

COLONIZATION OF FREE BLACKS.

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MEMORIAL

OF

LEONARD DUGGED, GEORGE A. BAILEY,

AND

*240 other free colored persons of California, praying Congress to provide means for their colonization to some country in which their color will not be a badge of degradation.*

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JANUARY 16, 1862.—Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

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*To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled :*

This memorial of colored persons, natives of the United States, and residents of California, respectfully showeth :

That in view of the many disadvantages which the colored population of the United States labor under—their being deprived of many of the most important privileges of citizenship, and denied the rights and franchises freely extended to all other native-born citizens, and also to every other class of aliens ; their being marked out, not only by law, but also by public sentiment, which is stronger or more effective than law, as an inferior and degraded caste, prevented by the force of circumstances from engaging in honorable or lucrative employments, thus being in a great measure prevented from leading a life either honorable to themselves or useful to their country—a strong and rapidly increasing feeling has grown up among a large portion of the free colored population (probably already a majority of the whole) in favor of emigration to those countries where color is not considered a badge of degradation, and has ceased to act as a barrier to honorable advancement.

While there is considerable diversity of opinion as to the best location to migrate to, some preferring Africa, some the British West India Islands, some Hayti, some South America and Central America, they all seem to agree that either is preferable to remaining under the disabilities imposed upon them in the land of their birth, and a very large majority look upon the first and last named regions, Africa

and Central America, as offering greater inducements than any other localities to the industrious emigrant. We therefore pray your honorable body to grant assistance, in such manner as you may deem expedient, to colored natives of the United States who may desire to emigrate to Africa or the tropical regions of America.

Your memorialists think that there are many good and sufficient reasons for granting such assistance, and ask permission to call your attention to a few of them.

It seems to be the settled policy of the nation, as evinced in the action of both the State and federal governments, to discountenance in every manner the increase of persons of color in their midst, and to use every legal means to induce those now here to emigrate; and there is probably no one point on which the public sentiment of every section of the country and of every class of society is so perfectly unanimous as upon this; and legislation of the severest kind has been resorted to in many of the States, both north and south, in order to promote that end. It is not the intention of your memorialists to call in question the wisdom or justice of those laws, but we may be allowed to remark that they seem to have failed entirely of the desired effect, although the white population are almost unanimously in favor of the separation they are designed to effect, and a very large majority of the colored population also. The failure to accomplish what all classes so ardently desire may be attributed to the fact that the wishes of the blacks themselves have been disregarded, and that those acts have appeared to them as measures of coercion, which it seems an instinct of human nature to resist. This accounts also for the singular state of things visible in the history and management of the American Colonization Society: while it has sought almost exclusively to propitiate the favor of the whites, and has succeeded to an unprecedented degree in securing the approbation of men of all parties, sections, and denominations, it has only been enabled, after forty years of constant effort, to plant some ten or twelve thousand blacks in Africa; while within the same period two or three times that number of fugitive slaves have made their escape, and colonized themselves in the comparatively bleak and uncongenial region of Canada. These things show that any scheme of emigration, to be successful, must be such as to commend itself to those most interested, the colored people themselves.

Your memorialists believe that the true interests of both white and black require a separation of the races; for whatever may be the difference of opinion in regard to retaining those held in slavery, all must agree that a class of persons placed in the anomalous condition that the free blacks occupy are detrimental to the best interests of the country; and any feasible plan for their removal, and the separation of such antagonistic elements, is well worthy of aid and encouragement from government. There is strong desire on the part of many to settle in Central America and in Africa immediately, and they are retarded only by lack of the pecuniary means necessary to make a successful commencement. Your memorialists believe that small appropriations, judiciously expended, will insure the success of

the first emigrants, and speedily build up a voluntary emigration that will embrace the greater portion of the free colored population. If such a desirable consummation can be reached by a little assistance and encouragement from government, it is well worth while for government to grant that aid. It cannot be doubted that the interests of both whites and blacks demand the separation. A large class of men freed from servile restraint, yet denied most of the privileges and rights of citizens—personally free, and living in the midst of a people enjoying the largest political and social freedom, yet prevented by insurmountable barriers from any participation in that freedom—are in the worst condition possible to place men, and must be detrimental to the best interests of the community among whom they are so misplaced; and when a separation can be effected without the commission of a great wrong or injustice, and by mutual consent, the interests of the community require that it should be done as speedily as possible, so that their places may be filled with those capable of becoming incorporated with the great mass of citizens.

