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THE

AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. IX.

Published by order of the Managers of
THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THIS WORK, ARE DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF THE SOCIETY.

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1834.
call for it, to do justice to the all-surpassing merit of the Colonists themselves, and of the white missionaries and agents of the Society, who first explored the Coast of Africa, or afterwards presided over the infant colony. These, in truth, the founders of this great enterprise, and to them be the praise accorded. But the last and most meritorious class have sealed their devotion to this holy enterprise, with their lives, and are gone, we may trust, to reap a higher reward than it is in the power of man to bestow.

"In the early progress of our enterprise, which contemplated the civilization of one continent by the partial or total relief of another, from evils of alarming and growing magnitude, its vast and comprehensive design naturally inspired doubts of its success.

"There are not wanting, at present, men of distinguished abilities and patriotism, who think our plan will ultimately and totally fail. If any remain thus sceptical, because they believe that the soil and resources of Africa cannot provide accommodation, for the return of her exiled children, let them consider that her territory, not only along the sea coast, but very far up into the interior, has been depopulated by the slave trade: that her soil, quickened by the warmth of a tropical sun, yields two crops in the year: and that she has no winter to consume the fruit of her double harvest.

"Without these advantages, the single State of Ohio, itself a colony, has been known in former years, to provide comfortably, for a number of emigrants, largely exceeding a moiety of the annual increase of the entire colored population of the United States.

"If it be doubted, whether adequate means of transportation could be obtained for such a number of emigrants as the annual increase of our whole free colored population, would supply, together with any possible addition to them by voluntary emancipation, I appeal to the well ascertained fact, that in the present current of unexcited emigrants, from Europe to North America, more than fifty thousand persons have reached this continent in a single year.

"If the prosperous condition of the Colony already planted on the coast of Africa, be questioned, let those who will not credit the Annual Reports of the Colonization Society, refer to the numerous and concurrent statements of the Naval Officers of the United States, who have visited the shores of that continent, still scourged by the slave trade, in obedience to the laws for its suppression.

"They would see a flourishing town, a harbour regularly visited, for purposes of legitimate commerce, by the flags of all nations; and the flag of Liberia floating among them. They would behold on the summit of Cape Mesurado, christian churches occupying the seat of the but recent worship of the devil. On entering these churches on the Sabbath, they would see them filled by the well dressed, orderly, and pious people, who have erected them, and whose morality stands yet unimpeached, by the imputation of a single capital crime, or the necessary infliction of one severe punishment.

"In passing through a colony of civilized men, speaking our language and possessing all the comforts of our arts, at peace among themselves, and with their savage and untutored neighbors, they would see these savages imitating these colonists to admit their children into their schools, and themselves to the protection of their laws.

"Can we reflect, fellow citizens, without hearts penetrated with gratitude, to that overruling Providence, which elicits good from evil, and bends to his will all the purposes of man, that these colonists, thus prosperous and happy, the descendants of Africa, were but a few years since in bondage in America, or free negroes more degraded than our slaves.

"One word more and I have done with this topic.

"Let those who oppose the colonization of Africa, by our colored population, because it is not a scheme for the immediate abolition of slavery in America, justify if, they can, to God and man, their hostility to a plan of enlarged policy, as well as of expanded benevolence and piety, because it does not propose to accomplish all that they desire, and because they desire to do that which, if accomplished, as they propose, would prejudice the fair fabric of our Union, and with it the hopes of freedom to man."

DEFENCE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The thirty-fifth number of the Edinburgh Phrenological Journal, contains an opportune and able article "On the American scheme of establishing colonies of free negro emigrants on the coast of Africa, as exemplified in Liberia."

