to hold man in subjection individually, is it not equally contrary for a body of men to hold another in subjection? If man individually has an absolute right to self-government, have not men aggregated into states or nations an equal right? If there be a difference, is not the right the more perfect in a people or nation than in the individuals who compose it?"

Again he adds, "We behold a small island, in the German Ocean, under the absolute control of a few hundred thousand individuals, holding in unlimited subjection not fewer than one hundred and fifty millions of human beings, dispersed over every part of the globe, making not less than two hundred to each of the dominant class; and yet that class propagating a maxim with more than missionary zeal, that strikes at the foundation of this mighty power. I would say to her, and to other Powers impelled by like madness, you are attempting what will prove impossible. You cannot make a monopoly of a principle so as to vend it for your own benefit. It will be carried out to its ultimate results, when its re-action will be terrific on your social and political condition. Already
it begins to show its fruits. The subject mass of your population, under the name of Chartists, are now clamouring for the benefit of the maxim as applied to themselves. It is but the beginning."

The great object you, Sir, will agree to be attained is the freedom and happiness of the coloured race.

I regard the policy of the Colonization Society most conducive of any, at present, to this end—

1. Because it tends to unite the northern and southern States. In the stability and influence of the federal union are involved the best hopes of the slaves. That union favours the cause of liberty, and whatever would weaken it is hostile to the cause of emancipation for the slave, and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. To strengthen and perpetuate this union is vitally important to the interests of all races in America, and to humanity.

2. If the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation be the true doctrine, the southern States are not prepared to receive it, and to press it now upon them from abroad tends to throw them upon the alternative of no emancipation. The policy of the Colonization Society has extended and deepened convictions in the southern mind in favour of gradual and final emancipation, and is thus approaching, if it do not at once reach, the desired end. Men of all opinions on slavery, and from all the States, exchange thoughts in a spirit of conciliation on the subject, and, if it urges not the true doctrine, it prevents the adoption of one most opposite to it; if it proposes only a palliative and not a remedy for slavery, it is preparing the way for such a remedy.

3. Because it aims to secure for the negro race of America the highest good as a people to which they can aspire—a good beyond and above mere emancipation—an unembarrassed and advantageous position—an independent and national existence. Were emancipation to occur in the United States to-morrow, the chief reasons for African colonization would continue in unimpaired and even augmented vigour. The condition of the black race must be for centuries, as has been said, like that of the germ springing from the acorn at the foot of the parent tree, overshadowed and withered by the power and influence of the whites. To blend the races were undesirable if possible, and impossible if desirable. No law of morals binds men to such a result, nor, in the judgment of the wisest and best people in the United States, any law of expediency. To limit influence and exertions to such an end would be to annihilate the greatest reason for sustaining the Colonization Society, namely, in the 4th place, because it connects the moral and intellectual elevation of the coloured population of America with the improvement of their race in Africa, making them the agents of incalculable good, not to themselves and posterity alone, but to the perishing millions of the most afflicted and barbarous quarter of the globe.

The speeches and writings of the founders of the American Colonization Society prove that it was limited in its direct benefits by the terms of its constitution to the free, not from disregard to the welfare of the slaves, or other portions of their race, but from a conviction that such limitation would, in its ultimate consequences, be the means of amnesties and richest blessings to the coloured population of the world. The late General Harper, in his letter to the society, published in its first two reports, and Mr. Clay, in his early and able speeches in its support, view the principle it develops, and the plan it has adopted, capable of indefinite application and extension, and worthy to be prosecuted on a large scale by the States, and with the consent of the States interested, by the general Government, in regard to emancipation and the restoration of those liberated, with their own consent, to their ancient mother-country, there to found civilization and free government, and, by their arts, enterprise, and Christianity, redeem Africa from her cruel superstitions and iron bondage, and raise her to life, importance, respectability, and a name among the nations of the earth.