We approach your honorable body, therefore, with confidence that the justice and reasonableness of our prayer will recommend it to your favorable consideration; more especially as it has been the settled policy of the government to remove those classes of inhabitants who are incapable of becoming incorporated with the mass of the population, as instanced in the numerous tribes of Indians, many of whom have been removed at government expense, and granted small annuities in their new homes to aid and encourage them to make progress in civilization; and this, too, in view of the fact that those Indians have generally been hostile and at war with the United States, while the negro has been a faithful and trusty servant, and in many instances has received his freedom as the reward of faithful services. Your memorialists would respectfully suggest that a faithful servant is entitled to at least as much consideration as a bitter enemy, and a sum equal to that appropriated for the removal and annuities of Indians would doubtless be amply sufficient for every purpose; and there can be no question but that it would be productive of more benefit to the country and to the civilized world, as it would be devoted to the development of a race which does not dwindle before the march of civilization, but is industrious, and has proved itself susceptible of every improvement.

Taking it for granted that the interests of both parties require this separation, we think Africa and the great interoceanic routes through Central America the most desirable locations, for various reasons, among which may be mentioned the fact in relation to Africa, that the history and experience of Liberia and Sierra Leone demonstrate that such settlements or colonies are the only feasible means for effectually suppressing the African slave trade—a trade which the United States government was the first to interdict to its citizens and brand as piracy. To which may be added the fact that three centuries of abortive efforts on the part of various powers of Christendom to subdue and colonize the African continent, as America was subdued and colonized, furnish a demonstration that the only

feasible way to introduce Christianity and the improvements of modern civilization to the populous regions of the interior is by establishing settlements or colonies of this kind, composed of persons of kindred race, with whom the natives can become identified as fast as they attain the necessary qualifications; and thus a new, rich, and extensive field may be opened to the trade and commerce of the manufacturing and maritime nations. Among the inducements offered by Central America may be mentioned the fact that many could be more readily induced to go from its ease of access and the regular and speedy manner in which constant communication can be kept up through steam navigation with friends at home. Leaving out of view the benefits which would accrue to the emigrants and to the country whose resources they would help to develop, it is evident that the United States would gain important advantages from having on those important thoroughfares so large a number of the only portion of her population who are likely to stand the climate or be acceptable to the native inhabitants.

For these and many other weighty considerations which might be mentioned, we pray your honorable body to grant such pecuniary aid and encouragement as you may deem advisable to promote the emigration of free colored resident natives of the United States to Africa or the tropical regions of America; and your petitioners will ever pray.

Leonard Dugged  
 George A. Bailey  
 Henry E. Worke  
 L. A. C. Young  
 Edward D. Vincent  
 William Coffee  
 John Coffee  
 Adolphus F. Wells  
 Noah Dixon  
 Charles Handy  
 David Wills  
 W. F. Dover  
 Wm. T. Nicholass  
 J. M. Whitfield  
 J. J. Pindell  
 A. P. W. Pindell  
 Richard Trotter  
 John Cooper  
 S. Cooper  
 E. Cooper  
 William Hilton  
 William Robinson  
 William Hyer  
 Samuel Hyer  
 Robert Hyer  
 Lott Henderson

