perty in slaves was recognized by the laws of the country, and all their muniments clustered around it. It was admitted that it could only be touched by the voluntary action of those immediately interested in it. But the board of managers believed, that the time had nearly arrived when this action would take place in Maryland; and when it was determined to avow the extirpation of slavery in the state as an object worthy of every exertion, although it was with a confidence in success, yet it was with a full conviction that it could only be brought about, in the words of the resolutions, by 'efforts addressed to the understanding and experience of the people, and by advocating and supporting colonization as the best, truest and most efficient auxiliary of freedom, under existing circumstances.' Any other course would be as inconsistent with the feelings of the state, as injurious to the very class intended to be benefitted.

"The views of the board of managers extended still further, with reference to the general scheme of colonization. The system which they prefer, and which they suggest, in the hope of seeing it carried into effect, is one which gives to each state, what Maryland has already assumed, the sole management of colonization within its confines—those states having emigrants to send to Libera, sending them for such reasons as please them—those states having no emigrants for Africa, but which are willing to contribute their money to the cause of colonization, selecting for themselves the particular objects, or the peculiar views, connected with the subject, which they are most desirous to advance, and contributing accordingly—it being a rule to avoid interfering, by word or deed, with the subject of slavery in other states. When each state thus holds colonization in its own keeping, it will cease to be an object of dislike or apprehension to any one of them. It will no longer be the pretence for raising the cry of interference, on the part of the north, with the slavery of the south, which has already excited such angry feelings, and which threatened at one time to jeopardize the continuance of the Union itself. The philanthropy of the north will still have ample room for its best efforts under such a system. Maryland has avowed the principle which the north has long contended for, as the proper basis of colonization; and her state society, in its exertions to add another non-slaveholding state to the Union, will present as interesting an object to the friends of colonization northward, as has ever yet claimed their attention since the first promulgation of the scheme. Other slaveholding states will follow the example of Maryland, and all the sooner for being let alone. Any attempt, on the part of the north, to procure the avowal, in the parent society, of principles obnoxious to the south, could only succeed after a bitter contest, and would, if successful, be followed by the withdrawal of nearly all, if not all, the slaveholding states from any participation in the general design—while the success of the south in such a contest, would, perhaps, be followed by the north's withholding that assistance which it has heretofore so liberally afforded. Separate state action upon the subject, however, as in Maryland, will at once abate all irritating questions connected with the subject between the north and south, without losing a single friend to

colonization; and to the system that secures this, coincident, as it will be, with the course pursued by Maryland, the board of managers will give their most hearty concurrence."

Extracts from the Second Annual Report of the Maryland State Colonization Society, January, 1834.

"An objection heretofore urged against the American Colonization Society, has been, that, acting for the slaveholding, as well as non-slaveholding states, and being composed of persons from both sections of the country, it had to steer a middle course, which made it an object of suspicion to both, and so deprived it of that influence, which the philanthropy of its principles, and the great objects to be accomplished by it, entitled it to possess. Northern gentlemen alleged, that its tendency was to perpetuate slavery, because it would not undertake a crusade against the institution in the south, but confined its operations expressly to the free blacks, and those made free for the purposes of emigration, leaving the existing rights of property in slaves as it found them. The southern gentlemen declared on the other hand, that northern influence predominated in the councils of the society; that its tendency was to favor emancipation and remotely act upon slavery, and confounding the Abolitionists with the Colonizationists, they declaimed against the society as an institution, that was to deprive them of their right in a species of property which the laws of the land had guaranteed to them. Unfortunately, both sides found, in the speeches and writings of members and friends of the society, though not, it is believed, in its official acts; sentences, which, sometimes fairly, sometimes unfairly quoted, they converted into texts, for their respective opinions. While the colony of Liberia was in its infant state; while colonization itself was but a scheme without an illustration, and while its propagators and friends were looked upon and condemned as visionary enthusiasts, the subject was not of sufficient importance to attract much attention; and pursuing the tenor of its ordinary policy, the society avoided as much as practicable, the discussion of all those questions which were unnecessary to its success, and which could only produce excitement and confusion in the argument. But this state of things could not long continue,—Liberia grew fast into importance—the friends of colonization multiplied throughout the land—evils which had not the remotest connexion with colonization were imputed to it; and at the last annual meeting of the society at Washington,* there was a warm excitement, and protracted discussion, in which more of political feeling developed itself, than was to have been desired or looked for in the deliberations of a purely philanthropic institution. The Board of Managers allude to this now, because intimately connected with the course of proceeding which they have felt themselves called upon to pursue. That the angry feelings, which circumstances elicited at the last

*January, 1833.

Maryland Historical Society

The Maryland State Colonization Society Papers

VIII. Commissions and Reports

D. Reports of the Board of Managers
1835-47