

**The Colored Conventions Movement, Emigrationism and
the quest for a black nationality, 1830-1858.**

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This paper deals with the colored conventions movement¹ and the revival of emigrationism in the antebellum era. Emigrationism had started in the late eighteenth century, and even though this renewed interest in emigration peaked in the late 1840s and 1850s, it did in fact develop and reinforce all throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. This paper will show that this revival of emigrationism coincided with the growth of a nationalist sentiment among the free black community. Indeed, as the debates over colonization and emigration were raging, the question of emigrating, notably to the black republic of Haiti, became clearly associated with the quest for a “black nationality.”

Before trying to explain how such a movement expanded in the decade preceding the Civil War, it is necessary to define emigrationism itself. Many different terms have been used to refer to the displacement of free and emancipated Blacks beyond the borders of the United States in the nineteenth century, such as: expatriation, deportation, relocation, repatriation, removal, as well as colonization, and emigration, among others. In this paper, the terms “emigration” and “emigrationism” shall be specifically used to refer to the voluntary or chosen migration of African Americans, mostly initiated by African Americans themselves, as opposed to “colonization,” which refers to the creation of colonies of ex-slaves and free Blacks outside the limits of the U.S. territory, in other words the forced migration of black people to foreign territories, which was then clearly associated with the American Colonization Society (ACS) created in 1816.²

Emigrationism gained momentum in the antebellum period, just as the thirty years preceding the Civil War saw the emergence of a more radical and more immediatist abolitionist movement, particularly among Blacks who, for the most part, adhered to the “stay and fight” ideology.³ The 1830s-1840s move from moral suasion to overt militancy was largely due to the more active participation of Blacks in the movement and their gathering in Conventions. Contrary to white Northerners, Blacks had nothing to lose – no property, no reputation, no status. They had suffered as slaves, were still suffering as free Blacks without

¹ The minutes and proceedings of colored conventions are of course precious resources for anyone interested in studying the colored conventions movement. Thanks to a recent digital project called “Colored Conventions Project” (<http://coloredconventions.org>), an important corpus of minutes and proceedings of the nineteenth century colored conventions is now online. In some cases, one can access the scanned version of these documents, and in other cases these minutes and proceedings have even been transcribed. Before 2017 only a small part of these proceedings was accessible online, and the rest was scattered all over the United States in different libraries. This collection is as yet incomplete, but the importance of the corpus has enabled me to verify a certain number of conclusions I had drawn with a small part of this material and other resources such as articles in the black press. To make a long story short, the minutes and proceedings of these conventions confirm that the debates over emigration and colonization never ceased from the very first convention to the Civil War, even though they were less present in the early 1840s. They also enabled me to verify that these debates were systematically reactivated after the enactment of major laws or decisions restricting the rights of free Blacks in the United States, such as the Fugitive Slave act in 1850 or the Dred Scott decision in 1857.

² The best scholarly treatment of the history of the American Colonization Society is BURIN, Eric. *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005.

³ For more information concerning divisions within the abolitionist movement, see: KRADITOR, Aileen S. *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850*. New York: Ivan R. Dee, 1989; and PERRY, Lewis. *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought*. Cornell University Press, 1973. For a chronological approach of the transformations of the abolitionist movement, see: FILLER, Louis. *The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860*. Transaction Publishers, 2011; and RAEL, Patrick. *Eighty-Eight Years: The Long Death of Slavery in the United States, 1777-1865*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015.

rights, and were not afraid of suffering even more to free their peers and obtain equal citizenship rights. The antebellum period saw a tightening of laws against Blacks—especially after Nat Turner’s slave rebellion in August 1831 – that paralleled the doubling of the number of slaves between 1830 and the beginning of the Civil War. For Blacks advocating the “stay and fight” doctrine in that troubled era which witnessed devastating anti-Black race riots and the growing popularity of the American Colonization Society, the idea was to get freedom and rights on the American soil; the United States, being the birthplace of American Blacks, was therefore legitimately “their” nation. Most Blacks did not identify with the settlement projects to Africa, partly because they felt that the ACS, an organization which was exclusively composed of white politicians and anti-slavery advocates, could not legitimately claim to be working in the interests of the black population.

