THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

VOL. XXVII—1851.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

AT ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM.

WASHINGTON:
C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,
F STREET, NEAR NAVY DEPARTMENT,
1851.
telligent and comprehensive manner, reasonings and conclusions which cannot fail to interest every true friend of the African race.

We also invite the attention of our readers to several interesting letters lately received from Liberia, and first published in the July number of the New York Colonization Journal; one of which letters is from George L. Seymour, who has long been an enterprising citizen of Liberia; but who, previous to his emigration from this country, had his prejudices, as he expresses it, against the Colonization enterprise;

and now, from the home of his forefathers—the land of his adoption—he sends back the Macedonian cry to his brethren in this country, "Come over and help us,"—help us "to collect the fading laurels of our forefathers, which have for ages been intermingled with the rubbish of time;" to teach the untutored heathen the principles of the Christian Religion; and to establish for our children and our children's children a name, a country, and a home:—a work, we think, worthy the attention of the free people of color of the United States.

[From the N. Y. Tribune.]

African Colonization.

BY A MAN OF COLOR.

As the infant Republic of Liberia is now attracting the attention of the enlightened nations, and the press of both England and America, I may hope that a communication in regard to that country, and the Afric-Americans in this, may not be deemed a subject intrusive nor foreign to the public interest. And I am encouraged by the just and liberal course you have taken in favor of the proposed line of steamers to the Western Coast of Africa, and also the boldness with which you have lately urged the propriety and interest of some of the colored people emigrating from our crowded cities to less populous parts of this country, as the great West, or to Africa, or any other place where they may secure an equality of rights and liberty, with a mind unfettered and space to rise. Besides, as your paper is generally read by the progressive and more liberal portion of white Americans and some of the most intelligent of the colored, I may also hope to be confirmed in my present sentiments and measures, or driven to new and better convictions. I do not wish to be thought extravagant, when I affirm what I believe to be true, that I have seen no act in your public career as an editor, statesman and philanthropist, more noble and praiseworthy than that of turning your pen and influence to African colonization and civiliza-
African Colonization.

September,

ple in this country have failed to discharge a great and important duty to their race. Seeing this, though a mere private business man, with a trembling pen, I come forward alone, joining with friend and foe in moving the wheel of a great enterprise, which, though unpopular with those it designs to benefit, must result eventually in the redemption and enfranchisement of the African race.

With the conviction of a purpose so noble, and an end so beneficent, I cannot notice the misrepresentations, slander, and anathemas, which I must, for a while, endure, even from those whose approbation and good will I would gladly retain. It was no difficult task to have seen, that unless they could force emancipation, and when the perfect, social and political equality of the races, human nature, human pride and passions, would not allow the Americans to acknowledge the equality and inalienable rights of those who had been their slaves. One or the other must be dominant. For this reason: seven years ago, while a student, I advocated the plan of a separate State for colored Americans—not as a choice, but as a necessity, believing it would be better for our manhood and intellect to be freemen by ourselves, than political slaves with our oppressors. I enlisted at once the aid of a few colored young men, of superior talent and ability; and we were earnestly taking measures to negotiate for a tract of land in Mexico, when the war and its consequences blasted our hopes, and drove us from our purpose. About five years ago I told my excellent friend, George L. Seymour, of Liberia, (who, after a residence of some years there, had returned to this city to take out his family,) that I knew only one way to develop the faculties of our people in this country, and that by their entire separation from oppression and its influences; and that if I was compelled to abandon my plan of a separate State in America, I would devote my voice, my pen, my heart, and soul, to the cause of Liberia. I have since written to him that he has my heart in Africa now, and in two or three years, if we live, I will shake hands with him on the banks of the St. John.