"Cast your eyes," said General Harper, alluding to Africa, "on this vast continent. What a field is here presented for the blessings of civilization and Christianity, which colonies of civilized blacks afford the best and probably the only means of introducing!" These, composed of blacks already instructed in the arts of civilized life and the truths of the Gospel, judiciously placed, well conducted, and constantly enlarged, will extend gradually into the interior, will
form commercial and political connexions with the native tribes in their vicinity, will extend those connexions with tribes more and more remote, will incorporate many of the natives with the colonies, and, in their turn, make establishments and settlements among the natives, and thus diffuse all around the arts of civilization, and the benefits of literary, moral, and religious instruction." "We may," said Mr. Clay, "boldly challenge the annals of human nature for the record of any human plan for the amelioration of the condition and advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good or more comprehensive beneficence than that of African colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited to the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race, but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity, who are to succeed."

To the free people of colour of the United States (now some four or five hundred thousand), and to those who, from among the slaves there shall be added to their number, must philanthropy, in my judgment, especially look, as to the elected agents of Providence for the redemption of Africa. Once aroused to a sense of the grandeur of their destiny, impelled alike by interest and duty to repose the magnificent land from which their progenitors were cruelly forced into exile, they will at no distant day return thither, bearing with them our arts, language, and the records of a pure religion, and animated with a generous enthusiasm to found upon that shore of crime and ruin free states and the church of God. Thus they will redeem themselves and their race from degradation and dishonour. It is by self-exertion that a people, like individuals, rise to greatness and renown.

Sir, when I consider my own country, I cannot despair of Africa. From a system of colonization, commenced under circumstances most discouraging, two centuries ago, at Plymouth and Jamestown, has arisen the republic of North America, already embracing twenty-six States and a population of nearly twenty millions, commanding respect on every sea and in every land, rearing the trophies of victorious enterprise, the monuments of her beneficence and power, at the very base of the Rocky Mountains, and destined before this generation shall have passed away, to cover their western declivities with the habitations of civilized men.

Let the friends of Africa in England and America, and throughout Christendom, unite, do justice to the motives of each other, and, as far as practicable, co-operate in aiding her long-exiled children to return to her bosom, to heal her wounds, raise her from disgrace, become the teachers of their brethren, and avail themselves of the resources of her soil, the commerce of her rivers, and the treasures of her mines, and the mariner, two centuries hence, as he guides his ship along her shore, will be cheered by the light of her cities, and everywhere see the evidences and hear the sounds of a free, an enlightened, and a happy people.

Pardon me for having extended to such a length these remarks; I might say much more; I could not well forbear to say less.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with profound respect, your friend and servant,

Sir T. F. Buxton. R. R. GURLEY.

[From the Morning Post, Jan. 7, 1841.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LONDON PATRIOT.

Sir,—I thank you for the publication of my brief letter on the Colonization and Civilization Societies in your paper of the 10th instant. More liberal than the Times, which published comments on a communication it suppressed, you have given the text and commentary together, yet, like that, you resolve to withhold from your readers any refutation, should such appear, of your errors in fact and in argument. But, Sir, the Patriot and the Times together cannot hide the light of truth more than that of the sun from the world. It will break out on the subject of the Colonization Society and Liberia over this kingdom as day upon night, described incomparably by Shakespeare, and which is strik-
ingly emblematic of the changes to be produced by colonization in the
intellectual and moral condition of Africa:—

"When the searching eye of Heaven is bid
Behind the globe, and lights the lower world,
Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen,
In murder and in outrage bloody—are.
But when from under this terrestrial ball
He sees the proud tops of the eastern pines,
And darts his light through every guilty hole,
Then murders, treasons, and detected sins,
The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their backs,
Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves."

