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# American Colonization Soc'y. Reports.

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1. Fifth Rep. of the American Soc'y. 1822.
2. Sixth " " " 1823.
3. Seventh " " " 1824.
4. Eighth " " " 1825.





THE

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# FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

*AMERICAN SOCIETY*

FOR

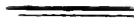
*Colonizing the Free People of Colour*

OF THE

UNITED STATES.



WITH AN APPENDIX



WASHINGTON CITY

PRINTED BY DAVIS & FORCE, PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE

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The Fifth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, was held on Thursday, the 7th of March, 1822, at Dr. Laurie's church, in the City of Washington.

PRESENT.

The HON. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, President.  
in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report prepared by the Managers was read by the Secretary; and, on motion of the Hon. Hugh Nelson,

*Resolved Unanimously,*

That the Report of the Board of Directors be received and adopted; and that it be published under the direction of the Board.

On the motion of Elias B. Caldwell, Esq.

*Resolved,*

That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lieut. Stockton, Commander, and the officers and crew of the United States' schooner Alligator, for their zeal and activity in the suppression of the slave-trade, and for the very essential aid rendered to the Society, on the coast of Africa.

On motion of the Hon. William D. Williamson,

*Resolved,*

That the Society contemplate, with the highest gratification, the benevolent exertions of our naval

Officers and men employed on the coast of Africa, in carrying into execution the laws for the suppression of the slave-trade, and for their uniform kindness to the Agents of the Society, and aid in its measures.

On the motion of Francis S. Key, Esq.

*Resolved,*

That the Society entertain a high respect for the memory of the Rev. Joseph R. Andrus, Agent of this Society, and of Jonathan B. Winn, United States' Agent, who departed this life during the past year, and sincerely sympathize with their friends on this public loss: and

On the motion of Major Johnson, it was

*Resolved Unanimously,*

That the Officers of the Society appointed at the last Annual Meeting be continued during the ensuing year.

## OFFICERS.

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The HON. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, President.

### *Vice Presidents.*

Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia,  
 Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky,  
 Hon. Wm. Philips, of Massachusetts,  
 Hon. Henry Rutgers, of New-York,  
 Hon. John E. Howard, of Maryland,  
 Hon. John C. Herbert, of Maryland.  
 Isaac M'Kim, Esq. of Maryland,  
 John Taylor, Esq. of Caroline, Virginia.  
 Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia,  
 Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee,  
 Robert Ralston, Esq. of Pennsylvania,  
 Right Rev. Bishop White, of Pennsylvania,  
 Gen. John Mason, of the District of Columbia.  
 Samuel Bayard, Esq. of New-Jersey,  
 William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. of Virginia.

### *Managers.*

Francis S. Key, Esq.	Rev. William Hawley,
Walter Jones, Esq.	Rev. Henry Foxall,
Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch,	Wm. Thornton, Esq.
Rev. Obadiah B. Brown,	Thos. Dougherty, Esq.
Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer,	Col. Henry Ashton.

ELIAS B. CALDWELL, Esq. *Secretary.*  
 JOHN UNDERWOOD, Esq. *Recording Sec'y.*  
 RICHARD SMITH, Esq. *Treasurer.*



# REPORT.

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THE Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society are thankful to that Providence which orders all human events, and on which they have endeavoured to rely, that they are again permitted, at the close of the fifth year of their labours, to address their friends and patrons in the language of hope and encouragement.

This language they have ever considered themselves solemnly bound to renounce whenever a fair experiment should have manifested the vanity of their pursuit. When this great plan of patriotism and beneficence was first presented to the public, all that was demanded for it was a trial, and that trial they determined to conduct faithfully and fairly; and whatever might be the result, to avow and obey it.

Had it been the pleasure of the Almighty to frown upon their efforts, and to throw irremovable obstacles in the path of their pursuit, they were prepared to check their ardour into submission, and to leave their country and a cause that so awfully concerns it, to the judgments or the mercies of God, still trusting that some other way of deliverance would be opened before us, and waiting in the patience and hope of faith, for its manifestation.

Nor will they now be tempted by flattering appearances, to announce a final issue of decisive success. In detailing the proceedings of the past year, and exhibiting the present prospects of their scheme, they make no higher pretensions than that of having conducted their enterprise over difficulties, thought by some to be insuperable, to an eminence which they had never before attained, entitling it to higher consideration, and demanding for it, better hopes and greater efforts.

A few days after the last annual meeting, the brig *Nautilus*, having on board two agents appointed by the government of the United States, to reside on the coast of Africa, and two agents of the Society, the Rev. Joseph R. Andrus and Mr. C. Wiltberger, sailed from Norfolk for the coast of Africa. The same vessel likewise carried out a select company of black people, consisting of twenty-eight effective labourers, and a number of children, to recruit the party sent out under the direction of the late Rev. Samuel Bacon the preceding year. The agents were instructed to proceed to Sierra Leone and there debark the people, under the temporary protection of the authorities of that colony, which, from the amicable disposition they had uniformly evinced in relation to the establishment contemplated by the Society on that coast, it was presumed would be generously afforded. The temporary establishment of our people at Sierra Leone had, at that time, become a measure of necessity; the managers having received, shortly be-



fore the sailing of the Nautilus, an assurance that the negotiations for the Bagroo territory, had entirely failed, and thence concluded that the calamity of the preceding year could hardly be averted, if the people were to be again exposed in a state of anxious suspense, without proper accommodations and superintendence, through the approaching rainy season. On the arrival of the Nautilus at Sierra Leone, on the 9th of March, the acting governor of that colony readily proffered to the settlers, the protection which they solicited. An arrangement was concluded with the proprietors of an extensive and cultivated plantation situated on Foura Bay, within the jurisdiction, and in the immediate vicinity of Freetown, by which they became possessed of every accommodation which their health and comfort required. Having secured a lease of this estate for an indefinite term, the agents had leisure deliberately to prosecute their inquiries and observations, to different parts of the coast, with a view to the selection and purchase of a territory the most advantageously situated for the purposes of the settlement. To this object, therefore, their attention was immediately directed. The negotiations which had been entered upon the preceding year, with the chiefs of the Sherbro country, and in the pursuit of which a considerable amount of merchandise had been distributed among them in the form of presents, naturally induced the agents, conformably with their instructions, carefully to investigate the ad-

vantages offered by the acquisition of the territory situated on the Bagroo, in a comparison with other situations on the coast. Their inquiries resulted in a full conviction of the expediency of relinquishing the pursuit of a settlement in this quarter; and for reasons which, to the managers, appear entirely to justify the decision.

