This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world’s books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that’s often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book’s long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ Make non-commercial use of the files We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ Refrain from automated querying Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google’s system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ Maintain attribution The Google “watermark” you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ Keep it legal Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can’t offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book’s appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google’s mission is to organize the world’s information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world’s books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at [http://books.google.com/](http://books.google.com/)
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.

WASHINGTON:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES C. DUNN.
1834.
THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

Vol. IX.] NOVEMBER, 1833. [No. 9.

"THE PROTEST."

A transatlantic "Protest" against the American Colonization Society, which it seems, was published in the London Christian Advocate, in compliance with a request from Mr. W. L. Garrison, has been circulated in this country with a diligence indicating that strong reliance is placed on it. The grounds of this reliance may be presumed to be either the facts and arguments of the paper referred to, or the names of the individuals by whom it is subscribed. In the eye of reason, the first only of these topics would, perhaps, appear worthy of regard; but a bare inspection of the "Protest" manifests that the last was expected to be received as the criterion of its value. We concede, in the outset, that so far as authority merely is concerned, the British Protest is a formidable document. Of its signers, all may be supposed, and a majority are known, to be more than ordinarily respectable: many of them are, on distinct accounts, prominent individuals; and one had long before acquired a reputation, elevating his motives far above suspicion, and rendering any errors of judgment which, as a member of the human family, he was liable to fall into, a delicate and almost forbidden theme. To WILBERFORCE it may well be forgiven that near the close of a long, an eminent, and a virtuous life, he should, in a single instance, yield his judgment to the appliances which beset it; and deeply must it be regretted that the brief space which followed before his death afforded him no available opportunity to re-examine the prejudice. Blessed be his spirit, and honored be his memory!

Whatever perils may betide the Colonization Society from the signatories to the Protest, none need be feared from its contents. Mr. W. L. G., to be sure, in a letter transmitting it to the London Editor, vaticinates in a cloudy metaphor, that it will be "a millstone about the neck of the Colonization Society, sufficiently weighty to drown it in an ocean of public indignation."—In homelier style we venture to predict, that if the action of the public is to be influenced in any considerable degree by its judgment, the Society will escape the threatened doom, and the Protest will be pronounced a harmless composition.

The notion of this "Protest" was probably suggested by a proceeding bearing that name, of occasional occurrence in the British Parliament. The liberality and vagueness of its denunciations permit, however, the reader to suspect that, in part, at least, it was borrowed from a marine Protest, in which the notary protests, not only against human beings, but against the winds and the waves. A Parliamentary Protest is generally accompanied by an exhibition of the reasons on which it is founded; a feature of the original which it has, in the instance under review, been deemed unnecessary or imprudent to present in the copy. This significant part of a Protest is here substituted by some "motives," "excuses," "opinions," "convictions," "objections," "beliefs," &c. &c., which it is our purpose to state, and briefly to examine.

1. The signers of this document say, "We feel bound to affirm, that our de-
lberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Coloniza-
tion Society of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive."

It may be regretted that the propriety of distinctly indicating the terms of
the "professions of promoting the abolition of slavery," alleged to have been
made by the Colonization Society, had not occurred to the distinguished Pro-
testers: as in that case its advocates might better understand the charge of
"delusion" which they are called on to suffer or repel. If by this charge it
be meant that the "professions" made by the Society that its scheme exerts a
powerful, though collateral influence in abolishing slavery with the consent of
the slave owners, "are altogether delusive," we answer, that the proposition
is hazarded in the face of authorized statements averring that, in the opinion
of the Society, such is the tendency of the scheme; in the face of a host of
facts testifying to the correctness of this view; in the face of declarations, of
which the truth is neither denied nor deniable, that slaveholders offer to man-
unit their slaves on the condition of emigration to Liberia, in numbers too
great for the means of the Society; in the face of the otherwise unimpeached
personal respectability of those whom it charges with deception; and without
the addition of a solitary fact conflicting with this mass of evidence! When,
therefore, the distinguished Protesters say that they "feel bound to affirm
that [their] deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made
by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogeth-
er delusive," every candid mind must consider the rule of ethics which pre-
scribes so singular an obligation to be as incomprehensible as it is severe.

2. "We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion, that it
is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We
never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone; we are enormously
burdened by our own connection with slavery."

