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AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED TO THE

Colonization Society

OF

KENTUCKY.

AT FRANKFORT, DECEMBER 17, 1829,

BY THE

HON. HENRY CLAY,

AT THE REQUEST OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

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[Published at the instance of the Society.]

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THOMAS SMITH.....PRINTER.....LEXINGTON.

1829.

At a Meeting of the Colonization Society of Kentucky Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society of the United States, convened in Frankfort on the 17th day of December, 1829,

*Resolved unanimously,* That the thanks of this Society are due to the Hon. Henry Clay for the very able and eloquent address delivered by him this day, and that his Excellency Thomas Metcalfe, Wm. P. Fleming, Esq. and Rev. John Bryce, be a Committee to request a copy of the same for publication.

H. WINGATE.

FRANKFORT, DEC. 18, 1829.

GENTLEMEN:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the resolution adopted by the Kentucky Colonization Society yesterday, expressing its sense of the Address which I had the honor of delivering, at the instance of the Board of Managers, and requesting, through you, a copy of it for publication. Although I am entirely persuaded that I am indebted to the partiality of the Society for the favourable estimate which it has made of the character of that Address, a copy of it shall be furnished as soon as it can be conveniently prepared, for such use as the Society may choose to make of it.

I am with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

His Excellency *Thomas Metcalfe,*  
*William P. Fleming, Esq.*  
*and the Rev. John Bryce.*

## ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF KENTUCKY:

I MOST sincerely wish that the task of addressing you, on this occasion, had been assigned, by the Board of Managers, to some individual more competent than I am to explain and illustrate and enforce the claims of the Society to the friendly and favorable consideration of the public. I yield to none in a thorough persuasion of the utility of the scheme of the Society, in a profound conviction of its practicability, and in an ardent desire for its complete success. But I am sensible that there are many others who could more happily than I can, throw around the subject those embellishments which are best calculated to secure attention, and engage the cordial and energetic co-operation of the community.— When the application was first made to me to deliver this address, I hesitated to comply with it, because I apprehended that my motives would be misconceived, and my language be misrepresented. Subsequent reflection determined me to adhere to the maxim of my whole life, to endeavour to render all the good in my power, without being restrained by the misconceptions to which I might expose myself. In entering upon the duty which has devolved upon me, I ask only the exercise of ordinary liberality in judging the imperfections which will doubtless mark its performance.

In surveying the United States of North America and their Territories, the beholder perceives, among their inhabitants, three separate and distinct races of men, originally appertaining to three different continents of the globe, each race varying from the others in color, physical properties, and moral and intellectual endowments. The European is the most numerous; and, as well from that fact, as from its far greater advance in civilization and in the arts, has the decided ascendancy over the other two, giving the law to them, controlling their condition, and responsible for their fate to the Great Father of all, and to the enlightened world. The next most numerous and most intelligent race, is that which sprung from Africa, the largest portion of which is held in bondage by their brethren, descendants of the European. The aborigines, or Indian race, are the least numerous, and, with the exception of some tribes, have but partially emerged from the state of barbarism in which they were found on the first discovery of America. Whence, or how they came hither, are speculations for the research of the curious, on which authentic history affords no certain light.

Their future fortunes or condition, form no part of the subject of this address. I shall, I hope, nevertheless be excused for the di

gression of dedicating a few passing observations to the interesting remnant of these primitive possessors of the new world. I have never been able to agree in the expediency of employing any extraordinary exertions to blend the white and copper coloured races together, by the ceremony of marriage. There would be a motive for it if the Indians were equal or superior to their white brethren, in physical or intellectual powers. But the fact is believed to be otherwise. The mixture improves the Indian, but deteriorates the European element. Invariably it is remarked, that those of the mixed blood, among the Indians, are their superiors, in war, in council, and in the progress of the useful arts, whilst they remain in the rear of the pure white race still farther than they are in advance of the pure Indian. In those instances (chiefly among the French) during the progress of the settlement of this continent, in which the settlers have had most intercourse with the Indians, they have rather sunk to the level of their state, than contributed essentially to their civilization.

But if there be no adequate recommendation to the white race, of an union by intermarriage, with the Indian, we are enjoined by every duty of religion, humanity and magnanimity to treat them with kindness and justice, and to recall them if we can, from their savage to a better condition. The United States stand charged with the fate of these poor children of the woods in the face of their common Maker, and in presence of the world. And, as certain as the guardian is answerable for the education of his infant ward, and the management of his estate, will they be responsible here and hereafter, for the manner in which they shall perform the duties of the high trust which is committed to their hands, by the force of circumstances. Hitherto, since the United States became an independent power among the nations of the earth, they have generally treated the Indians with justice, and performed towards them all the offices of humanity. Their policy, in this respect, was vindicated during the negotiations at Ghent, and the principles which guided them in their relations with the Indians, were then promulgated to all Christendom. On that occasion, their representatives, holding up their conduct in advantageous contrast with that of Great Britain, and the other powers of Europe, said: "From the rigor of this system, however, as practised by Great Britain and all the European powers in America, the humane and liberal policy of the United States has voluntarily relaxed. A celebrated writer on the laws of nations, to whose authority British jurists have taken particular satisfaction in appealing, after stating, in the most explicit manner, the legitimacy of colonial settlements in America, to the exclusion of all rights of uncivilized Indian tribes, has taken occasion to praise the first settlers of New-England, and the founder of Pennsylvania, in having purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate, notwithstanding their being provided with a charter from their sovereign. It is this example which the United States, since they

" became, by their independence, the sovereigns of the territory;  
 " have adopted and organized into a *political system*. Under that  
 " system, the Indians residing within the United States are *so far*  
 " *independent*, that they live under *their own customs and not under*  
 " *the laws of the United States*; that their rights upon the lands  
 " where they inhabit or hunt, are *secured* to them by boundaries  
 " defined in *amicable treaties* between the United States and them-  
 " selves; and that whenever those boundaries are varied, it is also  
 " by *amicable and voluntary treaties*, by which they receive from  
 " the United States ample compensation for every right they have  
 " to the land ceded by them. They are so far dependent as not to  
 " have the right to dispose of their lands to any private person, nor  
 " to any power other than the United States, and to be under *their*  
 " *protection alone*, and not under that of any *other* power. Wheth-  
 " er called subjects, or by whatever name designated, *such* is the  
 " relation between them and the United States. That relation is  
 " neither asserted now for the first time, nor did it originate with the  
 " treaty of Greenville. These principles have been *uniformly re-*  
 " *cognized* by the Indians themselves, not only by that treaty, but  
 " in *all the other previous as well as subsequent treaties* between  
 " them and the United States." Such was the solemn annuncia-  
 " tion to the whole world, of the principles and of the system, regula-  
 " ting our relations with the Indians, as admitted by us and recog-  
 " nized by them. There can be no violation of either, to the disad-  
 " vantage of the weaker party, which will not subject us, as a nation,  
 " to the just reproaches of all good men, and which may not bring  
 " down upon us the maledictions of a more exalted and powerful tri-  
 " bunal.