The mortality with which our people were visited at Campelar, in the spring of 1820, was not indeed, regarded as a proof of the general insalubrity of the Bagroo country; but better information than could have been obtained before, justified the impression, that even if the difficulties of reconciling all the chiefs to a cession of a territory, could be removed, other situations upon the coast presented more favorable prospects.

But there was another consideration to influence the agents in this abandonment of the negotiations at Sherbro. The proximity of the rapidly extending settlements of the Colony of Sierra Leone, although possibly productive of some advantages to our establishment on the Bagroo, during its infancy, could hardly fail in their future progress, to be productive to both communities, of the complicated evils liable to result from the interference of their territorial limits, and commercial pursuits. These consequences could hardly be averted by the existence of the most amicable and benevolent dispositions in the governors and intendants of the settlements: while the participation of the respective governments in the popular animosities, an event

but too probable, would ever be liable to blast the fairest hopes to which the establishments might aspire.

And if the anticipations of the managers are to be realized in the future expansion of settlements once permanently founded on that coast, the time is not distant, when the proximity of colonies established on the Sierra Leone, and the Sherbro, must prove a serious restraint on the territorial enlargement of both. In yielding to the force of these considerations, the managers derive a satisfaction in perceiving, that the American agents conformed their conduct to the unanimous and earnest wishes expressed by the members of the colonial government of Sierra Leone; with whom it is important to cultivate the most amicable and conciliatory correspondence, and whose liberal conduct towards us merited such a consideration.

In prosecuting their observations down the coast, our agents were not only aided with the advice of the English resident officers and agents at Sierra Leone, but were permitted to avail themselves of all the good effects of a friendly intercourse which they had opened with the Grand Bassa nation, by the negotiations of the preceding year. These people reside near the commencement of the Grain coast of Guinea, about one hundred leagues to the southward of Sierra Leone, and between the 5th and 6th degrees of North latitude. The country bordering on the sea, assumes a different aspect

immediately after passing Cape Mesurado; the low and marshy sea-board exhibited to the northward, in a great measure disappears; the forest trees are more elevated, and the water, generally of a good quality. As these appearances commonly indicate, in tropical countries, the absence of the most formidable causes of disease, the managers considered themselves justified in the conclusion, that the healthiness of the Grain coast is equal to that of any other portion of Western Africa.— Messrs. Andrus and Bacon, who performed the service of exploring the coast, found every other point which they visited, either closed against them by the hostility of the natives, or liable to one or the other of the objections already alleged against the Sherbro.

The only common interest known by the natives of Western Africa, consists in their almost universal participation in the practices connected with the acquisition and sale of slaves. Their pursuits, their gratifications, and nearly, their *existence itself*, seems suspended on this traffick. To this ever active cause of misery and crime, are the treachery and duplicity of the chiefs of Sherbro, evinced in the progress and issue of the unsuccessful negotiations for the Bagroo lands, to be ultimately attributed. To the prevalence of this trade, must be also referred the delays and repulses sustained by the agents in all their subsequent attempts to obtain from the natives, the cession of a territory to

be occupied by their exiled brethren. When at last, they succeeded in obtaining the promise of lands, they found it altogether impossible to prevail on the native chiefs, to renounce a practice which constitutes at once, the strongest evidence, and the worst feature of their barbarism. They expressed the utmost willingness to receive the coloured people of America ; but would yield to no persuasions, drawn either from its injustice, or its desolating effects, to abjure the slave trade. This obstacle therefore, prevented the ratification of a contract for a settlement in the Bassa country, the particulars of which, and the visit and conferences of the agents with the natives, it is unnecessary to detail. As the dry season was too far advanced to admit of the removal of the people from Sierra Leone before the beginning of December, the agents waited the arrival of further instructions from the Board, which it was expected would have time to reach Africa before that period. The obvious course to be pursued, was accordingly indicated to them, in the instructions communicated by Dr. Eli Ayres, who was attached to the service of the Society, and sailed from the United States in the armed schooner Shark, Lieut. Perry, commander, in the month of July.

Scarcely had Messrs. Andrus and Bacon returned to Sierra Leone from their visit to the Bassa country, when the latter, together with Mrs. Bacon, experienced repeated and severe attacks of fever, which obliged them to return to the United

States, where they arrived about the middle of August.

The Rev. Joseph R. Andrus, the first agent of the American Colonization Society, whose devotion to its interests, and labours in its service, had been marked with singular disinterestedness and integrity, after a short illness, and when it was supposed he had overcome the violence of the disease, suddenly died on the 27th of July.

By a subsequent communication from Mr. Christian Wiltberger, was, shortly afterwards, announced the afflictive tidings of the death of Jonathan B. Winn, Esq. the agent of the government, on the 25th of August; which was followed by the death of Mrs. Winn, on the 31st of the same month.—The fidelity and zeal evinced by these meritorious and respected individuals, during the period of their connexion with the service, in which they were so soon called to surrender, with the attractions of country, and of christian society, their valuable lives, demand from the managers an honourable mention, and from all the friends of the cause, a grateful and cherished recollection.

This loss of persons so devoted to the cause, at the very period when the welfare of the settlement appeared most deeply concerned in their preservation, forms a melancholy supplement to the scenes of the preceding year.

It is a circumstance which the managers are disposed to refer to the special direction and goodness of a divine Providence, that Dr. E. Ayres, a medical

gentleman believed to be possessed of every qualification fitting him for the trust reposed in him, should have offered his services to the Board, and sailed for the coast of Africa at so seasonable a juncture. They are obliged likewise, to advert with gratitude, to the intelligence lately received from that country, that, among nearly one hundred black and coloured people, the natives of America, now on the coast, some of whom have been exposed to the effects of two rainy seasons, not more than four deaths have occurred during the last year; and of those, only one is properly attributable to the climate, exhibiting no greater average mortality than in many parts of our own country. Besides several other extraordinary causes of sickness, necessarily arising out of their exposed circumstances, it deserves to be considered that until the arrival of Dr. Ayres, the people had not enjoyed the regular attendance of a physician.