That the citizens of the United States would be materially benefited by the
consummation of the colonization policy, is certainly true: This considera-
tion constitutes a leading argument in favor of the policy. And on the rule of
quid pro quo, the citizens of the U. States ought to pay the whole price
for the benefit received. But this is a light in which it was hardly to be ex-
pected that the subject would be regarded by some, at least, of the distin-
guished Protesters. Are the citizens of the United States the only party who
are to derive advantage from the success of the colonization scheme? Are the
recovered liberty of the African, his restoration to the land of his fathers, his
moral and intellectual elevation, the diffusion of letters among ignorant tribes,
and the planting of the Christian cross over the ruins of a cruel idolatry—
are all these benefactions to pass for nothing? or is the only practical enter-
prise hitherto devised for attaining these results, to be deemed unworthy of
sympathy and co-operation in every clime? Such questions meet their fit
answers in the speeches of the lamented Wilberforce;—one of the most mag-
nificent offerings ever laid by genius on the altar of philanthropy. These
triumphant addresses, spoken when British oratory was at its zenith, com-
manding applause from men in whose ears yet lingered the echoes of Mur-
ray's and of Chatham's voice, dividing with the eloquence of Burke and Fox
and Sheridan, its claims on public admiration, and even taking from Pitt
himself a part of his dominion over the "willing soul,"—breathe, in every
sentence a spirit of enlarged, nay, universal benevolence, which rebukes for-
ever the narrow dogma of the Protesters.

But, say these eminent persons, "we never required of [the U. S.] to assist
us in Sierra Leone." And because the people of Great Britain did not "re-
quire," and perhaps did not need American aid in establishing the Colony at
Sierra Leone, it is deduced as a corollary, not only that the people of the U.
States, who do need any assistance they can obtain for their Colony at Libe-
ria, should not ask such assistance, but that when some of our transatlantic
brethren are willing to afford it, others of them are under a moral necessity
of choking, if they can, the stream of private benevolence by a "Protest!"—
A more palpable *non sequitur* was never pressed into the service of any cause. This is done, too, though the Protesters were aware, (for a contrary supposition would imply a deficiency in their knowledge, but ill consorted with the plenitude of their denunciation,) that the peculiar history and condition of the United States, in regard to African slavery, presented unsurmountable obstacles to speedy unanimity at home on any scheme for getting rid of it; and of course gave any proper and practical plan tending to such an object a fair claim to consideration among the pious and the humane abroad. If any thing were wanting to enforce this topic, the Protesters might have found it in the fact of which they have been recently impressively reminded by able writers in their own country, that whatever may be the evils of American slavery, these evils are part and parcel of our inheritance from our British ancestors. Grateful as we are to England for many and glorious portions of that inheritance—for her noble literature—for the maternal example of her industry and her greatness—for the transmitted blessings of civil and religious liberty—and for the free spirit which gives assurance that these blessings will be permanent—deeply grateful as we are to England for all these things, we have never yet thanked her for having introduced negro slavery into these States. Nay, farther; we have prayed her to forbear that mournful gift; and our colonial archives are not without precedents of "Protests" against it, as unavailing as they were earnest.*

It is hardly necessary to be observed, that this allusion is prompted by no unfriendly feeling towards England or any of her inhabitants—by no desire to retaliate the unkindness of the London manifesto. But it seems pertinent to remind the distinguished signers of that document, that there is nothing in the historical relations between our country and theirs, which so fetters their free agency as that they "cannot refrain" from interposing the weight of their authority between the benevolence of their fellow-citizens and the efforts of the American Colonization Society. The people of the U. States are also "enormously burdened by their connexion with slavery:" a connexion by no means of their own seeking.

3. The Protesters "maintain" that the Colony "was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American slave-holders."

The "prejudices" of an American slave-holder were of course supposed by the Protesters to be in favor of retaining his slave property. Now, as the proved tendency of the colonization scheme is to voluntary manumission, the Protesters must be understood as calling on us to believe that the Society was formed chiefly to "indulge" American slave-holders with a mode of abandoning property which their "prejudices" made them desirous of retaining. If this conclusion is to be avoided by a less literal interpretation of the passage, what, we ask, shall that interpretation be? What means this vague charge on the motives of the founders of the Society? It is susceptible of no imaginable construction which will not put directly at issue the veracity of both the founders and the friends of that Institution. They have deliberately, repeatedly, and in various forms, proclaimed to the world what those motives were; and if they are to be believed, the motives were pure, patriotic and benevolent; motives of which Christian charity was a powerful element. An imputation on motives thus vouched for, should not have been lightly made. Unsustained as it is by either argument or fact, it can derive significance from no authority, however respectable; though it is not impossible that the value of any authority less imposing than that of the London Protesters, might itself be affected by the character of the imputation. It may, we trust, be intimated, without offence, to these eminent persons, that among the originators and supporters of the American Colonization Society, are names illustrious as