After some remarks of a general character, the writer says—

"Broad as the satire is, that the affairs of society are as yet a ceaseless controversy, we are sometimes apt, for a moment, to forget this inconvenient fact, to expect exceptions, and too rashly to count upon unanimity in what appear, to us at least, very self-evident propositions for social benefit. We confess we did commit this oversight with regard to the settlement of Liberia. If ever there was a human act which seemed to satisfy all our feelings and faculties, it might have been expected to be the first projection and effective realization of that admirable scheme, whose very essence appeared to us to be brotherly love and peace. In a
former number,* we adduced Liberia as an example, unique on the face of the earth, of a community based on peace and Christian good-will. • • • We had returned with fresh pleasure to the subject of Liberia,† when investigating the subject of the Negro's capacity for freedom and free labour, and it was after our observations were in types, that we heard that Liberia—yes, even Liberia—was a controversy! that against the American colonizationists, there had risen up certain clamorous and even abusive opponents, who imputed to them sinister designs, hypocritical professions, mischievous intentions, cowardly fears, oppression, cruelty, treachery, and infidelity! In our then total want of information on the grounds of these astounding accusations, suspecting, from the incredible exaggeration of the invaders, that feeling more than intellect was operating, and judging the American Society by its fruits, we could not believe that so fair a child as Liberia could have such a parentage; and we published our continued approbation, resolving to presume favourably of the Society till irresistible evidence should constrain us to believe the monstrous charges preferred against it.

"We have now seen the articles of impeachment, and perused what is called their evidence; and our original surprise at the possibility of accusations at all, is fully equalled by our amazement that, by persons educated above the pitch of a village school, such abject vitality, such unqualified drivelling, could have been actually printed and published.

"We are struck with the important fact, that the writers against the Liberian scheme, and their followers, are all, as far as we know, what are termed Immediateists, in the slavery abolition question;—the "trust cohort" philanthropists, who prefer justice with ruin, to justice without it; who, in America, are rendering more difficult and more distant the slave's complete deliverance, by embarrasing the legislatures in their views of its safety and certainty; and in England, are fortunately disregarded by a government that has resolved on measures at once more wise, and more efficiently philanthropic. The outcry against the Colonization Society originated in America, and has been echoed on this side of the water, with a disregard of fact, a want of fairness, an absence of logie, and a confusion of thought, in every way worthy of the class of minds which fail to see, in the sudden discharge of 800,000 Negroes in the British West Indies, and two millions in the United States, dislocation of the frame of society in those countries, and ruin and misery to the very objects of their misplaced benevolence.

"The managers of the impeachment are, a Mr. Charles Stuart, the author of a pamphlet published at Liverpool, and a Mr. Lloyd Garrison, a pamphleteer in America; and although the anti-slavery periodicals, the Reporter and Record, have, with little credit to their discernment, joined in the clamour, they have pinned their faith to Messrs. Stuart and Garrison, and produced nothing beyond extracts from their pamphlets; while a Mr. James Cophet, of Liverpool, writes a letter to Mr. Clarkson, in which, after several sweeping and unsupported averments, abusive epithets, and much matter, of no application to the subject, he concludes with recommending Mr. Stuart's pamphlet, to which his letter is printed as a sort of preface. This pamphlet is called "Prejudice Visible, or the Practicability of conquering Prejudice by better means than by Slavery and Exile, in relation to the American Colonization Society." We have read it with all the attention and impartiality in our power, and have been unable to form any other opinion of it than this,—that, while it manifests a marked spirit of special-pleading and unfairness, it fails to substantiate its averments in point of fact, and not to establish their relevancy to warrant the inferences drawn from them. In other words, it fails to prove the charges against the Society, and if it had succeeded, it would have left untouched the absolute good of the Colony of Liberia."

The writer then refers to the two fundamental articles of the Society as quoted by Mr. Stuart, and introduces his examination of this gentleman's quotations from the Reports of the Society, with the following important remark:

"Before giving the quotations, we beg to premise, that we have perused the 18th, 14th and 15th Reports alluded to, and we have not found the passages in these reports. On reading the matter published with the reports, we have found them forming parts of the speeches of members of the Society, which, as such, have been printed in the res gestae of their meetings, without being imputable to the Society. It became Mr. Stuart to have candidly stated, that he took his quotations from the speeches of individuals over which the Society had no control, and not from its reports, by which alone it should be judged of. This was due to his readers, that at least they might have so ignorant a distinction before them, and its omission, which could not be accidental, is an example of that unfair partizanism with which we have charged the writer."

A fair specimen of Mr. Stuart's thesis on the subject of quotation, is afforded by the following citation which he makes from Mr. Archer's speech, at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Society, and given in p. xxii—xxviii, of the proceedings prefixed to the 15th Annual Report:

"2. 15th Report, page 29:—If none were driven away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant, &c. &c. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots; or

† Vol. viii. p. 87.
general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America; or abandonment of the country by the masters?"—Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe; could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? "There was but one way, and it was to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase, beyond the occasions of profitable employment, &c. &c. This drain was already opened."

