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COLONIZATION MEETING IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

AGREEABLE to public notice, a meeting of the members and friends of the American Colonization Society was held on the 10th of April, 1838, in the session-room of the first Presbyterian church in this city, to consider the affairs, and aid the object of that Institution; and after statements by the officers in regard to the extent of the financial embarrassments of the Society, and of the present condition and prospects of the cause of African Colonization, both in the United States and in Africa, it was on motion, resolved, that Messrs. WHITTLESEY, of Ohio, UNDERWOOD, of Kentucky, and the Secretary of the Society, Mr. GURLEY, be a committee to prepare an Address to the people of the United States, in behalf of the Institution, and such resolutions as they might deem expedient, and to report the same to a subsequent meeting.

An adjourned meeting was held in the same place, on the evening of the 7th of May, when CHARLES F. MERCER, M. C., was called to the chair, and the Rev. R. R. GURLEY appointed Secretary. The following resolutions were then submitted to the meeting, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the magnitude and benevolence of the cause in which the American Colonization Society is engaged, and the financial embarrassments which now retard its operations, and the powerful motives which now urge it to improve the condition of the settlements under its exclusive care in Liberia, should induce its auxiliaries and friends, everywhere to increase immediately their contributions to its Treasury.

Resolved, That without such contributions it will be impossible for the Board of Managers either to discharge its existing obligations, or to introduce into the seaport and other principal towns of Liberia under its sole management, such improvement as their circumstances require.

MR. BRECKINRIDGE'S SPEECH.

The eloquence of the subjoined speech will attract the admiration of every reader. The importance of the views which it presents well deserves the serious consideration of every friend of the Colonization cause, and especially at a time like the present, when that cause is jeopardized by want of concert among its advocates—an influence which only can cast any doubt upon its prospects. We do not, of course, concur in the opinions expressed by the speaker, of Independent State action, though they are connected with an avowal of his continued friendliness to the Parent Institution. As Mr. B. does not coincide with the Society which he addressed, in their purpose of extirpating that Institution, it may be hoped that so able a friend of African Colonization will lend his powerful aid to the adoption of some plan for harmonizing the efforts of the several Societies throughout the Union:

Substance of the Speech of the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, before the Maryland State Colonization Society, Feb. 2, 1838.

At this late stage of our meeting, Mr. Président, and after hearing the full and able presentation of our cause, to which we have all listened with delighted attention, it would be exceedingly unbecoming in me to attempt a regular defence of the Society whose annual meeting this is, and of the immense interests staked upon our success. I shall be excused, however, in offering a few considerations, not yet suggested, or not, perhaps, sufficiently insisted on, which may serve still further to show the grandeur of our enterprise, and the deep importance of the crisis at which we have arrived in its progress.

No sentiment could be more congenial to my feelings, than that expressed in the resolution I have been requested to submit—of cordial sympathy in the success of our great sister Societies in the work of Colonization. I have long been convinced that this scheme was of proportions too vast, to be managed in all its greatness by any single board; that the interests involved were too great to be trusted to a single series of experiments: and that the principles on which the case proceeds are too diversified to be capable of successful application by any single organization. Although, therefore, I have been, and am, the firm friend of the Parent Society at Washington,—and being so, have deplored its reverses, and now cordially rejoice in its returning prosperity,—I was one of those, who, at a very early period, labored for the production of an independent action on the part of other Societies, as being imperatively required, by all the great interests involved. And now,—while in looking around me, I see, or think I see, that if our efforts to secure this principle of separate action had unhappily failed, we should be in a position incapable, amid the storms which have assailed us, either of success abroad or defence at home,—I am still sincerely the friend of the great central board, and should as sensibly regret its withdrawal from the field, as the failure of our own cherished principle. In the same manner, when I look to those independent Societies, which, since ours, have sprung up, and are continually springing up over the face of the country,—I rejoice to behold in them the successive development of principles and grounds of action, which, though they all terminate in

one result, yet each reaches that result by a different process. Especially, as it regards the united societies of Philadelphia and New York—the board of this Society, and the individual who now addresses you, have a right to be “partakers of their joy,” as we were not idle laborers with them, in communicating the original impulse which founded their flourishing colony, and sent out their first emigrants.

