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(From the Lexington Intelligencer.)

MR. CLAY'S REMARKS

At the Colonization Meeting held in Lexington, Ky. August 26, 1836.

When Mr. GURLEY had concluded his Address, Mr. CLAY rose and said, that he came to the meeting as a listener, with no prepared speech, and with no purpose of making a speech. Standing, however, in the relation he did to the gentleman who had just taken his seat, he felt it incumbent on him first, to say something of him, and next, of the great cause that had brought us together. That gentleman he had known for many years, as one of the most zealous, persevering, energetic, pious and benevolent friends of the cause of Colonization; he was one of the officers of the National Society; and to his services in that capacity, the free coloured people, the Colony, and the Society were largely indebted. He spoke of Mr. GURLEY as having proved, by his labours, his assiduity, his eloquence in defending the cause of Colonization, and his general and well-known character for Christian philanthropy, that the fullest confidence in him could not be misplaced. Having said thus much, and less he could not have said in relation to that gentleman, if he said any thing, he would proceed to the topics whose consideration had caused this meeting.

When we take a survey of our country, we find it occupied by two distinct classes of population—two races of men—distinct in many important respects—agreeing in few, except that they alike possessed the gift of reason. The amalgamation of these two races was a thing impossible—founded by all considerations of regard to either. The case presented difficulties long ago deeply felt and deplored. They were seen by the fathers of the republic, who, after much argument and reflection, resolved to do the best they could, and depend for the result upon Providence. Many schemes passed in review before them, and all were rejected as impracticable.

About twenty years ago, some zealous, pious, benevolent men conceived the project of African Colonization. He recollected well the proceedings at Washington at the organization of the Society. He was invited to be present. At first he declined; but, on further reflection, he felt disposed to think well of the plan. Among those present at the original meeting, he remembered were ELIAS B. CALDWELL and FRANCIS S. KEY of the District of Columbia, the Rev. Dr. FINLEY of New Jersey, and a late distinguished member of Congress from Virginia, JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke. We met and considered the prejudices in our way, the obstacles to be removed, and the objects to be accomplished; and finally organized the Society on the principles which it has ever since publicly professed, and which have just been stated to this meeting.

The success of this society has exceeded the hopes of its founders. It was not deemed possible for a Society with mere private means to do more than plant a colony, and thus demonstrate the practicability of the object. When I look back, said Mr. C. on the twenty years during which this Society has existed, and consider what it has done, I am impressed with the belief that it is the work of an overruling Providence. It was surrounded by difficulties at its outset, and it has at all times encountered opposition and misrepresentation. Recently a new school has sprung up—one which maintains that slavery is a blessing—that it is an indispensable element for the preservation of our own freedom! Of this school, I take the liberty to say, I AM NOT ONE. There are two extremes of opinion on this subject, in neither of which do I concur. The first is that of those who regard slavery as no evil, but a good. I consider slavery as a curse—a curse to the master, a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave. In the abstract it is ALL wrong; and no possible contingency can make it right. It is condemned by all our notions of natural justice, and our maxims of natural political equality among men. Necessity, a stern political necessity alone, can excuse or justify it; a necessity arising from the fact, that, to give freedom to our slaves that they might remain with us, would be doing them an injury rather than a benefit—would render their condition worse than it is at present.

That slavery was condemned by religion, he did not say. It was not his purpose to speak of it, except in its political relations. That slavery was a blessing, and ought to be perpetuated as a valuable institution, was one extreme; and those who occupied it had ever been opposed to African colonization. But there was another extreme; and on that were to be found the advocates of immediate, unconditional, indiscriminate emancipation, without regard to consequences. To this class were to be referred, directly or indirectly, much of the violence and wrong, the mobs and the outbreaks, which are so rife in some portions of our country, with which no friends of good order, and of the just rights of the different portions of the Union could have any congeniality of feeling on this subject. These were none of your old-fashioned gradual emancipationists, such as Franklin, Rush, and the other wise and benevolent Pennsylvanians,

who framed the scheme for the gradual removal of slavery from Pennsylvania, about the time of the origin of the Federal Government. They were not of that class with whom he (Mr. C.) was proud to say he had acted in this State forty years ago, to procure the adoption of a gradual system of emancipation, on such terms and under such regulations, as might consist with the good order and highest interests of the Commonwealth.

