consent, to Africa. And it was this removal, the ulterior aim of colonization, that imparted to the scheme its interest. It was this which caused the early advocates of it to abide disappointment patiently. It was this, which, after the practicability of founding a colony had been proved by the American Colonization Society, justified the people of Maryland in founding one of their own. It was this which induced the Legislature to pass the act of 1831; and to accomplish this, has the State Society thus far been assiduously labouring.

It has been said, most erroneously, that the Colonization Society was to transport all the free people of colour of the state to Africa for the $10,000 per annum paid under the act above mentioned. This sum would be wholly insufficient for the purpose. But this sum, added to the collections made from benevolent individuals, has been sufficient to found a colony, which but for evil, and, unfortunately, controlling influences, would, at this day, have been considered by the free coloured man of Maryland as attractive to him, as America is now to the foreigner who seeks our shores—and the same cause operating to produce the same effect, as rapid an emigration would, save for the evil influences alluded to, at this day have been going on from the United States to Africa, as is now taking place from England, Ireland, Germany, &c., to America.

In 1832, an expedition of one hundred and fifty emigrants was gotten up, in a few weeks, in a single county of the state; and the unbiassed judgment of the free coloured people was at this time most favourable to emigration. But not long afterwards modern abolition became active and efficient, and to its influences is to be attributed the indisposition to emigrate that has since been manifested. This has been so fully stated in former Reports that it is unnecessary to go again into particulars.

The abolition doctrine addressed to the free coloured people is, to remain in this country until they obtain social and political equality, which is promised to them as the result of their refusal to emigrate. It is faith in this delusive promise which checks the progress of colonization.

It is not intended to review the proceedings of the abolitionists. Their consequences are universally admitted in all the slave-holding states. They have not only failed utterly to ameliorate the condition of the coloured population, but they have made it necessary for masters, in self-defence, to curtail the privileges of their slaves: and they have created a feeling between the whites and the free coloured people which must have opened the eyes of both, by this time, to the fact, that in the same land it is in vain for them to expect to live in peace and equality together.

Whether the result is brought about by legislative action, or by the feeling of the community, operating in a thousand ways—and none the less effectually because it has no expression on the statute book—colonization holds, that the time when the whites and the free coloured people must separate, must come. The result may be retarded, or hastened, by circumstances—but come it must—and what colonization has accomplished has been the preparation of an outlet for emigration against the time when the free coloured man himself will admit that there is no alternative but removal.

No stronger illustration of what must one day happen can be afforded,

than is presented by the experience of a single district in the city of Baltimore. A few years ago, the labour about Fell's Point and the shipping was performed mostly by free coloured men. Now there are but few, comparatively, to be seen there. In their place is a German population, which has gradually, but thoroughly, elbowed them away—and long as Baltimore may exist as a city, the labour on Fell's Point will be white labour. The same result will take place every where. As the white man, holding the political power, jostles the other in the avenues of employment, the latter must go to the wall. In the chief city of the non-slave-holding state of New York even, a coloured man cannot obtain a license to drive a hack or a dray; and yet it is in New York that the presses of abolition have been the loudest and the longest in their outpourings.

Now although Maryland has no law like that which has just been referred to, yet there can be no doubt as to the policy by which she has been governed for the last twenty years: and now, should she even follow the example set to her at the north, and close any of the avenues of labour, she will at all events be able to urge in her justification, that she bore the evil long and patiently, until, without stint as to cost, she had provided a place to which the free coloured people of the state might emigrate—to enjoy under a well ordered and free government the blessing of social and political equality. AND THIS SHE HAS ACCOMPLISHED BY MEANS OF COLONIZATION.

There are perhaps some who believe, that the free coloured people are already so numerous, that their removal, in any reasonable period, or at any cost within the means of the state, is wholly impracticable. Nothing can be more mistaken than this view of the subject. The free coloured population of Maryland we must recollect is 62,020. Now we have but to look at some statistics of emigration, for a single year, to understand the subject at a glance.

The voluntary emigration from England, Ireland, and Scotland, during 1840, to all countries, was 83,746—and all these emigrants paid their own expenses and went of their own accord, to better their condition. Of the whole number, 67,458 came to America—15,775 went to New Holland, and 513 to Africa. Where they had one inducement to emigrate, the free coloured man of Maryland has ten. This voluntary emigration from England demonstrates the practicability of colonization. Establish a prosperous colony, create an intercourse between it and this country, and circumstances which are operating here will do the rest. The colony has been established, the intercourse is growing up, and the circumstances are producing their effects.

The plan of emigration to Trinidad and Guiana has been tried and pronounced a failure by most of the coloured people who have gone there. Those who have taken means with them have made fewer complaints than those who went there relying upon their labour; but the general impression seems to be among them all, that there was far more of self-interest than philanthropy in the efforts made to induce emigration to these colonies of England. Canada, if recent accounts be true, does not consider the coloured emigrants more valuable accessions than the non-slave-holding

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VIII. Commissions and Reports

D. Reports of the Board of Managers
1835-47