

DOCUMENTS

TRANSPLANTING FREE NEGROES TO OHIO FROM 1815 TO 1858¹

Brown county was one of the first parts of Ohio to be invaded by free Negroes. In the "Historical Collections of Ohio" Howe says:

"In the county (Brown) there are two large settlements of colored persons, numbering about 500 each. One of these is 3 miles north of Georgetown; the other is in the NE. part of the county, about 16 miles distant. They emigrated from Virginia, in the year 1818, and were originally the slaves of Samuel Gist, who manumitted and settled them here, upon two large surveys of land. Their situation, unfortunately, is not prosperous."—Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio, 71.

Referring to these settlements some years later another historian said:

"The colored settlement in Eagle Township was made in 1818, by a number of the former slaves of Samuel Gist, a wealthy banker, resident of London, England, and an extensive land-owner and slaveholder in the United States.

"It is not known that Gist ever visited his plantation here, or that he ever saw a single slave that cultivated his lands, but all was left to the management of resident agents appointed by him. These lands lay in the counties of Hanover, Amherst, Goslin (Goochland), and Henrico, Va., and included some of the first plantations in the 'Old Dominion.'

"In 1808 desiring to make ample provision for the future of those who had so abundantly filled his coffers by their servitude, Gist made a will, the intent of which was certainly benevolent, but which has been most wretchedly executed. This document of fifty-eight closely written pages is a study within itself. It begins thus:

¹ For a more detailed account of these settlements see Woodson's "The Education of the Negro, Prior to 1861," 243-244; and Hickok, "The Negro in Ohio," 85-88.

This is the last will and testament of me Samuel Gist, of Gower street, in the Parish of St. Giles, in the city of London, of the county of Middlesex, England.

“After bequeathing various valuable estates, large sums of money to his only daughter, he designated what property and sums of money shall fall to the numerous persons who have been in his employ, and most explicitly does he provide for his slaves in Virginia, who numbered nearly one thousand souls!

“Relative to them the will provides that at his death his ‘slaves in Virginia shall be free.’ That his lands shall be sold and comfortable homes in a free State be purchased for them with the proceeds. That the revenue from his plantations the last year of his life be applied in building school houses and churches for their accommodation. That all money coming to him in Virginia be set aside for the employment of ministers and teachers to instruct them. That ‘care be taken to make them as comfortable and happy as possible.’

“In 1815 Samuel Gist died, and Wickham of Richmond, Va. (in conjunction with his father-in-law, Page), who had been appointed Gist’s agent, proceeded to execute his will. Accordingly through parties in Hillsboro, Ohio, 1,112 acres of land near Georgetown, and 1,200 acres west of Fincastle, in Eagle Township, were purchased for homes for these slaves. These lands were covered with thickets of undergrowth and sloughs of stagnant water and were almost valueless at that time for any purpose other than pasturage. Here in June, 1818, came nearly 900 persons, a part of whom located on the Georgetown lands, the remainder on the Fincastle purchase. Their ‘comfortable homes’ lay in the wild region about them; the education they received was in the stern school of adversity. As a matter of course, they did not prosper. Some who were able returned to Virginia. Others built rude huts and began clearing away the forest. What little money they had was soon spent. Scheming white men planned to get their personal property. They became involved in numerous law suits among themselves, and so from various causes they were reduced almost to pauperism. In later years their lands have been sold, so that at present but few families remain as relics of this once large settlement. Among the first families that settled in this township were the following, most of whom had families:

“Jacob Cumberland, George Cumberland, Samuel Hudson, Gabriel York, James Gist, Gabriel Johnson, Joseph Locust, James

Cluff, ——— Davis, Sol Garrison, ——— Pearsons, ——— Williams, Glasgow Ellis, and Tom Fox. 'Old Sam Hudson,' as he was familiarly known, was an odd character, and many anecdotes are yet related of him. At one time he was sent to the State Prison at Columbus for making unlawful use of another man's horse, and so it happened that a white man named Demitt accompanied him for a like offense. Upon being interrogated as to his occupation, Sam answered, 'Preacher ob de Gospel!' Turning to Demitt, the officer asked, 'What's your occupation?' 'I clerk for Sam,' was the shrewd reply.