I apprehend it may then be evident that Christian men in England have cher-ished prejudices against their American brethren quite as inexcusable as any prejudice against colour—that they have misrepresented facts and arguments for what they deemed righteousness' sake, and bound down character and reputation upon the iron bed of their own imagined infallible opinion, to try and torture, to acquit or condemn, as they find the subject of their inquisition to agree with or differ from their dogmas touching the best means of advancing the freedom and happiness of the coloured race. On this subject, so complex, so vast, so difficult, it will be seen, I think, that their conduct is sanctioned neither by sound philosophy nor the genius of Christianity; that they set aside the art of persuasion, and discard alike apostolic example and express Divine precepts. Truth forbid that I should palliate the least injustice, or shield from deserved infamy a single moral wrong!—that I should check the influences of knowledge or the progress of liberty! that I should impede or limit the elevation and happiness and usefulness of the coloured race! It is because I would aid, and most rapidly and effectually promote, the emancipation and improvement of this race throughout America and the world, that I give all possible support to the American Colonization Society.

In the Patriot of the 3d instant, you observe, "The American Colonization Society not only does not aim at even checking the slave-trade in Africa, but it protects the internal slave-trade of the states, which is independent of the import trade, and might continue to exist in all its enormity if the African coast were studded with free-black colonies. The two societies [the Civilization and Colonization] have, as Sir Fowell Buxton shows, so little in common, even in their ostensible object, that no greater injustice can be done to the supporters of the one than to hold them responsible for favouring the very opposite designs of the other."

Sir, it would be difficult for human ingenuity to frame two sentences comprising in the same space, more error and injustice than these. The charges contained in them, it occurred to me, might have been inconsequentially made. I pointed to my letters in the Morning Post of the 2d instant, as demonstrating the falsehood of these charges, and requested you to publish them. You decline, and give us the following paragraph:—

"Our readers will judge for themselves whether Sir Fowell Buxton is right in thinking and saying that the proposed objects of the two societies are 'not the same,' or Mr. Gurley, who maintains that they are. We wish to give no further offence to the reverend representative of the American Society; but we cannot suppress our astonishment at his persisting in the assertion, that 'the great object' of the American Colonization Society is the civilization of Africa! How benevolent soever the motives of its originators, it is notorious that its great object was to promote 'a voluntary separation of the coloured from the white race,' as being, 'in reason and the public judgment, desirable on general principles of benevolence.' The motive for its formation was the fact, 'that the two hundred thousand coloured persons scattered throughout the Union, and legally free, enjoyed few of the advantages of freedom; coupled with the consideration, 'that there were powerful causes operating to frustrate all efforts to elevate very considerably men of colour' in the United States.—(Gurley's Life of Ashmun, p. 111.) A society that should have been formed by the Jamaica planters to promote the expatriation of all free persons of colour born in that island to Sierra Leone would have presented a precise counterpart to the colonization scheme of the Virginian slave-holder. Mr. Gurley calls upon us to prove that the American Colonization Society protects the internal slave-trade. Why does he ask for proof? He knows that some leading members of the
American Colonization Society are both slave-holders and slave-sellers, and that they resist the abolition even of the Washington slave-market. What inconsistency is there in a society's affecting to promote the abolition of the African slave-trade, while it puts not forth the feeblest effort—nay, does not so much as protest against the aggravated enormity of the home slave-trade? With Liberia, again we say, we have nothing to do in this question, which relates to the objects and motives of the American colonizationists. With all possible respect for the high character of Mr. Gurley, whom we can readily believe to be sincere in his wishes to promote the interests of the African race, though too much after the American fashion, we must assure him that, as regards the society he represents, he will take nothing by his mission.—Ed."

Astonishment is often mutual. Yours at my "persisting in the assertion that the great object of the Colonization Society is the civilization of Africa," cannot exceed mine that these sentences are given in justification of the charges made by you against the Colonization Society. How stand the questions between us?

