

MARYLAND COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE MANAGERS OF THE STATE FUND.

Vol. I.

Baltimore, October, 1838.

No. 21.

When gratuitous please circulate.

Speech of the Hon. William H. Tuck,

Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

(Continued.)

Of all the incidents to this measure, the conduct of northern females is, perhaps, the most remarkable; and I am sure that a full statement of their agency in this matter, will hardly command credence with a single person here present, who has not already heard or read something of it. Female abolition societies have grown up in those states, with the most astonishing rapidity; they are numberless as the institutions for moral reformation, for which that people are so noted. It is not necessary to mention their number, or course of proceedings; suffice it to say, that their object is the same every where—the immediate and general emancipation of our slave population without expatriation. I shall only notice very briefly, *the anti-slavery convention of American women*, held in the city of New York, on the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th of May last. This was composed of one hundred and seventy-five delegates and corresponding members, from the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maine, Connecticut, and two from South Carolina. I have seen the proceedings of that convention, and if the doctrines there promulgated, are common to that country, I have been very much at fault, in estimating the character of their women. I hope, however, that the mass are not to be judged by the members of that convention; and that even they are led off by a zeal and ardour of feeling, which their minds would control, but for the influence of false and erroneous statements as to matters of fact. It is our common lot to err. It would perhaps, be uncharitable to attribute to them an exemption from human frailty.

We have heard that the abolitionists assert, equality among men, community and identity of interests, and the propriety of amalgamation among the black and white. But has any one ever supposed that this horrible idea had found favour with their women? That they had openly proclaimed their anxiety to be placed in the most intimate relations with that population, and to recognize them as equals—as sisters and brothers, in all the commerce of life? Yet, this disorganizing spirit is breathed throughout all their acts and opinions. The minutes of that convention do not show the relative proportion of black members; but they are represented as participating in that unhalloved attempt to promote a union among people, whom nature seems to have separated by impassable barriers: and even as making speeches, and uttering touching appeals against the Colonization Society; an institution which above all others, they should be taught to reverence. And that there might be no mistake, as to their sincerity; least it might be inferred, that they were not opposed to all distinctions; they designate their members as *American women*. The usual prefix of Mrs. or Miss is rejected by most of them by express direction, and they stand recorded in their published proceedings, with patronymics unadorned by any appellative, save that of baptism. Why this especial rejection of all actual and nominal distinctions? No doubt, they were all ladies, as that term is generally understood, importing women of rank or genteel education. Was it to make their devotion more striking, by descending to the level of their sisters, whom they could not elevate to their own position in society? It was hardly necessary to take to their close embraces at this late day, a race of human beings, whose condition had not before excited their sympathy, for the purpose of expressing their abhorrence of that domestic policy, which had borne the sanction of all preceding ages, since the discovery of America. It is really fearful to witness the progress of their fanaticism.

They reduce all men to a common condition, and destroy all the distinctions which have been found necessary to the perfection of society. In the plenitude of their zeal, the most respectable in life are relinquishing what they have always demanded, from principle and self-respect, and in this is found the danger of the association.

They inform the white women of the free states, that upon them rests the responsibility of carrying on this work, and among the means indicated, they are enjoined to sympathize with their oppressed coloured sisters—treat them as equals—visit them as equals—invite them to co-operate in anti-slavery, temperance and moral reform societies, in maternal associations, prayer meetings and reading companies. Give them countenance in travelling and in public situations, to save them from insult and contempt. Go to their places of worship, and when at others, set not in the highest seats among the white aristocracy, but go down to the despised coloured woman's pew, and set side by side with her, embrace all opportunities of identifying yourselves with this injured class of our fellow citizens. It is the duty of abolitionists to trade and deal with them in their different callings, to have them placed conspicuously in all congregations, and as long as churches are disgraced with side seats for them we must set with them! These are a few of the recommendations, made by this female convention, in the specious appeal they address to the women of the free states upon the subject of slavery. But they adopt another resolution that cannot be misunderstood; and if carried into practice, must end in amalgamation, in indiscriminate union by the closest ties that bind the sexes. They resolve, that this convention do firmly believe, that the existence of an unnatural prejudice against our coloured population, is one of the chief pillars of American slavery; therefore, that the more we mingle with our oppressed brethren and sisters, the more deeply are we convinced of the sinfulness of that anti-Christian prejudice, which is crushing them to the earth in our nominally free states; sealing up the fountains of knowledge from their panting spirits, and driving them into infidelity, and that we deem it a solemn duty of every woman to pray to be delivered from such an unholy feeling, and to act out the principles of Christian equality, by associating with them as though the colour of the skin was of no more consequence than that of the hair or the eyes. If there were wanting any proof of the blindness

with which they are bringing on an unknown path, it may be found in the fact, that a lady from South Carolina submitted this proposition.