Whether the Indian portion of the inhabitants of the United States will survive, or become extinct, in the progress of population which the European race is rapidly making from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific ocean, *provided they are treated with justice and humanity*, is a problem of less importance. The two races are not promiscuously mingled together, but are generally separate and distinct communities. There is no danger to the whites or to their purity, from the power or from the vices of the Indians. The case is widely different with those who form the immediate object of this address.

The African part of our population, or their ancestors, were brought hither forcibly and by violence, in the prosecution of the most abominable traffic that ever disgraced the annals of the human race. They were chiefly procured, in their native country, as captives in war, taken, and subsequently sold by the conqueror as slaves to the slave trader. Sometimes the most atrocious practices of kidnapping were employed to obtain possession of the victims. Wars were frequent between numerous and barbarous neighbouring tribes scattered along the coasts or stretched upon the margin of large rivers of Africa. These wars were often enkindled and prosecuted for no other object than to obtain a supply of subjects

for this most shocking commerce. In these modes, husbands were torn from their wives, parents from their children, brethren from each other, and every tie cherished and respected among men, was violated. Upon the arrival, at the African coast, of the unfortunate beings thus reduced to slavery, they were embarked on board of ships carefully constructed and arranged to contain the greatest amount of human beings. Here they were ironed and fastened in parallel rows, and crowded together so closely, in loathsome holes, as not to have room for action or for breathing wholesome air. The great aim was to transport the largest possible number, at the least possible charge, from their native land to the markets for which they were destined. The greediness of cupidity was frequently disappointed and punished in its purposes, by the loss of moities of whole cargoes of the subjects of this infamous commerce, from want and suffering and disease on the voyage. How much happier were they who thus expired, than their miserable survivors!

These African slaves were brought to the continent of America, and the islands adjacent to it, and formed the parent stock of the race now amongst us. They were brought to the colonies now constituting the United States, under the sanction, and by the authority of British laws, which at an early period of our colonial existence, admitted and tolerated the trade. It is due to our colonial ancestors, to say, that they frequently and earnestly, but unsuccessfully remonstrated to the British Crown against the continuance of the practice. The introduction of slavery into this country is not, therefore, chargeable to them, but to a government in which they had no voice, and over which they had no control. It is equally due to our parent state to advert to the honorable fact, that in the midst of the Revolutionary war, when contending for her own independence and liberty, she evinced the sincerity of the spirit, in which those remonstrances had been addressed to the British throne, by denouncing, under the severest penalties, the further prosecution of the slave trade, within her jurisdiction. And I add, with great satisfaction, that the Congress of the United States passed an act, abolishing the trade as early as by their constitution it was authorized to do. On the second day of March, 1807, the act was passed, for which it was my happy lot to vote, the first section of which enacts, "That from and after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign kingdom, place or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold, sell or dispose of such negro, mulatto or person of colour, as a slave, or to be held to service or labour." Thus terminated, we may hope forever, in the United States, a disgraceful traffic, which drew after it a train of enormities surpassing in magnitude, darkness and duration, any that ever sprang from any trade pushed by the enterprize or cupidity of man.

The United States, as a nation, are not responsible for the original introduction, or the subsequent continuance of the slave trade.

Whenever, as has often happened, their character has been assailed, in foreign countries and by foreign writers, on account of the institution of slavery among us, the justness of that vindication has been admitted by the candid, which transfers to a foreign government the origin of the evil. Nor are the United States, as a sovereign power, responsible for the continuance of slavery within their limits, posterior to the establishment of their Independence; because by neither the articles of confederation, nor by the present constitution, had they power to put an end to it by the adoption of any system of emancipation. But from that epoch the responsibility of the several states in which slavery was tolerated, commenced, and on them devolved the momentous duty of considering whether the evil of African slavery is incurable, or admits of a safe and practical remedy. In performing it, they ought to reflect, that if when a given remedy is presented to their acceptance, instead of a due examination and deliberate consideration of it, they promptly reject it, and manifest an impatience whenever a suggestion is made of any plan to remove the evil, they will expose themselves to the reproach of yielding to the illusions of self-interest, and of insincerity in the professions which they so often make of a desire to get rid of slavery. It is a great misfortune, growing out of the actual condition of the several states, some being exempt and others liable to this evil, that they are too prone to misinterpret the views and wishes of each other in respect to it. The North and the South and the West, when they understand each other well, must be each convinced, that no other desire is entertained towards the others by any one of them, than for their welfare and prosperity. If the question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal or colonization, painful as it is to express the opinion, I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them. For I believe, that the aggregate of the evils which would be engendered in society, upon the supposition of such general emancipation, and of the liberated slaves remaining promiscuously among us, would be greater than all the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.

The several States of the Union were sensible of the responsibility which accrued to them, on the establishment of the independence of the United States, in regard to the subject of slavery.— And many of them, beginning at a period prior to the termination of the Revolutionary war, by successive but distinct acts of Legislation, have effectively provided for the abolition of slavery, within their respective jurisdictions. More than thirty years ago an attempt was made in this Commonwealth, to adopt a system of gradual emancipation, similar to that which the illustrious Franklin had mainly contributed to introduce, in the year 1779, in the state founded by the benevolent Penn. And, among the acts of my life, which I look back to with most satisfaction, is that of my having cooperated, with other zealous and intelligent friends, to procure the

establishment of that system in this state. We believed that the sum of good which would have been attained by the State of Kentucky, in a gradual emancipation of her slaves, at that period, would have far transcended the aggregate of mischief which might have resulted to herself and the Union together, from the gradual liberation of them, and their dispersion and residence in the United States. We were overpowered by numbers, but submitted to the decision of the majority with the grace which the minority, in a republic, should ever yield to such a decision. I have nevertheless never ceased, and never shall cease, to regret a decision, the effects of which have been to place us in the rear of our neighbours who are exempt from slavery, in the state of agriculture, the progress of manufactures, the advance of improvement, and the general prosperity of society.