---

* From the colonial remonstrances against the importation of slaves, may be cited the petition of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. The first slave ship that entered our waters, ascended the James river in that State, in the year 1620. Two extracts from the petition referred to will be found in the parts of Mr. Wraxall's late speech, published in our October number. See *African Repository*, Vol. 9, p. 236.
THE PROTEST. [November,

even the proudest of their own; and abundantly guarantying the purity of any enterprise which they engage in.

So far as the motives of slave-holding friends of colonization can be inferred from their conduct, there is certainly no room for distrust. One-third of the Colonists are manumitted slaves.

4. The Colony "is regarded with aversion by the coloured population of the United States."

Facts set forth in former numbers of this Journal, prostrate this assumption. It is true, that of our coloured people, those who live here in idleness, are reluctant to go where they are expected to rely ultimately on their own industry for the means of subsistence; others, from insensitivity to the attractions of liberty; others again from never having reflected seriously on the subject; and a yet more numerous portion from the misrepresentations with which they are incessantly plied by the adversaries of colonization. On the other hand, the Society has, from the period of its going into full operation, received more applications from free people of colour to be enrolled in the Colony, than its means have enabled it to grant. The Protesters, it would seem, "maintain" that the coloured people who wish to emigrate to Liberia, ought not to be gratified in the wish, because others of their class prefer staying in the U. States in a condition of slavery, or of a quasi freedom often but little preferable, and sometimes not even preferred. With the same propriety might it be contended that because some desire, all should be compelled to go to the Colony; and it is perhaps on some such rule of reasoning that the Society has been imagined by its adversaries to meditate force in the colonization of the blacks, though its Constitution disclaims, and it is palpably impotent to execute any such design.

5. "With regard to the extinction of the slave-trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories."

This apprehension is, we are happy to believe, without foundation. The mere business operations of the Colony on the Western coast of Africa, create obstacles, which are regularly increasing, to the prosecution of the slave-trade without the limits of the colonial territory. And moreover, the root of the evil lies in the condition of the native African, a condition of such ignorance and moral debasement that the dearest ties of nature are sacrificed to avarice, in its most revoltin form, and even the parent sells the child to the remorseless trader. But as the influence of the Colony, aided by the pious labors of the missionary, goes on to impart civilization and Christianity to the natives, in the same proportion will their moral feeling be elevated, and a sense of self-respect be wakened in their bosoms, which must contribute something at every step of the process towards diminishing, and must ultimately terminate, the traffic in their own flesh. Let it be conceded, however, that the success of the colonization plan in abolishing the slave-trade, will be confined to the limits of the Colony, and then we would inquire, is that result to be counted as nothing? The settlements planted by the Society stretch along a coast of nearly 300 miles; and if the distance were only a single mile, the rescue of even so small a space as that from the polluting visits of the slaver, would, we might think, be felt as a triumph by the friends of humanity every where. The bright example would find followers, and other favored spots would be reclaimed. Are the distinguished Protesters prepared to announce the proposition, that a man who has the means of merely accomplishing a minor good, should abstain from doing so because he has not the means of accomplishing a greater good? that he should hide his one talent in the ground, because he has not ten talents? They can never, it may be assumed, lend their sanction to a doctrine as dangerous in practice, as it is false in principle, and condemned by both philosophy and religion.

6. "To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction."

In fancying themselves to be "compelled" to make this declaration, the distinguished Protesters seem to be under the influence of the same mysterious
duress which had before subjected them to the necessity of believing, not only without evidence, but against evidence, that the professions of the Colonization Society on the subject of slavery, were "altogether delusive." The supposition that the Society may not effect by its indirect agency the extinguishment of slavery, does well enough as an unexamined impression, and derives plausibility from a comparison of its slender means and restricted faculties with the magnitude of the evil to be removed. But to denominate an Institution, of which the known practical operation is the voluntary manumission by the master of his slave, an "obstruction" "to the destruction of slavery throughout the world," involves a refinement of reasoning not easily understood. It has not been deemed proper to indicate the steps by which this conclusion was attained. Any attempt to trace them by the light of conjecture, will, on the present occasion, be waived.