He had heard with some surprise in the course of the day, that some individuals, even in this community, suspect that there is some connection between the Colonization and Abolition Societies. He could assure the meeting that there was no cause or reason for any such suspicion. He had corresponded with a leading gentleman of the Abolition Society in New York, with whose name the reading public were familiar, who had addressed him on another subject, but expressed also his views on slavery; (a gentleman who was honest and benevolent in his motives, he presumed, but deceived and infatuated,) and he (Mr. C.) had endeavoured to convince him of his error. He had put to him the question, how the citizens of New York would endure the organization of Societies in Kentucky to regulate the tolls on the New York and Ohio Canals. But he alluded to this correspondence, mainly in order to state, that this gentleman had expressed a determined hostility to the scheme of African colonization. He thought it a design of slaveholders—and in part, this is true. He (Mr. C.) was ready to admit that one advantage of the scheme was its tendency, by the removal of a class, in theory freemen, but in fact, NOT FREE, to contribute to preserve quiet and subordination among the slaves. The removal of the free blacks would, while it conferred a vast good on them, render the slave more docile, manageable and useful.

It was not his object to have said so much; but merely to express his own feelings towards the society, derived from twenty years' experience; his unshaken conviction of the utility and benevolence of the colonization scheme, and of the strong claim which it presented for aid, to the state and national governments. Nor could he omit to allude to the vast good it must confer upon Africa, by introducing among her people our religion. I am not, said Mr. C. a professor of religion, and, as I have remarked on another occasion, I regret that I am not, I wish I were, I hope that I shall be. The longer I live the more sensible do I become of its utility; the more profoundly penetrated with its truth; the more entirely convinced, that the religion we have received from our ancestors, the religion of Christ, is, of all religions, the best; and it alone can afford us an adequate solace in the hour of affliction. The colonization scheme affords the means, and presents the best hopes of propagating this religion throughout Africa.

The colonization society, viewed in all its relations and influences, does good and good only. It does not disturb any of the legal or political rights which slavery involves. It is voluntary in all its operations. But if the day should arrive when the governments, state or general, shall, by common consent, agree on some plan of gradual emancipation (and who will say that such a day may not arrive?) may not the means of accomplishing the object be found in the plan of this society? Or, in case of any convulsion arising out of the condition of our coloured population, might not this scheme afford the means of relief? Say not the plan is impracticable on a large scale. We have already found it difficult satisfactorily to dispose of our surplus revenue; and a great increase of our national revenue is to be expected: and if 100,000 emigrants can come annually from the shores of Europe into the United States, without deranging our business, or employing too large a portion of our tonnage, can it be doubted that the means of this country are sufficient to transport not only the free, but the slaves, should the states consent to their removal?—True, this society has nothing to do with slaves. Yet, some, it is true, have been manumitted, and with the consent of their owners, sent to Liberia. And who can object to the colonization of those who are liberated voluntarily for so humane and glorious a purpose? Or to the influence of this society in opening an asylum, to receive and confer the greatest blessings upon such slaves as may be emancipated, by those who alone can manumit them—their own masters—or the legislatures of the slave-holding states?

In reference to the resolution touching an application to the legislature of this state, for some portion of the surplus fund placed at its disposal by the recent act of Congress, he would beg leave to say a word. Having voted for that act, he felt disposed to leave the disposition to the free action of the people and the state legislature; and yet, having originated the Land Bill, for which this act must be regarded as a substitute, he felt it right to allude to the three great objects specified in that Bill, and to which, by the terms of that Bill, the proceeds of the public domain were to be applied, Education, Colonization, and Internal Improvements. Without presuming to dictate, he would suggest to the legislature the propriety and importance of remembering these cardinal objects—of such vital interest to the state.