However, and as paradoxical as it may seem, at the same time as they denounced the ACS and its African project, a certain number of free black leaders did advocate emigration to other and closer places such as Upper Canada (later known as Canada West), which was considered as more “civilized” and thus more acceptable than Africa. This movement grew to such an extent that the first ever Convention of colored people that gathered in Philadelphia in 1830 was specifically called to address the issue of emigration. This issue was not new in 1830. In the decades preceding this convention, a small number of Blacks had already attempted to emigrate to different places. Among the most well-known of these early initiatives were Paul Cuffe’s emigration plan to Sierra Leone in the 1810s, and a project initiated by Haitian president Boyer that brought a few thousand African Americans to Haiti in the 1820s.⁴ Actually, the idea for a National Colored Convention first emerged among black leaders in response to Cincinnati’s enforcement of Ohio’s “black laws” in 1829 and subsequent violence unleashed by white mobs against the city’s black community that forced thousands of free black residents to flee the state. Hezekiah Grice, a Baltimore activist, then appealed to African American leaders throughout the North to devise a plan for emigration to Canada. His appeal was answered by Richard Allen, a minister and founder of Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, who called a national meeting of black leaders to address this issue in September 1830. While asserting their rejection of the ACS, the delegates assembled in Philadelphia from the 20th to the 24th of September 1830 concluded that oppressive laws had been enacted “in some of the states of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren, to leave their homes and seek an asylum in foreign climes,” so that “the formation of a settlement in the British province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage to the people of colour.”⁵ Therefore, they decided the formation of a “parent society” whose purpose would be to raise funds for the purchase of a piece of land in Canada to establish a colony of black Americans: “This Society shall be called “The American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for improving their condition in the United States; for purchasing lands; and for the establishment of a settlement in the Province of Upper Canada.” (*Constitution* 1831: 5). The drafting of a constitution for the newly-formed society and the establishment of a settlement in Canada were the only subjects on the agenda of the first Convention. But before returning home from the meeting, the delegates adopted a resolution that called for a general convention the following year in Philadelphia again, thus launching the Colored Conventions Movement. Now, at the time of this first Convention, the delegates did not exactly give a nationalist tint to their plan. However, it is clear from the proceedings that this emigration scheme was designed by people who were becoming aware of the need to unite colored people as a community and so we can see the emergence of a racial awareness among delegates:

⁴ For more information about the first voluntary migration to Haiti, see BOURHIS-MARIOTTI, Claire. *L’Union fait la force: les Noirs américains et Haïti, 1804-1893*. Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016, chapitre 1.

⁵ *Constitution of the American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for improving their condition in the United States; for purchasing lands; and for the establishment of a settlement in upper Canada, also, The Proceedings of the Convention with their Address to Free Persons of Colour in the United States*. Philadelphia: Printed by J.W. Allen, 1831, p. 10-11.

... it has been a subject of deep regret to this convention, that we as a people have not availingly appreciated every opportunity placed within our power by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen. That (...) is attributable in a great measure to a want of unity among ourselves (...). (*Constitution* 1831: 11).

By encouraging free Blacks to assemble in Conventions, the delegates aimed to create a stronger collective voice among African Americans and a forum for organizing national strategies to confront the growing racial hostility against free Blacks in the North and combat slavery.

After an initial interest in the creation of a Canadian settlement in the early 1830s, the next conventions, mostly led by middle- and upper-class black delegates, adopted a philosophy of respectability centered on education (notably through the establishment of manual labor schools), economic independence and success (with a wish to establish black banks), and encouraged the creation and support of a (national) black press.⁶ Although these politics of respectability and moral persuasion—along with a call to interracial cooperation—promulgated by black elites to “uplift the race” would dominate the conventions of the late 1830s and early 1840s, a younger generation of activists in the late 1840s and 1850s began to endorse more militant solutions. Black nationalism, that is the establishment of a separate black nationality was one option, a controversial position that called for African Americans to plant a separate settlement in Canada, the Caribbean (notably Haiti), Central America or even—to a lesser extent—Africa.