The truth is, that if the fact of Colonization be a good thing to the emigrant, to the country which he colonizes, and to that which sends him forth; or, if for either one of these three signal advantages, it be pronounced good to send colonies to Africa, we must be content to agree in the good and allow the utmost latitude in the mode and reasons of action. We are not able to fathom the whole depths of future time; and therefore let us act with modesty and candor as well as with perfect conscientiousness. The friends of Colonization north of us, may favor this great attempt for reasons which those south of us may entirely reject; and we in the centre may proceed on grounds quite different from those on either extreme; while the parent board may find it most advisable to take its stand upon principles somewhat different from all. In this one point we all agree, that the necessities of the world, and the strong dictates of wisdom and humanity, require the planting of colonies of blacks from this country in Africa—and to that grand object we all direct our energies. Sir, it gives me peculiar pleasure to bear this open testimony, and to be the means of thus fully committing this Society, to those sound and liberal sentiments.

For ourselves, the good people of this commonwealth must be expected to look with intense interest at any scheme of operations, which is avowedly directed in such a manner, and to such results, as must affect one-third of her entire population, and through these, the wealth, the public order, the social state, and the political relations of the whole community. Nor is it to be concealed, that the peculiar geographical position of Maryland, and the vehement contentions of these unhappy times, give to the subject before us, an unusual importance, and to the public sensibilities regarding it a greatly increased keenness. After what we have heard to-night, I shall not attempt to speak particularly of the principles, the spirit, or the aims of the abolition party. I fully believe that their principles are false, their spirit in the highest degree fanatical, and their aim wholly unattainable. No principles are more clear to my mind, than that slavery never can be, and never should be attempted to be abolished in this country, except in a manner exceedingly gradual, and then unaccompanied with the grant of political and social equality to the blacks, but attended as far as possible with foreign Colonization. This conviction is, I think, universal throughout the slave country. But at the same time, there is a considerable, and of late years a growing party, which, deterred by the greatness of the difficulties and sacrifices which the enterprise involves, or not convinced of the general injustice, impolicy, and unprofitableness of a state of slavery, deny the necessity of abolishing it at all. For our part, Mr. President, we do not, nor does your Society, nor does our commonwealth, con-

sent to the principles of this party. It must indeed be confessed that the atrocious conduct of the abolitionists, has greatly increased this party, and greatly weakened ours throughout the country; and that it would scarcely be prudent to attempt the application of any principles of gradual emancipation—perhaps it would be unwise even to argue them before the people, in the face of such a storm of fire and brimstone as is now sweeping over the North. But this, sir, is what I would say: not only is the Colonization cause the great platform on which the friends of the country and of man everywhere, may meet and unite; but especially in this commonwealth, at the present moment, every consideration should impel every class of our citizens to rally around this enterprise, and carry it forward with constancy and vigor.

This idea appears to me, to be unspeakably important. The abolition fanaticism is not a national, nor even an indigenous monster. It is a foreign, an *English* scheme, engendered more in hereditary animosity to this republic, than in any enlightened, or even serious regard for the interest of humanity, not well understood. I can solemnly declare, after much personal experience, that I found no man in England who seemed to be half as attentive, or half as much excited in regard to the evils of British slavery, diffused almost everywhere over their immense colonies, and everywhere more terrible than any that exists in any part of the United States, as all seemed to be upon this subject as it affects us! Evils they can cure, and which are personal to themselves, are little regarded, and except in the West India Islands not even cared for; while their bowels yearn over us with inexpressible tenderness, and language fails them to express their horror for that in us, which in themselves disturbs not their lightest slumbers.