Your first charge was, that the American Colonization Society does not even aim to suppress the slave-trade in Africa; and when I show, as I have done in the letters to which I have referred you, and as I might do, more extensively by a volume of evidence from the early recorded publications and proceedings of that society, that the overthrow of this traffic was a prominent object of its founders, and has been a cherished purpose of all its friends, from its very origin; that Liberia, planted by the society, and embodying in its laws the views of its directors on this subject, condemns any one of its citizens, who may engage in this trade, to the penalty of death; that by force of arms it has broken up many slave-factories, releasing numerous victims of this cruel commerce from their chains, and admitting them as freemen to an asylum within its limits; that by concurrent recent testimony from the most authentic sources, English as well as American, the influence of this colony is powerful and extensive for the suppression of this traffic; that more than thirty native chiefs have, by treaties, consented to abolish it; what is your reply? "With Liberia we have nothing to do in this question, which relates to the objects and motives of the American colonizationists." And pray, Sir, will you be so good as to inform me how you will ascertain the objects and motives of American colonizationists except by their declarations and actions? By their consistency? This is indeed a jewel; but if honesty and sincerity in any one case is to be admitted only where there is consistency in every case, will you show me the evidence that these virtues have any existence in the world? Will you enable me to discover them among the abolitionists of England? The Colonization Society declares that one of its chief objects is to suppress the African slave-trade: through its colony it is actually suppressing it, and yet, with these facts proved before your eyes, you deny that it even aims at checking this traffic, because, as you imagine, it makes no effort against the internal slave-trade in the United States. This is much like denying that a train of cars in full motion moves at all, because, in your judgment, it might as well move in another direction.

It must be presumed that you, Sir, and many other learned gentlemen in England, are uninformed of the unremitting and consistent energy with which the Colonization Society from its commencement has prosecuted measures, in America as well as in Africa, for the destruction of the African slave-trade. The directors of this society, in their memorial addressed to the Congress of the United States, in 1830, use the following language:—

"When, therefore, the object of the Colonization Society is viewed, in connexion with that entire suppression of the slave-trade, which your memorialists trust is resolved shall be effected, its importance becomes obvious and extreme. The beneficial consequences resulting from success in such a measure, it is impossible to calculate. To the general cause of humanity it will afford the most rich and noble contribution: and for the nation that regards that cause, that employs its power in its behalf, it cannot fail to procure a proportionate reward. It is by such a course that a nation ensures to itself the protection and favour of the Governor of the world."

The memorial from which these sentences are extracted was referred to a committee of Congress, who, in their able report thereon, say—
"Your memorialists are solemnly enjoined by the peculiar object of their trust, and invited by the suggestions of the memorialists, to inquire into the defects of the existing laws against the African slave-trade. So long as it is in the power of the United States to provide additional restraints upon this odious traffic they cannot be withheld consistently with the justice and honour of the nation."

This committee, after depicting the horrors of the trade, and declaring that "this crime, considered in its remote, as well as proximate consequences, is the very darkest in the whole catalogue of human iniquities," and that its authors should be considered as hostes humani generis, brought in a Bill, which, by the noble exertions of General C. F. Mercer, one of the earliest and ablest friends and vice-presidents of the society, passed forthwith into a law, stigmatizing the African slave-trade as piracy, and subjecting any citizen or person of the United States who should engage in it, upon conviction thereof, to the punishment of death.

"May it not be believed (say the committee who reported this Bill) that when the whole civilized world shall have denounced the slave-trade as piracy, it will become as infrequent as any other species of that offence against the law of nations?" Thus the Government of the United States, the first to prohibit the slave-trade, through the Colonization Society, became the first to make it piracy; an example already imitated by some other powers, and the universal imitation of which would be, of all measures of force, the most effectual for the extinction of this atrocious commerce; and yet, Sir, you assert that "the American Colonization Society does not even aim to suppress the slave-trade in Africa!"