Other states, in which slavery exists, have not been unmindful of its evils, nor indifferent to an adequate remedy for their removal. But most of them have hitherto reluctantly acquiesced in the continuance of these evils, because they thought they saw no practical scheme for their removal, which was free from insuperable objection and difficulty. Is there then really no *such* remedy? Must we endure perpetually all the undoubted mischiefs of the state of slavery, as it affects both the free and bond portions of the population of these states? Already the slaves may be estimated at two millions, and the free population at ten, the former being in the proportion of one to five of the latter. Their respective numbers will probably duplicate in periods of thirty-three years. In the year '63 the number of the whites will probably be twenty, and of the blacks four millions; in ninety-six, forty and eight, and in the year 1929, about a century, eighty and sixteen millions. What mind is sufficiently extensive in its reach, what nerves sufficiently strong, to contemplate this vast and progressive augmentation, without an awful foreboding of the tremendous consequences? If the two descriptions of population were equally spread and intermingled over the whole surface of the United States, their diffusion might diminish the danger of their action and corrupting influence upon each other. But this is not the state of the fact. The slaves of the U. States are chiefly restricted to one quarter of the Union, which may be described with sufficient general accuracy, by a boundary beginning with the mouth of the Potomac river, extending to its head, thence to the Ohio river and down it and the Mississippi to the Gulph of Mexico, and with that and the Atlantic ocean, and the Bay of Chesapeak to the beginning. Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, a part of Louisiana and Arkansas, compose the whole of the residue of the slave district of the United States. Within those limits all our slaves are concentrated, and, within a portion of them, irresistible causes tend inevitably to their further concentration. In one of the states, comprized within these limits, the slave stock had at the last census, the superiority in numbers, whilst in several others the enumeration exhibits the two races in nearly equal proportions.



Time alone, which unveils every thing permitted men to see, can disclose the consequences, now wrapt in futurity, of the state of things which I have slightly touched. But, without violating his prerogative, we may venture to catch, in anticipation, a glimpse of some of them.

The humanity of the slave states of the Union has prompted them greatly to meliorate the condition of slaves. They are protected in all instances by just laws, from injury extending to their lives, and in many, from cruelty applied to their persons. Public opinion has done even more than the laws in elevating their condition in the scale of human existence. In this State, as well as in others, they are treated with much kindness, and abundantly supplied with substantial food of meat and bread and vegetables, and comfortable clothing, whilst they are moderately tasked in labor. But still they are subject to many civil disabilities, and there is a vast space between them and the race of freemen. Our laws continue to regard them as property, and consequently, as instruments of labor, bound to obey the mandate of others. As a mere labourer, the slave feels that he toils for his master and not himself; that the laws do not recognize his capacity to acquire and hold property, which depends altogether upon the pleasure of his proprietor; and that all the fruits of his exertions are reaped by others. He knows that, whether sick or well, in times of scarcity or abundance, his master is bound to provide for him by the all powerful influence of the motive of self interest. He is generally, therefore, indifferent to the adverse or prosperous fortunes of his master, being contented, if he can escape his displeasure or chastisement, by a careless and slovenly performance of his duties.

This is the state of the relation of master and slave, prescribed by the law of its nature and founded in the reason of things. There are undoubtedly many exceptions, in which the slave dedicates himself to his master with a zealous and generous devotion, and the master to the slave with a parental and affectionate attachment. But it is not my purpose to speak of those particular though endearing instances of mutual regard, but of the general state of the unfortunate relation.

That labour is best, if it can be commanded, in which the labourer knows that he will derive the profits of his industry, that his employment depends upon his diligence, and his reward upon his assiduity. He has then every motive to excite him to exertion and to animate him in perseverance. He knows that if he is treated badly he can exchange his employer for one who will better estimate his service, that he does not entirely depend upon another's beck and nod, and that whatever he earns is *his*, to be distributed by himself as he pleases, among his wife and children and friends, or enjoyed by himself. He feels, in a word, that he is a free agent, with rights and privileges and sensibilities.

Wherever the option exists to employ, at an equal hire, free or slave labour, the former will be decidedly preferred, for the rea-

sons already assigned. It is more capable, more diligent, more faithful, and, in every respect, worthy of more confidence. In the first settlement of some countries, or communities, capital may be unable to command the free labor which it wants, and it may therefore purchase that of slaves. Such was and yet is the condition of many parts of the U. States. But there are others, and they are annually increasing in extent, in which the labour of freemen can be commanded at a rate quite as cheap as that of slaves, in States which tolerate slavery.

Although in particular States, or parts of States, the increase of the African portion of population would seem to be greater than that of the European stock, this fact is believed to be susceptible of an explanation, from the operation of causes of emigration, which would not assign to it greater prolific powers. On the contrary, all the enumerations of the people of the U. States sustain clearly the position that, contrasting the whole European race throughout the Union with the whole of the African race, bond and free, also throughout the Union, the former multiplies faster than the latter. As time elapses, our numbers will augment, our deserts become peopled, and our country will become as densely populated as its agricultural, manufacturing and commercial faculties will admit. In proportion to the density of population are the supply and the wages of labor. The demand for labor also increases with the augmentation of numbers, though probably not in the same proportion. Assuming our present population at twelve millions, when it shall be increased, as in about thirty years it will be, to twenty-four millions, we shall have double the amount of available labour that we can command at present. And there will consequently be a great though probably not proportionate reduction in the wages of labour. As the supply of laborers increases, a competition will arise between, not only individuals, but classes for employment. The superior qualities which have been attributed to free labor will ensure for that the preference, wherever the alternative is presented of engaging free or slave labor, at an equal price. This competition and the preference for white labor are believed to be already discernable in parts of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, and probably existed in Pennsylvania and other States north of Maryland, prior to the disappearance of slaves from among them. The march of the ascendancy of free labor over slave will proceed from the North to the South, gradually entering first the States nearest to the free region. Its progress would be more rapid, if it were not impeded by the check resulting from the repugnance of the white man to work among slaves or where slavery is tolerated.

In proportion to the multiplication of the descendants of the European stock, and the consequent diminution of the value of slave labour, by the general diminution of wages, will there be an abatement in the force of motives to rear slaves. The master will not find an adequate indemnity in the price of the adult for the charges of maintaining and bringing up the offspring. His care and attention will relax; and he will be indifferent about in-

curring expenses, when they are sick, and in providing for their general comfort, when he knows that he will not be ultimately compensated. There may not be numerous instances of positive violation of the duties of humanity, but every one knows the difference between a negligence, which is not criminal, and a watchful vigilance stimulated by interest, which allows no want to be unsupplied. The effect of this relaxed attention to the offspring will be to reduce the rates of general increase of the slave portion of our population, whilst that of the other race, not subject to the same neglect, will increase and fill up the void. A still greater effect, from the diminution of the value of labor, will be that of voluntary emancipations; the master being now anxious to relieve himself from a burthen, without profit, by renouncing his right of property. One or two facts will illustrate some of these principles. Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about \$100, a price less than the cost of raising an infant. Then it was believed that the climate of that province was unfavorable to the rearing of negro children, and comparatively few were raised. After the U. States abolished the slave trade, the price of adults rose very considerably, greater attention was consequently bestowed on their children, and now no where is the African female more prolific than she is in Louisiana, and the climate of no one of the Southern States is supposed to be more favourable to rearing the offspring. The serfs of Russia possess a market value inferior to that of the African slaves of the U. States; and, altho' the Lord is not believed to be bound to provide for the support of his dependent, as the American master is for his slave, voluntary manumissions of the serf are very frequent, influenced in some degree no doubt by his inconsiderable value.