From a comparison of the deaths occurring among the white and black classes of the population of Sierra Leone, respectively, with the mortality experienced by the corresponding classes of emigrants from America, the conclusion appears to be authorized, that the climate is much less noxious to the black people, although the natives of temperate countries, than to the whites. The result of all the experience hitherto had of the African climate, goes directly to establish the conclusion, that it is not materially unfavourable to the health of *coloured people* emigrating to Africa from countries

situated in the latitude of the northern States of America, or even in that of Nova Scotia and Great Britain; and that the natives of the middle and southern States may sustain the transition, with little danger arising from the change of climate.

The small number of deaths which have occurred among the coloured people, and their general health since their removal from Campelar, confirms the opinion expressed in the last annual report of the Board, that much of the sickness and mortality experienced at that place, was caused by circumstances of a peculiar character.\*

Shortly after the arrival of Dr. Ayres, he prepared agreeably to his instructions, to avail himself of an opportunity expected to be offered by Lieut. Stockton of the *Alligator*, to explore the coast and select and purchase a territory: and accordingly leaving the people at Foura Bay, and the affairs of the Society in the care of Mr. Wiltberger, he accompanied Lieut. Stockton and sailed down the coast from Sierra Leone on the 6th of December, in the schooner *Augusta*.

On the 11th they anchored in Mesurado Bay, and the appearance of the the coast confirming the favorable accounts they had received of it, they determined to land and attempt a negotiation.

They obtained an interview with the king, and after many difficulties, their perseverance and address succeeded: and on the 15th of December,

\* See Appendix, No. I. and No. V.



a contract for the purchase of a territory was drawn up and executed with the usual solemnities, which, together with the letters of Lieut. Stockton and Dr. Ayres, relating to the progress and issue of the negotiations, appears in the Appendix.\* These letters will show how greatly the Society is indebted to the judgment and zeal of Lieut. Stockton, for an acquisition, of the value and eligibility of which, the concurrence of his opinion gives every confidence.

Dr. Ayres immediately afterwards, returned to Sierra Leone, intending to remove the people and stores to Mesurado as soon as practicable.

The part of Africa thus selected, and (it is hoped) by this time, occupied by our people, has always been represented as possessing great advantages for a settlement. The land purchased appears to include the whole Cape, with the mouth, and a considerable extent of the river.

This river empties itself into the Atlantic, and is in length about three hundred miles, being the largest African river between the Rio Grande to the North, and the Congo to the South. Its head waters are near those of the Niger and the Gambia, both of which rise on the north-east, side of the same chain of mountains. Lieut. Stockton considers this station not only important for the relief and refreshment of our vessels of war cruizing on the African coast, but as affording the same

\* See Appendix, No. VI

facilities to our merchantmen engaged in the East India trade. To these advantages may be also added, besides those connected with the immediate object of the Society, another of still greater interest. Such a settlement as we trust this is destined soon to become, cannot fail of producing an immediate and decisive effect upon that trade that still preys upon Africa, and still disgraces the civilized nations of the world. What Sierra Leone has done and is doing, may confidently be expected in every similar establishment on the coast. What has been there done who can sufficiently estimate? We may indeed there see a colony of free blacks, increasing in numbers, intelligence and respectability—We may there see a still more interesting spectacle in the thousands of victims rescued from chains and tortures; once ignorant barbarians, now instructed and devout converts to the christian faith, manifesting in the simple piety of their characters, the reality of that faith, and giving a lesson of humility and reproof to christians inheriting the best privileges in the most favoured countries. These are great effects, demanding our praise and thankfulness. But Sierra Leone has repaid Africa with still greater blessings: her example, her influence, and efforts have given peace and security to the neighbouring coast: and who can estimate the extent of misery prevented, and of happiness conferred, to a population delivered from all the horrors of the slave trade? Every year the limits of this beneficence are extending;

and the cheering rays of her light dispelling a wider portion of the moral darkness that surrounds her. And is it unreasonable to rejoice that another rampart is to be raised against the power of the Spoiler, that another light is to arise and shine upon this benighted continent? or to expect that He who is thus blessing one such labour with success, will give his help and favour to another?

We have, unfortunately, in our country ample materials for the rapid growth of such a colony, and greatly does it concern us so to apply them. There is in Africa an abundant and almost spontaneous production of the necessaries of life. Her desolated fields call for inhabitants. We cannot fail to see, in these circumstances, every evidence to assure us that an establishment of free people of colour from our country upon the coast of Africa, will increase with no common celerity, and exert no ordinary influence in redeeming the land of their fore-fathers from its present degradation.—Whether the slave trade will ever be entirely abandoned without the aid of such settlements may be questioned; but that they afford a most powerful means for the accomplishment of such an object, experience places beyond doubt.

The serious, and hitherto, but too effectual obstacles thrown in the way of the Society's benevolent measures in Africa, by the protracted existence of the slave trade, have continued to keep awake in the managers, a lively interest in whatever relates to the suppression of so great an evil.

Great Britain still continues active in this work, both by the negotiations of her cabinet, and the operations of her naval commanders;—and apparently with perfect sincerity, and a very encouraging share of success. Since the last annual meeting of the Society, a principal object of her negotiations with the government of the United States, has been to effect with the latter an arrangement, by which the most entire concert of action should be established between the public vessels of both nations, on those parts of the ocean, over which this trade is principally carried on. The committee on the slave-trade, shortly before the termination of the last session of Congress, presented in the House of Representatives, a report, in which the necessity and propriety of such an arrangement were shewn by conclusive arguments, and a recommendation to that effect, strenuously urged\* The Board regret that, owing to the advanced period of the session, this interesting report could not be called up before its close.

