

[Mr. CHARLES LENOX REMOND then offered the following resolutions:]

Resolved, That to secure funds in aid of the Colonization scheme, its advocates have ever maligned the characters of the nominally free people of the North: and in so doing, have, among other wrongs, duped the christian public by inducing them to pay large sums of money ostensibly to evangelize Africa.

I will not, Mr. Chairman, occupy but a very few moments in support of the resolution which has been put into my hands to offer, for there is another view of this subject to which I wish to call the attention of this audience. Indeed I feel reluctant to occupy the time at all to the displacing of others who may desire or who are expected to speak this evening. There is one consideration, however, in favour of having many speak on this occasion; and that is, that the more that shall be heard upon this subject, just in that proportion will the impression of our detestation of the American Colonization Society, with all its accumulated and accumulating wrongs, be known and felt. I can speak advisedly, sir, so far as this resolution is concerned, because I have enjoyed (if I may use that word in this connection) the privilege of hearing many agents and advocates of that doctrine take the ground that the leading object of it was to evangelize Africa. Well, sir, if it be one of the objects, which I very much doubt, I do not believe that the means used by that Society or its auxiliaries are at all justifiable. I cannot believe this, because I see no consistency on the part of the originators and supporters of that Society in their wish to evangelize Africa. Sir, I believe that in no country have we ever before seen a single instance of philanthropic or benevolent, or charitable, or Christian men, either in their associated or individual

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capacity, selecting the lowest grade of society to evangelize [... part] of the world. But we have that instance in our own country. That class of whom I spoke last evening, which has been belied by the Colonization Society by calling them idle, vicious and besotted, is the class that the society have from the commencement proposed to colonize into Africa. I repeat, then, that we have no instance on record of this class of persons being selected for the purpose specified so frequently by the advocates of the Colonization Society.

Now, sir, I happen to have before me this evening the last annual report of the parent Society, from which I shall beg leave to read one or two very brief extracts. I think we shall gather from this report that while, ostensibly the evangelization of Africa was the object presented, in reality there was another more grand object than that. If this shall appear, then the Janus-faced character of the Society, to which my friend Mr Douglass made allusion last evening, will also appear evident to us. Why, sir, how long has it been since the American slaveholders who have for a long series of years been doing everything in their power to injure and degrade the coloured man,—how long is it, I say, since they have claimed to be their best friends? Now I hold such a claim to be a contradiction in terms, and hence I can feel no sympathy with the appeal or prayer in behalf of the Colonization Society, when that appeal or that prayer is made on the score of the evangelization of Africa from a sympathy and regard towards that country. And that that Society has from the beginning been as positively the enemies of the African in his own country as to the partial African in our own, there can be no manner of doubt. I hold the principles to be in contradiction, and most palpably insolent toward us, from whatever source they emanate,—that the slaveholder, or his

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apologist, under the name of Colonization, shall go the rounds of our country and in his appeals to the American people, (of course to the prejudiced portion of them) holding out the grand idea as the means of securing their sympathies, their co-operation and their contributions, to be the evangelization of Africa and the restoring to that country of her long lost injured children. I repeat it, that I hold it to be contradiction and an injury to our people. And, sir, the advocate or preacher may croak till dooms-day, but so long as he puts forth such a plea I will never believe him. Why, sir, if the Colonizationist wishes to elevate the native African he can do so by asking him to emigrate to any part of our own country. If he wishes to educate the nominally free of our own country, we boast of our own academies and other literary institutions, and of the facilities afforded on the American continent: let him seek to elevate us here where all these facilities are boasted of, and not by removing us to a barbarous country.

Well, then, again we are told by the advocates of the Society, as a means of securing large sums, that just in proportion as the coloured man shall be removed to that country he will not only be made free and happy himself, but he will lead the native African to imitate his example; and thus the work will be a mutual one—the benefit will be mutual. Well, there may be some truth in this, for I conclude that the example set to the African by the coloured Americans will be decidedly better than that which shall be set him by the pale-faced American. But, sir, I want to know if it has come to this, that the coloured man must be oppressed until they can oppress him no longer—that he must be the hewer of wood and the drawer of water until they can succeed in making him so no longer—that he shall not be allowed to express his own thoughts

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aloud in the Southern country—that he shall not be allowed to read the Bible except when the slaveholders shall consent—that he shall travel only when they shall give him permission—that he shall not be permitted to meet together with his brethren beyond a certain number and not beyond certain specified hours at night—that so far from being allowed to carry arms, he shall not be allowed to carry even a club—that so far from being allowed to hold a caucus he shall not be allowed to breath his feelings on the side of liberty at any time—I want to know if while he is not permitted to do any of these things in his native country, where he has been enslaved, where he has been tortured, branded, mutilated, how they are going to benefit him by sending him to the fatherland? and what benefit is to accrue to him in a country where they have no colleges, no academies, and where the inhabitants are too frequently seen kneeling before their monkey gods? What examples are they likely to set the natives there after having suffered all the wrongs and injuries I have enumerated? [Applause.]

But sir, I hold in my hand, as I said before, the Annual Report of the last year of the parent Society, and I call the attention of the audience to the following extract from an article signed by W. McLain, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, Colonization Room, Washington city, January, 1849.