Your next charge was, that the Colonization Society "protects the internal slave-trade, which is independent of the import trade, and might continue to exist in all its enormity if the African coast were studded with free black colonies." I avowed my utter ignorance of any grounds for this charge, and requested proof. What is your reply? "Why does he (Mr. Gurley) ask for proof? He knows that some leading members of the American Colonization Society are both slave-holders and slave-sellers, and that they resist the abolition of the Washington slave-market. What inconsistency is there in a society's affecting to promote the abolition of the African slave-trade, while it puts not forth the feeblest effort, nay, does not so much as protest against the aggravated enormity of the home slave-trade?"

You, Sir, will not presume to assert that there is anything in the constitution of the society, which declares the "exclusive object" of the institution "to be to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in the United States in Africa or elsewhere," protective of the internal slave-trade in those States. But the American Colonization Society is a national association, and its members and directors may be citizens of slave-holding or of non-slave-holding States. Therefore it protects the internal slave-trade. By the same logic you must maintain that the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Home Missionary Society, the American Temperance Society, the American Sunday-School Union, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; in fine, that each and all of the national benevolent institutions of the United States (for members of all these may be either from slave-holding or non-slave-holding States), protect the internal slave-trade of those States. Do you hold that these institutions protect the slave-trade in the United States? But among leading members of the Colonization Society are slave-holders and slave-sellers (if any of the latter, surely very few), and those who resist the abolition of what you term the Washington slave-market. Of the institutions just named the same fact may be asserted. The Colonization Society "does not so much as protest against the aggravated enormity of the home slave-trade." I have heard of no protest against this trade from the associations to which I have alluded. Do you, Sir, therefore maintain that every national benevolent institution in the United States protects the internal slave-trade?

I have heard of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of a British Society to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world. And I have heard of evils, both moral and political, under the far-extended sceptre of British authority, of oppression in her colonies; of intolerable grievances in her
Eastern dominions, where 100,000,000 bow their necks to the yoke of arbitrary power, of the cries of her poor for bread at the very gates of her palaces; of wretched females, not in hundreds but in thousands, wandering nightly through the streets of this metropolis to gain a scanty subsistence at the expense of health and virtue; and I have not felt at liberty to denounce the British and Foreign Bible Society or the British Anti-Slavery Society, because they are not protesting against all these and other enormities. I have presumed that the Bible Society was sufficiently occupied in distributing the pure word of God without note or comment, and that the Anti-Slavery Society would readily exhaust all its spare leisure and strength in vilifying the Colonization Society, and those inconsistent, tyrannical, infamous slave-holding Christians and Republicans of America. The disposition to detect the mote in a brother's eye, while a beam is in our own, was not limited to the times of our Saviour.

The American Colonization Society, instead of protecting the internal slave-trade, is operating extensively in favour of emancipation, and thus to the extinction of that traffic. This trade is protected by the laws of those States, where slavery exists, as a necessary incident of that system—a system urged, shall I not say forced, upon the people of those States by the commercial avarice of England, in the days of their colonial dependence, against earnest remonstrances addressed to the Parliament and the Throne. It has grown with their growth, strengthened with their strength, and become interwined and commingled with the habits, interests, and, indeed, with the whole constitution of society. It gave rise to the most dangerous and difficult questions connected with the formation of the federal constitution. That constitution never could have been adopted except with general consent that slavery should be left where it was found, under the control of the States, in their individual capacity, where it had been established. Emancipation, therefore, can never be effected, the internal slave-trade never be suppressed, but by the will and consent of the slave-holding States. For the great evil of slavery, the benevolence of the good, and the wisdom of the wise, in the south as in the north, have long anxiously sought a remedy.