"Richmond Cumberland ('Blind Dick'), Meredith Cumberland, Taylor Davis, Moses Cumberland, Ephraim Johnson, and Winston Cumberland were also born in Virginia."—History of Brown County, Ohio (edition 1883), p. 592.

"During these years according to the letter below another group of Negroes found their way into Jefferson County, Ohio."

Dear Sir:

Every body with whom I have talked about this colony of Negroes, referred me to Judge Mansfield as one knowing more about it than anybody else. He, therefore, is my chief informer. In 1825 a colony of slaves was sent up from Charles City County, Virginia, to Smithfield, in Jefferson County, Ohio, about twenty miles southwest of Steubenville. They were the slaves of Thomas Beaufort of the Virginia County above named. So far as I could learn not all of Beaufort's slaves were sent to Smithfield. Another colony I was told was located at Stillwater in Harrison County, Ohio, but I have not yet been in that community. How the slaves traveled from Virginia to Smithfield could not be told. The number sent up is not known—about thirty or forty families, they said. They were a tribe, as it were, Nattie Beaufort being the patriarch. They were sent in charge of a man named McIntyre, an overseer, who supposedly had been sent to see to the locating of the slaves on a tract of land which the master had bought for them through Benjamin Ladd, a Quaker of the Smithfield community. McIntyre returned to Virginia after a few days stay. He was never in the community again, nor was any other representative of the Beaufort's so far as anybody knows. The land was bought in Wayne Township—about 200 acres, about five miles out from Smithfield. It is quite rolling, of stiff clay character. There are

fine farms all about it and coal fields not far away. It was bought of Thomas Mansfield whose son, a prominent lawyer in Steubenville, still owns land contiguous to the Beaufort tract, and owns now a part of what his father sold the slaves.

According to Judge Mansfield the tract of land was laid out in five-acre plots. A cabin was built on each and a family placed in each cabin. The families were the married sons and daughters of Nathaniel Beaufort who had been his master's "nigger driver," was the way one of his granddaughters put it. The whole colony was under Nathaniel Beaufort's control as long as he lived, during which time it prospered. Two of the original colony, both women, are still living and own their little tracts, one residing on her property and the other in the infirmary. The descendants of the first settlers owned most of the land but some of it has been lost. Whether they had any teams and money to start with it is not known to Judge Mansfield, but he thought that they did not. Both men and women had to "work out" much of the time for means to go upon, the girls toiling as servants in the community for twenty-five to fifty cents per week and their keep, the men receiving forty to fifty cents per day often paid in such provisions as meal and meat.

Judged by the management of their own plots they are not a success as farmers, most of their soil being now practically worthless. "The land which was bought for the slaves was never recorded in their names," says Judge Mansfield. It was deeded to Benjamin Ladd as trustee and so stands in the record now. Judge Mansfield's last words were: "There has been no clash over that land because of its run down condition, but if coal or oil should be found about there, I cannot tell what will happen." The financial condition of the colony is no better than it was seventy-five years ago, the physical condition is far from being as good. Two or three of these Negroes, however, showing evidence of thrift are very good farmers. They have increased their holdings and built new cabins, although most of the old dwellings are still there and are occupied by the descendants of the original settlers. They have rapidly increased in numbers and have extensively intermarried. From the first the people were religious, regular church goers. They have two churches among them, one Methodist and the other Baptist. Their morals have been good, having seldom committed crime. Officers of the law have found very little to do in this community. During the life of the colony there have been

only two arrests for serious crimes, one of which was for stealing a horse and the other for stealing wool. Both of the accused were sent to the penitentiary. No other serious charge has ever been brought against any member of the community so far as Judge Mansfield knew. The original set were fine physical specimens, "as fine," says Judge Mansfield, "as the community ever saw."

Separate schools for white and blacks have been maintained from the start. Nearly all the teachers have been white. The preachers have been members of the colony. None of them, however, have gained any particular prominence in any line. Not even any of the children, so far as could be learned, had ever been sent off to school. The best known of them now are two brothers, William and Wilson Toney, both preachers. Just what acreage they now own I could not learn. How much is owned by the best of them also could not be determined.