The party with us, is but the reflector of this foreign malignity, and every sentiment of patriotism and national wisdom should impel us at the same time that we rebuke this anti-national spirit at home, and despise and defy it from abroad, to take out of the way of our immediate fellow-citizens, who may be less thoroughly acquainted with the posture of affairs, every temptation to mingle in the cry against the country, and every inducement to do aught that even in appearance could give countenance to our enemies, either at home or abroad. Heretofore the people of this State, have gone forward calmly, steadily, and nobly. Great unanimity of sentiment, great fixedness of public opinion, has everywhere exhibited itself; and we behold the blessed result, in the total freedom from all commotion, and every scene of violence in all our borders, in times and upon subjects, that convulse nearly all our sister communities. Let us preserve this honorable distinction. And that we may do so, let us cherish the grand interest, which perhaps more than all things else confers upon us our present enviable peace and unity. Who is there that doubts what must immediately ensue, if the favorable progress of this cause be arrested—or worse still, if it be divorced from the State policy, which has given it so much strength, and the State patronage which has made it so stable, and be thrown open again in the whole imposing greatness of the subject for discussion, and settlement, in our pulpits, through our presses, be-

fore our popular assemblies, in our courts of justice, and in our legislative halls? We have by its settlement, effected a great compromise of all the conflicting interests and views which enter into the composition of Society, as it exists with us. Let him who would disturb it, at the present moment, that he may more rapidly advance the cause of freedom, be considered the enemy of freedom itself! Let him who would unsettle the grand experiment whose successful issue we are ready to command, because our plans too much incline towards ultimate emancipation, be considered the enemy of the State, and of all the interests whose advocate he would desire to be esteemed! As it regards the commonwealth of Maryland, this cause may justly challenge her confidence and gratitude, rather than sue her reluctant and scanty bounty. For it has conferred upon her present blessings, which no man can too highly appreciate; it promises to her the peaceful and fortunate solution of the most difficult and agitating of all the problems which disorder society; and it secures to her name and institutions, a redoubled glory and perpetuity, on either shore of that vast ocean beyond which her wisdom and goodness have reached to rebuild the noblest emblem of human supremacy and majesty, an empire in which laws reign, and men are happy!

In whatever light we regard this subject, it grows upon our contemplations, into proportions of surprising grandeur. How short is the span of time run over, since the whole interest which it excited was locked up in a few devoted hearts; when the meditations of a score or less of great minds, and the prayers of as many fervent spirits contained the secret history of these august plans, which to-day Senates receive as fixed principles of wisdom, and States engraft upon their settled codes—and which another age will hail as the glory of this, and the grand engine of enlarging the bounds of knowledge and civilization! This is the progress of all that is truly great; it is the mode in which God himself proceeds. The small seed hardly visible in the palm of the child's hand, is by and by, the lofty tree, whose branches shelter, and whose fruit nourishes mankind. The feeble impulse stricken by celestial power from some trembling heart, swells onward and upward into an overflowing sentiment, that sweeps before it the venerable ruins of departed ages. The idle question of mere names and words, as judged by the stern and erring tribunal of human power, is in truth the very point, in which all earthly blessedness and all heavenly glory lie secretly involved. And so with us, another sacred lesson is exhibited, rebuking all contempt of the day of small things, and putting to shame that restless, daring, and impatient ignorance, that will not be guided in its prompt and vehement madness, even by the wisdom which cometh from above.

From the point which we have reached, we look back, almost with awe, to the slight agencies upon which so great results have been staked. We look around us, and we confidently demand,—can the black race, can the great interests of the nation, can the Christian feeling of the country afford to part with our principles, or to give up our succor, or to surrender our victories won over so much prejudice and