The American Colonization Society arose from the combined wisdom of benevolent men from the north and south, intent to promote the best interests of the coloured race. As, Sir, in your astonishment that I should persist in the assertion that the great object of the American Colonization Society is the civilization of Africa, you have glanced into my Life of Ashmun, to prove by half-a-sentence that the great object was other than this, and by one whole sentence and part of another, what motive impelled to the formation of the society, I must beg your and the public attention to the entire paragraph in that work from which you have made extracts, marking those extracts, that you may have all the benefit to which, from these citations, you may be entitled:—

"The American Colonization Society was founded in Washington city in December, 1816. The patriotic and pious from various parts of the country united in its organization. They could not close their eyes upon the following facts:—

1. That the slavery of two millions of coloured persons in the southern portion of this Union was under the exclusive control and legislation of the slave-holding States, each having the sole right of regulating it within its own limits.

2. That the two hundred thousand coloured persons scattered throughout the Union, and legally free, enjoyed few of the advantages of freedom.

3. That there were powerful causes operating to frustrate all efforts to elevate very considerably men of colour in this country, which could not exist, to prevent their elevation, in a separate community from the whites.

4. That the voluntary separation of the coloured from the white race was in reason, and the public judgment, so desirable on general principles of benevolence, that a union of the wise and pious from every State and section of the country in support of measures proposed for the good of the coloured race, yet tending to no such a result, could not be expected.

5. That the success of any measures for the good of that race must depend in a great degree on such union.

6. That Africa was inhabited by 50,000,000 to 100,000,000 of uncivilized and heathen men, and that to render as far as practicable the elevation of her
exiled children conducive to the deliverance and salvation of her home popula-
tion was required alike by philanthropy and piety.

In view of these facts, what humanity and benevolence to the coloured race
suggested, was embodied in the constitution of the American Colonization
Society. It was expected, that the operations of this society, would unfetter
and invigorate the faculties, improve the circumstances, animate the hopes, and
enlarge the usefulness of the free people of colour; that by awakening thought,
nullifying objections, presenting motives convincing to the judgment, and per-
suasive to the humanity of masters, they would encourage emancipation; that
in Africa their results would be seen in civilized and Christian communities;
in the substitution of lawful and beneficial commerce for the abominable slave-
trade, of peaceful agriculture for a predatory warfare, knowledge for ignorance;
the arts that refine for vices that degrade; and for superstitions, vile, cruel, and
blood-stained, the ennobling service and pure worship of the true God. It was
believed that the fellowship of the north with the south in African colonization,
would tend powerfully to produce just opinions on the subject of slavery, and
prepare for the removal of the evil without endangering the integrity and peace
of the Union. It was clear that the principles and measures of the society in-
terfered not with those who desired to ameliorate the condition of the people
of colour, bond or free, who might remain in our country; but, in fact, contrib-
uted to produce those kind and considerate sentiments towards both which
alone can admit them to all the privileges, possible for them while here, and de-
nied a distinct national existence. But the founders of the society saw not by
what authority we could limit the Almighty, and tie down the destiny of the
coloured people to a condition so low (or why they should be satisfied with it),
compared with the blessings of nationality.*

If you have referred to the Life of Ashmun as authority in ascertaining the
great object and the motive of the Colonization Society, the public will be able
to judge how far the quotations used by you accord with their meaning in their
connexion in that work, and whether you have better reason to conclude the
great object of the Colonization Society to be the promotion of "the voluntary
separation of the coloured from the white race" than of the civilization of Africa.
In ordinary language, of several important objects, the most important we de-
signate as the great one. The position which the civilization of Africa holds
in the passage copied from the Life of Ashmun shows that it was so regarded
by the writer. But he is not alone. At the first meeting of the society, before
its constitution was adopted, Mr. Caldwell (afterwards its secretary) said:—

"But, Mr. Chairman, I have a greater and nobler object in view in desiring
them [the free people of colour] to be placed in Africa. It is the belief that
through them civilization and the Christian religion would be introduced into
that benighted quarter of the world. It is the hope of redeeming many millions
of people from the lowest state of ignorance and superstition, and restoring
them to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Great and powerful as
are the other motives to this measure, in my opinion, and you will find it the
opinion of a large class of the community, all other motives are small and
trifling compared with the hope of spreading among them the knowledge of the
Gospel."