The debate over emigration was particularly revived during the National Convention of 1847 and interestingly coincided with both the independence of Liberia,⁷ and a growing diasporic awareness among free American Blacks. In other words, this revival of emigrationism paralleled a nascent black internationalist movement. Indeed, apart from revealing a renewed interest in emigration (members of the Convention—Frederick Douglass included—voted in favor of the creation of a black colony on lands donated by Gerritt Smith in the State of New York, next to Lake Placid and the Canadian frontier), the Minutes and Proceedings of this 1847 Convention show that the delegates then insisted that the struggle of African Americans transcended borders. They particularly focused on cooperation with the West Indies, as they discussed a letter they had received in 1846 from a black Jamaican society, the Jamaica Hamic Association, whose aim was “to effect a correspondence with our brethren in America, and friends throughout the world.” (*Proceedings* 1847: 24). The Convention thus resolved that “a committee of thirteen be appointed to reply to the address of the Jamaica Hamic Association, and that said committee

⁶ Numerous examples of this strategy of respectability can be found in the proceedings of the 1830s colored conventions: “this Convention recommend to our people generally, the formation of Societies for the promotion of Temperance, on the plan of total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits. (...) We must have Colleges and high Schools on the Manual Labor system, where our youth may be instructed in all the arts of civilized life.” (*Minutes and Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Color in these United States, held by adjournments in the city of Philadelphia, from the 4th to the 13th of June, inclusive, 1832*. Philadelphia: Martin & Boden, printers, 1832, p. 28; 34). “[T]his convention, request the board of managers of the American Moral Reform Society, to establish as soon as possible a press, to be the organ through which the principles of our institution, shall be made known to the world.” (*Minutes of the Fifth Annual Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Colour in the United States; Held by Adjournments, in the Wesley Church, Philadelphia; from the first to the fifth of June, inclusive; 1835*. Philadelphia: Printed by William P. Gibbons, Sixth and Cherry sts., 1835, p. 10). “Resolved, That the creation and permanent establishment of a Banking Institution by the colored people of the United States is a measure which deserves the attention of this Convention.” (*Proceedings of the National Convention of Colored People and Their Friends; held in Troy, NY; on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of October, 1847*. Troy, NY: Steam Press of J.C. Kneeland and Co., 1847, p. 14).

⁷ Joseph Jenkins Roberts, a free black Virginian who had emigrated to Liberia in his twenties and had become the first black governor of the colony in 1842, declared the independence of the ACS colony of Liberia on July 26, 1847. He was subsequently elected the first president of the independent republic of Liberia.

be instructed to express to our brethren our cordial sympathy and readiness to unite with them in any proper measures for the advancement of our common cause" (*Proceedings* 1847: 24-25). This committee would count among its members Henry Highland Garnet, who would position as an emigrationist two years later.⁸ It is clear from the proceedings of this convention that some sort of more global "race consciousness" was pervasive. 1847 is also the first year when a distinct "Convention of the Colored Population" was held in Drummondville, Ontario, with delegates coming from Canadian settlements and from different US States.⁹

In 1851, a "North American Convention" was held in Toronto. This was neither a "national" nor a "Canadian" Convention, but a real effort at organizing a more international black Convention movement. Unsurprisingly, the discussions centered around two points: emigration and the organization of an international association of Blacks. The first two resolutions taken by this Convention incited American Blacks to emigrate to Canada:

1. Resolved that the infamous fugitive slave enactment of the American Government—whether constitutional or unconstitutional, is an insult to God, and an outrage upon humanity, not to be endured by any people; we therefore earnestly entreat our brethren of the northern and southern states to come out from under the jurisdiction of those wicked laws—from the power of a Government whose tender mercies, towards the colored people, are cruel.

2. Resolved, that we feel truly grateful, as a people, to her Britannic Majesty's just and powerful Government, for the protection afforded us; and are fully persuaded from the known fertility of the soil, and salubrity of climate of the milder regions of Canada West, that this is, by far, the most desirable place of resort for colored people, to be found on the American continent. (...)

Resolved, that the convention recommend to the colored people of the U.S. of America, to emigrate to the Canadas instead of going to Africa or the West India Islands, that they, by so doing, may be better able to assist their brethren who are daily dying from American slavery.¹⁰

And interestingly enough, another resolution encouraged the "the formation of a great league of the colored people of the North and South American continents, and of the West Indies, for the general abolition of slavery for the protection of the common rights of their brethren throughout the world and for their social, political and moral elevation" ("Proceedings" 1851).

