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In the last number of the Journal, we referred to the discussion that had taken place in Glasgow, (Scotland) between the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, and the noted George Thompson, wandering abolitionist. We give below the admirable letter of Mr. Breckenridge to Dr. Wardlaw, the clergyman who presided at the meetings where the discussion took place. We commend it to the notice of all our readers. It is able and unanswerable.

(From the New York Observer.)

To the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D. of Glasgow: SIR,-I observed in the London Patriot, of last week, an abstract of the proceedings of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, on the 1st of this month, at a public meeting held for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the society in reference to the discussion on American Slavery, between the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge and Mr. George Thompson.' The greater portion of the report before me, is occupied with a speech made by you on that occasion, in proposing to the meeting the following resolution, viz: ry prevails to a great extent' in India, 'especially in ral head of severity, injustice, and deep-rooted preju-That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting the Bengal.' There you will find proof that no direct effort | dice against the blacks. These things may be true, wish announced by Mr. George Thompson, to meet | was ever made to abolish it, -and reasons urged by or they may be false. The statements and evidence publicly any antagonist, especially any minister of the gospel from the United States, on the subject of American Slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well-founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose, and assurance of the correctness of his facts; and that the recent discussion in this city between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, has left not merely unshaken, but confirmed and augmented their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his country, by those who belong to your party, and who in short, every thing that should make its teeming motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of at the Houdsworth Anti-Slavery Society, on the 3d population rich, happy and powerful. I was there. his statements, and the straight forward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal.' This motion was seconded by the venerable and respected Dr. Kidstone, whose speech on the occasion is but briefly lated to excite suspicion. reported. Other resolutions-some of similar import, some of a general character-were offered, and seconded by Dr. Heugh, and Messrs. Eadie, King, three-quarters of the globe are, by their own showing M'Laren and Kettle. But above all, the proceedings bear the signature of Robert Grahame, of Whitehill, whose venerable name is dear to every good man.

These proceedings, sir, have relieved me from a state of great and painful anxiety, as to the view my countrymen might take of the propriety of my taking by the fact and the record of the case? Do I give enormous quantities of grain and live stock, and all any notice, more or less, of Mr. George Thompson. For while nothing is further from my purpose than to wound the feelings of any friend of that individual, it is therefore responsible for all the evils which exist, and periodical suffering, there is no poor law, nor any is necessary to say, that in America, every one who is not an abolitionist, or, in other words, ninety-nine | Alas! sir, it is an ancient habit, to be bitter against our hundredths of the people, consider him, not only brother for a mote, when a beam is in our own eye. unworthy of credit, but unworthy of notice. At length, I have a tangible proof, by which to make my against with great severity for neglect of the spiritual countrymen feel, that persons of the utmost respecta- welfare of the coloured population of the United happy consummation of six hundred years of British bility, excellence, and piety, in Britain, not only con- States: and you have in an unhappy hour, said, you authority! And how can you, sir, look any human cur in all the principles and proceedings, but partake | believed and approved these hard sayings. I have in | being in the face, and charge his country with wrong, of all the prejudices and ignorance of that individual, vain denied, in vain disproved them. My object now till you have strained every effort to redress this vast and openly defend his flagitious conduct. From this is, to show the condition of the country whose people hereditary guilt? Or if you fail, how car. you speak, day forth, I deem myself fully acquitted on the only bring and credit them; still keeping the line of duty nationally, in the hearing of earth, or heaven, about part of the subject which filled me with personal | indicated by your suggestion. anxiety. For although you have not hesitated to speak in terms sufficiently disparaging of my humble of Lower Canada, where the Roman Catholic reli- South Africa, wet with the blood of murdered nations. efforts to defend this truth; yet as you have given no | gion is established by treaty and by law, where | Read the clear and masterly speech of Dr. Philip, reasons for the judgment you have delivered, those annual grants of public money are made to support already twice referred to. If a traveller who had who read for themselves may escape the influence it, and where it has had free course, until the visited that country twenty-five years ago, were to take even of your authority. And as you have been people are so ignorant, that by statute law, the grand his stand on the banks of the Keiskamma river, and pleased to decide on the whole merits of the case, as | jurors and the school commissioners are allowed the | ask what had become of the natives whom he saw well as on the merits of the parties involved in it,-I privilege of making their marks instead of signing | there on his former visit; if he took his stand on the damaged the truth by feeble advocacy.