7. Now come the "objections" to the Colonization Society. "While we believe," say the Protesters, "its pretenses to be delusive, we are convinced that its real effects are of the most dangerous nature." Presuming that the "pretenses" here referred to, are the "professions" mentioned in the first head, we forbear to add to our remarks on the "deliberate judgment and conviction" of the Protesters in regard to those "professions," and especially, because the "deliberate judgment and conviction" of the accusers have now assumed the less strenuous form of mere "belief."

The "conviction" about the "real effects" of the Society, will be noticed under the next head.

8. "It," i. e. the Colonization Society, "takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the coloured people, slave or free."

Here again is an imputation of motives to the Society, directly at variance with those which it has assigned for its origin. Like the former instances, it is wholly gratuitous, and unsustained by an attempt at proof, or by the semblance of probability. It is passing strange that an enterprise which contemplates placing the black man in a condition of not only civil, but political liberty, with all the means for elevating him in the rank of social being, should be fancied to have sprung from "a cruel prejudice" against him! It is equally strange, that on the supposition that such a "prejudice" exists on the part of the whites as a race against the coloured population, a portion of the whites which aims at removing the victims of the prejudice beyond the sphere of its influence, should be charged with cruelty for making the effort.

9. Having demonstrated, as they suppose, by a species of logic which seems to have found high favor with them, the existence of the "cruel prejudice," the Protesters thus proceed:

"This being its source, the effects are what might be expected—that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races."

The phrase "spirit of caste," is not perhaps applied in strict accordance with its received meaning, to two races between whom the lines of civil and political demarcation are but faint when compared with those which the hand of nature has drawn. Such, at least, are both the judgment and the instinct on this subject of the citizens of the Union, whether in the slaveholding or non-slave-holding States; nor could the Colonization Society, or any other association, either confirm or weaken a sentiment so deeply radicated. In regard to the averment that the Colonization Society "widens the breach between the two races," we would ask, do the distinguished Protesters contemplate a union between the two races as a possible thing, and would they afford to such a project the high sanction of their authority or example? The members of the Colonization Society have certainly never held a doctrine on this subject, differing from that of their fellow-citizens. With them, the conceded impracticability of a physical amalgamation of the two races, their consequent perpetual political alienation, and the moral evils therefore inevitable in the condition of the black man however favorably

"
circumstanced in this country, have always constituted a primary reason for the
plan of removing him to the country of his ancestors. If by "widening the
breach between the two races" be meant an attempt to increase the obstacles
to amalgamation, it is answered, that the breach had been opened by a higher
than human power; and could not be widened by the Colonization Socie-
ty, or any other agent. But if it be intended to insinuate that the Society
engenders or exasperates unkind feelings on the part of the white towards
the coloured population, we appeal to the spirit manifested by every line of
its Constitution, and by the whole series of its acts, for a refutation of the
charge.

10. "It exposes the coloured population to great practical persecution, in or-
der to force them to emigrate."

This averment is unaccompanied by a scintilla of evidence that force has
in any instance been used to procure a colonist. No evidence can be pro-
duced showing that the Society has ever "compelled" or attempted to com-
pel, a coloured person to emigrate to the Colony. If the averment, which is
loosely worded, meant only the tendency of the colonization scheme, its
foundation must be a passage in a speech delivered at one of the annual
meetings of the Society, on the single responsibility of the speaker, and af-
fterwards perverted by the opponents of colonization to their own designs.—
The perversion having been long ago fully exposed, it is matter of surprise
rather than regret, so far as the Society is concerned, that the topic should
have found its way into a document emanating from so dignified a source as
that of the London Protest.

11. The Colonization Society, "finally, is calculated to swallow up and di-
vvert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but
entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God and with the
well-being of man, whether of the enslaver or the enslaved."

In answer to this dictum, still more naked, if possible than its predeces-
sors, we have now merely to say, that not having been enlightened as to the
reasons of the apprehension which it expresses, and confiding in the justice
and intelligence of the American people, we do not fear that their feeling on
the subject of slavery, is in danger of being "swallowed up and diverted," or
of being either "swallowed up," or "diverted," by the Colonization Society.
What that feeling is, will be noticed presently.

12. After the finale, the Protesters say by way of postscript,
"We must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American-
Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of
the countenance of the British public."

This closing declaration is in its very form, put forth merely as matter of
authority. It is certainly to be regretted that a denunciation so flaming
should have proceeded from authority so grave.