What has tended to sustain the price of slaves in the U. States has been, that very fact of the acquisition of Louisiana, but especially the increasing demand for cotton, and the consequent increase of its cultivation. The price of cotton, a much more extensive object of culture than sugar cane, regulates the price of slaves as unerringly as any one subject whatever is regulated by any standard. As it rises in price, they rise; as it falls, they fall. But the multiplication of slaves, by natural causes, must soon be much greater than the increase of the demand for them, to say nothing of the progressive decline which has taken place, in that great Southern staple, within a few years, and which there is no reason to believe will be permanently arrested. Whenever the demand for the cultivation of sugar and cotton comes to be fully supplied, the price of slaves will begin to decline, and as that demand cannot possibly keep pace with the supply, the price will decline more and more. Farming agriculture cannot sustain it; for it is believed that no where in the farming portion of the U. States would slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the Southern market, which keeps it up in his own.

Partial causes may retard the decline in the value of slaves. The tendency of slaves is to crowd into those countries or districts, if not obstructed by the policy of States, where their labor is most profitably employed. This is the law of their nature, as it is the general law of all capital and labor. The slave trade has not yet been effectively stopt in the Island of Cuba. Whenever it is, as slaves can be there more profitably employed, on more valuable products than in the U. States, and as the supply there is much below the demand which will arise out of the susceptibilities of the island for agricultural produce, they will rise in price much higher there than in the U. S. If the laws do not forbid it, vast numbers will be exported to that island. And if they do prohibit it, many will be smuggled in, tempted by the high prices which they will bear.

But neither this, nor any other conceivable cause, can for any length of time, check the fall in the value of slaves to which they are inevitably destined. We have seen that, as slaves diminish in price, the motive of the proprietors of them to rear the offspring will abate, that consequent neglect in providing for their wants will ensue, and consequent voluntary emancipation will take place. That adult slaves will, in process of time, sink in value even below a hundred dollars each, I have not a doubt. This result may not be brought about by the termination of the first period of their duplication, but that it will come, at some subsequent, and not distant period, I think perfectly clear. Whenever the price of the adult shall be less than the cost of raising him from infancy, what inducement will the proprietor of the parent have to incur that expense? In such a state of things, it will be in vain that the laws prohibit manumission. No laws can be enforced or will be respected, the effect of which is the ruin of those on whom they operate. In spite of all their penalties the liberation or abandonment of slaves will take place.

As the two races progressively multiply and augment the source of supply of labor, its wages will diminish, and the preference already noticed will be given of free to slave labor. But another effect will also arise. There will be not only a competition between the two races for employment, but a struggle, not perceptible perhaps to the superficial observer, for subsistence. In such a struggle the stronger and more powerful race will prevail. And as the law which regulates the state of population in any given community, is derived from the quantity of its subsistence, the further consequence would be an insensible decline in the increase of the weaker race. Pinched by want and neglected by their masters, who would regard them as a burthen, they would be stimulated to the commission of crimes, and especially those of a petty description.

When we consider the cruelty of the origin of negro slavery, its nature, the character of the free institutions of the whites, and the irresistible progress of public opinion, throughout America as well as in Europe, it is impossible not to anticipate frequent insurrections among the blacks in the U. States. They are rational beings

like ourselves, capable of feeling, of reflection and of judging of what naturally belongs to them as a portion of the human race. By the very condition of the relation which subsists between us, we are enemies of each other. They know well the wrongs which their ancestors suffered, at the hands of our ancestors, and the wrongs which they believe they continue to endure, although they may be unable to avenge them. They are kept in subjection only by the superior intelligence and superior power of the predominant race. Their brethren have been liberated in every part of the continent of America, except in the United States and the Brazils. I have just seen an act of the President of the Republic of the United Mexican States, dated no longer ago than the 15th of September last, by which the whole of them in that Republic have been emancipated. A great effort is now making in Great Britain, which tends to the same ultimate effect, in regard to the negro slaves of the British West Indies.

Happily for us no such insurrection can ever be attended with permanent success, as long as our Union endures. It would be speedily suppressed by the all powerful means of the United States, and it would be the madness of despair in the blacks that should attempt it. But if attempted in some parts of the U. States, what shocking scenes of carnage, rapine, and lawless violence might not be perpetrated before the arrival at the theatre of action of a competent force to quell it! And, after it was put down, what other scenes of military rigor and bloody executions would not be indispensably necessary to punish the insurgents, and impress their whole race with the influence of a terrible example!

Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of colour are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved and abandoned. There are many honorable exceptions among them, and I take pleasure in bearing testimony to some I know. It is not so much their fault, as the consequence of their anomalous condition. Place ourselves, place any men, in the like predicament, and similar effects would follow. They are not slaves, and yet they are not free. The laws, it is true, proclaim them free; but prejudices, more powerful than any laws, deny them the privileges of freemen. They occupy a middle station between the free white population, and the slaves of the U. States, and the tendency of their habits is to corrupt both. They crowd our large cities, where those who will work can best procure suitable employment, and where those who addict themselves to vice can best practice and conceal their crimes. If the vicious habits and propensities of this class were not known to every man of attentive observation, they would be demonstrated by the unerring test of the census. According to the last enumeration of the inhabitants of the U. States, it appeared that the rate of its annual increase was only about two and a half per cent. whilst that of the other classes was about three. No other adequate cause for this disproportion can be assigned, but that of the improvidence and vices

of the class referred to. If previous enumerations exhibited different results, they were owing chiefly to the accession of numbers which it received by the acquisition of Louisiana, and the events of St. Domingo. But, if the reasoning which I have before employed be correct, this class is destined, by voluntary manumission or abandonment, to increase and ultimately perhaps to be more numerous in the U. States, than their brethren in bondage, if there be no provision for their removal to another country.

Is there no remedy, I again ask, for the evils of which I have sketched a faint and imperfect picture? Is our posterity doomed to endure for ever, not only all the ills flowing from the state of slavery, but all which arise from incongruous elements of population, separated from each other by invincible prejudices, and by natural causes? Whatever may be the character of the remedy proposed, we may confidently pronounce it inadequate, unless it provides efficaciously for the total and absolute separation, by an extensive space of water or of land, at least, of the white portion of our population from that which is free of the coloured.