A fair adversary would have given, not disjointed fragments, but the whole of what Mr. Archer said on this topic, and which is as follows:—

"The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law, of the utmost regularity of action and reaction. When this process was neither stayed, nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it hastened with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned, entirely, to the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe, which was repletion. If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate, and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of profitable employment, and as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage, (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? Or general emancipation, and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment. This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand."

In regard to Mr. Archer's question—"Was open butchery to be resorted to?"—the Editor of the Phrenological Journal remarks:—

"A child just beginning to read would see that the speaker was assuming that such a course was morally impossible; yet Mr. Stuart gives the words the emphasis of italics, as if the speaker had recommended that mode of diminishing the free coloured population of the United States! This gross perversion has been sagaciously seized by the enemies of Liberia, transferred in all its deformity into the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and the Anti-Slavery Record, and imputed not merely to the speaker, whose meaning has been purposely reversed, but to the whole American Colonization Society!"

We subjoin the remarks of the P. Journal on the legitimate effect of Mr. Stuart's quotations, without regard to their fallaciousness:—

"Now, suppose the very worst meaning to be given to the words of these speakers, as picked out by Mr. Stuart, without giving us the benefit of context, we would ask, if it is to be endured, that a Society professing benevolence, and acting benevolently, shall be condemned because some of its members, in speeches at its meetings, discover and avow that the benevolent scheme may be made at the same time to answer a selfish interest? The notion is preposterous. But we have read the whole speeches, and are satisfied that their spirit was throughout benevolent both to the free Negroes, and also to the slaves,—slavery existing,—and the very reverse of that hard-hearted selfishness, which Mr. Stuart obviously intends to fasten upon these speakers, or rather on the Society, by culling and arranging for effect, isolated, and as they stand alone, equivocal passages.

"But the utter want in the Author's mind of the power of perceiving the relation of necessary consequence, is exposed by his drawing from any thing he has quoted of these speeches, conclusions condemnatory of the Colonization Society. It is most true that the evils stated in them exist in America; and existed long before colonization was thought of; and equally true that that measure will do its own share of good without increasing those evils; if it shall not, as we take it is demonstrable it will, materially alleviate, and, it may be, ultimately cure them. The utmost contemplated by the speakers, is the separation of the white and black population of the United States; and they welcome a means that shall tend to this beneficial end, and moreover improve the Negro's condition, physically and morally. Let us look this misrepresented policy of separation more narrowly in the face, and try it by the principles of a sound philosophy, which will ever be found in accordance with genuine rational religion."

"Even Mr. Stuart will grant to us, that the actual existence of some millions of blacks in the same community with the whites of the United States, is in itself an enormous political and moral evil. That the black population is, de facto, an inferior caste, which, with many individual exceptions, no doubt, is generally degraded, uneducated, and in many instances vicious and depraved; and if it be a scourge to America, the punishment is the natural result...

* "In contemplating these alternatives, how can we sufficiently admire the goodness of God in having provided that the increase of slaves shall necessarily lead to emancipation and incorporation; and how can we be sufficiently struck with horror at the deliberate and insolent cruelty of man, in devising schemes like this for the perpetuation of slavery!—J. C."

This scrap of pure nonsense is a specimen of Mr. Cropper.—Er. FREE JOURNAL.
DEFENCE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY. [November,

of a daring violation by man on a marked appointment of God,—a just retribution for the avarice, rapacity and cruelty that for ages outraged nature, by tearing the African from the region and the climate for which his Creator had fitted his physical constitution, and mingling him with a race with which incorporation was not designed, if a strong natural repugnance to it is to be received as proof of the Divine intention.