This fund will be ample—at the lowest estimate it would be a million—it ought to be a million and a half; it might, by possibility, be two millions and a half, with a right economy in the administration of the financial affairs of the country, and it may be expected that the amount arising from the sales of public land, will continue to be divided, either by future Land Bills or Distribution Bills. Thus our state will possess ample funds for these great objects, Colonization, Education and Internal Improvements. He trusted colonization would come in for its due share—as our state was among the first to express favourable opinions of this cause, I think (said Mr. C.) she should. I hope she will, set a good example to other states—that her often and uniformly expressed favorable regard for the colonization cause, will be proved to have been sincere, now that she has the means brought within her control for giving such undoubted and substantial proofs. I will not urge at present a large appropriation, but one which would be considered liberal. All this, however, must be left to the judgment of the legislature—to us it belongs, from our private means, to contribute such sums as our convenience and a sense of duty might permit and dictate. And surely no occasion can be more proper than that when we are visited by an agent of the national society, who has devoted himself to the furtherance of her patriotic and philanthropic objects; who is prepared to defend them from misrepresentation and aspersion; who has so ably and eloquently, as the meeting have heard, addressed us in relation to them; who can give all requisite information touching the scheme and its practical progress; and of whose acquaintance with the principles of the society its plans and operations, its needs and capabilities for usefulness, we have had such abundant evidence.

Mr. CLAY, after a brief recapitulation of some of the prominent suggestions he had made, and a renewed expression of his confidence in the honesty, benevolence, efficiency, capacity for good, and singleness of purpose of the Colonization Society and its friends, and of the confirmed persuasion, which its whole history had forced upon his mind, that it is destined to triumph over all unfounded prejudices against it, and finally, by the blessing of Heaven, to achieve the great purposes of its origin, sat down with the applause of the meeting.

(From the Colonization Herald.)

A VOICE FROM AFRICA.

We ask the serious attention of both friend and foe, to the subjoined extract from the address of the editor of the Liberia Herald, on his recent return from the United States. Colonizationists have ever acted under the well-grounded assurance that their noble system conferred not only great blessings directly on both colonists and natives, and collaterally exerted a powerful influence in favour of the whole coloured race. These positions have been denied in toto by our adversaries. We therefore feel highly gratified when one so highly qualified as Mr. Teague to arrive at just conclusions on this important subject, volunteers the result of his observations in this country, after an absence of fourteen years, during which he has encountered all the privations and dangers of the pilgrim fathers of Liberia, and stored his vigorous and discriminating mind with much sound and valuable learning, solely through his own unaided efforts. Mr. Teague is no common man, and we deem his views on the subject worth vastly more than all the mere theories of men who, with intentions the most honest, but unaided by the lights of experience, may, by the fierce outbreak of untempered zeal, endanger the very existence of our happy union.

'The friends of this colony, in America and elsewhere, are watching with an intensity of interest its advancement and progress:—indeed I may say, their progress in their benevolent career depends almost exclusively upon a development of moral and intellectual energy, on the part of the inhabitants of this colony. There are thousands that stand aloof from the colonizing scheme, from an apprehension that proper materials cannot be found, with which to build up a separate and independent government on these shores. They cannot perceive, they say, the benevolence in assisting to a foreign land, a people, who must, by insurmountable barriers, be forever debarred from the enjoyment of those civil and political advantages, which are the indefeasible grant of God to every rational being, and which cannot be wrested from them, without the highest injustice. It is therefore of the utmost importance to us, to correct this misapprehension; to prove that we are not a whit inferior to any race of men on earth; to evince that the conception is narrow and contracted, and founded, not upon a broad and impartial survey of the past greatness of the country whence we derive our origin, but from a prejudicial glance at a small portion of one quarter of the globe, in which we have been placed, in circumstances the most disadvantageous possible. That knowledge is power is a truism confirmed by the high authority of scripture. Solomon says, 'a man's gift will make way for him.' It is, in fact, the grand lever that moves the world: the secret principle that maintains in harmonious opera-