This brings me to the consideration of the particular scheme of the American Colonization Society, to which this is Auxiliary. That scheme does not owe the first conception of its design to any individuals, by whose agency the society was first constituted. Several of them, and especially the late Rev. Mr. Finley of New-Jersey, and Mr. Caldwell of the district of Columbia, were entitled to great praise for their spirited exertions in the formation and organization of the society. But the original conception of such a project is to be traced to a date long anterior to their laudable efforts on this subject. However difficult it might have been supposed to be in the execution, it was an obvious remedy, and the suggestion of it may be referred back to a period as remote as the Revolutionary War. The state of Virginia, always pre-eminent in works of benevolence, prior to the formation of the American Colonization Society, by two distinct acts of her Legislature, separated by intervals of time of sufficient length to imply full deliberation, expressed her approbation of the plan of colonization.

In considering the project of the American Colonization Society, our first enquiry should be into what it really is; then what it has done; and finally what it is capable of achieving. It is a voluntary association formed for benevolent purposes, as must be freely acknowledged by all, if they should even prove an experiment to be impracticable. Its aim is to transport to the Western shores of Africa, from the United States, all such free persons of colour as choose voluntarily to go. From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. It is not only without inclination, but it is without power, to make any such interference. It is not even a chartered or incorporated company; and it has no other foundation than that of Bible Socie-

ties, or any other christian or charitable unincorporated companies in our country. It knows that the subject of emancipation belongs exclusively to the several states, in which slavery is tolerated, and to individual proprietors of slaves in those states, under and according to their laws. It hopes indeed, (and I trust that there is nothing improper or offensive in the hope) that if it shall demonstrate the practicability of the successful removal to Africa, of free persons of colour, with their own consent, the cause of emancipation, either by states or by individuals, may be incidentally advanced. That hope is founded not only on the true interest of both races of our population, but upon the assertion, so repeatedly made, that the great obstacle to emancipation arose out of the difficulty of a proper disposal of manumitted slaves. Its pecuniary means, applicable to the design of the institution, are voluntarily contributed by benevolent states or individuals. The states of Virginia and Maryland, besides numerous pious or generous persons, throughout the U. States, have aided the society.

Such was the object of the American Colonization Society, organized at the City of Washington about thirteen years ago. Auxiliary institutions have been formed, in various parts of the Union, to aid and co-operate with the parent association, which have limited their exertions chiefly to the transmission to the Treasurer of the Society, of such funds as they could collect by the voluntary contributions of benevolent and charitable individuals. The auxiliary society for the state of Kentucky, which I now address, was organized at the commencement of the present year.

The American Colonization Society, so constituted, with such objects and such means, shortly after its formation, went into operation. It transacts its business at home, principally through a Board of Managers, which for the sake of convenience is fixed in the Metropolis of the Union, and in Africa, through an agent abiding there and acting under instructions received from the Board. The Society has an annual session in the City of Washington which is attended by its members, and by representatives from such of the auxiliary institutions as can conveniently depute them, at which sessions the Board of Managers makes a report of the general condition of the affairs of the society, during the previous year.

It would be an inexcusable trespass upon your time to enter into a minute narrative of all the transactions of the society from its commencement up to this time. Those who choose to examine them particularly, will find them recorded in the several reports of the Board of Managers, which from time to time have been published under its direction and authority. It will suffice at present to say, that one of the earliest acts of the society was to despatch a competent agent to Africa, to explore its coasts and the countries bordering upon them, and to select a suitable spot for the establishment of the contemplated colony. The society was eminently fortunate in the choice of its agent, as it has been generally in those whom it subsequently engaged in its service. A selection was

finally made of a proper district of country, a purchase was effected of it from the native authorities, to which additions have been made as the growing wants of the colony, actual or anticipated, required. The country so acquired, upon terms as moderate as those on which the Government of the Union extinguishes the Indian title to soil within the U. States, embraces large tracts of fertile land, capable of yielding all the rich and varied products of the Tropics, possesses great commercial advantages, with an extent of sea coast from 150 to 200 miles, and enjoys a salubrious climate, well adapted to the negro constitution, and not so fatal to that of the whites as many thickly peopled parts of the U. States.

Within that district of country, the society founded its colony, under the denomination of Liberia, established towns, laid off plantations for the colonists, and erected military works for their defence. Annually, and as often as the pecuniary circumstances of the society would admit, vessels from the ports of the U. States have been sent to Liberia, laden with emigrants and with utensils, provisions and other objects for their comfort. No difficulty has been experienced in obtaining as many colonists as the means of the society were competent to transport. They have been found, indeed, altogether inadequate to accommodate all who were willing and anxious to go. The rate of expense of transportation and subsistence during the voyage, per head, was greater in the earlier voyages. It was subsequently reduced to about \$20, and is believed to be susceptible of considerable further reduction. The number of colonists, of both sexes, amounts now to about 1500.

The Colony, in the first periods of its existence, had some collisions with the native tribes, which rose to such a height as to break out in open war, about four or five years ago. The war was conducted by the late gallant Reverend Mr. Ashmun, with singular good judgment and fortune, and was speedily brought to a successful close. It had the effect to impress upon the natives, a high idea of the skill, bravery and power of the colonists, and having since become better acquainted with them, perceived the advantages of the colony, and gradually acquired a taste for its commerce and arts, no further misunderstanding with them is apprehended, and the colony is daily acquiring a salutary influence over them.

The colony has a government adequate to the protection of the rights of persons and property, and to the preservation of order. The agent of the society combines the functions of governor, commander-in-chief, and highest judicial officer. The colonists share in the government, and elect various officers necessary to the administration. They appoint annually Boards or Committees of public works, of agriculture and of health, which are charged with the superintendance of those important interests. It has established schools for the instruction of youth, and erected houses of public worship, in which divine service is regularly performed. And it has a public library of twelve hundred volumes, and a printing press, which issues periodically a gazette. The colonists follow the me-



chanical arts, or agriculture, or commerce, as their inclinations or attainments prompt them. The land produces rice, casseda, coffee, potatoes, and all kinds of garden vegetables; and is capable of yielding sugar cane, indigo, in short, all the productions of the Tropics. It is rich, easily tilled, and yields two crops of many articles in the circle of a year. They carry on an advantageous commerce with the natives by exchanges for ivory, gums, dye-stuffs, drugs and other articles of African origin; and with the U. States, which is annually increasing, and which amounted last year to \$60,000, in the produce of the colony, and in objects acquired by their traffic with the natives; receiving, in return, such supplies of American and other manufactures as are best adapted to their wants.

Such is the present condition of the Colony, according to the latest intelligence. Here the society may pause, and with its pious and enlightened patrons and a generous public, look back with proud satisfaction, on the work, which, with the blessings of Providence, has so prospered. That, in its progress, it has met with obstacles and experienced discouragements, is most true. What great human undertaking was ever exempt from them? Its misfortunes in Africa have been similar in character, though it is confidently believed, less in degree than those which generally attend the establishment of distant colonies, in foreign lands, amidst ignorant and untutored savages. A large portion of the deaths which have taken place may be attributed to rash exposure, and other imprudencies, under an untried sun, and subject to the action of a strange climate. But the Colony can triumphantly exhibit its bills of mortality, in comparison with those of colonies, in their early foundation, on this or any other continent. And experience justifies the hope, that the instances of mortality will constantly diminish with the augmented population, means and strength of the colony.