"It is wild fanaticism to call this repugnance unchristian, and to denounce a doubt of the power of religion to overcome it as infidelity; because God made all men of one flesh, and Christianity bids us open wide the arms of brotherly love, and take all our brethren of mankind to our bosom. It is a stupid perversion of this religious precept to maintain, that the fulfillment of this duty precludes all change of the Negro's place of residence, and that the American does not in effect hold out to him the arms of brotherly love, by placing him in independence, comparative elevation, and abundance, in another country, instead of degradation and destitution where he is. God made all men of one flesh, but he did not design them all to live in one country, and, however various and unsuitable their aspect and nature, to mix and incorporate. If we look at that well marked and vast peninsula, called Africa, we find that equally marked race the Negro, with slight modifications, forming its native population throughout all its regions. We find the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, the very texture of his wool-like hair, all fitting him for the vertical sun of Africa; and if every surviving African of the present day, who is living in degradation and destitution in other lands for which he was never intended, were actually restored to the peculiar land of his peculiar race, in independence and comfort, would even Mr. Stuart venture to affirm that Christianity had been lost sight of by all who had in any way contributed to such a consummation? It matters not to brotherly love on which side of the Atlantic the Negro is made enlightened, virtuous and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it does matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is only one where he will be as happy and respectable as benevolence would wish to see him, and certainly there a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed. The incurable evil of the present relation of the whites and the blacks in America is, that incorporation is almost morally impossible. The whites are too numerous in both the sexes, to be driven to intermarriage with the Negroes. Maladies are a West Indian, greatly more than an American phenomenon. The distinction in the United States is white or black, with little of the intervening shades of colour. The races do not and will not incorporate. Try the loudest advocate for the “vincibility” of this prejudice, as it is most unphilosophically called, with this touchstone,—“marry the Negresses to your sons, and give your daughters to Negroes,”—and we shall have a different answer from Nature than we receive from a misplaced religious profession."

A leading common-place of the anti-colonizationists, and their champion, Mr. Garrison, are thus pithily disposed of:—

"Mr. Stuart tells us that the American black population itself is hostile to the colonization scheme. He says, page 14, that the coloured people are “writhe under the colonization process.” This is the exaggeration of special-pleading. No one writhe under an invitation which he is perfectly free to refuse. Nevertheless, we have meetings of the free-coloured people, passing resolutions,—far above Negro literature, and evidently all the work of opening their breasts to the thought of the transgressors, and atrocious abominations of tearing them from their native land and the homes of their fathers, &c. We have no manner of doubt that these absurd and uncalled for exhibitions are got up by the enemies of the colonization plan, and a weak invention they are. The reports of the society are full of evidence of the popularity of the colony with the people of colour, and record many instances of their eagerness to emigrate in greater numbers than the means of the society enable it to permit. The testimony of the settlers is daily spreading and increasing the attractions of the colony to the black population in every part of the United States.

"With Mr. Lloyd Garrison we really need not trouble our readers. He is a type of Mr. Stuart, or Mr. Stuart of him, the chronology of the pamphlets being of no moment, or the question which has saved the other original thinking. Mr. Garrison distils meanings—fashions the speeches of individuals on the society—not partially—conceals explanations—exaggerates, clamours, and cants, exactly as Mr. Stuart does; while the answer of irrelevancy, were every word they speak true, applies equally to both."

"We make room for the concluding passages of this luminous article, in which, it will be observed, Mr. Cresson is mentioned in terms of commendation, honorable to both himself and the writer:—

"It will naturally occur to the reader to ask, How is this settlement countenanced, which is thus opposed? In America, the scheme has been hailed all over the Union, by the most eminent and patriotic statesmen, by the clergy of all denominations, by men of science and men of business; and the Society, which was formed 1st January, 1817, presents a most encouraging array of their names. We read among these the names of Monroe, Madison, Marshall, Jefferson, Bishops White and Meade, La Fayette, Caroll of Carollton, Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay, Webster, Mercer, Frelinghuysen, and many other names of statesmen, patriots, and philosophers. Auxiliary Societies have been formed in almost all the free states, and in several of those where slavery is yet unabolished. We have seen a letter from

* Lately deceased at the age of ninety-six, the last survivor of those who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. 
the Bishop of Virginia, Bishop Meade—a name which carries the greatest weight all over the Union—addressed to Mr. Elliott Cresson, the zealous agent of the colonization scheme, now engaged in enlisting British sympathies in its favour. We wish we had space for it, because it takes our own view of the evil of the mixture of a white and black population, and welcomes a benevolent plan for their separation. "In England, the name of Wilberforce, who has decidedly approved the plan, is itself a tower of strength; and the venerable Clarkson, too, has lived to see and applaud it in the strongest terms. With every friend to Africa and the African, he wades at the opposition, and (we have seen his words) impugns it to some demon's intervention.