ignorance? We look forward—and our appeal is to the nations, to posterity and to God; and we abide the issue in joyful confidence. We are laying the foundations of republics, where liberty may dwell in safety, when the altars around which she is worshipped now, are left desolate; they who would obstruct our labors are her foes. We are upholding what forty centuries have not been able to produce, a civilized people of the race of Ham, they are the enemies of a third part of mankind who would stop our progress. We are toiling for what the world never yet saw, a powerful, well-ordered, enlightened State within the tropics; the earth itself, if it could utter its voice, would rebuke the folly that dares to resist so great a purpose. We are planting the Gospel of God, where a wide and effectual door is opened to our attempts, and where if we be hindered, that Gospel is excluded from millions of souls; let their blood be required, not of us, but of those who in the name of Christ deny him to those who stretch out their hands and raise their piteous lamentations for the long delay of his promised coming. We see already, almost the certainty of complete success in these magnificent designs. We have planted germs; we know not which will bear fruit, nor can we read the future to foretell that any will grow into a free, civilized, Christian state of tolerable power. But this we know, that the moment one city, one single city of free civilized, Christian blacks, is planted near the equator, on the Western coast of Africa, then the mighty prize is won! From that instant, the whole problem in all its complexity and vastness as to the black race, is solved. The slave trade dies, the civilization and conversion of Africa is fixed; the destiny of the race of Ham redeemed; the equatorial region of the earth reclaimed; and the human race itself launched into a new and glorious career, of which all the triumphs of the past afford no parallel. Ages may be required to render all these triumphs perfect; but ages are nothing, when continents are the subjects of their tuition, and nations sit their willing pupils. Once plant the leaven thoroughly, then fear not but that it works. Remember Plymouth. For a hundred and sixty years from its settlement, light had not scaled the Alleghanies, though almost visible from its rock. Their summit reached, in less than thirty years more the tide had already crossed the Mississippi. Who doubts that it will one day penetrate to the shores of the Pacific? The facts of history are but the illustrations of a profound philosophy.

Let us for a moment reverse the subject. Suppose we intermit all our efforts, and leave the vast interests staked upon them to the decision of chance or to the guidance of those adverse influences, which exert already so severe and bad a pressure. The most casual glance at the evils which would ensue, is enough to fire every heart amongst us with redoubled zeal in the cause in which we are embarked.

There is no point upon which the entire slave-holding States are more united in opinion, than that there ought not to be any attempt to liberate the slaves without a certain and immediate prospect of an emigration somewhat proportioned to the number set free. It may not be of especial consequence to Maryland, at the present moment, whether our liberated slaves remove to Africa or to New England; nor indeed

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whether the black race, as a point of state policy, be removed, free or bond. But I believe there is no difference of opinion in the commonwealth, that the interests of the whites, as well as those of the blacks, both bond and free, are by no means favored, by accumulating still further, the free colored population amongst us; but that on the other hand the strongest argument of a popular kind that could be used for the total extinction of slavery, would be proof that thereby the whole black race could be removed from the State. I concur to a great extent in the wisdom of this popular sentiment: being thoroughly persuaded, after much examination of the case, that no single fact has proved in all ages more dangerous to States than the existence of distinct races of men in their bosom; that all attempts at amalgamation are immoral and impracticable, and that a harmonious residence together on equal terms has never occurred in any civilized State, where the respective parties were nearly equal, and never can occur while human nature remains unchanged. For us to stop short then, in our fixed and active efforts to encourage the emigration of the black race from this State, is just the same thing as to labor that we may entail on our own State all the evils of that condition of society, which in every past age has been found most unmanageable and dangerous. We discharge a great duty to Maryland, by favoring the progress of things towards a unity of race, and that the white race, no matter how that progress is effected, as touching the question of free or slave emigration. But as we are American citizens, we do a corresponding damage to other portions of the Confederacy by encouraging a slave emigration into them, instead of a free black emigration abroad; and we effect, on the other hand, a good to the whole nation, by favoring an emigration from it of this hostile ingredient. So that, to arrest the current of African Colonization, is to gather and thicken over the southern country, if not also over all central America, those elements of social debility and discord which have proved the most intractable to other ages, and to rob us at the same moment of the only outlet by which the subject can escape, at last, a bloody solution. The intense hatred which has marked the whole conduct of the foreign and northern incendiaries towards the Southern States, affords the most direct and natural explanation of their bitter and unreasonable opposition to African Colonization. They were not content to prove us worthy of infamy and death, and to stimulate the hate of all nations, while they mocked the slave for his too tardy vengeance; they were careful, at the same time, to seek by all means, to reduce us to such extremes, that if in the issue our ruin occurred, their first wish was fulfilled as they rejoiced over our mangled bodies and desolated firesides; or if we triumphed, our necessary severity might enure to the gratification of that other great wish of their benevolent hearts, in our condemnation at the bar of the human race! That wisdom, which is represented by the greatest of poets to be supremely diabolical, consists in the ability "to dash wise counsels."