The community is called by some "McIntyre" after the man who carried the slaves up into Ohio, and by others it is called "Haiti." The latter term is almost wholly used by white people throughout the county and has always been offensive to the Negroes. Although I went to "Haiti" and talked with one of the men, Judge Mansfield gave me practically all the information. I will send you more in a few days gathered at other points. I have tried to cover your questions and to include other vital ones. Please call my attention to anything that I might mention to add to the interest or thoroughness of the story. I have reported here almost word for word as the facts were given me by the Judge and hope the story will have some interest for you. I expect to find out a great deal more about that community.¹

Very truly yours,

C. A. POWELL.

Under a protest from afar a goodly number of slaves were settled in Lawrence county in 1827.

COMMUNICATED

"BLACKS AND MULATTOES

"On the 14th April, seventy of this description of persons, in one company emigrated into and settled within Lawrence county. They were a part of a stock of slaves emancipated by the last will

¹ Mr. Powell, a teacher of Tuskegee, wrote this letter a few years ago while making a study of the Negroes in Ohio.

of a Mr. Ward, late of Pittsylvania county, Virginia, deceased. Those unfortunate creatures have little or no property of value—many of them ragged and dirty. It was expected that such a number together, in such condition would hardly, in Ohio, find a place where to lay their heads; yet so far from meeting with obstacles, facilities to settlement were extended to them. All of them have found places, and many of them have already obtained security as the law requires; and probably the balance will within twenty days. The writer of this note would censure none for acts of kindness to this unfortunate class of persons—yet as he regards the moral character and welfare of society, he cannot view these rapid accessions without some degree of alarm.”—*The Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette*, May 3, 1827.

Some years later there was established in Mercer county another colony, which because of its connection with friends in Cincinnati, then promoting the settlement of Negroes on public land, became the most promising of the colored communities in Ohio. Sketching the history of that county, Howe says:

“In the southern part of this county is a colony of colored people, amounting to several hundred persons. They live principally by agriculture, and own extensive tracts of land in the townships of Granville, Franklin, and Mercer. They bear a good reputation for morality, and manifest a laudable desire for mental improvement. This settlement was founded by the exertions of Mr. Augustus Wattles, a native of Connecticut, who, instead of merely theorizing upon the evils which prevent the moral and mental advancement of the colored race, has acted in their behalf with a philanthropic, Christian-like zeal, that evinces he has their real good at heart. The history of this settlement is given in the annexed extract of a letter from him.

“My early education, as you well know, would naturally lead me to look upon learning and good morals as of infinite importance in a land of liberty. In the winter of 1833-4, I providentially became acquainted with the colored population of Cincinnati, and found about 4,000 totally ignorant of every thing calculated to make good citizens. Most of them had been slaves, shut out from every avenue of moral and mental improvement. I started a school for them, and kept it up with 200 pupils for two years. I then proposed to the colored people to move into the country and purchase land, and remove from those contaminating influences which had so long crushed them in our cities and vil-

lages. They promised to do so, provided I would accompany them and teach school. I travelled through Canada, Michigan and Indiana, looking for a suitable location, and finally settled here, thinking this place contained more natural advantages than any other unoccupied country within my knowledge. In 1835, I made the first purchase for colored people in this county. In about three years, they owned not far from 30,000 acres. I had travelled into almost every neighborhood of colored people in the State, and laid before them the benefits of a permanent home for themselves and of education for their children. In my first journey through the state, I established, by the assistance and co-operation of abolitionists, 25 schools for colored children. I collected of the colored people such money as they had to spare, and entered land for them. Many, who had no money, afterwards succeeded in raising some, and brought it to me. With this I bought land for them.

“I purchased for myself 190 acres of land, to establish a manual labor school for colored boys. I had sustained a school on it, at my own expense, till the 11th of November, 1842. Being in Philadelphia the winter before, I became acquainted with the trustees of the late Samuel Emlen, of New Jersey, a Friend. He left by his will \$20,000, for the “support and education in school learning and the mechanics arts and agriculture, such colored boys, of African and Indian descent, whose parents would give them up to the institute.” We united our means and they purchased my farm, and appointed me the superintendent of the establishment, which they call the Emlen Institute.’