They discuss the question as involving political, moral, and religious considerations of the highest character, and they call on the whole sex, to unite in accomplishing their 'high and holy' purpose by all means in their power, 'to hold on their course till universal woman-hood is rallied in behalf the bleeding victims of wrong.' How is this influence to be exerted, and how can it be successfully resisted? I will not detain you by any illustration of the control which woman's power has always had, and must always preserve among men. You all know it. We all feel it. We bear the consciousness of its existence within us, and we see it continually exhibited around us. These dangerous principles are to be taught in the nursery, at the fireside, and around the domestic altar. They are to be the daily lesson from early dawn to the hour of rest; and in all the pursuits of life they are to become a motive of action. When did a mother's love fail to influence the tender heart, in bending it to her own peculiar wishes, where these wishes had become almost a component part of herself? She is to be the teacher, and the child is to be the recipient of those precepts; as policy, as religion, as morality, as every thing, from lisping infancy to maturity of life. If the succeeding generation should witness an increase of abolitionists, it may be fairly ascribed to the decided stand that northern women have already taken; and the success that will accompany their efforts to disseminate their doctrines.

With this tremendous physical and moral power actively engaged, they have also the pecuniary means to accomplish their object. It has been said of the people of the 'land of steady habits,' that 'what they undertake they steadily pursue, regardless of all expenditure of time, labour, or money; looking to the end of the work for their reward.' And this statement has never been more fully verified than in the present instance. Look at the religious and moral institutions, among them; temperance, tract, bible, missionary, and other associations of the same kind. These originated with them in great measure, and have always been chiefly supported by them. The New England states and New York contribute more to these objects than the rest of this Union. During the temperance reformation about four years ago, the publication and distribution of a single tract on that subject, cost the sum of \$10,000, which was paid by the New York society, and they were sent from New York to every hamlet and village in this vast country. Their other establishments are maintained in the same manner. Whatever concerns their religion, they promote as they do the promulgation of the glorious gospel, they regard the one as enforcing the precepts of the other. They know no distinction in the liberality of expenditure for their support. I am informed that a single individual is under a pledge to contribute \$1,000 every month, (\$12,000 per annum,) towards abolition, which is more than the state of Maryland has appropriated annually towards colonization. The convention of women, to which I have alluded, raised \$360, merely to print and distribute their own proceedings, besides pledges from nearly all the societies, to procure increase of numbers and pecuniary means. The American Anti-Slavery Society was in session at the same time in New York, and pledges in support of the objects of the institution were furnished to \$47,000. By their proceedings it appears, that the first society was established in the state of Pennsylvania in December, 1832, and that in all free states there are now, in less than six years, 1,006 societies; most of them having been established in 1835-36. This fact affords the most alarming evidence of the progress they are making and of the indefatigable exertions of that whole people to destroy the domestic institutions of slavery.

This is a very imperfect account of the physical, moral, and pecuniary energies embarked in the consummation of this work. The unparalleled success that has attended their efforts, affords abundant cause of rejoicing among them, as their own expressed opinions shew, and precludes the hope of their ever losing confidence in its practicability. Under these circumstances of impending danger, what does it become Maryland to do? If their designs be such as they are represented, with the capacities to accomplish them, what should be the action of those sections of the Union which are to be most injuriously affected by their operation? There cannot be a dissenting voice upon the general proposition, to defeat them by some means or other. All would concur in a proper plan, that seemed likely to succeed; and indeed, a majority might go so far as to approve any defence that could resist this attack; they might, perhaps, sanctify the means to the end.

It is not intended, sir, to point out the various measures that might counteract their attempts. I desire only to present the system of colonization as now in progress, as among the most efficient of these means, and perhaps, most worthy of the consideration of the South. The abolitionists themselves have a greater abhorrence for this institution than they have for slavery itself. A resolution passed at one of these general meetings, is in these words: 'We feel bound, solemnly to protest against the principles of the American Colonization Society, as anti-republican and anti-Christian; that we believe them to have had a most sorrowful influence in rivetting the chains of the slave by recognizing him as the property of his master, and in strengthening the unreasonable and unholy prejudice against our oppressed brethren and sisters, by declaring them almost too debased to be reached by the heavenly light; that to the slave, the society offers exile or bondage; to the freeman, persecution or banishment; and that we view it as an expatriation society.' This is a sentiment generally entertained among them. They profess that this is the land of the African race, and that colonization is but another mode of expatriation. We all know that the chief recommendation of this measure, as a philanthropic institution is, the prospect of the removal of these people to the land of their fathers; to furnish them with a government peculiar to themselves, securing to them political, religious, moral, civil, and all kinds of liberty, that the most visionary abolitionists could desire for them. But now it appears to have fallen upon modern innovators to discover that