turn with delight from those who have hitherto | tish realm. assailed me, and address myself to you; that I avail myself of the right arising from your free and repeated use of my name, and your judgments both upon £8,928 for the Roman Catholic College at May- (he would have before him a country containing my character and acts, to speak freely in return. Let us forget the miserable trifling of Mr. Robert Bernard Hall. Let us pass over poor Moses Roper, who, it is | Christ in Western Africa, through the Colonization | man could tell him where they were!' Ask Lord but just to say, has written the most modest and sensible attack yet made on me. Let us even be moderate in having absolutely silenced the garrulity of Mr. | injurious to true religion? which you and your party | ery, plunder and butchery, by which these brave and Thompson, who begs off in his last note, which has just reached me, in the Patriot of the 17th instant. have that to say which you have not only invited, but challenged me to utter, and to which I ask your se-

rious regard.

I have manifested my deference to the judgment of | through governmental patronage. a christian people, by discussing at its bar, questions purely national and personal, into which, under erro- that you have above one hundred millions of heathen | plans and arranging agencies, by which to make illusneous pretexts, they had interfered in a manner the most vexatious. I believed they were in great errorand the world, harm-and challenged and forced into There, sir, you will find positive proof that the horrid But why need I multiply particulars? When these the matter, I have discussed it on its mere merits- system of Hindoo idolatry, in all its cruelty and cor- things are set right, and you seek from us another admitting you and your people to be, all you professed | ruption, is upheld, partaken of, and made a source of | list, we will say to you concerning your polity, in to be-and only endeavouring to prove that we were | gain by the British authorities in India! Temples | nearly all its parts, things which you will then be betnot as evil as you made us out. So far as you, and are supported by the government; priests and dancing ter able to bear. We will point out how you may those who can influence, are concerned, you have | women are paid a monthly allowance out of the pub- | establish real freedom amongst yourselves, and theredeclared that you remain more firmly than ever set- lic revenue; magistrates are present and aiding offi- by show your acquaintance with its sacred principles; tled in your harsh judgments of us, and your fixed | cially at their brutal ceremonies; military officers do | how you can make your laws just, equal and humane, purpose to follow out all your offensive courses. Nay, their peculiar honours to the abominable thing; and and thereby manifest in practice your devotion to you plainly declare, that rather than alter a tittle of | British functionaries collect the wages of iniquity. | principles commended for others. At present such a your conduct, principles, opinions, or demands on this And now, sir, what can the eagerness of party zeal proceeding could only irritate; and is the more readisubject, you prefer that all fellowship between us and | find, in all its false allegations against us, equal to the | ly forborne, because it is not as an American or a you shall terminate. That argument and conclusion, naked deformity of these facts? then, being complete and final, we need say no more. I am content to wait and see, whether the American | empire. In multitudes of publications I have seen | which you act, is, in point of numbers, a very small constitution; or whether, in the event of the adequate | coloured population of America, made the basis of | willing to adhere to this view of my duty. Indeed it majority for that purpose not being attainable, they insinuations against the sincerity of our religious pro- is chiefly because your party has much of its strength will, as the inference of your argument, break up the

confederacy-to regain your good opinion.

There is, as I have said, quite another view of the cient magnitude to induce their kind offices for its suppression, we ought to feel obliged by their using their endeavours to stir us up to a due consideration the context you are somewhat pointed in enforcing this idea, as containing in it a great rule of duty. In general we have considered the ill-doing of this delicate office more hurtful than its omission. In particular, it has appeared to us as a pretext liable to infinite abuse, and practically resorted to most by those who had least ground and least right to display it. But, sir, I can hardly, either in faithfulness or honour, abstain any longer from its use. And the main object of this communication is, to point out, in the actual description, that decency would seem to require you while they exist.

against us—the unhappy and indefensible existence of | chapels be added, only 100.' That is, above 1,000,000 slavery in many of the states. Will you be so good | souls, in a single city, and that city the seat of your as to turn your eyes to the map of Africa, and fix them | glory, utterly unprovided for by the nation, and the on a spot longer than half of Western Europe? At established church. Now if we should add what is its southern extremity, find Cape Town. Then find | done by dissenters of all classes, and add also the the speech of Dr. Philip, delivered in Exeter Hall, destitute of the small parishes, the result might be ten days after you delivered yours. In that town and | varied a little; but still, make the best of it you can, neighbourhood are 9,000 British slaves!! Scattered | and you are left with more people destitute of the over that vast peninsula are many thousand more of means of grace in London, alone, than in all the British slaves!! And yet the ear of day is dull with United States! If you doubt these statements of the being told that in the British empire there were no | Lord Bishop of London, consult the proceedings of slaves; and the very speech that has elicited these | the last annual meeting of the City Mission; and remarks, was made at a meeting on the anniversary | then ponder, whether the hundreds of pounds squandevoted to a glorious fact that never occurred, name- | dered on Mr. Thompson's trip to the United Statesly, 'Slave emancipation in the British colonies.'