This delay afforded the managers, the opportunity of interposing a memorial on the subject of the slave-trade; in which all the necessary information in their power to furnish, has been detailed.† They have likewise received assurances from different parts of the Union, of the readiness of influential individuals and associations, to concur with them in their object. It is confidently be-

\* See Appendix No. I.

† See Appendix, No. II. and No. III.

lieved that the co-operation of Great Britain, France and America, in measures of suitable energy, for a very moderate period, could not fail to remove so great a reproach from the civilized world. In this conclusion the managers are confirmed by the extraordinary change which has been wrought in the manner of conducting the trade since the appearance of an American naval force on the coast of Africa. Until the beginning of the year 1820, a large share of this trade was covered by the American flag, and a large proportion of it was owned by American citizens. But at present, after a lapse of two years, the American flag has nearly disappeared, and the number of ships owned by Americans has greatly diminished, and wholly, in consequence of the occasional visits of a ship of war to that coast, and the passage of the law of the 15th of May, 1820, declaring the crime to be a species of piracy, and punishable as that offence. Lieutenants Perry and Stockton, who have both lately cruised upon the African coast, agree in representing the slave-ships as now using, almost exclusively the flag of France. That nation has joined in the general denunciation of the slave trade, and has prohibited their subjects to engage in it. That her law is disregarded is obvious: and now that the fact is apparent, it may surely be expected, that a regard to her own dignity, and consistency with her pledged engagements, will induce her to unite with England and America in some system of concert by which

this last refuge may be taken from these persevering adventurers. If our government shall confer (as we trust will be done,) with that of France upon this subject, we have reason to hope that a sufficient and honourable arrangement will be adopted.

In the last Report, the Board of Managers had the pleasure to refer to the decision of Judge Van Ness, in the case of the *Plattsburg*: they have now the high gratification of recording, to the honor of our judicial tribunals, another decision still more important. The case of the *Jeune Eugenie*, with extracts from the able opinion of the Circuit Court, and references to the authorities on which it relies, will be found in the Appendix.\* A Court possessing warm feelings in favour of liberty and humanity, may be supposed, under such an influence, to have sought for new principles to justify a judgment which pronounces that the common usage and understanding of nations no longer legalizes a crime, which had once, to the disgrace of mankind, such a sanction: That the solemn acts and declarations of nations denouncing the slave-trade to be inhuman and illegal, tear away from the subjects of those nations, the shelter of their protection, and allow them no longer to plead in justification of crime, the crime of nations.

But it will be found that this decision is not only supported by the justest principles, but by the authority of the previous decisions of tribunals en-

\* See Appendix, No. VII.

titled to and receiving universal respect. This nation itself has submitted, in the case of her own citizens, to such a decision, and therefore, only pronounces the law as she has herself assented to it. Nor have we ever learned that the British decisions alluded to have been complained of by any nation. Nor can it be reasonably expected that any Government which has joined in the denunciation of this trade, and forbidden it to her subjects, can seriously object to the course pursued in relation to this vessel, which leaves to her own determination, this violation of her own laws, and of the common rights of nations.

The consequences of this decision upon the continuance of the slave-trade, are important. If our ships of war and those of England were to be restrained from examining slave-ships, under the flags of nations who have prohibited the trade, and bringing them in for adjudication where there were reasonable doubts of their national character, then it is plain that the only point to which all our laws and efforts have yet pressed these violators of humanity, is to a mere change of outward character, and that the only inconvenience to which they are exposed, is that of changing their flag.

The Board have received, since the last annual meeting, from individuals of very respectable qualifications, an offer of their services in any useful capacity on the coast of Africa: of one only of which, that of Dr. Ayres, have they yet judged it necessary to avail themselves.

One hundred black persons in the City of Philadelphia, have expressed their desire to remove to Africa; and been recommended, on respectable authority to the patronage of the Society. Seventy-nine individuals have communicated the same request through the Auxiliary Society of New-York. A considerable number have likewise offered themselves to the Society, from the City of Baltimore, from Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk, and from the eastern shore of Maryland, with the addition of families and individuals from various parts of the United States.

The Board continue to receive additional proofs of the existence of a disposition in many extensive proprietors of slaves, in different parts of the United States, to liberate and aid them in returning to Africa at the earliest period at which the settlement will be in a state to receive them \*

The funds of the Society derived from the annual subscription of the members, from the donations of individuals, and the contributions of auxiliaries, have, during the past year, proved sufficient to meet the necessary disbursements. But as a juncture has now arrived, when the sphere of the Society's operations abroad, must be extended to embrace the great objects of its institution, a proportionate increase of funds will be indispensably necessary. And now that the work is commenced, they trust that their friends will perceive the arrival of a crisis in their affairs, requiring all their

\* See Appendix, No. VIII.



efforts. Success now seems to depend upon the operations of the present year, and means must be furnished to make them effectual, or the opportunity, and perhaps also the object, may be lost. On the efficient and persevering efforts of its auxiliaries and friends, the Society must now, under the blessing of heaven, place its dependence: And the Board of Managers may avail themselves of this occasion to render their acknowledgments for the important aid this institution has already derived from their zealous co-operation;\* and respectfully to solicit their attention to their present request.

This Society was told, at its commencement, by those who opposed its object as chimerical, of the many difficulties which it would find insuperable. It was said the people of colour would not consent to such an emigration.

It is now proved that great numbers of them, far more than can be sent, earnestly desire it.

It was said that the climate would destroy them.

It is proved that the mortality, though under most unfavourable circumstances, has not been greater among them, than in many parts of our own country.

It was said that the natives would not receive a settlement.

The experiment has proved the contrary. All the obstacles appear to have been overcome.

Another, it was said, would be the want of resources. This is yet left. But the Board have

\* See Appendix, No. IX

never felt it, and will not now fear it. Confiding in the liberality of their countrymen, and appealing to them as men and as christians:—trusting that the Almighty prompter and promoter of benevolent efforts, will eventually prosper what he has enjoined; and knowing that he holds the hearts of all in his hands, and the wealth of the world at his disposal, it shall be their endeavour faithfully to direct, whatever his providence may supply, to the accomplishment of the views of this Society.