But at home, in the parent country, here in the U. States, notwithstanding the concurrence of so many powerful motives recommending success to the exertions of the society, has it met with the most serious opposition and bitter denunciation. At one time, it has been represented as a scheme to forge stronger and perpetual chains for the slaves among us. Then, that it had a covert aim to emancipate them all immediately, and throw them, with all their imperfections, loose upon society. Those who judged less unfavourably of the purposes of the institution, pronounced it a bright vision, impracticable in its means and Utopian in its end. There is unfortunately, in every community, a class not small, who, devoid themselves of the energy necessary to achieve any noble enterprize, and affecting to penetrate with deeper sagacity into the projects of others, pronounce their ultimate failure, with self-complacency, and challenge by anticipation, the merit of prophetic wisdom. Unmoved by these erroneous and unfriendly views, the society, trusting to the vindication which time and truth never fail to bring, has proceeded steadily and perseveringly in its great work.

It has not been deceived. It has every where found some generous patrons and ardent friends. The Legislatures of more than half the states of this enlightened Union, among which I am happy to be able to mention our own, have been pleased to express their approbation of the scheme. It has conciliated the cordial support of the pious clergy of every denomination in the United States. It has been countenanced and aided by that fair sex, which is ever prompt to contribute its exertions in works of charity and benevolence, because it always acts from the generous impulses of pure and uncorrupted hearts. And the society enrolls amongst its members and patrons, some of the most distinguished men of our country, in its Legislative, Executive and Judicial councils. We should be guilty of an unpardonable omission, if we did not on this occasion, mingle our regrets with those of the whole people of these states, on account of the lamented death of one of them, which has recently occurred. He was the President of the American Colonization Society from its origin and throughout the entire period of its existence. Like the Father of his country, his illustrious relative, whose name he bore and whose affection he enjoyed, he was mild and gentle, firm and patriotic. The Bench, of which he was an ornament, and the Bar of which he was the delight, feeling his great loss, deeply share with us all in the grief which it produces.

The society presents to the American public no project of emancipation, no new chains for those who unhappily are now in bondage, no scheme that is impracticable. It has no power, and it seeks none. It employs no compulsion, and it desires to employ none. It addresses itself solely to the understanding; its revenue flows from spontaneous grants, and all its means and agents and objects are voluntary.

The society believes it is within the compass of reasonable exertions to transport annually to the colony of Liberia, a number of free persons of colour, with their own voluntary consent, equal to the annual increase of all that class in the U. States. That annual increase, estimated according to the return of the last census, from the parent stock of 233,530, at a rate of augmentation of 2 1-2 per cent. per annum, may be stated to be 6000. Estimating the whole expense of the voyage at \$20 per head, the total cost of their transportation will be \$120,000. Is this sum of such an appalling amount as to transcend the ability of the people of the U. States? All admit the utility of the separation of the free people of colour from the residue of the population of the U. States, if it be practicable. It is desirable for them, for the slaves of the U. States and for the white race. Here invincible prejudices exclude them from the enjoyment of the society of the whites, and deny them all the advantages of freemen. The bar, the pulpit, and our legislative halls are shut to them, by the irresistible force of public sentiment. No talents however great, no piety however pure and devoted, no patriotism however ardent, can secure their admission. They con-

stantly hear the accents, and behold the triumphs, of a liberty which here they can never enjoy. In all the walks of society, on every road which lies before others to honor and fame and glory, a moral incubus pursues and arrests them, paralyzing all the energies of the soul, and repressing every generous emotion of laudable ambition. Their condition is worse than that of the fabled Tantalus, who could never grasp the fruits and water which seemed within his reach. And when they die

"Memory o'er their tomb no trophies raise."

Why should such an unfortunate class desire to remain among us? Why should they not wish to go to the country of their forefathers, where, in the language of the eloquent Irish barrister, they would "stand redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the mighty genius of universal emancipation."

The vices of this class do not spring from any inherent depravity in their natural constitution, but from their unfortunate situation. Social intercourse is a want which we are prompted to gratify by all the properties of our nature. And as they cannot obtain it in the better circles of society, nor always among themselves, they resort to slaves and to the most debased and worthless of the whites. Corruption, and all the train of petty offences, are the consequences. Proprietors of slaves in whose neighbourhood any free coloured family is situated, know how infectious and pernicious this intercourse is. And the penal records of the tribunals, especially in the large cities, bear frightful testimony to the disproportionate number of crimes committed by the free people of color. The evil of their increase in those cities is so enormous as to call loudly for effective remedy. It has been so sensibly felt in a neighbouring city (Cincinnati) as to require, in the opinion of the public authorities, the enforcement of the vigorous measure of expulsion of all who could not give guaranties of their good behaviour. Their congregation in our great capitals has given rise to a new crime, perpetrated by unprincipled whites, and of which persons of that unhappy colored race are the victims. A New-York paper of the 27th ult. but lately fell into my hands, in which I found the following articles: "Beware of kidnappers! It is *well understood* that "there is at present in this city, a gang of kidnappers, busily engaged in their vocation of stealing colored children for the Southern market! It is believed that three or four have been stolen "within as many days. A little negro boy came to this city from "the country three or four days ago. Some strange white persons "were very friendly to him, and yesterday morning he was mightily pleased that they had given him some new clothes. And the "persons pretending thus to befriend him, entirely secured his "confidence. This day he **CANNOT** be found. Nor can he be "traced since seen with one of his new friends yesterday. There "are suspicions of a foul nature, connected with some who serve "the police in subordinate capacities. It is hinted that there may "be those in some authority, not altogether ignorant of these dia-

“holical practices. Let the public be on their guard.” To which the editor of the paper from which this quotation is made, appends the following remarks: “It is still fresh in the memories of all, that a cargo or rather drove of negroes was made up from this city and Philadelphia, about the time that the emancipation of all the negroes in this state took place under our present constitution, and were taken through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee, and disposed of in the state of Mississippi. Some of those who were taken from Philadelphia were persons of intelligence, and after they had been driven through the country in chains, and disposed of by sale on the Mississippi, wrote back to their friends, and were rescued from bondage. The persons who were guilty of this abominable transaction are known, and now reside in the state of North Carolina, and very probably may be engaged in similar enterprises at the present time—at least there is reason to believe, that the system of kidnapping free persons of colour from the Northern cities, has been carried on more extensively than the public are generally aware of.”