Ever since a lad of fifteen, it has been my constant study to learn how I might best contribute to elevate the social and political position of the oppressed and unfortunate people with whom I am identified; and while I have endeavored, in my humble way, to plead the cause of three millions of my enslaved countrymen, I have,
at the same time, thought it no inconsist-
ency to plead also for the hundred and fifty
millions of the native sons of Africa. But
every word uttered in her behalf subjects
us to the imputation of being a Coloniza-
tionist, and covers us with the odium our
people attach to such a name; as if some-
thing unjust and wicked was naturally as-
sociated with the term, when in fact that
odium, if such I may call it for the sake of
argument, can exist only with those who have
forgotten the history of Plymouth Rock and Jamestown, or who are deter-
med not to know the truth, in spite of
facts and the evidence of the most enlight-
ened reason. What is Colonization? For
the benefit of those who treat it with con-
tempt, and think that no good can come out of it, I may merely remark that the
thirteen original States, previous to the De-
claration of Independence, were called the
Colonies of Great Britain, the inhabitants
colonists. The companies and individuals
in England that assisted in planting these
colonies were called Colonizationists. These
colonists came from the land of their birth,
and forsaw their homes, their firesides,
their former altars, and the graves of their
fathers, to seek civil and religious liberty
among the wild beasts and Indians on a
foreign, bleak, and desolate shore. Oppres-
sed at home, they emigrated to Hol-
land, and after remaining there twelve
years, returned to England, and found not
the hope of rest until they came to
America. That very persecution and op-
pression of the mother country planted in
America the purest civil and religious in-
stitutions the world had ever seen. And
now this powerful Republic, by her op-
pression and injustice to one class of this
people, will plant in Africa a religion and
morality more pure, and liberty more univer-
sal, than it has yet been the lot of my
people to enjoy. I never have been of
that class who repudiate every thing Ame-
rican. While I shall never make any com-
promise with slavery, nor feel indifferent
to its blighting, withering effects on the hu-
man intellect and human happiness, I
cannot be so blind as not to see and be-
lieve that, in spite of all its corrupting in-
fluences on national character, there is yet
piety, virtue, philanthropy, and disinter-
ested benevolence among the American
people; and when, by the progress of free
thought and the full development of her
free institutions, our country shall have
removed from her national escutcheon that
plague-spot of the nation, she will do more
than all others in sending the light of lib-
erty and everlasting love into every por-
tion of the habitable globe. In our enthui-
siasm and devotion to any great benefi-
tent cause, we are generally unwilling to
make the best use of men as we find them,
until we have wasted our energies in ac-
complishing nothing, or a calmer reflection
convinces us of our error. It is well for
those to whom this reflection comes not
too late. We have been an unfortunate
people. For 400 years the avarice, fraud,
and oppression of Europeans and their de-
sendants have been preying upon the chil-
dren of Africa and her descendants in Ame-
rica. Says my eloquent correspondent, in
writing upon this subject: "I know this
was the soil on which I was born; but I
have nothing to glorify this as my country.
I have no pride of ancestry to point back
to. Our forefathers did not come here as
did the Pilgrim fathers, in search of a place
where they could enjoy civil and religious
liberty. No; they were cowardly enough
to allow themselves to be brought manac-
celed and fettered as slaves, rather than die
on their native shores resisting their op-
pressors." In the language of Dr. Todd:
"If the marks of humanity are not blotted
out from this race of miserable men, it is
not because oppression has not been suffi-
ciently legalized, and avarice been allowed
to pursue its victims till the grave became
a sweet asylum."

During the past thirty years, two influ-
ential and respectable associations have
arisen in our behalf, each claiming to be
the most benevolent, and each seemingly
opposed to the intentions and purposes of
the other.

The American Colonization Society, on
the one hand, proposed to benefit us by
the indirect means of planting a colony on
the western coast of Africa, as an asylum
for the free colored people and manumitted
slaves of the United States; and by this
means also to send the blessings of civili-
zation and religion to the benighted sons of
that continent. The principal obstacle in
the way of their success has been, that the
free colored people, as a body, everywhere,
have denounced the whole scheme as wicked
and mischievous, and resolved not to leave
this country; while those who have gone
to that colony, from a state of slavery, as
the condition of freedom, have been least
able to contribute to the knowledge and
greatness of a new country, and impart
civilization and the arts and sciences to its
heathen inhabitants. This Society was one
of the few that are popular in their very
beginning. But that which made it most
popular with the American public furnish-
ed the cause of the opposition of the color-
ed people. They erected a platform so broad, that the worst enemies of the race could stand upon it with the same grace, and undistinguished from the honest and true philanthropist. It could at the same time appeal for support to the piety and benevolence of the North, and to the prejudies and sordid interest of the South. I state this simply as a fact, not for the purpose of finding fault. It is always easier to show one plan faulty than to produce a better one.

Notwithstanding the different and adverse motives that have prompted the friends of Colonization, they certainly have labored perseveringly and unitedly for the accomplishment of one great purpose. And in spite of all our former distrust, we must give them the credit at least of producing as yet the only great practical scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the free colored man and the manumitted slave. They did not profess nor promise to do more. Instead of engaging in clamorous agitations about principles and measures, they turned what men and means they had to the best purpose, and engaged industriously in founding and nurturing a colony for the free colored people, where they have an opportunity of demonstrating their equality with the white race, by seizing upon, combining, and developing all the elements of national greatness by which they are surrounded. Thus far the end is good; we need not stop now to scan their motives.