Said General Harper, one of the most distinguished founders of the society,
in his letter published in the first report of the institution:—

"The greatest benefit, however, to be hoped from the enterprise, that which
in contemplation most delights the philanthropic mind, still remains to be
unfolded. It is the benefit to Africa herself, from this return of her sons to her
bosom, bearing with them arts, knowledge, and civilization, to which she has
hitherto been a stranger."

And what is the language of Mr. Clay, the present President of the Society,
than whom the cause of human freedom, as well as of this society, has seldom,
if ever, found a more able or eloquent advocate:—

"If the project did not look beyond the happiness of the two races now in
America, it would be entitled to the warmest encouragement. But it presents
a much more extensive field—a field only limited by the confines of one of the
largest quarters of the habitable globe—for religious and benevolent exertion.

* Dr. Beecher.
Almost all Africa is in a state of the deepest ignorance and barbarism, and addicted to idolatry and superstition. It is destitute of the blessings both of Christianity and civilization. The Society is an instrument which, under the guidance of Providence, with public assistance, is competent to spread the lights of both throughout its vast dominions." After stating that in one view of the subject it would send 6,000, and in another 56,000 descemcts of Africa annually to her shores, he adds, "It will open forests, build towns, erect temples of public worship, and practically exhibit to the native sons of Africa the beautiful moral spectacle and the superior advantages of our religious and social systems. In this unexaggerated view of the subject, the colony, compared with other missionary plans, presents the force and grandeur of a noble steamer, majestically ascending, and with ease subduing, the current of the Mississippi, in comparison with the feeble tottering canoe moving slowly among the reeds that fringe its shores. It holds up the image of the restless power of the Mississippi itself, rushing from the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and marking its deep, and broad, and rapid course, through the heart of this continent, thousands of miles to the Gulf of Mexico, in comparison with that of an obscure rivulet winding its indescribable way through dark and dense forests, or luxuriant prairies in which it is quickly and for ever lost."

You remark, "A Society that should have been formed by the Jamaica planters to promote the expatriation of all the free persons of colour born in that island to Sierra Leone, would have presented a precise counterpart to the colonization scheme of the Virginia slave-holders."

A small error in this sentence, my dear Sir. You should have written contrast for counterpart. Another, in putting "scheme of the Virginia slave-holders" for "scheme of the American Colonization Society," which, at its adoption, received no less the sanction of the non-slave-holders of Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, than of the slave-holders of Virginia. But you may say, perhaps, that the plan of African colonization was discussed in the Virginia Legislature in 1802; and adopted, you must allow me to add, by Dr. Fothergill (an eminent member and preacher of the Society of Friends) and Granville Sharpe in 1782; prosecuted by Paul Cuffee, an intelligent and benevolent man of colour, from New England, in 1811. Perhaps, if it throws odium upon the colonization scheme to call it the scheme of the Virginia slave-holders, it may clear it of this odium, possibly render it attractive, to denominate it with the same justice, the scheme of those venerable and illustrious abolitionists, Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharpe; or of that excellent man of colour, Captain Paul Cuffee. But, Sir, between your supposed Jamaica Society and the American Colonization Society, I discover but one point of resemblance, and at least four points of difference.

1st. They are both societies, and have to do with persons of colour. In this they agree. They differ, first, in that the Jamaica Society is a body of slave-holders, the Colonization Society of slave-holders and non-slave-holders.

2nd. The Jamaica Society is an expatriating Society; the American Colonization Society one to aid the colonization of voluntary emigrants.

3rd. The Jamaica Society would force their free blacks from one English colony to another, where they will have as little or less chance of rising to a distinct, social, and political existence; the Colonization Society would aid the free coloured people of America to escape from embarrassment, and found free States and the Church on the African shores, the honours and blessings of which are to be their own for ever.