America and not Africa, is peculiarly the land of the negro's nativity. A discovery no less at variance with the fact, than the whole theory and practice of their institution is destitute of foundation in truth. Why are they opposed to this scheme? If they desired the immediate emancipation of the slaves from motives of humanity, to say nothing of the feelings of christianity, by which they profess to be actuated; they surely could not object to a measure, which actually co-operates with them, by effecting their establishment as a people in a country more suited to their wants and capacities. They must know by their own experience, that this class of people are not susceptible of, nor are they able to impart the happiness which the whites may enjoy in this country. If they remain, they must continue in their degraded condition, and can never become useful citizens. If this be not true, why do not they furnish positive evidence of its fallacy, by extending to them all the rights and immunities of freemen, and then inform us how their experiment has succeeded? When we hear them complaining of the burdens imposed by that population among themselves; and when we see that theirs, are no better than our own free negroes, what inducement have we to extend this system of nominal freedom. The Colonization Society looks to the advantage of the free negro, as well as the white man. Their scheme professes to secure the happiness of the African race, when its necessary result must be their ruin. They would release them from a state of wholesome subjection, and allow them the most unrestrained indulgence of passion and licentiousness. The inevitable consequence would be, a re-forging of their chains, and a return to slavery, made more onerous by necessity. No one who is sincere in his professions of regard towards this unfortunate class, can be opposed to our plan of colonization, although he might well desire to see the work progress with more rapidity. Colonization might be made conducive to the best interests of the northern states, and it is a matter of much surprise that they should foster another institution which seeks its entire destruction.

But the fact is, that our plan is the sworn implacable enemy of theirs, and therefore, they denounce it in terms, well calculated to destroy its weight among the people upon whom it is to operate. Its principles and designs are most grossly perverted; and even the state of the colonies already established on the coast of Africa, are represented in the most odious terms, for the purpose of prejudicing the ignorant against these settlements. They admit that this institution can do more to counteract their own efforts than any other power that we can employ; and hence they fear its influence, and do all they can to retard its progress. They know that abolition cannot be further extended among themselves. Their negroes are already free. They hope to make ours free also: either by inducing masters to liberate them, or by exciting rebellion among them. This latter effect may occur, if the former be not produced. For their efforts, if not counteracted, must succeed in one of these modes. Now they know, that if the whole south will unite in one general plan of this kind, and remove the free negroes as fast as they become so, so as to keep down the increase of that population among us, their exertions will have failed. We must always bear in mind, that their object is 'emancipation without expatriation.' They estimate, that in some half century hence, the number of negroes will have increased to such an extent, as very greatly to enlarge their ratio towards the white population. If colonization proceeds no faster than it does at present, and no other means should be employed for the prevention of this increment, it will then be too late to attempt any thing against the progress of abolition, which will be moving with a giant stride towards the completion of its work. With an increased free and slave population at the South—the former always promoting their measures by infusing a spirit of insubordination into the minds of the latter; if a contest should ensue, the white population might fall a sacrifice to the revengeful passions of the combined forces of the free and the slave, and extermination be the result. These are said to be their calculations. I know that they do not argue any kindness of feelings on their part, and perhaps they should not be ascribed to them. But I speak only of what I am informed are their own estimates, and if I do injustice to their motives, it is not from any desire to form unfavourable opinions of any of the people of our common country. Would to heaven they treated us with the brotherly love we feel towards them. I would most cheerfully vindicate the purity of their intentions if I did not see too much to condemn. Why make such estimates at all, if they are not to be used? Of what concern is it to know whether the whites or the blacks will be stronger in the next century, unless the information urge us to provide for the emergency in which a state of comparative weakness may place us. Even if a sense of christian duty impelled them to promote the extinction of slavery, they cannot be ignorant of the dangers with which such an increase of free negroes may threaten the whole country. They cannot be blind to the questions of expediency and policy involved in the proposed measure. Then, I ask again, why calculate the probable increase of the two kinds of population at a given time, and exhibit satisfaction at a result which ought to produce a feeling of present apprehension, and of fear for their children's children? They cannot suppose that these estimates will be lost upon the free people of colour, who they assert are capable of every mental improvement. When they inform them that the day is not far distant which will behold a perfect equality of strength among all the inhabitants of this land, do they expect that the free blacks will be content to remove to Africa; or that they will not become hostile to colonization and every other measure, that contemplates a diminution of their number among us? If we consider the zeal with which they have embarked upon this abolition expedition, and the means invoked to their aid; and more especially, when we behold their unqualified hostility towards every thing that may counteract their labours; and the great pains they take to bring the colonization scheme into disrepute, with the very people whom it is designed to benefit, we cannot attribute to them the motives, either of patriotism or sound philanthropy. When they

warn the African race against this Society as another Delilah robbing Samson of his strength, they afford too much reason to fear, that in a spirit of wild adventure, they have sworn to accomplish their work, 'peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must.'