find the vast dominions which God has lent to you people of Glasgow to give him by way of 'Testimothere, embracing a population of one hundred and nial Fund-might not have been fully as well laid out thirty millions of souls. Then look over a file of | in sending the gospel to the British capital? papers, and read a conversation that occurred in the Commons House of Parliament, but a short time | the general subjects of slavery in itself considered, back, between the Hon. Mr. Buxton and Sir J. Hob- and neglect of the religious instruction of the nativeshouse, on the subject of British slavery in India!! | the remaining charges which we have been arraigned abolition impossible.

the Atlantic Ocean, and see nearly a million of apprentices in the West India Islands; and then remember what you have yourself said and written on the subject of this system: and to call to mind the innumerable declarations made weekly, up and down the genial than any other in so high a northern latitude: of this month) denounced it 'as aggravated slavery, under the delusive name of apprenticeship,' and de-

and by irrefragable proofs, covered with slaves, should deal somewhat gently with other nations, who may chance to be in the same unhappy condition? Do I say too much, when I caution such people to be more guarded in boastful assertions, which are contradicted

But I have more to add. We have been spoken

4. Let me beg you then to look at the condition escape, of course, from the whole blame of having | their names, and where, according to the belief of rocks of the Sondags river, and looked towards a counthe whole universe, except papists, a system of idola- try seventy miles in breadth before him, he might ask In this state of the case, it cannot surprise you, that trous worship is guaranteed by the power of the Bri- the same question; if he were to take his stand again on

> Supply, in the present Parliament, and you will see his stand on the Snow mountain, called Graf Reinet, nooth,' (which is just about the sum the vilified Ame- | 40,000 square miles,) and ask where was the immense ricans pay annually to promote the religion of Jesus | concourse he saw there twenty-five years ago; no Society,) and I ask you as a christian, to resolve the Glenelg, His Majesty's principal Secretary for the questions, which of these enterprises you deem most | colonies, and he will admit that the system of treachhave most actively opposed? and which is most under | upright savages have been wasted in exterminating opyour eye and control? Heaven and earth are moved | pression, constitutes perhaps the most degrading of all to prevent the spread of the gospel in Africa, through | the chapters of the history of mankind! It is a chapter the Colonization Society; and not a whisper is heard | written in the tears and blood of slaughtered tribesto prevent the increase of idolatry in your own land, and is hardly yet dry upon the paper that records it

in your Indian possessions—then read the noble | trious the benign sway of universal freedom, justice speech of the Rev. W. Campbell, a missionary from | and benevolence in your Monarchy—and to brand presumed they were sincerely disposed to do good- Bengalore, delivered at Exeter Hall, at the last upon our Republic, reproaches, which all coming knew they were really doing us, and themselves, annual meeting of the London Missionary Society. generations could not efface.

tence: Boteman, a Caffre chief, and others, have at all in these discussions. whole case. You say in the course of your speech, been petitioning me for missionaries, by every mes-If our American brethren saw any thing in us, which | senger through whom they could convey to me a ver- | much labour, are needful for the redress of the evils they thought, and justly thought, was an evil of suffi- bal communication, for the last twelve years; and I I have pointed out. I know that the present generahave not yet been able to send them one.' Gracious | tion is not responsible in such a sense for most of protestant ministers of Great Britain have to render | that multitudes of Englishmen deplore, and would of it, and to practical efforts for its removal.' And in for the souls of these poor Caffres, whom so many of gladly remove them. I am satisfied that it is by the nothing beyond the compass of your argument. them have forgotten, to abuse their brethren in Ame- | silent influence of example, and the kind and clear | rica for neglecting a population amongst whom a exposition of general principles, rather than rude and the one which the facts exhibit, that I am greatly sur-