It is not the least striking singularity of the remarkable paper on which we
have been commenting, that its unfavorable judgment on the motives and ob-
jects of the Society is coupled with admissions, that they "cordially wish
[the Colony] well," that possibly the "intentions" of the Society may be
"good," and that "the Colony of Liberia, or any other Colony on the coast of
Africa" is, "in itself, a good thing."

The friends of colonization will be pleased to find the Protest confirming
information which had been received from other quarters, that the Society
was "gaining some adherents in [Great Britain.]" There is so ground to
fear that the number of them will not increase as the true character of the So-
ciety comes to be properly understood; or even that the Protesters themselves
will not on a more deliberate examination, resign from the errors into which
they have been led by a reliance on partial sources of information. Three of
their number, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Allen, and Mr. W. Smith, have, we learn,
already set this honorable example to their associates, by causing their
names to be stricken off from the Protest. Mr. Smith's name, indeed, does
not appear in the Protest as taken from the London Christian Advocate; though it is affixed to another, perhaps earlier copy, which we have seen.

To the rest of the distinguished Protesters, who survive Mr. Wilberforce, and to the British public at large, the following brief considerations are respectfully submitted:

I. During the period of our colonial history, negro slavery was planted on our soil by the mother country.

II. When the colonies became an independent people, this evil had become so fastened on them by the policy of Great Britain; the right of property in slaves had become so fixed by her authority; and the habits of the plantation States especially, had received so decided a direction from it; that no scheme for a sudden eradication of the evil could be devised, which was either practicable or safe. The force of this consideration is illustrated by the difficulties and delays which preceded the success of the efforts made in Great Britain to abolish the slave-trade with dependencies separated from her by an ocean.

III. When the people of the new States commenced the work of forming a National Government, the embarrassments of the subject of slavery had (as the Virginia Burgesses predicted to the King before the Revolution, that they would do) grievously increased. Difficulties on the most momentous subjects met at every step the efforts of American patriots to establish a united government. One was at length formed, on the principle of compromise; and the compact secured to the slave owner the property in his slaves, which he had derived from the mother country.

IV. The only power given by the compact to the National Government on the subject of slavery, was a power to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the United States, after a given period. This trust has been promptly and faithfully executed.

V. A majority of the citizens of the U. States reside in States where slavery does not exist; and they have no power to abolish it in the slave-holding States.

VI. The white people of the slave-holding States regard the existence of slavery as an evil; but no plan for its immediate termination has been presented to them, which under existing circumstances was practicable, safe to themselves, or beneficial to the slave. Slavery, in the abstract, has but few supporters in the U. States. Any recent instance of its being defended in any respectable quarter, on principle, may be fairly ascribed to the unmeasured anathemas which a small but reckless sect in our country have heaped, without discrimination, on all whose misfortune it is to own a slave.

VII. The slave-holding States, finding from experience, that great evils followed from the residence of free people of colour within their borders, have generally passed laws making the removal of a slave a condition of his emancipation.

VIII. The sincerity of the profession that the existence of such evils is a barrier against emancipation, is manifested by the alacrity with which slaves have been manumitted in order to emigrate to Liberia.

IX. The American Colonization Society is an association of benevolent individuals, many of whom are clergymen of exemplary piety, for the purpose of colonizing free people of colour, residing in the U. States, with their consent; and Liberia in Africa is the place selected for the establishment of the Colony. As the Society disclaims in its Constitution any idea of using force in the colonization of free people of colour, so also it has disclaimed in other authoritative modes, any idea of bringing slaves within the scope of its policy by projects of forcible emancipation. Such projects would be inconsistent with the duty of the members of the Society as citizens of the U. States, owing allegiance to its Constitution, in the spirit as well as the letter of that instrument, bound to respect the social rights of their fellow-citizens, and cherishing in their hearts the happy and glorious union of the States. but
the Colonization Society was sufficiently aware of the temper of American slave-holders on the subject of slavery, to foresee that the means of emancipation indicated by its plan would be embraced as fast as would be commensurate with the means of the Society. This expectation has been more than realized. At least one thousand slaves have been liberated by their owners for the purpose of emigration to Liberia, and have been conveyed thither by the Society; and the number would have been greater, had its means been more abundant. Signal, however, as is the liberality of the American public to the Society, more applications are always on its files, than it can accede to. Ought, then, any reasonable mind to doubt, that the colonizing scheme exerts a powerful, though indirect, influence, propitious to the final abolition of slavery? It has been objected by opponents of the Society who admit the existence of this influence, that its fruits are so small and its work so tardy, that its value is insignificant. It may be answered, that however little good it may have done in comparison of what is yet to be achieved, even that little should be precious in the eye of the philanthropist: that as the operations of the colonizing scheme proceed, and proceed successfully, its energies must increase in a geometrical ratio: that it has already satisfied the slave-holding State nearest to the non-slave-holding portion of the Union at the North, of the practicability of getting rid of her coloured population through its agency, and that she is at this moment active in promoting that end: and, passing on to a consideration of mere expediency, that experience shows that a State where slavery is permitted, on the frontier of one where it is forbidden, must sooner or later perceive the preferableness of free-labour to slave-labour; and when convinced of the fact, will act on the conviction.