—But this is not all. The time has now fully come, when the State Legislatures and the General Government should take the subject in hand and make liberal appropriations to help it forward.

There can scarcely be a doubt in any unprejudiced mind that the General and State governments have the constitutional power to appropriate money in furtherance of the objects contemplated by the Society. Every reason and argument

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which commends the scheme to the support of the individual citizens of this nation, commends it to the patronage of the nation itself. Every motive which induces the citizens of a State to contribute to the removal of the free people from that State, should operate upon the State itself or the government thereof. *If the presence of the various tribes of Indians in our midst was a great evil, which the Government was called upon to mitigate, and if a great national good was done by removing them beyond our borders: then surely is the existence of the coloured race in the United States a great political evil, and their removal would be an immense national blessing.— And if the government had power to act in the one case, has it not the power to act in the other?* On the other hand, if their presence in the United States has been a political good, a social blessing to us, but not to them, then are we bound as a nation, in view of the injury we have done them, and their degradation to which we have largely contributed, to bestow on them the richest gifts and the costliest blessings which we are able. There is a moral fitness in this which commends itself to every mind. The work to be done is a great one, and is worthy of a nation like this!

Now what schoolboy needs to be informed that in every proposition which this country has made for the last 25 years for the removal of the Indians, their removal and extermination have been synonymous terms. And if the illustration hold good in one case it holds good in the other. Hence we are to gather, that our removal and extermination is the proposition which the American people are to act upon at the earliest period.

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of Virginia, contained in the annual report of the Colonization Society in relation to the removal of the free people of colour.

In view of these facts—can it be doubted that the mind of Virginia is made up? Do you ask for public sentiment?—Read the history of the Commonwealth for the last half century. Trace the records of her legislation on this subject by the references here made. Ask counsel of the constituents in detail, of your fireside sympathies, your experience, your hopes, your just fears, your judgement, your pockets, your love of your country's glory and her fame. They are all alike—with one voice, strong, harmonious, admonitory,—all say, *our free coloured population can be removed*—OUGHT to be removed—and removed NOW. Now, at the present session, let a *beginning* be made. The completion will require a course of years, begin when you may.

Mr. Chairman was I correct last evening when I called the attention of my audience to the danger which surrounded us as a people touching this subject? I apprehend not, and hence I remarked that so far from wishing to detract an iota from the radicalism presented in the resolutions, I would have them speak in a more determined tone, in language not to be misunderstood. (Applause). Sir, I detest the Colonization Society to an extent which my language fails to express, and I would to God that I could summon to my use, language strong enough to express that detestation. I hate it sir, in its every feature; I detest it in its very proposition, and I lament that a single coloured person in this country, characterized by true and decent thoughts of his own, has ever been found giving countenance either directly or indirectly to the Colonization Society. (Applause). Sir, there have been times, when, in view of my love for a spirit of adventure, and on the part of my fellow men, I have been

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willing to see them go anywhere, if for no other purpose, in imitation of the speculating adventures of their oppressors. There have been times when I looked even with some degree of countenance upon the coloured men who were desirous of going to Liberia for such a purpose; but when I take into consideration that every such individual is used as an illustration on the one hand to induce others by argument and by appeal to go, and on the other to induce men to contribute, I am ready to give my most hearty sanction and support to any resolution which shall deprecate the going to Liberia, even in the spirit of adventure. (Applause). I would not put into the hands of the American Colonization Society an argument of any kind. I believe sir, that we are called upon in view of the facts which have been presented here this evening by the gentleman who preceded me, and also in view of the sentiments contained in the report of the parent Society, to take this ground. I have some two or three friends who expect to go to Africa in a [year from ...] [that] their minds might be changed upon the subject. I do believe that there are countries which hold out inducements far superior to Africa at the present time. Look at Mr. Pinney, Mr. Clay and other advocates of the Society, and are they not Argus-eyed upon this subject? Have not their names and their influences been a source of encouragement to many of the unfortunate men in this country to induce them to go to Africa? I think sir, under these circumstances we are called upon to enter our solemn protest against coloured persons going to the Colony under any circumstances whatever, until the knell of the American Colonization Society shall have been heard. (Applause). Go with me into the city of Philadelphia, and I can give you instance upon instance of men who

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will contribute their \$50 to the Colonization Society, who would not give their first dollar for the erection of a public hall in that city. Sir, it was the spirit of Colonization that burned down the Pennsylvania Hall; it was the spirit of Colonization that drove the noble hearted George Thompson back to his native land. It was the spirit of Colonization that offered a reward of \$10,000 for the head of William Lloyd Garrison. It is the spirit of Colonization that cries 'nigger,' at the sight of a coloured man. It is that spirit which has cooped us up in the Jim Crow pew in the gallery of our churches. (Applause). It is the spirit of Colonization that drives us forward on the deck of the steamboat. It is that spirit that will not allow us the privilege of your side walks for a public parade. It was that spirit which prohibited a coloured Temperance Society from walking in procession in Philadelphia. It was the spirit of Colonization which gave up George Latimer in the city of Boston, and confined him in Leveret[...]
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