“In 1846, Judge Leigh, of Virginia, purchased 3,200 acres of land in this settlement, for the freed slaves of John Randolph, of Roanoke. These arrived in the summer of 1846, to the number of about 400, but were forcibly prevented from making a settlement by a portion of the inhabitants of the county. Since then, acts of hostility have been commenced against the people of this settlement, and threats of greater held out, if they do not abandon their lands and homes.”—Howe’s “Historical Collections of Ohio,” pp. 355-356.

Coming to Shelby county the same historian did not fail to mention a settlement of prosperous Negroes who were keeping pace with their white neighbors.

“In Van Buren township is a settlement of COLORED people, numbering about 400. They constitute half the population of the township, and are as prosperous as their white neighbors. Neither are they behind them in religion, morals and intelligence, having churches and schools of their own. Their location, however, is not a good one, the land being too flat and wet. An attempt was made in July, 1846, to colonize with them 385 of the emancipated slaves of the celebrated John Randolph, of Va., after they were driven from

Mercer county; but a considerable party of whites would not willingly permit it, and they were scattered by families among the people of Shelby and Miami who were willing to take them.”—Howe’s “Historical Collections of Ohio,” pp. 465-466.

This effort at colonizing so many Negroes in the State of Ohio led to much discussion. There arose an anti-free Negro party which sounded the alarm against such philanthropy and undertook to frighten all blacks away. The sentiment of such alarmists may be obtained from the following:

“By the following letter from a gentleman on a tour through Virginia to the editor, it will appear that we are to have a colony of free negroes (no less than five hundred) planted in our adjoining county. Much as we commiserate the situation of those who, when emancipated, are obliged to leave their country or again be enslaved, we trust our constitution and laws are not so defective as to suffer us to be overrun by such a wretched population:

“RICHMOND, VA., May 10, 1819.

“*Dear Sir*:—Since my arrival in this county I have understood that a large family of negroes, consisting of about five hundred, have lately been liberated and are to be marched to Ohio, and there settled on land provided for them agreeably to the will of a Mr. Gess, who formerly owned them. There are persons now engaged in collecting the poor miserable beings from different quarters and driving them like cattle to Goochland county, from whence they will take up their line of march to Ohio. I am told that they are perhaps as depraved and ignorant a set of people as any of their kind and that their departure is hailed with joy by all those who have lived in their neighborhood. Ohio will suffer seriously from the iniquitous policy pursued by the States of Virginia and Kent. in driving all their free negroes upon us. The people of Ohio are bound in justice to themselves to adopt some counteracting measure. Many people here are of the opinion that we may be compelled to introduce slavery in Ohio in self-defense, and they appear to be gratified that we are suffering many of the evils attending it, without (as they call it) any of the benefits. I have been gratified to tell them what I believe to be true—that nineteen twentieths of the people of Ohio are so opposed to slavery that they would not consent to its introduction under any circumstances; and, although they commiserate the situation of those who have been liberated and compelled to abandon their country or again be made slaves, yet in justice to themselves and their posterity they will refuse admittance to such a population.

“Your most ob’t.,
“A. T.’

“(Editor) We understand from a respectable authority that 270 of said negroes have landed at Ripley and are to settle near the center of Brown county on White Oak, the residue of 500 to follow soon after.”—Quillin’s “The Color Line in Ohio,” pp. 28–29 and *The Supporter, Chillicothe*, June 16, 1819.

In view of this alarm aroused by the so-called Negro invasion the Ohio colonizationists availed themselves of the opportunity to set forth their plan as the only solution of the problem. The following articles are interesting.

“NEW STYLE COLONIZATION

“It seems that our old friend Gerrit Smith is anxious to form a colony of colored people in the State of New York. It is not known that he pays the expenses of any to get to that happy spot, but he certainly offers them a share in the property of earth, when they arrive. Some have thought his effort in this respect, another proof of his great liberality. Perhaps it is—but of the character of those lands we know nothing. The *Journal of Commerce* seems to understand the subject from the following, which we cut from a late number:

“*Bounty of Gerrit Smith.*—Some of the newspapers are eulogizing this once sensible man, because he is giving away deeds in any number to colored men, of forty acre lots of his vast tract in Hamilton county. The considerations in the deeds are as follows:

““For and in consideration of the sum of one dollar to me, in hand paid, and being desirous to have all share in the subsistence and happiness, which a bountiful God has provided for all, has granted, sold, etc.”