"Mr. Cresson has been eighteen months in England. He is a gentleman of independent fortune, and, actuated by the purest philanthropy, is zealously preaching the cause to the British people. He has been on the whole well received; and wherever opposed, it has been in the very words of Mr. Stuart's pamphlet, while his opponents had not read any thing on the other side. In Edinburgh, his reception has been most flattering. At a public meeting to hear his statement, held 8th January, 1833, Lord Moncrieff presided, and a number of the most eminent men were present, all of them well vested in the subject. Lord Moncrieff delivered a powerful address, in which he lamented the opposition to the enlightened plan.—The Lord Advocate Jeffrey, M. P., concluded an eloquent address, by moving the first resolution, and was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Grant."

"1. Resolved, That this meeting view with unmixed satisfaction the establishment of the free and independent settlement of Negroes on the West Coast of Africa, called Liberia, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society,—because they consider it as the most likely means to civilize and christianize the natives of Africa,—to diminish, and ultimately annihilate, the slave trade, by preventing its supply at its source,—and to forward the cause of the abolition of slavery itself, by opening a channel in which benevolence may flow safely, in providing for the emancipated Negro an asylum and a country, in a region and climate for which his physical constitution is peculiarly fitted.

The second was moved by Mr. Simpson, advocate, in the unavoidable absence of the Solicitor-General Cockburn, who had zealously undertaken it, and seconded by Mr. Wardlaw Ramsay:

"2. Resolved, That this meeting are disposed to welcome a plan, which, with a due regard to the free-will, rights, and feelings of both the black and white population, tends to commence the cure of the evil of slavery itself, by re-establishing the African in possession of every social and political right in the land of his ancestors." And the third was moved by Mr. J. A. Murray, M. P., and seconded by Mr. Farquhar Gordon:

"3. Resolved, That this meeting highly approve of the principles and motives of the American Colonization Society, and applaud the judicious course which they have followed, in doing all the direct good in their power, while they carefully avoid in any way interfering with other existing Institutions; and, in particular, in leaving Anti-Slavery and Negro Education Societies, and the American Legislatures themselves, to pursue their proper course in the great work of justice to the injured sons of Africa." The motives of the American Societies,—although held by all the speakers to be unexceptionable,—were considered quite secondary to the actual merits of the plan, as standing out prominently in the real colony, with its free trade, its schools, and its churches, and even its newspaper. The sheet of a number, in quarto size, was, with great effect, held up to the meeting; and another, "grown bigger," as a Negro printer's boy said, "as it grew older," in folio.

"171. To the sentiments of that meeting we cordially join. We heartily approve the American Colonization Society, on the one hand, in their motives, their principles, and their acts, and would cheer them on in their two-fold behest of delivering Africa and America from the present diseased and unnatural condition of both, by a plan which tends to put asunder two races of men which God did not join, and whose junction He does not bless, and to establish each, free and erect, the lords of their own continent, while, on the other hand, and independently of all the possible mixture of motives with which it may be encouraged and supported, we hail the existence of Liberia,—a community of Africans, without a white to claim the white's ascendancy, to snatch from his coloured brethren the prizes of life, and blight the freshness of his freedom by the chill of ancient associations and recollections,—a community whose basis is peace, if war—and it has had its wars, in which it has bouts itself nobly—offensive war alone;—whose principle of commerce is a port without a custom-house, open to the whole world,—whose education is universal,—whose practical code is Christianity.

"Last of all, we welcome Mr. Cresson to our country, and are glad of the encouraging reception which he has received. Such missions do incalculable good, both to the parent country, and her gigantic offspring in the New World. He comes in all the power of benevolence, before which unsozial feelings fly like the shades of night before the dawn. May his visit tend to enlarge better relations between the two lands than those of jealousies and taunts and calumnies and wars; and may Liberia itself be a new bond of union between them, in the very spirit of that infant community,—liberty, light, religion, free commerce, brotherly love and peace.

* Men of all shades of politics were present and concursing. A committee of correspondence was named, a collection made, and subscription papers lodged at all the banks, &c. Mr. Simpson, Advocate, undertook to act as Secretary; and Mr. Cresson has since signified, that the funds, if sufficient, should be allotted to the establishment of an additional settlement at the mouth of one of the five rivers between Monrovia, the Liberian Capital, and Sierra Leone, to which the name of $O N A $ should be given. The rivers are the only slaving stations.