*Dr.* Statement of Receipts and Payments by the Treasurer of the American Colonization Society. *Cr.*

1821.	April	30	To cash paid Davis & Force, for printing, &c.....	336 50	By balance of cash, per last account,.....	2,428 59	
	July	26	Do. paid Eli Ayres for Medicinal services.....	100 00	Do. do. from J. Loomis, Trea. Vt. Auxillary Soc'y.	208 00	
		30	Do. paid E. J. Coale, for the journal of D Croker, and other pamphlets,.....	63 38	Do. do. from Rev. J. H. Church, of Pelham, N. H.	1 00	
	1822.	January	7	Do. paid J. Ashmun, for his services,...	75 00	Do. do. from Ladies in Maryland,.....	40 00
		8	Do. paid exchange on the notes transmitted by J. Loomis, Treasurer,.....	1 38	Do. do. from Rev. C. E. Gadsden, of Charleston, South-Carolina,.....	50 00	
		February	26	Do. paid T. Winn, for sundries shipped on board the Stark,.....	73 47	Do. do. from a Lady in Maryland,.....	10 00
			To Balance in hand,.....	2,525 36	Do. do. J. Vaughan, Trea. Auxillary Soc'y, Phil..	102 00	
					Do. do. from ditto, other sources,.....	2 00	
					Do. do. from J. Hardeman, Trea. Auxillary Soc'y, Georgia,.....	100 00	
					Do. do. from J. Loomis, Trea. Auxillary Soc'y, Vt.	125 00	
					Do. do. from Joseph Avery, of Massachusetts, per Henry Clary, of Virginia,.....	10 00	
					Do. do. from Miss C. A. Arnold, Treasurer Beneficent Society of Ladies, Pawtucket,....	12 50	
					Do. do. from Col. M'Laue, of Delaware,.....	5 00	
					Do. do. from Mrs. J. M. Garnett, of Virginia, per C. F. Mercer,.....	30 00	
					Do. do. from Mr. C. F. Mercer, of Virginia,.....	50 00	
					Do. do. from two Ladies of the Society of the Rev. J. H. Church, of Pelham, per M. Morrell,	1 00	
					Dolls.....	3,175 09	

RICHARD SMITH, *Treasurer.*



# APPENDIX.

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## No. I.

Report of the Committee to which was referred so much of the President's Message as relates to the Slave-Trade. Made in the House of Representatives of the United States, February 9, 1821.

The Committee, to which is referred so much of the President's message as relates to the Slave-Trade, and to which are referred the two messages of the President, transmitting, in pursuance of the resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 4th of December, a report of the Secretary of State, and enclosed documents, relating to the negotiation for the suppression of the Slave-Trade, report:—

That the Committee have deemed it advisable, previous to entering into a consideration of the proposed co-operation to exterminate the slave-trade, to take a summary review of the constitution and laws of the United States relating to this subject. It will disclose the earnestness and zeal with which this nation has been actuated, and the laudable ambition that has animated her councils to take a lead in the reformation of a disgraceful practice, and one which is productive of so much human misery; it will, by displaying the constant anxiety of this nation to suppress the African slave-trade, afford ample testimony that she will be the last to persevere in measures wisely digested to effectuate this great and most desirable object, whenever such measures can be adopted in consistency with the leading principles of her local institutions.

In consequence of the existence of slavery in many of the States, when British colonies, the habits, and means of carrying on industry, could not be suddenly changed; and the constitution of the United States yielded to the provision, that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808.

But, long antecedent to this period, Congress legislated on the subject wherever its power extended, and endeavoured, by a system of rigorous penalties, to suppress this unnatural trade.

The act of Congress of the 22nd of March, 1794, contains provisions that no citizen or citizens of the United States, or foreigner, or any other person coming into, or residing within the same, shall, for himself or any other person whatsoever, either as master, factor, or owner, build, fit, equip, load, or otherwise prepare, any ship or vessel within any port or place of the United States, nor shall cause any ship or vessel to sail from any port or place within the same, for the purpose of carrying on any trade or traffick in slaves to any foreign country; or for the purpose of procuring from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, the inhabitants of such kingdom, place or country, to be transported to any foreign country, port, or place, whatever, to be sold or disposed of as slaves, under the penalty of the forfeiture of any such vessel, and of the payment of large sums of money by the persons offending against the directions of the act.

By an act of the third of April, 1798, in relation to the Mississippi territory, to which the constitutional provision did not extend, the introduction of slaves, under severe penalties, was forbidden, and every slave imported contrary to the act, was to be entitled to freedom.

By an act of the 10th of May, 1800, the citizens or residents of this country were prohibited from holding any right or property in vessels employed in transporting slaves from one foreign country to another, on pain of forfeiting their right of property, and also double the value of that right in money, and double the value of their interest in the slaves; nor were they allowed to serve on board of vessels of the United States employed in the transportation of slaves from one country to another, under the punishment of fines and imprisonment, nor were they permitted to serve on board of foreign ships employed in the slave-trade. By this act, also, the commissioned vessels of the United States were authorized to seize vessels and crews employed contrary to the act.

By an act of the 28th of February, 1803, masters of vessels were not allowed to bring into any port (where the laws of the State prohibited the importation) any negro, mulatto, or other person of colour, not being a native, a citizen, or re-

gistered seaman, of the United States, under the pain of penalties ; and no vessel, having on board persons of the above description, was to be admitted to an entry ; and if any such person should be landed from on board of any vessel, the same was to be forfeited.

By an act of the 2nd of March, 1807, the importation of slaves into any port of the United States was to be prohibited after the first of January, 1808, the time prescribed by the constitutional provision. This act contains many severe provisions against any interference or participation in the slave-trade, such as heavy fines, long imprisonments, and the forfeitures of vessels ; the President was also authorized to employ armed vessels to cruise on any part of the coast where he might judge attempts would be made to violate the act, and to instruct the commanders of armed vessels to seize, and bring in, vessels found on the high seas contravening the provisions of the law.