“If the negroes do not run away from the bears and wolves and climate and sterility of Hamilton county, with more anxiety than they ever did from Southern slavery, then we do not understand their character. We do not blame the negroes for getting their liberty if they can, but to make them take farms in Hamilton county, is too bad. The wild beasts up there will rejoice in a negro settlement among them, especially at the beginning of winter.’

“Had Judge Leigh taken the Randolph negroes there, they might have fared as well as they have done in Ohio, and certainly he could have gotten the land much cheaper!

“After all, ‘there is no place like home!’ And there is no ‘home, sweet home,’ for the colored man, but in Liberia!”

The African Repository, XXII, 320–321.

FREEDOM IN A FREE STATE

“Facts are almost daily transpiring which show the immense importance of colonization. Among them, none are more conspicuous than those which come to us from the free States. If the colored people cannot enjoy freedom in a free State, what can they do? Where shall they go? Here is a fact:

“*Randolph's 'John.'*—We are told by the *Lynchburg Virginian*, that John, the well-known and faithful servant of the late John Randolph, who, with the emancipated slaves of his master, went to Ohio, and were there treated by the citizens in a manner of which our readers have been apprized, has returned to Charlotte with the intention of petitioning the legislature to allow him to remain in the commonwealth. He says, they have no feeling for colored people in Ohio, and, if the legislature refuse to grant his petition, he will submit to the penalty of remaining and be sold as a slave—preferring this to enjoying freedom in a free state.

“We have been repeatedly asked, why do you not send those slaves to Liberia? To this question we reply, we have had nothing to do with them, and have reason to believe that they have been prejudiced against going to Liberia. And in addition to this, it is now very doubtful whether they have money enough left to take them to Liberia; and it would be impossible for us, in the present state of our finance, to give them a free passage and support them six months after their arrival.

“We have been informed that many of the rest of them would come back to Virginia, and be slaves, rather than remain in Ohio, *if they could get back*. And yet they are now free and in a free state! But what does it all amount to?

“Suppose western Virginia and northern Kentucky, were tomorrow to emancipate their slaves, what would become of them? They could not remain in those states. They must remove. Where shall they go? To Ohio, most easily, and as there are more Abolitionists in that state than any other, more hopefully! But would they be admitted there? Where then shall they go? Let those who can, answer these questions. In view of them, and such like, the scheme of colonization rises in magnificence and grandeur beyond conception.

“This then is the time to aid this scheme, that when these thickening events shall turn the tide into Liberia, there may be strength and intelligence enough there to receive it!”

The African Repository, XXII, 321–322.

(From the Colonizationist)

THE RANDOLPH SLAVES

"PLATTSVILLE, WIS.,

"August 22, 1846.

"*Bro. Gurley*:—I have observed from time to time, with the deepest interest, the course pursued by the citizens of Ohio toward the emancipated slaves of the late John Randolph of Virginia.

"I had repeatedly remarked in my lectures, as stated in the 'Eleventh Annual Report of the Indiana Colonization Society,' that when slaves were emancipated in the south, and by the laws of those States (as is the case with most of them), they are forced to leave and not permitted to remain in any State south, to go into the north; those northern States would reject them, and leave the slave the alternative, to choose between returning into bondage or emigrating to Liberia. In other words, Liberia offers the only retreat for the slave from bondage, where he is required to leave the south. The free States, may, for a short time, tolerate the migration of a few colored people among them from the south. Especially among the Abolitionists, where they are allowed to have the satisfaction of abducting them from their masters. But if the master comes and offers them, and especially in large numbers, they will be refused.