tants of the capital of the British empire. power, and civilization; the abode of your Sovereign; as such, can and ought to hold christian intercourse public and in private, on any of the great evils at the seat of your Parliament; the see of a bishop, in sympathy with the christians of Britain—not—which I have hinted in this communication, as every whose income would support a hundred missionaries. | withstanding the British nation may be responsible | delegate who has come from America to Britain has Listen to what the bishop says of so much of his in the matters alleged; and that we can and ought to been assailed on the subject of slavery. I believe, diocese, as is contained in the metropolis. 'There do it-without perpetual vituperation and insult, even too, you would search in vain in America, for any condition of considerable portions of the British are,' says he, 'thirty-four parishes, containing above for what is true-not to say without gross perversions man who had received from any sect or institution in empire, evils, which really are, or which your party 10,000 souls each, (omitting all notice of the facts and merits of the case. Such, sir, are Britain, any token of respect or esteem; while it has declared to be, of so palpable and so monstrous a contain less,) and in the aggregate 1,137,000 souls: my views of the subject. I deeply regret that yours will be equally hard to find in Britain any man but there is church room for only 101,682—less than are so widely different. And I humbly beseech you among any sect to which any delegate from America to repress them, or be very modest in rebuking others one-tenth of the whole! Allow one church for every to imagine the whole course of your proceedings and has ever come, who is not indebted to us for all the

1. To come at once to the grand cause of outcry | while in fact there are but 69: or if consecrated | Thompson and his conduct since his return-made and in printing his slanders of that country-and the 2. Turn now, I pray you, to the map of Asia, and | additional hundreds, which I see Dr. Heugh urged the

Besides the accusations now made your own, on There you will find it admitted, that 'domestic slave | upon-may, to a certain extent, fall under the genethe government why it cannot now be abolished—and on both sides are in reach of the public. You have why treaties now existing seem to render its future | vouched for their truth, and it is not now my design | impelled the abolition party in Britain to pursue the to show the contrary; but to show who they are that 3. Turn your attention, next, to the western side of | are so ready to magnify real errors, and to allege false crimes upon their neighbours.

9. Pray, sir, were you ever in Ireland? If you were, you saw a land, fertile and beautiful; a people, handsome, intelligent, and active; a climate more I saw hundreds of people who had no fixed abodes. I saw the majority of the houses of the lower classes nounce every 'proposal of government' as only calcu- to be worse than the stables and cow houses in England; I saw thousands in rags; hundreds naked; and Do I draw an inference at all strained, when I say, | hundreds more naked, except a piece of a single old that the subjects of a monarch, whose dominions in garment. I looked at the third report on the expediency of a poor law for Ireland, made by order of Parliament, and I found that 2,385,000 souls are out of work, have nothing to depend on, and are in distress for thirty weeks every year. It is a settled indisputable truth, that one-third of the Irish people beg their bread two thirds of every year. And yet needless offence, when I beg you to remember, that sorts of provision, are exported from Ireland. And your Parliament is omnipotent over this subject, and | yet, in defiance of all this tremendous, long-continued either through their negligence or by their consent? sort of general provision by law, for the poor of that island. But there are forty-nine regiments of horse and foot, and a constabulary force of about equal magnitude—ready to stay the people's stomachs with lead at night and steel in the morning. This is the

human wrongs? 10. Look, for the last time, to the vast plains of the Fish river, and then extend his views to Caffraria, 5. Then look over the votes in the Committee of he might ask the same question; and were he to take for the execration of posterity! It is a chapter that 6. But a more frightful case remains. Remember | had not been fully enacted when you were concocting

republican, but as a christian, my mission brought 7. But pass again to another portion of your wide | me to you. The assurance, too, that the party with people will, at your suggestion, change their national our alleged neglect of the religious instruction of the minority of the British nation, makes me the more fession. If you will read the speech of Dr. Philip, in that sect to which I was more particularly sent, already alluded to, you will find the following sen- | that it seemed clearly necessary for me to take part

I readily admit that time, patience, sacrifices, and

ours, and our case made yours; and then decide what would by this time have been the feelings of your people towards us, if we had treated you as you have treated us? I declare, in the presence of God, my firm belief, that if things go on much longer as they have progressed for the last two years, there will not be found on earth men more estranged from each other than the professors of religion in the two countries. I have already witnessed the spectacle of a part of the religious press in England, urging forward the government of the country to an intervention, if necessary, with arms, against the progress of liberty in Texas, upon the false and ignorant pretext, that the government of the United States, unless prevented by force, would possess itself of that country, and introduce slavery there. The people generally of America, are long ago roused to the highest pitch of indignation against your proceedings in this whole business. You have now reduced the christians of that country to a position, where, if they act with you or admit your previous statements or principles-they become, on your own showing, infamous! You may now behold in the preceding statement the posture in which all the world but yourselves have viewed you during all this terrible affair!