In 1853, a new Canadian Convention was held. Delegates naturally encouraged Blacks to emigrate, and first resolved that

In our opinion, the true policy of the Africo-American race, to secure their elevation and development, is to emigrate from the U.S. to Canada, the West Indies, or such other points on this continent, as are contiguous to the United States, where they can enjoy all the rights of freemen, and be near by, to lend a helping hand to their brethren in bonds.¹¹

⁸ See BOURHIS-MARIOTTI, Claire. "La colonisation de l'Afrique par les Noirs américains, entre déplacement forcé et migration volontaire: Henry Highland Garnet et l'*African Civilization Society*," in Marcel DORIGNY and Bernard GAINOT (eds), *La Colonisation nouvelle (fin XVIIIe-début XIXe siècles)*. Paris: Éditions SPM, 2018: 89-111.

⁹ See *Report of the Convention of the Colored Population, Held at Drummondville, Aug, 1847*. Toronto: Printed at the Banner Office, 1847.

¹⁰ "Proceedings for the North American Convention held in Toronto, Canada, 1851," *Voice of the Fugitive*, September 21, 1851.

¹¹ *Minutes and proceedings of the General Convention for the Improvement of the Colored Inhabitants of Canada, held by adjournments in Amhrstburgh [sic], C.W., June 16th and 17th, 1853*. Windsor: Bibb & Holly, 1853, p. 7-8

They also adopted “the brilliant policy, promulgated by the General Convention held at Toronto in 1851 for a continental League of the Africo-American race, and commend it to the earnest, and most urgent attention of all concerned.” (*Minutes* 1853: 8).

A few weeks later, the 1853 National Colored Convention which convened in Rochester did not encourage or condemn voluntary emigration but did condemn the ACS and its colonization scheme to Africa. The Convention was then led by people, such as Frederick Douglass, who were not favorable to a massive expatriation of free Blacks, and thus the proceedings insist above all on the delegates’ demand that black people be considered and treated as proper American citizens on American soil: “We ask that in our native land, we shall not be treated as strangers, and worse than strangers.”¹² The debates over emigration, which had resumed before the Convention met, actually continued in the black press, notably in *Frederick Douglass’s Paper* where the opportunity of organizing a separate emigration convention was considered. The issue was so sensitive and so important for the future of the black community in the United States that a pamphlet, entitled *Arguments, Pro and Con, on the Call for a National migration Convention, to be Held in Cleveland, Ohio, August, 1854, by Frederick Douglass, W. J. Watkins, and James Whitfield. With a Short Appendix of the Statistics of Canada West, West Indies, Central and South America*, was published in January 1854, shortly after the 1853 National Convention of Colored People met. This pamphlet was in fact the transcription of a correspondence established in the pages of *Frederick Douglass’s Paper* between James Whitfield, William Watkins and Douglass himself on the subject of emigration.¹³ The pamphlet included an analysis of emigration and of the possible places where Blacks could emigrate, among other things. The introduction to this pamphlet, as well as the few pages of its appendix that examine the advantages and disadvantages of Haiti as a place of emigration for African Americans, were written by Reverend James Theodore Holly. Holly was then convinced that the first Black Republic was the one place where free American Blacks might sustainably settle, “progress” and establish a black nationality:

[Hayti] is the first nationality established by our race, sacred through the means of revolution against tyrannical oppression. (...) Emigration there in large numbers on the part of the colored Americans would do much to strengthen the hands of that government, and forward in an uncalculable [sic] degree the cause of our elevation in America. (Newsom 1854: 32-33).

The first “National Emigration Convention of Colored People” was finally held in August 1854 in Cleveland, shortly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This special Convention on Emigration brought together 102 delegates from 11 States—Northern, Southern and Western States, as well as Canada—which tends to prove that emigration was truly a key issue for free Blacks in a period when the institution of slavery was actually reinforcing, and the overall condition of Blacks was dramatically deteriorating in the United States.¹⁴ During this Convention, Martin R. Delany, an already emblematic figure of emigrationism, presented his “Report on the Political Destiny of the Colored Race, on the American Continent,” a report which drew its inspiration from the book he had published two years earlier, *The Condition, Elevation, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*.¹⁵ While identifying a problem: Whites’ refusal of giving Blacks full citizenship, Delany

¹² *Proceedings of the Colored national convention, held in Rochester, July 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1853*. Rochester, NY: Printed at the office of F. Douglass’ paper, 1853, p. 8.