"On my way to this place, I met with a citizen of Indiana, formerly of Virginia, who gave me some singular facts on this subject. There is living in Ohio, said he, a worthy citizen, a Mr. G., a native of Virginia, who, after a residence there of some eight or ten years, returned to Virginia, on a visit to see a brother who still remained in the 'Old Dominion.' Mr. G. gave his brother an interesting account of the prospects and policy of Ohio, with which he was much pleased. The Virginia brother remarked to Mr. G. that he found his slaves a great burden to him and requested him to take them all to Ohio and set them free! 'I cannot do it,' said Mr. G. 'Why?' asked his brother. 'The citizens of Ohio will not allow me to bring 100 negroes among them to settle,' said Mr. G. 'But,' said he, 'I can put you upon a plan by which you can get rid of them and get them into Ohio very easy. Do you take them to Wheeling and there place them on a steamboat for Cincinnati, and speak of taking them to New Orleans; and while you are looking out for another boat, give the chance, and the Abolitionists will steal the whole of them and run them off, and then

celebrate a perfect triumph over them. But if you take them to the same men and ask them to receive and take care of them, they will tell you to take care of them yourself.'

"The case of the Randolph slaves proves that Mr. G. was right, and that the view presented in our annual report is a just one. Mr. Randolph emancipated his slaves, and as they could not remain in Virginia, they were to be sent to Ohio—there they are not allowed to settle, and must now return to bondage, or go to Liberia.

"As yet the burden of embarrassment of a mixed population of blacks is scarcely felt in the north, as it must be soon; for just as emancipation goes on in the south, they must increase in the north, unless our plan and policy prevails. I cannot say that I regret to see a test of these practical truths. For facts speak out loudly to prove the correctness of the best system of policy on these subjects. Had Mr. Randolph's slaves been allowed to remain in Ohio, they would have been a downtrodden and oppressed people for all time to come. If they go to Liberia they will be FREE in every sense of the term.

"B. T. KAVANAUGH."

The African Repository, XXII, 322-323.

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

"The undersigned, having been appointed agent of the American Colonization Society, for the State of Ohio, to solicit funds to aid its operations, begs leave to call attention to the statistical facts, in reference to the position which this State occupies, in relation to the free colored population of the United States, and the interest which she has in sustaining the Republic of Liberia.

"From 1790 to 1810, the increase of the free colored population of the United States, was at the average rate of near 6 per cent. per annum. The average increase of the slaves has been a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, or exactly two and sixty-hundredths. The census tables for the whole period up to 1840, indicates that the natural increase of the free colored population is somewhat less than that of the slave. I shall suppose it to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. The excess of increase over $2\frac{1}{2}$ will, therefore, represent the emancipations. In applying this rule, it appears that the work of emancipation must have been actively prosecuted from 1790 to 1810.

"From 1810 to 1820 the rate of increase was *reduced* to a

little less than $2\frac{1}{2}$, or exactly two and forty-seven hundredths per cent. per annum. This indicates that emancipation had ceased to swell, in any appreciable degree, the number of free colored persons, unless we are forced to admit that there is *greater mortality amongst freedmen than slaves*. This cessation of emancipation was *before the organization of the Colonization Society*. It is supposed to have been caused by the conviction that emancipation upon the soil had wrought but little change in the colored man's condition. The sympathies of good men were therefore awakened in behalf of the colored man, and colonization proposed and adopted, as the best means of securing to him the social and political privileges of which he was deprived. The establishment of an independent republic, including a population of 80,000 souls, with foreign exports to the value of \$100,000 a year, and the introduction of civilization and Christianity in Africa, with all their attendant blessings, furnishes an answer to the question of the success of the scheme.

"The period of the greatest popularity of the Colonization Society, was from 1820 to 1830. During this time, the increase of the free colored population reached to nearly 3 per cent. or a half per cent. per annum over the natural increase. But from 1830 to 1840, the period when the Society had the least popularity, the increase was but a very small fraction over *two per cent.* per annum, being two and eight hundredths, indicating that fewer bondmen had been liberated than during any other period. Indeed, the *decrease* was so great as to reduce the rate of increase *more than a half per cent. per annum below the natural increase of the slaves*, and furnished an argument in favor of the idea, that freedom in this country is unfavorable to the longevity of the colored man. From all these facts, we may infer that colonization, while its object has been to benefit the free colored man, has not been unfavorable to emancipation.

"But colonization has not removed the 450,000 free persons of color from our country. They remain as a *floating body* in our midst, drifting, as the census tables show, hither and thither, as the effects of *climate* at the north, or *foreign emigration* at the east, or *prejudice* at the south, repel it from those points. It is an interesting subject of investigation to watch the movements of the colored population, and ascertain where they are tending and whither they will find a resting place.