Nor should we forget, how greatly the difficulties of our undertaking may be augmented by delay; while the speedy and striking accomplishment of the first stages of it, will give certainty and security to all that

remains behind. It is due to the free colored population of the country that they should not be allowed for one moment to entertain the idea, that the pretensions set up on their behalf can ever be realized, especially in any of the slave-holding States. It is emphatically our duty to all concerned to manifest in the clearest and most decided manner, that as in our opinion the best interests of all the parties require their early and permanent separation, so it is not only the clear right, but the bounden duty, and fixed purpose of the community to effect that result; and that all opposing pretensions, whether on the part of the free blacks, or on that of the slaves, or on that of a handful of dissatisfied citizens on either extreme of opinion, must bend before the great necessities of the case. It is our duty to the cause itself to rally round it, and urge it forward, while the obstacles that oppose it are only such, as moral means may overcome. The increasing violence of our enemies; the growing strength of opposite parties which, agreeing in nothing else, mutually denounce us, the one on the pretext that we do not favor freedom enough, and the other, because we favor it at all; the growing excitability of the public mind, upon the whole subject, and the evil tendency of this contention and uncertainty upon the spirit of the blacks; the mixture of questions, which ought to be purely local and municipal in their decision, with national politics, ecclesiastical agitations, and even with questions of war and peace, alliance and treaty with foreign states; all these things show, that our work brooks no unnecessary delay. The accumulation of the Indian tribes on our slave frontier, making doubly defenceless our most vulnerable point, by concentrating upon it a warlike population, hostile to us by reason of hereditary wrong, and more inclined by nature to sympathize with the dark man, than with the pale faces: the growing jealousy of the Spanish-American States along the southern edge of this continent against us; states, in no sense deserving to be called white, and whether we consider the Spanish, the Negro, or the Indian origin of their population, equally inclined to hate, above all races, that illustrious Anglo-Saxon, whose destinies are so deeply staked on ours; the critical state of the immense black population in the West India Islands; and the great, though imperfectly foreseen influence, which future developments in those islands must have upon the Southern portion of this continent, and particularly upon the interests of the black race; the necessity which the very nature of the political scheme on which the great family of European nations in our times regulates its various conflicting and nicely balanced interests, forcing upon them all a ceaseless vigilance over every element which enters into the composition of modern states, and inclining them all to take advantage of every crisis to weaken our posture at home, and to arrest the progress of our principles abroad; these, with other equally urgent exterior considerations, no less than the whole tendency of all our interior affairs, urge us with importunate earnestness to give redoubled vigor to efforts, which by prompt success may disarm so many difficulties, but which lukewarmness and delay may endanger from so great a variety of hostile points.

If we turn our regards to the continent of Africa, no thought of

withholding our hands from this good work, can find a lodgment in any Christian heart, which is not preoccupied with some strange fanaticism. If America has any work to do for the earth—if American patriots are under any obligations to enlarge the boundaries of civilization and liberty—if American Christians are bound by any tie to spread abroad to benighted men, the knowledge and truth of their divine Lord, then above all other lands, is Africa committed to us for redemption; and above all other trusts, that to enlighten and to save her, ought to be considered the most sacred. If the past history of man affords us any rule of judgment for the future, the continent of Africa is destined in some way, and by some race, to be still farther colonized to an immense extent; and if that portion of it inhabited by the black race be colonized by any other than a black race, the native population must inevitably be exterminated. These are the testimonies of all past knowledge; this is the result of all unkindred Colonization. Already in various portions of that great continent, these truths have received and are still receiving additional confirmation; and new interest is imparted to the subject by the conviction, that even now the fate of the black race in Africa itself begins to tremble. For ages the native race has been driven alike from the northern and southern portions of the continent; and now while the Europeans are steadily pressing from both extremities towards the equator, the tribes which perish or flee before their advancing steps, are not themselves the aboriginal inhabitants, but most generally, people of Asiatic origin: who in their turn encroach upon the great interior native race. All the information which the public possesses in regard to that unhappy country, conduces to prove that a large emigration into central Africa, of a civilized black race, within no distant period, can alone suffice to save the black man in his native seats. Whence, if not from us, can such an emigration flow?