The Abolitionists, on the other hand, proposed by moral means the immediate emancipation of the slave, and the elevation of the free colored people in the land of their birth. And this they did at a time which tried men's souls. Theirs was a platform on which none dare stand who were not willing to endure scorn, reproach, disgrace, lynching law, and even death for the sake of oppressed Americans. At first, interest, reputation, office nor profit, but the reverse, were the reward of an Abolitionist. Now that Anti-Slavery has become popular with many of the American people, it assumes another name, and is converted into political capital. Even Free-Soilism was not so much designed to make room for our liberties, as to preserve unimpaired the liberties of the whites.

The Abolitionists have not yet accomplished anything which we can see to be so definite and practical. Yet they have divested themselves of personal prejudices, aroused the nation to a sense of its injustice and wrongs toward the colored people, encouraged them in improving and obtaining education here, broken down many arbitrary and proscription usages in their treatment, and convinced this nation and England that they are a people capable of moral, social, and political elevation, and entitled to equal rights with any other community. Both of these benevolent societies might perhaps have accomplished more good, if they had wasted less ammunition in firing at each other. While one has formally declared a moral and intellectual inferiority of our race, with an incapacity ever to enjoy the rights and prerogatives of freemen in the land of our birth, the other has declared that hatred to the race and love of slavery were the only motives that prompted the Colonizationists to action. In taking a liberal and more comprehensive view of the whole matter, we believe that whatever may have been the faults, inconsistencies and seeming opposition of either, both have been instrumental in doing much good in their own way; and under the guidance of an all-wise Providence, the labors, devotion and sacrifices of both will work together for good, and tend toward a grander and more sublime result than either association at present contemplates.

For our own part, under the existing state of things, we cannot see why any hostility should exist between those who are true Abolitionists and that class of Colonizationists who are such from just and benevolent motives. Nor can we see a reason why a man of pure and enlarged philanthropy may not be in favor of both, unless his devotion to one should cause him to neglect the other. Extremes in any case are always wrong. It is rare to find that all the members of any association, untrammeled by interest, act solely from high moral principle and disinterested benevolence. The history of the world, civil, sacred and profane, shows that some men have, in all ages, espoused popular and benevolent causes, more or less influenced by prejudice or selfishness. Human nature, with its imperfections, remains the same.

Ever since the adoption of the Constitution, the government and people of this country, as a body, have pursued but one policy toward our race. In every contest between the great political parties we have been the losers. But this result it is reasonable to expect in a Republic whose Constitution guarantees the protection to our peculiar and our free institutions—thus securing the rights and liberties of one class at the expense of the liberties of another. Besides this, Texas and all the States that
have since come into the Union, have surrounded us with political embarrassments. Every State that has lately revised or altered her Constitution, has been more liberal in extending rights to the white and less so to the colored man. In view of these facts, I assume as a fixed principle that it is impossible for us to develop our moral and intellectual capacities as a distinct people, under our present social and political disabilities; and, judging by the past and present state of things, there is no reason to hope that we can do it in this country in future.

Let us look a moment at some of the consequences of this social and political distinction on the entire mass. They are shut out from all the offices of profit and honor, and from the most honorable and lucrative pursuits of industry, and confined as a class to the most menial and servile positions in society. And, what is worse than all, they are so educated from infancy, and become so accustomed to this degraded condition, that many of them seem to love it.

They are excluded in most of the States from all participation in the government; taxed without their consent, and compelled to submit to unrighteous laws, strong as the nation that enacts them, and cruel as the grave.

They are also excluded from every branch of mechanical industry; the workshop, the factory, the counting-room, and every avenue to wealth and respectability, is closed against them.

Colleges and academies slowly open their doors to them, when they possess no means to avail themselves of their advantages, and when their social condition has so degraded and demoralized them as to destroy all motive or desire to do so.

They are by necessity constant consumers, while they produce comparatively nothing, nor derive profit from the production of others. Shut out from all these advantages, and trained to fill the lowest condition in society, their teachers and ministers as a class educate them only for the situation to which the American people have assigned them. And hence too many of them aspire no higher than the gratification of their passions and appetites, and cling with deadly tenacity to country that hates them and offers them nothing but chains, degradation and slavery.

Since things are so, it is impossible for them while in this country to prove to the world the moral and intellectual equality of the Africans and their descendants. Before such an experiment can be fairly tested, our colored youth from childhood must be admitted to a full participation in all the privileges of our schools, academies and colleges, and to all the immunities and rights of citizenship, free from every distinction on account of color, and the degrading influences that ignorance, prejudice and slavery have heretofore thrown around them.