Mr. President, if these be their designs and they regard colonization as the most formidable obstacle to their achievement, then I ask, what does it become us to do? Let us turn from the little we have done, and determine to do more. All of us should concentrate upon this plan to enhance its value. While our adversaries are giving it consequence, we should not detract from its importance by seeming indifferent to its success. This may become our only hope; our very sheet anchor of safety. The south has hitherto done too little. They have not regarded the surrounding circumstances—the signs of the times. They took no warning from the small cloud that but yesterday appeared in the northern sky. It already darkens that horizon; the lightning's forked flash even extends to our own hemisphere; the rattling thunder reverberates from pole to pole; every thing denotes a coming storm. We must avoid the danger or be overwhelmed by its fury.

Those who have most narrowly contemplated colonization in its practical results, are of opinion that a concert of action may be had among ourselves which will effectually neutralize the energies of our opponents. But the states generally have not manifested a sufficient interest in the measure itself: or indeed exhibited that confidence in the feasibility which all experience warrants. We should not longer remain inattentive to its claims upon us. It is worthy the consideration of all, it needs public support at this time more especially, because it is now most violently assailed. Its enemies are increasing in number, then let its friends redouble their zeal. And as the assault becomes more violent so in the same proportion let the south rally to the rescue. Consider for a moment the surprising success that has attended abolition in its mad career, and then regard the relative position of this Society. How far is it excelled in energy, in action, and in means! Until 1831, this state had done nothing in its support. But a more enlarged view of public duty in reference to this subject seems to have been entertained by the legislature of that year. This Society had been incorporated one or two years before. Up to that time Maryland had taken no separate independent action in the matter. It had been supposed that the plan could be accomplished by means of the American Colonization Society, and its auxiliaries: and such individual aid as could be obtained for it. But after many years experience attended with various success, the idea was suggested of establishing state institutions to act concurrently with the parent society; which would have the effect of enlisting state pride and patronage, and at the same time, not diminish the ability, but rather enhance the usefulness of the principal scheme. This society, I believe, was the first result of that suggestion, and to Maryland belongs the honour of having the first independent state colony in Liberia. The founders of this colony were not disappointed in the hopes with which the settlement was made. As soon as your society was incorporated, and the people of the state perceived that a system peculiar to herself could be advantageously maintained under her own direction, and promising the most abundant success, they did not hesitate to advance the public means to its support. At that time the seeds of abolition had not been cast among us. African colonization was on the high road of successful experiment without any antagonist institution to impede its progress. The state supplied means supposed to be adequate to the existing emergency, not apprehending that any extraneous influence would injuriously affect their operation. The sum of twenty thousand dollars was appropriated that year, and the treasurer was further authorized to negotiate other loans, not exceeding in all two hundred thousand dollars, to be applied under the direction of managers appointed by the Executive. Annual payments have been made, and the past year the state managers expended about eleven thousand five hundred dollars. The colony was established in February 1834. It numbers now about four hundred souls, engaged in the most useful and honourable employments. Abundant means are provided for their religious and intellectual instruction, and all the accounts represent them as a happy and prosperous community. The example of Maryland was soon followed by other states, New York and Pennsylvania have already established their colonies, and Virginia, Louisiana, and Mississippi have determined upon making purchases for the same purpose. A joint one for the last two states perhaps has already been located. The movements of the abolitionists have given this fresh impetus to our plan. The whole south, and many portions of the free states, have opened their eyes to its expediency, and the necessity of its immediate execution. It needs only this concurrent, uninterrupted action, by independent state societies to give it an equality with, if not the vantage ground of its great antagonist.

We should always bear in mind the process by which this plan operates. It is too generally supposed that it contemplates the removal of the free negroes first, and finally of the whole slave population, by the means of state or individual contributions. This is a radical defect in all the premises assumed by those who decry the measure. Either from design or ignorance of its true character, attempts are made to alarm the fears of the people, by telling them of the utter impossibility of ever procuring funds enough to accomplish this object, without resorting to taxation. And indeed they might well ask with what hope of success we engage in a scheme that looks to the removal of a whole race, in hundreds, when they are multiplying by thousands. We might well be told that it would require more money than the government or the whole people could command. But the error consists in this, that its friends look to no such support for its final consummation. It is emphatically a colonization scheme. It had its origin in the same spirit, to be perfected and accomplished like all colonies that have preceded it. A place is to be procured, suitable in all respects. Those upon whom such plans are to operate must be made to perceive that it is their interest to settle there. Inducements must be