Whilst the concurrence is unanimous as to the propriety of the separation of the free coloured race, and their removal to some other country, if it be practicable, opinions are divided as to the most proper place of their destination. Some prefer Hayti, others to set apart a district beyond the Rocky Mountains, within the limits of the territory of the United States, whilst much the larger number concur in the superior advantages of the plan of the American Colonization Society. The society opposes no other scheme. All other projects, if they are executed, are perfectly compatible with its own, and it wishes them full success. The more drains the better for this portion of our population. It would only deprecate the result of a distraction of the public attention amidst a variety of proposals, and a consequent failure to concentrate the energies of the community on any one of them.

Hayti is objectionable as the sole place of their removal, on various accounts. It is too limited in its extent. Although a large island, containing considerable quantities of unseated land, it is incompetent as an assylum, during any great length of time, for the free persons of colour of the U. States. It possesses no advantage, either in the salubrity of its climate, or the fertility of its soil over the Western Coast of Africa. The productions of both countries are nearly the same. The expense of transportation to the one or to the other, is nearly the same. The emigrants would be in a state of dependence on the present inhabitants of the island, who have more intelligence and have made greater advances in civilization, and moreover possess all the power of the Government. They speak a different language. It should not be the policy of the U. States, when they consider the predominant power of the island, and its vicinity to the Southern states, to add strength to it. And finally, Hayti is destitute of some of those high moral considerations which belong to the foundation of a colony in Africa.

The country West of the Rocky Mountains, is also objectionable on several grounds. The expense of transportation of emigrants to it, whether by sea or inland, would be incomparably greater than to Africa. They would be thrown in the midst of Indian tribes, to whom they are as incongruous as with the whites. Bloody and exterminating wars would be the certain consequence; and the U. States would be bound to incur great expense in defending them and preserving peace. Finally, that wave of the European race which rose on the borders of the Atlantic, swept over the Alleghany Mountains, reached the Mississippi, and ascended the two great rivers which unite near St. Louis, will at no distant day pass the Rocky Mountains, and strike the Pacific, where it would again produce that very contact between discordant races which it is so desirable to avoid.

The society has demonstrated the practicability of planting a colony on the shores of Africa. Its exertions have been confined exclusively to the free coloured people of the United States, and to those of them who are willing to go. It has neither purpose nor power to extend them to the larger portion of that race held in bondage. Throughout the whole period of its existence this disclaimer has been made, and incontestible facts establish its truth and sincerity. It is now repeated, in its behalf, that the spirit of misrepresentation may have no pretext for abusing the public ear. But, although its scheme is so restricted, the society is aware, and rejoices that the principle of African colonization, which it has developed, admits of wider scope and more extensive application, by those states and private individuals, who may have the power and the inclination to apply it.

The slave population of the United States, according to the last returns of their census, as was shown more in detail, on another occasion, increased in a ratio of about 46,000 per annum. It may, perhaps, now be estimated at not less than 50,000. It was said on that occasion: "Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States, is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the U. States, an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that cast, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find, at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the population would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space." To transport to Africa fifty thousand persons, would cost one million

of dollars upon the estimate before stated. One million of dollars applied annually, during a period of sixty or seventy years, would, at the end of it, so completely drain the U. States of all that portion of their inhabitants, as not to leave many more than those few who are objects of curiosity in the countries of Europe. And is that sum, one tenth part of what the U. States now annually appropriate, as a sinking fund, without feeling it, and which will soon not be requisite to the extinction of the National debt, capable of producing any suffering or creating any impediment in the execution of other great social objects of the American communities? What a vast moral debt to Africa, to the world and to our common God, should we not discharge by the creation of a new sinking fund of such a paltry sum?

This estimate does not comprehend any indemnity to the owners of slaves for their value, if they are to be purchased for the purpose of colonization. It is presumable that states or individuals, no longer restrained from the execution of their benevolent wish to contribute their endeavours to blot out this great stain upon the American name, by the consideration of the difficulty of a suitable provision for liberated slaves, when they perceive the plan of colonization in successful operation, will voluntarily manumit many for the purpose of their emigration. One of the latest numbers of the National Intelligencer, states the fact, that a recent offer has been made of 2000 slaves to the society, to be sent to Liberia, which the want of funds alone prevents its accepting. If the reasoning before employed, founded upon the decline in value of that description of property, be correct, many will be disposed, to emancipate from less disinterested motives. From some, or all of these sources, and from the free coloured population, an amount may be annually obtained for the purposes of colonization, equal to the number of fifty six thousand which has been supposed. As the work of colonization advances, the ability of the European race to promote it will increase, both from the augmentation of its numbers and of its wealth, and the relative diminution of the negro race. And, in the course of the progress of its execution, it will not be found a burthensome appropriation of some of the revenue of the people of the U. States, to purchase slaves, if colonists can not otherwise be obtained. Meanwhile it affords cause of the sincerest gratification, that in whatever extent the scheme of African colonization is executed, good is attained, without a solitary attendant evil.

I could not discuss the question of the extent of the respective powers of the various governments of this Union, without enlarging this Address, already too much prolonged, in a most unreasonable degree. That the aggregate of their total powers is fully adequate to the execution of the plan of Colonization, in its greatest extent, is incontestible. How those powers have, in fact, been divided and distributed between the General and State Governments, is a question for themselves to decide after careful investigation and full deliberation. We may safely assume that there are some things

which each system is competent to perform, towards the accomplishment of the great work. The General Government can treat with Foreign powers of the security of the Colony, and with the Emperor of Morocco, or other African Princes or States for the acquisition of territory. It may provide in the Colony an asylum for natives of Africa introduced into the U. States, in contravention to their laws, and for their support and protection, as it has done. And it may employ portions of our Navy, whilst engaged in practising to acquire the needful discipline and skill, or in proceeding to their appointed cruising stations, to transport emigrants from the U. States to the Colony. Can a nobler service, in time of peace, be performed by the National flag than that of transporting under its stars and stripes to the land of their ancestors, the sons of injured Africa, there to enjoy the blessings of our pure religion and a real liberty? It can employ the Colony as the best and most efficacious instrument of suppressing the infamous slave trade.

Any of the States may apply, in their proper spheres, the powers which they possess and the means at their command. They may remove restraints upon emancipation, imposed from a painful conviction that slavery, with all its undisputed ills, was better than manumission without removal. Such of them may as can, safely and justly, abolish slavery and follow the example of Pennsylvania, New York and other States. Any of them can contribute some pecuniary aid to the object. And if an enlargement of the Constitutional powers of the General Government be necessary and expedient, they are competent to grant it.