The same inducements as to white Americans should engage them in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the mechanic arts, and all the pursuits of civilized and enlightened communities. Every man of common intelligence knows this has not been done; knows, too, it cannot be done, for the first time, in the United States. In the face of these facts, we are compelled to admit that the African-Americans, in their present state, cannot compete with the superior energy and cultivated intellect of long-civilized and Christian Saxons.

And, hence, we are driven to the conclusion that the friendly and mutual separation of the two races is not only necessary to the peace, happiness and prosperity of both, but indispensable to the preservation of the one and the glory of the other. While we would thus promote the interests of two great continents, and build up another powerful Republic, as an asylum for the oppressed, we would, at the same time, gratify national prejudices. We should be the last to admit that the colored man here, by nature and birth, is inferior in intellect, but by education and circumstances he may be. We could name many moral and intelligent colored young men in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, whose talents and genius far excel our own, and those of a majority of the hundreds of Saxon students with whom we have at different times been associated; men who, if liberally educated, would operate like leaven on our whole people, waken responses in the unexplored regions of Africa, and pour new light on the republic of letters; but who, for the want of means and an unchained intellect, will probably live and die "unknown, unhonored and unsung."

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

This may appear ridiculous to those who know the colored man only as a domestic slave in the South or a political cipher in the North. But the generations living sixty years hence will regard him in a very different light. Before that time shall have arrived, American Christians.
as an expiation for the past, have a great
duty to discharge to a prostrate nation,
pleading in silent agony to God,

"With tears more eloquent than learned tongue
Or lyre of purest note."

We too have a great work to perform.
To the Anglo and Afric-American is com-
mitted the redemption and salvation of a
numerous people, for ages sunk in the
lowest depth of superstition and barbarism.
Who but educated and pious colored men
are to lead on the van of the "sacramental
host of God's elect" to conquer by love,
and bring Africa, with her tractless regions,
under the dominion of our Saviour; to bat-
tize her sons at the font of science and
religion, and teach them to chant the
praises of liberty and God, until

"One song employs all nations; and all cry,
'Worthy the Lamb, for he was slain for us!'
The dwellers in the valleys and on the rocks
Shout to each other, and the mountain tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy,
Till, nation after nation caught the strain,
Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round."

Whatever may have been the objections
to Colonization in former times, I call up-
on colored people of this country to inves-
tigate the subject now under its present
auspices. When I consider the kind of
interest they have received from their pro-
fessed friends in America, I do not blame
them in the past for expecting, "God
deliver us from our friends, and we will
take care of our enemies." I can never
forget the round of applause that rang
through an audience when a talented col-
ored man of New York, in an earnest
harangue against Colonization, said:

"Mr. President, the Colonizationists want
us to go to Liberia if we will; if we won't
go there, we may go to hell." It seemed
to indicate that they felt there was too
much truth in the remark. Their principal
objection has been, that men who professed
the greatest love for them in Africa, did
the most to exclude them there from the
means of education, improvement, and
every respectable pursuit of industry. And
their personal treatment was such as color-
ed men only are made to feel, but none
can describe. When the temperance men
treated the inebriate as an outcast—a
wretch debased and lost—they accom-
plished nothing, but repelled him from
their kind influences; now, when they
recognize him as a man and a brother,
their efforts are crowned with great success.
In keeping with other reforms, I think
that colonizationists have become more
liberal and kind than formerly. Whether
this be true or not, if I can dispose of a
single objection, I shall be confident that
Afric-Americans are to be benefited more
by the cause they advocate and sustain,
than by any other practical scheme philan-
thropy has yet devised. I should have
been glad if this Society, consistent with
its leading purpose, had done something
for the improvement and education of
colored youth. And this would have been
a great auxiliary to their main object.
They have thought that, if they encourag-
ed their education here, they would not go
to Africa. This is a mistake! If they
would aid and encourage them in obtaining
such education as white men receive,
they could not keep them in this country.
They would entirely unfit them for the de-
based position they must here occupy. Give
me but educated intellect to operate upon,
and I can send Liberia more useful men
in three months, than I can in five years'
labor with society as I find it. I speak
only from my own experience, when I say
that, during a life of constant struggle and
effort, I never have received any sympathy
or encouragement in obtaining an educa-
tion, nor in aspirations to usefulness, from
any of the advocates of Colonization, ex-
cept my noble friend, J. C. Potts, Esq.,
of Trenton, N. J. Yet from some little
acquaintance with many others, I believe
they are good and true friends, ready to
do anything for colored Americans that
they would for white men in similar cir-
cumstances. I have never doubted the
good motives and true benevolence of such
gentlemen as Benjamin Coates, Theodore
Frelinghuysen, A. G. Phelps, J. B. Pin-
ney, John McDonogh, and a host of
others, whose sentiments and efforts in our
behalf I know only by reading. But
slavery and its consequent degradation,
together with our social position, have
kept us farther apart than if separated by
the waters of the Atlantic. However
good the men and worthy their cause, it
cannot flourish without the co-operation of
Afric-Americans here. Our brethren across
the Atlantic have been struggling thirty
years, and in tears and joy have laid the
foundations of a free Republic with civil
and religious institutions. They now
call on us to assist in sustaining them and
participate in their blessings; to aid them
to civilize its inhabitants and extend the
rising glory of the Lone Star of Africa.
We should examine their cause, and if it
is just, we should no longer withhold our
aid; and especially when, in benefiting
them, we must benefit ourselves. If, by
my feeble efforts, I shall ever be able to do
any thing that shall tell in future blessings
on that injured country, it will be very much owing to the sympathy and encour-
ageinent received, in the course of my edu-
cation, from S. H. Cox, D. D., of 1844, and Lewis Tappan, Esq., that unchanging and unfailing advocate of the slave.