By an act of the 20th of April, 1818, the laws, in prohibition of the slave-trade, were further improved ; this act is characterized with a peculiarity of legislative precaution, especially in the eighth section, which throws the labor of proof upon the defendant, that the coloured persons brought into the United States by him, had not been brought in contrary to the laws.

By an act of the 3d of March, 1819, the power is continued in the President to employ the armed ships of the United States, to seize, and bring into port, any vessel engaged in the slave-trade by citizens or residents of the United States, and such vessels, together with the goods and effects on board, are to be forfeited and sold, and the proceeds to be distributed, in like manner, as is provided by law for the distribution of prizes taken from an enemy ; and the officers and crew are to undergo the punishments inflicted by previous acts. The President, by this act, is authorized to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient, for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may have been brought within its jurisdiction, and

to appoint a proper person or persons residing on the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, delivered from on board of vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave-trade.

And in addition to all the aforesaid laws, the present Congress, on the 15th of May, 1820, believing that the then existing provisions would not be sufficiently available, enacted, that if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel, engaged in the slave-trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel, owned in the whole, or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall land from any such ship or vessel, and on foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour, by the laws of either of the States or Territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring, or carry, or shall receive such negro or mulatto, on board any such ship or vessel, with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction *shall suffer death*.

The immoral and pernicious practice of the slave-trade has attracted much public attention in Europe, within the last few years; and, in a Congress at Vienna, on the 8th of February, 1815, five of the principal powers, made a solemn engagement in the face of mankind, that this traffick should be made to cease; in pursuance of which, these powers have enacted municipal laws to suppress the trade. Spain, although not a party to the original engagement, did soon after, in her treaty with England, stipulate for the immediate abolition of the Spanish slave-trade, to the north of the equator, and for its final and universal abolition on the 30th of May, 1820.

Portugal likewise, in her treaty in 1817, stipulated, that the Portuguese slave-trade on the coast of Africa should entirely cease to the northward of the equator, and engaged, that it should be unlawful for her subjects to purchase or trade in slaves except to the southward of the line; the precise period at which the entire abolition is to take place in Portugal



does not appear to be finally fixed ; but the Portuguese ambassador, in the presence of the Congress at Vienna, declared, that Portugal, faithful to her principles, would not refuse to adopt the term of eight years, which term will expire in the year 1828.

At this time, among the European states, there is not a flag which can legally cover this inhuman traffick to the north of the line : nevertheless, experience has proved the inefficacy of the various and rigorous laws which have been made in Europe, and in this country ; it being a lamentable fact, that the disgraceful practice is even now carried on to a surprising extent. During the last year, captain Trenchard, the commander of the United States' sloop of war the *Cyane*, found that part of the coast of Africa which he visited lined with vessels, engaged, as it is presumed, in this forbidden traffick ; of these he examined many ; and five, which appeared to be fitted out on American account, he sent into the jurisdiction of the United States, for adjudication ; each of them, it is believed, has been condemned, and the commanders of two of them have been sentenced to the punishment prescribed by the laws of the United States.

The testimony recently published, with the opinion of the presiding judge of the United States court of the southern district of the State of New-York, in the case of the schooner *Plattsburg*, lays open a scene of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government, and conceal the unlawful transaction.

The extension of the trade for the last 25 or 30 years must, in a degree be conjectural ; but the best information that can be obtained on the subject, furnishes good foundation to believe, that, during that period, the number of slaves withdrawn from western Africa amounts to upwards of a million and a half ; the annual average would be a mean somewhere between fifty and eighty thousand.

The trade appears to be lucrative in proportion to its heinousness ; and, as it is generally inhibited, the unfeeling slave-dealers, in order to elude the laws, increase its horrors : the

innocent Africans, who are mercilessly forced from their native homes in irons, are crowded in vessels and situations which are not adapted for the transportation of human beings ; and this cruelty is frequently succeeded, during the voyage of their destination, with dreadful mortality. Further information on this subject will appear in a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, enclosing two other letters, marked 1, and 2, and also by the extract of a letter from an officer of the *Cyane*, dated April 10, 1820, which are annexed to this report. While the slave-trade exists, there can be no prospect of civilization in Africa.

However well disposed the European Powers may be, to effect a practical abolition of the trade, it seems generally acknowledged, that, for the attainment of this object, it is necessary to agree upon some concerted plan of co-operation : but, unhappily, no arrangement has yet obtained universal consent.

England has recently engaged in treaties with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, in which the mutual right of visitation and search is exchanged ; this right is of a special and limited character, as well in relation to the number and description of vessels, as to space ; and, to avoid possible inconveniences, no suspicious circumstances are to warrant the detention of a vessel ; this right is restricted to the simple fact of slaves being on board.

These treaties contemplate the establishment of mixed courts, formed of an equal number of individuals of the two contracting nations, the one to reside in a possession belonging to his Britannic majesty, the other within the territory of the other respective powers ; when a vessel is visited and detained, it is to be taken to the nearest court, and if condemned, the vessel is to be declared a lawful prize, as well as the cargo, and are to be sold for the profit of the two nations ; the slaves are to receive a certificate of emancipation, and to be delivered over to the government on whose territory the court is which passes sentence, to be employed as servants or free labourers ; each of the governments binds itself to guaranty the liberty

of such portions of these individuals as may be respectively assigned to it. Particular provisions are made for remuneration, in case vessels are not condemned after trial ; and special instructions are stipulated to be furnished to commanders of vessels possessing the qualified right of visitation and search.

These Powers entertain the opinion, that nothing short of the concession of a qualified right of visitation and search can practically suppress the slave-trade ; an association of armed ships is contemplated, to form a species of naval police, to be stationed principally in the African seas, where the commanders of the ships will be enabled to co-operate in harmony and concert.

The United States has been earnestly invited by the principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs, of the British government, to join in the same, or similar arrangements ; and this invitation has been sanctioned and enforced, by an unanimous vote of the House of Lords and Commons, in a manner that precludes all doubts as to the sincerity and benevolence of their designs.

In answer to this invitation, the President of the United States has expressed his regret that the stipulations in the treaties communicated, are of a character to which the peculiar situation and institutions of the United States do not permit them to accede.