tion all the affairs of nations, and developed resources that must for ever remain sealed to ignorance. My visit to America has afforded me much gratification, and still more instruction. It has given me the opportunity, for which I have long been anxious, to compare the prospects of my brethren in this country and America; to ascertain whether, after years of toil, anxiety, and argument, our friends, the abolitionists, (or rather the anti-colonizationists, for I consider colonization a high scheme of abolition,) have effected any thing favourable for our colour, and whether present appearances and movements would afford any ground for the hope, that their system of benevolence will ever be carried into effect. I have been the more anxious for this opportunity, from the fact, that the principles of their scheme are such as no sensible man will so far hazard his character for discrimination as to deny. That they accord with justice, cannot for a moment be doubted. I have therefore been only anxious to ascertain, whether, under existing circumstances, they are admissible. But from close attention to what was passing around me, during my short stay in America, from conversation with many intelligent coloured persons there, and from a comparison of the present condition of the coloured people, with what it was some fifteen or twenty years past, I am forced to the melancholy conclusion, that all the labours of abolitionists, thus far, have been spent in vain; and that if they have effected any thing, it has been only to brighten the line of distinction between the whites and the blacks, and to render it more painfully visible to every discerning man of colour. Notwithstanding the causes which present the full operation of these principles are apparent at the very first view, it is greatly to be doubted, if the light of the millennium is not required to remove them. Public sentiment is the supreme law of a republican country, and whenever it is opposed to the minority, in any country, its every exercise will go to bury more deeply in wretchedness, that class against which it is arrayed. Whatever course, therefore, that tends to call into exercise those unholy feelings, cannot be considered in any other light than an unhappy officiousness, tending rather to evil than to good. Under this view of the subject, I was not long in forming a determination, and in taking a decided stand;—a decided, immovable stand on the side of colonization, as the only feasible plan for the benefit of the coloured race. If it should be argued, and even admitted, that colonization is cruel, as its effects is to expatriate, it will be contended that its cruelty is comparative: and not to be compared with that of the state in which the coloured people are placed in their native land. And until this condition is almost infinitely altered for the better, the cruelty of colonization vanishes into the highest benevolence. I acknowledge that, hitherto, I have been in some degree undetermined; vacillating as it were between two points,—afraid to act vigorously on either side, lest I should be found opposing the good of my long-afflicted race. I have wanted information; such information as could be derived only from a personal observation of the condition of the coloured people, under the operation both of the abolition and colonization schemes. I have for some years carefully noted the effect of colonization on those that avail themselves of its offers. I have endeavored to draw aside the veil of futurity, and survey the rising prospects; and the result of my observations has been entire confidence in the benevolent and advantageous bearing of the scheme, both on the colonists and Africa generally. I have therefore only wanted an opportunity to witness the effect of abolition labours, to determine which scheme presents the highest claim to the attention of the coloured man. This opportunity my visit to America afforded.

So far as I could discover, nothing favourable has been effected by the labours of the abolitionists: not the smallest advancement made towards the object to which their labours have been directed; not the least softening down of those feelings of repulsion and aversion, which exist on the part of the whites against the blacks. But rather a determination on the part of the former to make the latter feel more sensibly their wretched and degrading condition. The state of the coloured people in most parts of the United States, is wretched in the extreme, and in those where they are most favoured by the laws, their enjoyment and even security of life, are held by a tenure so insecure, as to afford no ground for gratulation. But if once you push a glance at the future, a dark and portentous cloud thickens upon the sight, charged with evils, from the contemplation of which the mind of humanity turns with horror. Nothing can be offered in apology for the existence or continuation of the causes that prevent the full operation of those principles, which every upright mind must acknowledge correct. I only observe that they do exist, and to all human appearance will continue to exist until there is a greater prevalence of moral feeling and principle, than we have any ground to hope for antecedent to the millennium. The colonization scheme then, presents the only safe and feasible plan that has yet been devised for the benefit of any portion of the African population of the United States. Not that I suppose colonization, as it has heretofore been carried on, a panacea for American slavery.