But we have never been pledged to any men or set of measures. We must mark out an independent course, and become the architects of our own fortunes, when neither Colonizationists nor Abolitionists have the power or the will to admit us to any honorable or profitable means of subsis-
tence in this country. I only regret that I come to the aid of Africa at a time when I possess less ability to speak or write in her behalf than I did ten years since. Strange as it may appear, whatever may be a colored man's natural capacity and literary attainments, I believe that, as soon as he leaves the academic halls to mingle in the only society he can find in the United States, unless he be a minister or lecturer, he must and will retrograde. And for the same reason, just in proportion as he increases in knowledge, will he become the more miserable.

"If ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

He who would not rather live anywhere on earth in freedom than in this country in social and political degradation, has not attained half the dignity of his manhood. I hope our Government will justly recognize the independence of Liberia, establish that line of steamers, and thus give Africa a reinforcement of ten thousand men per annum instead of four hundred.

Pardon my prolixity. The subject and the occasion have compelled me to write more than I expected to. In attempting to be just to three classes, I expect to please none. While the press and our whole country is vexed and agitated on subjects pertaining to us, if I can do noth-
ing more than provoke an inquiry among Afric-Americans, I shall have the satisfac-
tion of hoping, at least, that I have con-
tributed something to the interest and happiness of the citizens of the United States and the people of Africa.

AUGUSTUS WASHINGTON.

Hartford, July 3, 1851.

[From the N. Y. Colonization Journal.]

Extracts of Letters from Liberia.

BEXLEY, LIBERIA, Feb. 27, 1851.

Rev. John B. Pinney:

DEAR SIR: I was exceedingly gratified to learn from Mr. Edward Blyden, who is staying at my house, that you were well, and still engaged in the Colonization enterprise. I came out here about sixteen years ago, from the State of Virginia, in the "good ship Ninus," the first expedition that sailed for Liberia under the auspices of the "Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania." The Ninus left Norfolk on the 24th of October, 1834; I arrived at Bassa Cove. While at Mon-
rovia, I took an excursion up the river to Millsburg. It was there that I first saw you. I subsequently saw you at Bassa Cove, after my return there. Mr. Erskine was with you at that time. I made a gun rod for you then. You may re-
collect an old settler. I have at present a small farm, on which I raise ginger, arrow-
root, pepper, coffee, cassadus, potatoes, plantains, bananas, &c. With the excep-
tion of the diseases incident to old age, I am very comfortable.

Yours, very respectfully,

CHARLES GRAY.

P.S. If it is convenient to you, sir, will you send me a few numbers of the Colo-
nization Journal, and also other newspa-
ders? as it is ever delightful to me to hear of the progress of Colonization.

Yours,

C. G.

Rev. J. B. Pinney:

DEAR SIR: This is to inform you of my safe arrival in Liberia, after a passage of thirty-five days from Baltimore. We left Baltimore on Saturday, December 21, 1850. We did not, however, get without the Capes of the Chesapeake Bay until Tuesday evening, the 24th, on account of head winds. But no sooner were we out than we met very fair wind, which took us on our course at the rate of twelve miles an hour, which continued for several days. On Sunday, the 29th, we encountered a severe storm in 37° 7' N. lat., 53° 28' W. long. Towards evening, the storm increased fearfully, insomuch that we renounced all hopes of seeing daylight. But, through the merciful interposition of Divine Providence, the storm abated towards morning, and once more we gazed upon the beautiful sun. On New-Year's day, we had an-
other severe storm, which lasted all day; this also passed away, through the mercy of God. On January 15, we made St. Antonia, one of the Cape Verde Islands,