Was it ignorance of your real condition, or was it ignorance still more gross of ours, or was it national vanity and prejudice, or was it all these unitedly, that course they have adopted? It is not my desire to give offence, and I will not therefore attempt to decide. Your party profess to have full and accurate information about us; though it is very odd that, at your meeting, Dr. Heugh moved, and Mr. Eadie seconded, and your 'very numerous and highly respectable meeting' unanimously voted, that our national constitution contained a very important principle, which is not only not in it at all, but which the very discussion you were pronouncing on ex cathedra, proved not to be in it! Well informed gentlemen. not to say just judges, should be more cautious. It does not become me to say that your party are ignorant of the condition of their own country; but, if they knew the facts now commended to their notice, it is not easy to reconcile their singular disregard of them with their rampant benevolence on the other side of the water; and if they were unacquainted with them, they had better stay at Jericho till their beards be grown. Upon the delicate and painful subject of national prejudice, it is difficult to speak properly at all; but especially so to gentlemen whose passion lies in surmounting all prejudice whatever. The John Bull newspaper is said to represent the views and feelings of the extreme High Church and Tory party; the Record is the reputed vehicle for Low Church sentiments; the Patriot, I am told, stands in the same relations to the Congregational dissenters, embracing both Baptists and Independents, who are generally Whigs and Radicals. The Times, which, from its great ability, must always wield a vast influence, is considered the organ of the Independent Conservative interest. I am very likely to be mistaken; but I have tried to inform myself of your condition, and this is what I learn. Be so good, sir, as to read any editorial article in either of these papers for the last four months, in which it was necessary to express opinions or feelings in regard to the U. States, and you will at once catch my present drift. But to aid such as have neither time nor opportunity for such a review, excuse the following sample from a late number of the last named paper :- 'In short, this is just the wretched 'colonization scheme,' to which those pious slave-owners, the Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians of the United States have betaken themselves, as a plaster to their consciences, rank and rotten with hypocrisy; and though that holy American humbug may command a congenial support from the canting zealots of liberty and lashes, hallelujahs and horse-whippings, Bibles and brutality, missions and murders, religious revivals merging in slave auctions, and love-feasts terminating in Lynch law,' &c. &c. It is but justice to say, that I have seen equal grossness only in the John Bull, and in Mr. Thompson's speeches, to some of which latter this has a most suspicious resemblance. It is my duty also to declare, which I do with sincere pleasure, that the present foreign secretary of the king, (Lord Palmerston,) and the journals which speak the sentiments of the government, are by far better informed, and more candid in regard to American affairs in general, than any others whose published views have come to my knowledge.

I may, in the end, be permitted to suggest, that perhaps too much has been said in relation to the existing and prospective intercourse between the churches of the two countries; and possibly too much consequence attached to it by myself, as well as others. I have uttered the sentiments of those who sent me, in their name; and endeavoured to enforce them by such considerations as appeared to me just and appropriate. But I am not aware of any thing having transpired which would justify the supposition that America, or her churches, looked for any advantage which was not likely to be reciprocal, in being permitted to hold this intercourse. Still less can I conceive that any one could be justified in demanding of our churches, as conditions of it, not only adhesion to moral principles which we reject, but the procurement of political changes which are impossible. Yet, if I comprehend the drift of all British abolitionism, it stops not a whit short of this.

It was the world, more than America, we sought to benefit. We had no purpose of attempting a revolution in Britain; nor did it enter into our conceptions that a revolution in America, of the most terrible extent, would be dictated to us, in terms hardly supportable. It was the benighted heathen for whose good we were laying plans; and the thought of personal advantage, or honour, or enjoyment, to any portion of ourselves, had never place for a moment, nor even ground for exercise; and therefore, we must needs be proof against all discriminating threats. It is quite gratuitous for the sects in England to decline receiving our delegates, except they be abolitionists-which many individuals and some public meetings have heaven! what an account will the twenty thousand | them as past generations have been. I am convinced | recommended-which the Baptists, if I am rightly informed, have virtually done-and which seems

Indeed, this aspect of the case is so very far from larger proportion hear the gospel, than of the inhabi- harsh personal or national assaults, that we can do prised that wisdom, if not kindness, did not prevent you good, in these or similar cases. And I gladly its presentation. For I believe no delegate who has 8. Let us look at London, the seat of your wealth, declare my belief, that the christians of America, gone from Britain to America has been assailed, in 3,000 souls, and 372 churches would be required; arguments-embracing of course the mission of Mr. | consequence he has derived from literary and theolo-