The objections made are contained in an extract of a letter from the Secretary of State, under date of the 2d of November, 1818 ; in which it is observed, that, “ in examining the provisions of the treaties communicated by lord Castlereagh, all the essential articles appear to be of a character not adaptable to the institutions, or to the circumstances, of the United States. The powers agreed to be reciprocally given to the officers of the ships of war of either party, to enter, search, capture, and carry into port for adjudication, the merchant vessels of the other, however qualified and restricted, is most essentially connected with the institution, by each treaty, of two mixed courts, one of which is to reside in the external or colonial possessions of each of the two par-

" nes respectively. This part of the system is indispensable  
 " to give it that character of reciprocity, without which the  
 " right granted to the armed ships of one nation, to search the  
 " merchant vessels of another, would be rather a mark of  
 " vassalage than of independence. But to this part of the sys-  
 " tem the United States, having no colonies either on the  
 " coast of Africa, or in the West-Indies, cannot give effect.  
 " That, by the constitution of the United States, it is provided,  
 " that the judicial power of the United States, shall be vested  
 " in a supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Con-  
 " gress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. It pro-  
 " vides that the judges of these courts shall hold their offices  
 " during good behaviour; and that they shall be removable by  
 " impeachment, on conviction of crimes and misdemeanors.  
 " There may be doubts whether the power of the government  
 " of the United States is competent to institute a court for  
 " carrying into execution their penal statutes beyond the ter-  
 " ritories of the United States—a court consisting partly of  
 " foreign judges, not amenable to impeachment for corrup-  
 " tion, and deciding upon statutes of the United States with-  
 " out appeal.

" That the disposal of the negroes found on board of the  
 " slave-trading vessels, which might be condemned by the  
 " sentence of these mixed courts, cannot be carried into ef-  
 " fect by the United States; for, if the slaves of vessels con-  
 " demned by the mixed courts, should be delivered over to  
 " the government of the United States as freemen, they could  
 " not, but by their own consent, be employed as servants or  
 " free labourers. The condition of the blacks, being, in this  
 " Union, regulated by the municipal laws of the separate States,  
 " the government of the United States can neither guaranty  
 " their liberty in the States where they could only be receiv-  
 " ed as slaves, nor control them in the States where they  
 " would be recognised as free. That the admission of a right  
 " in the officers of foreign ships of war, to enter and search  
 " the vessels of the United States in time of peace, under any

“ circumstances whatever, would meet with universal repug-  
 “ nance in the public opinion of the country ; that there would  
 “ be no prospect of a ratification, by the advice and consent of  
 “ the Senate, to any stipulation of that nature ; that the search  
 “ by foreign officers even in time of war is so obnoxious to  
 “ the feeling and recollections of this country, that nothing  
 “ could reconcile them to the extension of it, however quali-  
 “ fied or restricted, to a time of peace ; and that it would be  
 “ viewed in a still more aggravated light, if, as in the treaty  
 “ with the Netherlands, connected with a formal admission  
 “ that even vessels under convoy of ships of war of their own  
 “ nation, should be liable to search by the ships of war of  
 “ another.”

The Committee will observe, in the first instance, that a mutual right of search appears to be indispensable to the great object of abolition ; for, while flags remain as a cover for this traffick, against the right of search by any vessels except of the same nation, the chance of detection will be much less than it would be if the right of search was extended to vessels of other powers ; and as soon as any one nation should cease to be vigilant in the discovery of infractions practised on its own code, the slave-dealers would avail themselves of a system of obtaining fraudulent papers, and concealing the real ownership under the cover of such flags ; which would be carried on with such address, as to render it easy for the citizens or subjects of one State, to evade their own municipal laws : but if a concerted system existed, and a qualified right of mutual search was granted, the apprehension of these piratical offenders would be reduced to a much greater certainty ; and the very knowledge of the existence of an active and vigorous system of co-operation would divert many from this traffick, as the unlawful trade would become too hazardous for profitable speculation.

In relation to any inconveniences that might result from such an arrangement, the commerce of the United States is so limited on the African coast, that it could not be much affected by it ; and, as it regards economy, the expense of sta-

tioning a few vessels on that coast would not be much greater than to maintain them at any other place.

The Committee have briefly noticed the practical results of a reciprocal right of search, as it bears on the slave-trade : but the objection as to the propriety of ceding this right remains. It is with deference that the Committee undertake to make any remarks upon it ; they bear in recollection the opinions entertained in this country, on the practice of searching neutral vessels in time of war ; but they cannot perceive that the right under discussion is, in principle, allied in any degree to the general question of search ; it can involve no commitment, nor is susceptible of any unfavourable inference on that subject ; and even if there were any affinity between the cases, the necessity of a special agreement would be inconsistent with the idea of existing rights : the proposal itself, in the manner made, is a total abandonment on the part of England, of any claim to visit and search vessels in a time of peace, and this question has been unequivocally decided in the negative in her admiralty courts.

Although it is not among the objections that the desired arrangement would give any colour to a claim or right of search in time of peace, yet, lest the case in this respect may be prejudicial in the minds of any, the Committee will observe, that the right of search, in time of peace, is one that is not claimed by any Power as a part of the law of nations ; no nation pretends that it can exercise the right of visitation and search upon the common and unappropriated parts of the sea, except upon the belligerent claim. A recent decision in the British admiralty court, in the case of the French slave ship *Le Louis*, is clear and decisive on this point. The case is annexed to this report.

In regard then to the reciprocal right wished to be ceded, it is reduced to the simple inquiry whether, in practice, it will be beneficial to the two contracting nations. Its exercise, so far as it relates to the detention of vessels, as it is confined to the fact of slaves being actually on board, precludes almost the possibility of accident or much inconvenience.

In relation also to the disposal of the vessels and slaves detained, an arrangement perhaps could be effected, so as to deliver them up to the vessels of the nation to which the detained vessel should belong. Under such an understanding, the vessels and slaves delivered to the jurisdiction of the United States might be disposed of in conformity with the provisions of our own act of the 3d of March, 1819; and an arrangement of this kind would be free from any of the other objections.

