As yet, however, the Colony *is not able to stand alone*. Its people number between seven and eight hundred, and although at the end of eight or ten years they are further ahead than the earliest colonies of this country, after the same period had elapsed, yet, going as they did to Africa, little better than a set of ignorant negroes, many of whom were emancipated slaves, whose first experience of freedom was to be had on a distant and barbarous coast, without means and without education,—it would be expecting almost a miracle to expect that they should be able to bear the expenses of their colonial government, small as these may be, and in fact are. And yet, notwithstanding, they are far from unwilling to contribute to its support; and it is surprising, indeed, that they should have been able to do, in this particular, what they have done. They have contributed largely to the opening of the roads of the Colony and the erection and maintenance of its defences. They have built a light-house of stone on the extremity of the Cape, visible twenty miles at sea; and their contributions to salaries of their officers is, under the circumstances, more than reasonably could have been expected. Indeed, if I may be permitted to say to the Committee, what has again and again been said by strangers to our State, who visit Cape Palmas, "Maryland has reason to be proud of her Colony." Still it *cannot yet stand alone*. The Board of Managers have felt authorised for the first time, this year, to make a tariff on imports, and also to fix anchorage or harbor duties. The amount realized from these must necessarily be very small for some time to come, though in the end the revenue will be sufficient to bear all colonial charges, when the contribution of the State will be applied to the transportation of emigrants exclusively.

But, flourishing as the Colony is, and much as it may be an object of just pride for the State to know that there has grown up under its auspices, a Colony to whose success the history of mankind affrods no parallel, and such is the universallyadmitted fact,—yet it may be said, that pretty as may be the play thing, it is too costly a bauble for Maryland to enjoy under present circumstances, and that as there is no sensible impression made by its agency, upon the free colored population of the State, no object is attained of sufficient importance to justify the longer appropriation to its use, of a sum of money, which is wanted to aid in the maintenance of the State honor, not in Africa, but at home.

Now, in the first place, the colonists at Cape Palmas are all persons who went there after the appropriation was made. They left their homes here, to make new homes in Africa. They went in the faith, that, to the extent of the act of 1831—and its donation of two hundred thousand dollars, Maryland would not desert them. To this extent they had a right to rely on Maryland, if for no other reason, than that they and their fathers had been the servants of her people, and that they who now trusted her, were very, very weak, and she was strong. The reasons for this trust still continue, and it cannot be believed that Maryland will disappoint it.

But there are other grounds for permitting the appropriation to remain *untouched*, not stronger, but of far greater political and national importance. It is impossible for any one, who notes the progress of events, not to remark that each day is furnishing some fresh illustration of the truth of the assertion that two races which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, cannot live as freemen in the same land, on terms of social or political equality;—that the weakest must be driven to the wall; and that the only alternatives for it, are extirpation or removal. History has shown this heretofore. The United States will furnish another instance of what may be called an axiom in politics. The riots in Cincinnati, equalled only by those in Philadelphia, both growing out of disturbances between the whites and free colored people—the attack of an African church in New York some years since—the fact that there is scarcely a free black man to be found among the shipping laborers at Fell's Point in Baltimore, when some years ago, the whole labor was performed by black men. The fact that the whites have in like manner excluded the blacks from the coal yards in Baltimore—that white porter's are taking the places of black ones—that white servants are to be found in families where formerly there were none but black ones—and all this too in the face of an increase of the free black population, fully adequate to their maintenance, but for opposing circumstances, in these positions,—all that is here alluded to goes to prove, conclusively, that the day is fast approaching when, to use the language of the Colonization Convention that met some years since in Baltimore, circumstances which cannot be controlled, will leave to the free blacks no option, allow them no alternative but removal. These circumstances are the gradual increase of the white population, which jostling the blacks in all the avenues of employment, and having the power of the dominant race, drive the latter to the wall.

It is to prepare for the time, when this removal must become inevitable, that Colonization Societies exist. They do not propose to transport the entire colored population, by any means they are likely to obtain. The idea that they could do so is idle. But they can make Africa as attractive to the colored man as America is to the European; and when this is done, and it is being accomplished by the establishment of such colonies as Maryland in Liberia, the emigration, *paying its own expenses*, from this country to Africa, will be as great as that from Europe to the United States. The European emigrant pays his own passage. He has no society to help him. He leaves a land, where he is subject to no political disability, to better his condition. Where he has one motive to remove his home, the colored man has ten—and motives, too, which leave him no alternative.

The half of the voluntary, self-paid emigration, annually, to America, would empty Maryland of her free black population in a year. The time is fast arriving when it will be a favor to the colored man to allow him to go to the colony; not, as often now, a favor to the Colony for a colored man to go there.

In this view of the subject the number of persons transported is of small moment; it is the condition of the Colony that is all important; and in this respect more has been accomplished than has ever been done before, more than the most sanguine ever anticipated. Not only, therefore, from considerations of duty to the emigrants of Maryland in Liberia, but from the highest political considerations, a wise forecast would dictate that the Colony at Cape Palmas should be strengthened, rather than weakened, by the action of the State. Should Maryland now forsake it, it must be given by the Society to those who can best protect it. The American Colonization Society, cramped for means, could not uphold it, as a separate government, remote from Monrovia and its dependencies; and it would be anything but grateful to our American feeling to see the Colony built up by Maryland handed over, for the sake of the small saving to be made thereby, to England, as the power most able to protect it:—to become another of the Briarean arms which are already clasping the globe to appropriate all harbors as homes for its shipping, as market places for its manufactures. I cannot believe that any saving that could be made by diverting the appropriation would tranquilize the public mind, as much as it would be disturbed by the loss of the Colony upon whose future availability the prosperity of Maryland may, most materially, depend. I am, with very great respect, your most obedient servant,

JNO. H. B. LATROBE,
Prest. Md. St. Col. Soc.

Maryland Historical Society

The Maryland State Colonization Society Papers

VIII. Commissions and Reports

D. Reports of the Board of Managers
1835-47