X. The colonizing scheme, be its effects great or small, is the only plan hitherto put forth for the melioration of the coloured people in the United States, which has done, or is likely to do, any thing. Under its auspices a Colony has been established, which, after fewer reverses of fortune and brief delays than mark the annals of previous colonies, now consists of more than three thousand souls, enjoying civil and political liberty, full opportunities of religious and moral instruction, a prosperous commerce, and the means of agricultural improvement. Let this state of things be contrasted with the history of what are called Anti-Slavery Societies in this country. These Institutions, though spurning the restraints which a due regard for the social rights and the personal safety of their fellow-citizens should impose on them, and merging moral and even religious duty in their own wild will, have nevertheless done for the benefit of the coloured people—literally nothing.—They profess to consider immediate emancipation the highest boon which can be bestowed on this unhappy race. But while the welkin has been ringing with their clamorous abstractions, they have not, so far as we know or believe, given or contributed to give, freedom to a single slave.

We now subjoin the Protest which has occasioned the foregoing remarks. As this document has obviously been generated under the auspices of the sect of which Mr. W. L. Garrison is the champion, and Mr. G. himself was its sponsor in England, we would willingly copy his prefatory letter, were we not deterred from doing so by a natural as well as prudential reluctance to republish a libel.

PROTEST.

We, the undersigned, having observed with regret that the "American Colonization Society" appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward, are the claims which the Society has put forth to Anti-Slavery support. These claims are, in our opinion, wholly groundless; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive. As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has, no doubt, the advantages of other trading establishments. In this sense, it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never requir-
ed of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone. We are enormously burdened by our own connexion with slavery; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American slave-holders, and which is regarded with aversion by the coloured population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the slave-trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. The only effectual death-blow to that accursed traffic, will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction.

Our objections to it are briefly these: While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its real effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the coloured people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected—that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races; exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to force them to emigrate; and, finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God and with the well-being of man, whether of the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be in itself a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.


London, July, 1833.

GENERAL MERCER AND COLONIZATION.

At a public dinner given last week, to General Charles Fenton Mercer, at Charleston, in Kanawha County, Virginia, in honor of his long and distinguished public services, the seventh regular toast, was the following:

"Our Friend and Guest, Charles F. Mercer. The founder of the Colony of Liberia— the projector and patron of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the father of the Literary and Internal Improvement Funds of Virginia. The fruits of his labors entitle him to the gratitude of the present age, and will stand amid posterity, the enduring monuments of his fame."

After the applause elicited by this toast had subsided, Gen. Mercer rose and addressed the company in a speech of great eloquence and rich in valuable instruction on each of the topics suggested in the toast. We resist, but not without difficulty, the temptation of so far deviating from the plan of this work, as to transfer the whole speech, which is not a long one, into our columns. We copy, however, only the part of it relating to Colonization. The italicized passage commends itself to the especial consideration of the noble Lord and the honorable Commoners in England, who recently saw fit to denounce the Colonizing plan, its founders and its friends. Whatever may be their degree of information on that subject, they cannot but be aware that Charles Fenton Mercer, is an eminent statesman, whose philanthropical labours have acquired for him the title of "The American Wilberforce."

The portion of the Address referred to, which concerns Colonization, is as follows:

"But the prosperity of our entire commonwealth rests, fellow citizens, on the union of Internal Improvement, with other agents. It has, in truth a triple foundation; in improved intercourse; the Colonization of our free colored population; and Universal Education.

"With regard to the last two of those three instruments of our future prosperity, your generosity has assigned to me a relation which I am aware would be questioned by others, and