¹³ NEWSOM, M. T. *Arguments, Pro and Con, on the Call for a National migration Convention, to be Held in Cleveland, Ohio, August, 1854, by Frederick Douglass, W. J. Watkins, and James Whitfield. With a Short Appendix of the Statistics of Canada West, West Indies, Central and South America*. Detroit: George Pomeroy, 1854.

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the National Emigration Convention of Colored People: held at Cleveland, Ohio, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, the 24th, 25th and 26th of August 1854; with a reference page of contents*. Pittsburgh: A. A. Anderson, 1854.

¹⁵ DELANY, Martin R. *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, Philadelphia : The Author, 1852.

proposed “for this disease a remedy. That remedy is Emigration.” (*Proceedings* 1854: 37). Delany then attempted to single out a place to which to emigrate. He dismissed the territories on the North American continent, like Canada, which he thought would one day fall into the hands of white Americans, as well as parts of the world already populated by Whites, and gave preference to the Caribbean, Central and South America. Supporting his demonstration with figures and statistics, he tried to prove that the size of these territories was sufficient to house the U.S. black population. Unsurprisingly, Delany did not forget to mention

the Island of Haiti, in the West Indies, peopled by as brave and noble descendants of Africa, as they who laid the foundation of Thebias, or constructed the everlasting pyramids and catecombs [sic] of Egypt.—A people who have freed themselves by the might of their own will, the force of their own power, the unfailing strength of their own right arms, and their unflinching determination to be free. (*Proceedings* 1854: 42).

In the antebellum period, Haiti was indeed often quoted, not so much as a model to demand inclusion in the American society, but as an ideal and idealized place where the black nationality project (clearly not an inclusion project) that emerged at that time could be achieved—the fact that emigrationists (who were mostly northern free educated Blacks) would more and more frequently evoke Haiti as a place where emigration was feasible is definitely compatible with the black nationality project such emigrationists (and nationalists) as Martin Delany and James Theodore Holly would then develop. In the end, the 1854 Convention took resolutions endorsing emigration, of course, but the delegates did not manage to find a consensus on the location to which to emigrate tough Africa, too closely associated with the ACS, was unsurprisingly unpopular:

Should anything occur to prevent a successful emigration to the South—Central, South America and the West Indies—we have no hesitancy, rather than remain in the United States, the merest subordinates and serviles of the whites, should the Canadas still continue separate in their political relations from this country, to recommend to the great body of our people, to remove to Canada West. (*Proceedings* 1854: 69).

Most importantly, the Convention established a National Board of Commissioners whose purpose was to facilitate the emigrationist movement. The commissioners’ role would be “to go on a Foreign Mission, to such countries and places as they may be instructed; to make a geographical, topographical and political enquiry into the state and condition of those places and people; who shall hold correspondence with the Committee on Foreign Relations, whenever convenient” (*Proceedings* 1854: 73). Delany’s nomination as president of this board of commissioners was no coincidence. Delany, who had been close to Henry Bibb, the leader of the Canadian conventions who had passed away a few weeks before, had been advocating emigration since the end of the 1840s and was one of the most vocal advocates of the establishment of a black nationality. So, Delany took this position and immediately called for another emigration convention to assert his leadership on the question, and determine the location of the future colony.

The Second Emigration Convention was also held in Cleveland, in August 1856. In the meantime, Delany had answered his own call for emigration by emigrating with his family from Pittsburgh to Chatham, Canada West in February 1856. Ironically, he was not able to make it to the second convention he had called for because he was ill. Some modifications were made in the Constitution of the Convention, and some changes in the officers of the Board; but Delany, the president of the board of commissioners, was unanimously re-elected, and continued in office until the close of the Third—and last—Emigration Convention, which met in Chatham in August 1858. In the aftermath of the Supreme Court’s Dred Scott decision, emigration, exile, seeking a better life outside U.S. territory was more tempting than ever for free American Blacks. James Theodore Holly participated in this Convention, hoping to get some financial support for his own emigration scheme. He had visited Haiti in