4th. As the Jamaica scheme is to drive the free-coloured people from one place to a distant one, no better, at least, for themselves, and the colonization scheme to encourage the same class in working out their redemption from all the disabilities and degradations of their condition, and imparting the most precious benefits of art, and Christianity, to a dark and degenerate quarter of the globe; the first is masked by selfishness, the last replete with philanthropy.

I have not alluded to an insinuation of yours touching the "import trade," as though you would suggest that slaves from Africa are still introduced into the United States. I know not that such a thing has occurred for years. To introduce them into any part of the American Union is piracy, and punishable with
death, and no people are more disposed to see this law enforced than the citizens of every portion of the United States.

The length of this letter must be attributed, Sir, to an attachment which I trust ever ardentiy to cherish to truth, justice, and humanity. Whatever else I may take with me from England, I shall certainly depart with the consciousness of having honestly and earnestly sought to harmonize opinion between virtuous minds in this country and my own, on one of the greatest questions that can occupy attention, and, what is more, to unite their sympathies and affections. It is a union of hearts I seek. Even the majesty of reason has no power to awe in the hurricane of the passions. Would to God that the heart of the universal Church were penetrated by those words of supreme authority, "Let all wrath, and anger, and evil-speaking, be put away from you with all malice, and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, loving one another, and forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you." I am no apologist, as has been said, for any system of slavery. I would promote the liberty and happiness of every class and description of human beings; but we must take care so to remedy evils, that the remedy prove not worse than the disease. You, Sir, would not overthrow the fabric of the American constitution or subvert the Government of England, because in both, as in one of your magnificent cathedrals, there may be wanting perfect beauty of proportion, some stains, some flaws, be discerned amid the grandeur of their arches and their columns. My sensibilities are keenly alive to the trials of our slave population. Point to a single sentence which I ever wrote to show the reverse. The Life of Ashmun, a book which, for the merit of its subject, if no other [will live while books live], the African Repository, conducted by myself as sole editor for nearly ten years, contains, I venture to assert, not less sound, discreet, persuasive argument in favour of the emancipation of the slaves of the United States, and of general liberty, than exists in the same space in the whole range of English literature.

And, Sir, little credit as may be given to the opinion in England, I shall, nevertheless, hazard it, because I believe it to be true, that the persons who are prepared to make the largest sacrifices, to devote the most self-denying exertions for the good of the slave population of America, are to be found among the people of the southern States. What my own views are on slavery, and the internal slave trade, may be more evident from the following passage, written in 1825, and published in the first volume of the African Repository, with which I conclude this communication:—

"That the slave trade is contrary to the law of nature (says the Chief Justice of the United States) will scarcely be denied, that every man has a natural right to the fruits of his own labour is generally admitted, and that no person can rightfully deprive him of those fruits and appropriate them against his will, seems the necessary result of this admission." "Now, these fundamental truths do not admit of application to the slave trade on the coast of Africa only, but to the whole alarming evil, which, throughout a vast portion of our land, grows with our growth and strengthens with our strength. The inveteracy of this evil cannot change its moral or political tendency, nor in the least diminish the obligation to provide for its remedy. To eradicate or remove the evil immediately is impossible, nor can any law of conscience govern necessity. But in the same proportion as difficulties have been augmented by the remissness of the States, have the moral obligations of the States been increased. If the citizens of the States in which the evil exists deny (what we are not disposed to maintain) that Congress has the right, without their consent, to exert any direct influence upon it, we hope they will perceive the fearful responsibility they assume to themselves, a responsibility, for exemption from which many conscientious men, no doubt, truly rejoice. An inward sense of justice will unite with the claims of interest, and urge them by considerations of infinite force to commence efforts, which must be great as they are necessary, which cannot be begun too soon, which may be, may, have been, delayed too long."

With great respect, I am, Sir, your obedient servant,


J. GURLEY.

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