become a Republic. Recognized by many among the leading nations of the world, it is now known every where as the independent government of Liberia.

It is still feeble, but it stands alone. It possesses the elements of future strength. It has good laws well administered, churches and schools, the mutual aid societies of more advanced communities, agricultural exhibitions even, with their annual prizes,—a militia tried and not found wanting, a traffic with the interior, a foreign commerce. Light houses guide ships into the ports to substitute for the slave trade something better in the sight of God and man.

With a government modelled after our own, with rules chosen, and well chosen too, thus far, by themselves, with a soil to which they are akin, capable of self-support, self-government and self-defence, the people of Liberia are slowly developing a distinct nationality. No longer mere emigrants from the United States experimenting doubtfully, they are Liberians, Americo-Liberians as their phrase is, looking forward to a future of their own. Fast losing our traditions, they aim at becoming historical themselves. Meanwhile, with steady purpose, they pursue quietly and honorably the course of their destiny.

The first condition of Colonization has thus been fulfilled. It remains to be seen whether the second will be accomplished: whether the free people of color will be induced, in Finley's words, to "go and settle" in the home that has been prepared for them, thus bringing about the avowed object of our organization, "their removal with their own consent to Africa."

To prepare for, and facilitate this removal, we have been more than forty years at work.

The census of 1820 gave a free colored population of 233,534. In 1850, it amounted to 434,495. It is now, probably, half a million. It has more than doubled since our Society was founded; while the emigrants in Liberia and their descendants do not exceed twelve thousand souls. Not a twentieth part of the increase has been removed by us. Our toil, apparently, has resulted in less than "a drop in the bucket." How vain then, say our unfriends, must be our efforts for the removal of the mass.

We admit it frankly. We go further: we admit, that if such removal depended upon the American Colonization Society, even though Congress threw open to it the treasury of the nation, the work would never be accomplished, and the scheme would be the delusion it has so often been proclaimed.

This, however, is not the true view of Colonization. Money alone may suffice to plant a colony and facilitate the earlier emigration: but it is powerless to control the affections; powerless to sever the ties that bind to hearth-stone and grave-stone, to give the weak strength, the timid confidence. And yet, all this must be effected in the transplantation of a people.

The reliance of Colonization, in this regard, is neither upon strength of organization, nor boundlessness of resource, but upon one of the commonest of all the impulses of humanity—THE DESIRE TO BETTER ONE'S CONDITION.

It is this which brings the European to America,—which takes the Englishman to Asia and Australia. Clive and Warren Hastings owed it their wealth and their renown. It has built up for us, in ten years, an empire, in resources and extent, on the Pacific. IT WILL CARRY TO AFRICA EVERY FREE PERSON OF COLOR IN AMERICA.

They will go there, not because fascinated by the eloquence of Colonization Agents; not for want of love to the land they leave; but they will go "to better their condition."

They will go, too, ultimately, when the exodus of the mass takes place, at their own expense. Commerce will furnish the ships to carry them; thus acquitting itself, in part, of the debt contracted to the race when it brought them originally to our shores.

All that Colonization has done, or aimed at doing, has been in view of this voluntary, self-paying, ultimate, emigration; an emigration that finds its precedents in the history of every people, from the nomadic tribe, whose encampment shifts with failing springs or withering pasturages, to the community that, driven by religious persecution from the old world, landed from the Mayflower, or that which encountered the perils of Cape Horn attracted by the gold fields of California.

In this, the true aspect of Colonization, it is independent of the shewings of the census. It is to be judged, rather, by what has been already effected in Africa, and by the probable future of the free people of color in America.

Were Africa as attractive to the latter as America is to the European, and it is in the power of Colonization Societies, with their limited means even, to make it so,—or, were the repulsions of this country to influence them, as do those, for example, of Great Britain, the Irish, the emigration to Liberia, for a single year, of the same numbers that commerce, in a single year, has brought from the old world to the new, would suffice for the removal of the free; and a like emigration, continued for some seven or eight years, for the removal of both slave and free, were both at liberty to depart. Doubling the time, to allow for increase during the process, and the entire removal would fall within twenty years.

But so speedy a removal is impossible. The case is put for illustration only. Years must elapse before the increase even can be approximated.

Time and circumstances, however, are competent to the work. Time, so powerful, so unheeded. Circumstances, beyond all control, and which time is rendering irresistible.

We have, here, two distinct races, the white and the colored: the latter, originally slaves, consisting now of slaves and freemen.

The slave—protected, provided with food, shelter and raiment, treated in the vast majority of cases kindly, affectionately often—is without care as regards his physical wants, and with constitutional good humor passes happily, in the main, through life.

The free, on the other hand, without an especial protector, dependant upon himself alone, living, as the bills of mortality seem to shew, a shorter life than the slave,* and made to feel in a thousand ways his social and political inferiority, either frets away existence in aspirations, which, here, can never be realized, or, yielding hopelessly to circumstances, falls with benumbed faculties into a condition that is little better than the slave's.

*The increase of the colored population in what are called the free States and Territories, from 1840 to 1850, was 14.38 per cent., throughout the United States it was but 12.47; the slave population having, within the same period, increased 28.82 per cent., and the white population 37.74 per cent.—*See the Census Returns*, 1850.

From the 14.38 per cent. increase, here credited to the free colored population in the free States, &c., a considerable deduction must be made for emigration from slave-holding States, where emancipated slaves are not permitted to remain, and from which escapes are of constant occurrence. It may be doubted if the increase by births among the colored population of the North is one per cent. per annum. Be this, however, as it may, the returns of the census, above quoted, authorise the statement of the text in this regard.

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XII. Newspapers
A. Maryland Colonization Journal

2. June 1841 (n.s. I, 1)--May 1861 (n.s. X, 24)

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