1855 and was still convinced that it was the perfect place to emigrate because it was a “black republic,” ready to welcome African-Americans and eager to become a kind of “promised land” for the black Diaspora. Delany, who was by then convinced that there was a link between “the Moral, Social, and Political Elevation of Ourselves, and the Regeneration of Africa,”¹⁶ aimed at obtaining support for his new African project. But this time again the delegates refused to support a particular destination. Worse, they changed the name of their organization to “Association for the Promotion of the Interest of the Colored People of Canada and the United States” thereby encouraging all initiatives aimed at improving the condition of Blacks, including initiatives other than emigration. Holly, Delany and Henry Highland Garnet then lost significant support for their emigration projects though the Board later endorsed the creation of an “African Commission” to explore Niger—but this creation was not accompanied by financial support, as the Board was not willing to encourage Blacks to emigrate to Africa. In his *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* published in 1861, Delany stated that the Board could have supported him financially without contradicting the mandate of the 1854 Emigration Convention. Indeed, he asserted that “The Convention (at Cleveland, 1854), in its Secret Sessions made, Africa, with its rich, inexhaustible productions, and great facilities for checking the abominable Slave Trade, its most important point of dependence, though each individual was left to take the direction which in his judgment best suited him.” (Delany 1861: 237). Though Delany asserts that “Africa was held in reserve” (Delany 1861: 238), we will never be able to check this point.

1858 thus marked the end of emigration conventions. Emigrationists had to find another way to support their projects, and some of them successfully turned to white and/or foreign allies for financial help. In New York, black emigrationists led by Garnet, who had just returned from Jamaica where he had been a missionary for two years, organized a series of meetings to discuss alternative sites. In the end, Garnet associated with the New York branch of the ACS and created the African Civilization Society, whose aim was to promote the voluntary emigration of free Blacks to the Yoruba territory (Benin, Niger, Nigeria) where they would be able to forge a black nationality (Bourhis-Mariotti 2018). Delany allied with Garnet’s new African society and a network of abolitionists in England to finance his exploration of the Niger Valley in 1859. Holly’s Haitian project and dreams of a black nationality finally came true in 1861 as the Haitian government then encouraged the migration of African Americans by paying for their voyage and helping them to settle in Haiti (Bourhis-Mariotti 2016: 85-110).¹⁷ Soon, the beginning of the Civil War put an end (at least temporarily) to these emigration projects, as free Blacks turned their attention to the struggle to defeat slavery.

In the antebellum era, free black people came together in Colored Conventions where they strategized about how to achieve educational, labor, economic and social equality. In the face of continuing discrimination and dehumanization within the United States, increasing numbers of African Americans were prepared to consider emigration as a “solution” – be it temporary or not – to escape oppression. Thus, the 1850s Conventions were characterized by continuing debates regarding the colonization and emigration movements. For that matter, many black activists changed their minds over the issue. Sometimes fiercely opposed to the idea of leaving the United States, then more nuanced on the subject, or later seduced by the possibility of emigration, many African American leaders, honestly torn by this issue, often gave speeches or written articles or pamphlets on colonization and emigration that now seem contradictory. Similarly, there was no consensus among emigrationists around the question of the place of expatriation: Africa, Canada, the West Indies... all these destinations were at some point discussed, debated, visited, or experienced. What is clear though is that the issue of emigration was clearly linked to the emergence of

¹⁶ DELANY, Martin R., *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party*, New York, T. Hamilton; [etc., etc.], 1861, p. 243.

¹⁷ See also BOURHIS-MARIOTTI, Claire. “Migration et évangélisation: l’installation de l’Église épiscopale en Haïti par le Révérend noir américain James Theodore Holly, 1855-1874,” *Recherches Haïtiano-Antillaises* N°8 (to be published in 2019); BOURHIS-MARIOTTI, Claire. “Vers l’établissement d’une « nationalité noire » ? Le rêve haïtien de James Theodore Holly,” *IdeAs* [online], 6 | Automne/Hiver 2015. URL: <http://ideas.revues.org/1126>.

black nationalism and internationalism. In short, the argument put forward by emigrationists—i.e. the fact that it will be impossible to become full citizens on American soil, and that as a consequence Blacks must find another place where they may “elevate”—is very close to the arguments defended by black nationalists, who advocate the necessity to create a community separate from Whites, a “nation” in which the color of their skin would not be a barrier to citizenship. What the study of the antebellum colored conventions movement shows, is that the two movements, i.e. emigrationism and the quest for a black nationality were interwoven, with Martin Delany emerging as one of the main spokespersons of these two movements.

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