I have thus, gentlemen, presented a faint and imperfect sketch of what was contemplated by the American Colonization Society, to which you form an auxiliary, of what it has done, and of what the principle of African Colonization, which it has successfully illustrated, is susceptible, with due encouragement, and adequate means, in the hands of competent authority. We ought not to be disheartened by the little which has been accomplished, in the brief space of thirteen years during which it has existed, or the magnitude and difficulties of the splendid undertaking which lies before us. In the execution of those vast schemes which affect the condition and happiness of large portions of the habitable globe, time is necessary, which may appear to us mortals of long duration, but which in the eyes of Providence, or in comparison with the periods of National existence, is short and fleeting. How long was it after Romulus and Remus laid the scanty foundations of their little state in the contracted limits of the Peninsula of Italy, before Imperial Rome burst forth, in all her astonishing splendour, the acknowledged mistress of the world? Ages past away before Carthage and other Colonies, in ancient times, shone out in all their commercial and military glory. Several centuries have now elapsed since our forefathers first began, in the morasses of James river and on the rock of Plymouth, the work of founding this Republic, yet in its infancy. Eighteen Hundred years have rolled over since

the son of God, our blessed Redeemer, offered himself, on Mount Calvary, a voluntary sacrifice for the salvation of our species; and more than half of mankind continue to deny his divine mission and the truth of his sacred word.

We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature for the record of any human plan, for the melioration of the condition or advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good, or more comprehensive beneficence than that of African Colonization if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited by the confines of one Continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race, but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. It appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty here and every where. The Colonists, reared in the bosom of this Republic, with a perfect knowledge of all the blessings which freedom imparts, altho' they have not always been able themselves to share them, will carry a recollection of it to Africa, plant it there, and spread it over her boundless territory. And may we not indulge the hope that, in a period of time not surpassing in duration, that of our own Colonial and National existence, we shall behold a confederation of Republican States, on the Western shores of Africa, like our own, with their Congress and annual Legislatures thundering forth in behalf of the rights of man, and making tyrants tremble on their thrones? It appeals for aid and support to the friends of civilization throughout the world. Africa, altho' a portion of it was among the first to emerge from barbarism, is now greatly in the rear of all the Continents, in knowledge, and in the arts and sciences. America owes to the old world a debt of gratitude for the possession of them. Can she discharge it in any more suitable manner than that of transplanting them on a part of its own soil, by means of its own sons, whose ancestors were torn by fraud and violence from their native home and thrown here into bondage? It powerfully appeals for support to patriotism and humanity. If we were to invoke the greatest blessing on earth, which Heaven, in its mercy, could now bestow on this nation, it would be the separation of the two most numerous races of its population and their comfortable establishment in distinct and distant countries. To say nothing of the greatest difficulty in the formation of our present happy Constitution, which arose out of this mixed condition of our people, nothing of the distracting Missouri question which was so threatening; nothing of others, springing from the same fruitful source, which yet agitate us, who can contemplate the future without the most awful apprehensions? Who, if this promiscuous residence of whites and blacks, of freemen and slaves, is forever to continue, can imagine the servile wars, the carnage and the crimes which will be its probable consequences, without shuddering with horror? It finally appeals emphatically for aid and support to the reverend clergy and sin-



bere professors of our Holy Religion. If the project did not look beyond the happiness of the two races now in America, it would be entitled to their warmest encouragement. If it were confined to the removal only of the free coloured population, it would deserve all their patronage. Within those restrictions how greatly would it not contribute to promote the cause of virtue and morality, and consequently religion! But it presents a much more extensive field—a field only limited by the confines of one of the largest quarters of the habitable globe—for religious and benevolent exertion. Throughout the entire existence of Christianity it has been a favorite object of its ardent disciples and pious professors to diffuse its blessings by converting the Heathen. This duty is enjoined by its own sacred precepts and prompted by considerations of humanity. All christendom is more or less employed on this object, at this moment, in some part or other of the earth. But it must, in candor be owned, that hitherto missionary efforts have not had a success corresponding, in extent with the piety and benevolence of their aim, or with the amount of the means which have been applied. Some new and more efficacious mode of accomplishing the beneficent purpose must be devised, which by concentrating energies and endeavors, and avoiding loss in their diffuse and uncombined application, shall ensure the attainment of more cheering results. The American Colonization Society presents itself to the religious world as uniting those great advantages. Almost all Africa is in a state of the deepest ignorance and barbarism, and addicted to idolatry and superstition. It is destitute of the blessings both of christianity and civilization. The Society, is an instrument which, under the guidance of providence, with public assistance, is competent to spread the lights of both, throughout its vast dominions. And the means are as simple as the end is grand and magnificent. They are to deviate from the practice of previous Missionary institutions, and employ as agents some of the very brethren of the Heathen sought to be converted and brought within the pale of civilization. The Society proposes to send, not one or two pious members of christianity into a foreign land, among a different and perhaps a suspicious race, of another complexion, but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, in one view of its scheme, six thousand, in another, fifty-six thousand Missionaries, of the descendants of Africa itself, with the same interests, sympathies, and constitutions of the natives, to communicate the benefits of our religion and of the arts. And this Colony of Missionaries is to operate not alone by preaching the doctrines of truth and of revelation, which however delightful to the ears of the faithful and intelligent, are not always comprehended by untutored savages, but also by works of ocular demonstration. It will open forests, build towns, erect temples of public worship, and practically exhibit to the native sons of Africa the beautiful moral spectacle and the superior advantages of our religious and social systems. In this unexaggerated view of the subject the Colony, compared with other Missionary plans, pre-

sents the force and grandeur of a noble Steamer majestically ascending, and with ease subduing, the current of the Mississippi, in comparison with the feeble and tottering canoe, moving slowly among the reeds that fringe its shores. It holds up the image of the resistless power of the Mississippi itself, rushing from the summits of the Rocky Mountains and marking its deep and broad and rapid course through the heart of this Continent, thousands of miles, to the Gulph of Mexico, in comparison with that of an obscure rivulet winding its undiscernable way through dark and dense forests or luxuriant Prairies, in which it is quickly and forever lost.

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society of Kentucky! not one word need be added, in conclusion, to animate your perseverance or to stimulate your labors, in the humane cause which you have deliberately espoused. We have reason to believe that we have been hitherto favored, and shall continue to be blessed, with the smiles of Providence. Confiding in his approving judgment and conscious of the benevolence and purity of our intentions, we may fearlessly advance in our great work. And, when we shall, as soon we must, be translated from this into another form of existence, is the hope presumptuous that we shall there behold the common Father of whites and of blacks, the great Ruler of the Universe, cast his All-seeing eye upon civilized and regenerated Africa, its cultivated fields, its coasts studded with numerous cities, adorned with towering temples, dedicated to the pure religion of his redeeming Son, its far-famed Niger, and other great rivers, lined with flourishing villages, and navigated with that wonderful power which American genius first successfully applied; and that, after dwelling with satisfaction, upon the glorious spectacle he will deign to look with approbation upon us, His humble instruments, who have contributed to produce it?



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