"In 1810, in the eastern States, they commenced a movement

from north towards the south; and in 1820, began to diverge westward, through the most southern of the free States, and penetrated into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. From 1830 to 1840, Pennsylvania alone retained her natural increase, while the other eastern and northeastern free States, and also the eastern and southeastern slave States, all lost, or repelled, the greater part of their natural increase, and some of them a considerable portion, besides, of the original stock. But where have these people gone? That is the question which deeply interests Ohio. The census tables furnish the solution.

“From 1810 to 1840, the colored population of Ohio has been increasing at the average rate of 20 per cent. per annum. The increase for the ten years from 1830 to 1840, was $91\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Supposing the emigration into Ohio since 1840 to have been no greater than before that period, her present colored population will be 30,000. If to this we add that of Indiana and Illinois, allowing their increase to have been at the same rate, these three States will have a population of near 50,000 colored persons, or *one ninth of the present free colored population of the United States.*

“Ohio, therefore, cannot remain inactive. *She must do something.* These men should have all the stimulants to mental and moral action which we ourselves possess. But I shall leave to wiser men than myself the task of devising *new* means to secure this object, while I go forward in my labors for the *only one* which has yet been successful in securing to any portion of the colored people their just rights.

“The Colonization Society has in its offer, generally, more *slaves* than its means will enable it to send to Liberia. Without a large increase of means, therefore, the Society cannot send out many *free persons of color.* Three fourths of the emigrants heretofore have been liberated by their masters, with a view of being sent to Liberia.

“Perhaps it is well that events should have been thus ordered. If slaves, when emancipated and instructed, and made to taste of the sweets of liberty, and to feel the responsibilities of nationality, can establish a prosperous and happy republic, and exert such an extended moral influence as to accomplish infinitely more in removing the greatest curse of Africa, the slave-trade, from a large extent of her coast, than has been done at an expense of more than a hundred millions of dollars, by the fleets of England and France,

it reflects the greater honor upon the African race, and may serve to stimulate the free people of color of this country, to make the effort to join their brethren in a land of freedom.

“In addition to sending emigrants to Liberia, it is of the utmost importance that the Society *should purchase the greatest possible amount of territory, at the present moment, and thus enlarge the sphere of influence which the republic exerts over the natives, and put it beyond the power of the nations, adverse to her interests, to circumscribe her in the noble efforts she is making for the redemption of Africa.*

“In this connection, it may be proper to say, that the gift of *one dime* from each one of the 100,000 inhabitants of Cincinnati, or \$10,000 would probably purchase *fifty-six miles square of territory* or more than *two millions of acres of land as good as that of Ohio.* Now, suppose a gift of such value were offered to the colored people of the city, or of the State, on condition that they would take possession of it and organize a *State Government for themselves,* and be admitted as one of the members of the new republic, who will say that they should or would reject the offer? Who will say that it would not be more safe and wise to emigrate to Africa than to Canada, Oregon, California or Mexico? But the decision of this question of right belongs to the colored people themselves. If the *foreign emigration* continues to roll in upon us, the subordinate stations in society, in the west also, as is the case already in the east, will ere long be chiefly occupied by foreigners, and the colored man left, it is to be feared, without profitable employment. Dear as is the land of one’s birth, if men’s interests can be better promoted by a removal, the ties of country and kindred are bonds easily broken. The spirit of enterprise which characterizes the present age, if we do our duty, will in due time animate the intelligent colored man, as it is now stimulating the white race, and if he cannot secure equality of condition here, will prompt him to go where he can obtain it.

“Total number of emigrants up to January, 1848.. 5,961

Number of communicants in churches in 1843,
were, of

Americans 1,015

Captured Africans 116

Converted heathen 353 in all 1,484

Present population estimated by President Roberts 80,000

Of these, are emigrants, captured Africans, etc.,

about 5,000

“The slave trade is suppressed on 400 miles of coast, excepting at one point.

“Shipping owned in the colony, 14 vessels, of from 20 to 80 tons.

“The exports annually, from the colony, are about \$100,000.

“DAVID CHRISTY,

“*Agent Am. Col. Society.*”

The African Repository, XXIV, 179–180.

OXFORD, O., April, 1848.