And yet, Mr. President, I would not be misunderstood, nor would I utter a syllable that can cause the most irresolute mind to faint. We may fail of draining Maryland of the whole black race; we may fail of making any adequate impression on that degraded class of persons scattered over the central and southern sections of the United States; we may be able to withdraw from the country, only the select and choice individuals found scattered amongst them, leaving the great mass as much undiminished and unaffected, as if no emigration had taken place; and thus we may never be allowed to accomplish the whole extent of good to our beloved country, of which our plans were capable, and for which our hearts yearned. So far we may come short, through the ignorance of wicked men, and the perversity of untoward events. If so, let posterity judge between us and our opponents.

But there are points of unspeakable interest on which we cannot fail. If we be even prevented from doing what we would and might have done for the black race, and the African continent, as well as for our own homes and kindred, much we have already done—much we are in the act of doing, which is beyond the reach of malice to undo, or folly to recall. We have illustrated before the eyes of our countrymen, a noble lesson of practical justice, wisdom, and benevolence: in other

times God may incline their hearts to follow it, and beyond our hopes enable them to do so. We have set before the faces of the free black race throughout the earth, the surest, the shortest, the most effectual way to their own happiness, and to the redemption of their scattered brethren, and their ancestral land; and when the fullness of the time is come, they may yet reap the benefits which now they seem, to so great extent, to be and to deem themselves unworthy of. We have planted communities where laws were unknown before; we have diffused light where the darkness of midnight rested, we have hid the leaven of civilization amid the mass of African ignorance and barbarism; we have sown the precious seed of the Gospel of God, on the face of dark and turbid waters, where misery and sin only dwelt before. These are triumphs of which nothing can rob us; labors over which we have rejoiced, and will still rejoice. It is a work absolutely good, in and of itself, full of mercy and of good fruits, to whatever extent it can be pushed; capable of illimitable development and application, and yet unspeakably excellent in the narrowest possible limit of its exercise. It may embrace nations of heathens, and continents of slaves; it may be diminished to a single village, or like the church of God in its day of darkness, to a single family. But great or small, it has no rule but a wise beneficence, proposes no result but to bless!

Such is our cause. Who shall dare deny to it the favor of God!

COLONIZATION SOCIETIES AND MEETINGS.

DR. DUER, President of the **NEW YORK CITY COLONIZATION SOCIETY**, having resigned his office, the following preamble and resolution were offered, at the last meeting of the board of managers by the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, the Corresponding Secretary, and on his motion unanimously adopted.

Whereas, President Duer has sent in his resignation, stating that owing to the pressure of other business, he cannot attend to the duties of this society, and expressing his ardent wishes for its prosperity, therefore

Resolved, That while this Society accepts his resignation, they tender him their cordial thanks for the dignified and impartial manner in which he has presided at the deliberations of the board of Managers, and of the Colonization Society.

The following resolution was also offered and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this society be tendered to the editors of papers, daily and weekly, who have generously and gratuitously opened their columns for the diffusion of intelligence on the subject of colonization.

The anniversary of the New York Colonization Society took place on Wednesday evening, the 9th of May, in the Middle Dutch Church. The building was filled to overflowing. Rev. **DR. MILNOR** presided.

The exercises commenced with an address to the Throne of Grace, by Rev. Dr. Church of New Hampshire. An abstract of the Annual Report was read by David M. Reese, M. D.

Interesting and animating addresses, in support of the resolutions adopted, were delivered by President Fisk, of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Con.—Professor Proudfit, of the New York University, Hon. B. F. Butler, late Attorney General of the United States—Rev. Dr. Cone, of New York—Rev. G. W. Bethune, of Philadelphia, and the Hon. James Buchanan, British Consul.