C. Henderson  
 C. H. Johnson  
 U. Dixon  
 John Campbell  
 Henry Carter  
 Robert White  
 Leonard Foster  
 Benjamin Tate  
 J. Tate  
 M. Scott  
 Ritchie Scott  
 N. Logan  
 Charles H. Delvecchio  
 A. M. Talbot  
 Robert Talbot  
 Thomas Posey  
 Abdallah McAlfrey  
 Simon P. Clark  
 M. E. Clark  
 L. Washington  
 B. C. Taylor  
 K. C. Sparks  
 Charles G. Tash  
 Daniel C. Bucker  
 John H. Jones  
 John Carter

Wellington C. Parick	Henry Joseph
George B. Patrick	Henry Bailey
James Underwood	L. Bailey
William Underwood	L. B. Hill
James Underwood	Edward P. Dupler
William Bell	G. R. Lymes
S. T. Bell	James Butler
James B. Sullivan	James Cozzens
James C. Worthington	James B. Barker
Henry Storum	Robert Talbot, jr
Peter Anderson	F. Whitfield
Richard Schofield	Joseph Whitfield
Samuel Brown	J. Daver
Samuel Grooms	M. Manuel
Randall Cesar	Washington Dill
J. Holland Townsend	George B. Williams
William H. Newby	Samuel Johnson
John Plummer	Alexander Williams
Reuben Taylor	R. M. McCulloch
Henry Jackson	S. M. Anderson
Henry Quonn	M. J. Coffee
George C. Miller	S. R. Coffee
Henry Dangerfield	E. M. Wilhelm
H. N. Jones	Peter Wilhelm
M. R. Campbell	James Anderson
R. M. Robinson	Edward Flamer
Loyd Howard	Charles Holland
William Ellis	Edward Johnson
Richard R. Jones	Isaac Joseph
John C. Wilson	Henry Murphy
R. Boardley	Charles Brown
Silas Baker	M. H. Taylor
E. A. Baker	William Taylor
P. L. Dalton	Benjamin Robinson
Henry T. Jones	Peter Lee
Richard Phillips	Peter Crouch
William Philips	Daniel Mills
James Phillips	M. K. Cozzens
Timothy Phillips	Martin Gaines
M. S. Phillips	William Bird
Benjamin Cogger	Charles J. Graham
Cornelius Cogan	William Holmes
L. Phillips	William Qualls
S. S. Queen	A. D. Qualls
Charles P. Queen	George Dover
Owen W. Brown	Marshall Sedgwick
Columbus Sewell	William Scott
David Vincent	Henry Scott
John Scott	Moses Burton
James Wineberry	John T. Jones

John H. Butler	Alexander Lamon
Edwin S. Ward	Truman P. Hill
Louis A. Kelley	M. J. Johnson
Joseph Wood	A. E. Johnson
James G. Wayne	H. Johnson
Nathaniel Cristopher	J. Taylor
Robert M. Tidball	William H. Yates
Richard Stokes	William Holmes
Samuel Cuney	H. H. Graham
Isaac Johnson	M. A. Cobbs
Richard Isaacs	M. C. Moxley
Henry Dixon	S. A. Gale
Thomas Detter	Richard Saunders
Ralph Williams	Thomas Saunders
Green Givings	Charles Gaines
S. Overson	Edward Harmer
M. Overson	Thomas Harmer
L. Johnson	John J. Hall
M. A. Griffin	Richard Chapman
A. S. Gale	Reuben Taylor
Stephen Gale	Cornelius Butler
Benjamin B. Young	Hope Butler
Albert Smith	Sanford Ritchie
Charles Postle	Charles Sanford
A. Reagan	Henry T. Johnson
C. Reagan	Leonard Grass
Charles Bell	Richard Turner
Henry Ankler	John Mitchell
D. L. Parker	James Bell
William H. Foote	Wm. A. Jackson
M. Parker	Lewis Gross
C. K. Frost	Samuel Waggnier
Henry Frost	John Boardly
Henry C. Coffee	James C. Jackson.