An exchange of the right of search, limited in duration, or to continue at pleasure, for the sake of experiment, might, it is anxiously hoped, be so restricted to vessels and seas, and with such civil and harmonious stipulations, as not to be unacceptable.

The feelings of this country on the general question of search have often been roused to a degree of excitement that evince their unchangeable character; but the American people will readily see the distinction between the cases; the one in its exercise to the extent claimed will ever produce irritation, and excite a patriotic spirit of resistance; the other is amicable and charitable; the justness and nobleness of the undertaking are worthy of the combined concern of Christian nations.

The detestable crime of kidnapping the unoffending inhabitants of one country, and chaining them to slavery in another, is marked with all the atrociousness of piracy; and, as such, it is stigmatized and punishable by our own laws.

To efface this reproachful stain from the character of civilized mankind, would be the proudest triumph that could be achieved in the cause of humanity. On this subject the United States having led the way, owe it to themselves to give their influence and cordial co-operation to any measure that will accomplish the great and good purpose; but this happy result, experience has demonstrated, cannot be realized by any system, except a concession by the maritime powers to each other's ships of war, of a qualified right of search; if this object was generally attained, it is confidently believed that

the active exertions of even a few nations would be sufficient entirely to suppress the slave-trade.

The slave-dealers could be successfully assailed on the coast upon which the trade originates, as they must necessarily consume more time in the collection and embarkation of their cargoes, than in the subsequent distribution in the markets for which they are destined; this renders that coast the most advantageous position for their apprehension; and, besides, the African coast frequented by the slave-ships, is indented with so few commodious or accessible harbours, that, notwithstanding its great extent, it could be guarded by the vigilance of a small number of cruisers. But, if the slave-ships are permitted to escape from the African coast, and to be dispersed to different parts of the world, their capture would be rendered uncertain and hopeless.

The Committee, after much reflection, offer the following resolution:

*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to enter into such arrangements as he may deem suitable and proper, with one or more of the maritime powers of Europe, for the effectual abolition of the slave-trade.*

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## No. II.

### MEMORIAL OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, *Presented February 6, 1822.*

To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the  
United States of America:

The Memorial of the President and Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, most respectfully represents—

That, having in two former memorials taken the liberty to recommend to the patronage of the American Legislature the



specific objects of their Association, they beg leave, on the present occasion, to ascend to a subject of more general interest, on which, it is hardly possible that their own feelings should have led them to the adoption of sentiments, in which the enlightened Representation of a free and christian Republic, should not be prepared fully to concur. The propriety of this remark, must be felt when they revert to the African Slave-trade—a trade, the continuance of which, it is true, would throw a difficulty, perhaps insurmountable, in the way of your memorialists; but would also evidently prove destructive to the general interest, and disgraceful to the character of our Country. In offering those representations, which the present state of this trade seems to require, they desire, therefore, to appear before the Supreme Legislative Council of their Country, in no other character than simply that of an Association of American Citizens, and to recommend the adoption of no measures for the cure of the common evil, with a view to render them otherwise subservient to the particular objects of their Institution, than as the benevolent policy of the American Government hitherto pursued on this subject, necessarily agrees with the general spirit of the Society's plans of Colonization.

Your Memorialists are happy in being able to state, that the numerous and powerful measures for suppressing this traffick, which Divine Providence has permitted his benevolent instruments, in different countries, to bring into vigorous operation, afford the most solid grounds of anticipating, at no very distant period, its universal and final extinction. And while they devoutly acknowledge the merciful interposition of Heaven, in disposing to this favourable issue, even those awfully afflictive political events which have recently agitated the world, they cannot forbear congratulating, on the animating prospect, all the Agents in the great work, especially the Government under which they live, whose early example and consistent efforts in this cause, have contributed an important share towards so desirable a consummation. They likewise derive, from the favourable appearances on which their

anticipation is founded, a strong motive for respectfully recommending to the Congress of the United States, the adoption of one last decisive measure for hastening an event, which in the counsels of Providence, has been so long and so mysteriously delayed. That measures of the most energetic description are still necessary to be applied, must be self-evident, when it is considered, that the trade has already survived the heaviest stroke which the strong arm of our own and other Governments has been able to direct against it, during the thirteen years that have elapsed since two of the most powerful nations in the world decreed its annihilation. So little successful had been the measures of our government to effect their desires, that in the year 1817, the slave-trade then (as always) holding out the strongest temptations to the avaricious and unprincipled, appeared to have acquired new strength, and to be extending to every part of the Western Coast of Africa. To our countrymen, to the subjects of France, and to the outcasts of other nations, always ready to connect themselves in any scheme, however nefarious, which promised profit, peculiar inducements to prosecute the trade were presented, by the protection which their flags afforded against search and seizure by the British Cruisers on the Coast. When it became known to our Government that the American flag was prostituted to a purpose so disgraceful, it was at once determined to wipe off a reproach at which the general voice of our countrymen had expressed their indignation. Congress passed the law of the 20th of April, 1818, and in the next session, that of the 3rd of March, 1819. These laws authorized the President of the United States to employ an armed force on the coast of Africa; and to establish in that country an agency for the purpose of receiving and administering to the immediate wants of such Africans as should be liberated from captured slave-ships.

In the execution of the Act of the 3rd of March, 1819, Agents were accordingly appointed, and the means of providing for the immediate wants of such of the wretched victims of American rapacity as our Cruisers on that station may deli

ver from its fatal grasp, are now afforded. In the execution of these laws, much has been effected. But it cannot be concealed that much is yet to be done; and that it is plain from the official reports of our own officers upon that station, that was the force of our Government withdrawn from the African Coast, a revival and extension of the trade would be the immediate consequence, demanding in that case a far larger expenditure and longer continuance of our efforts, than will now be necessary to extinguish the trade. Upon this subject much interesting information has been given to our Government by the Naval Officers employed on the Coast, to which your Memorialists beg leave to subjoin the corroborative testimony of Sir George Collier, who commands the British squadron cruising on the same station, and which is extracted from his official Report to his Government. This officer had been instructed to cruise on the Coast of Africa, with a view to the carrying into effect existing treaties, and the execution of the municipal laws of Great Britain, for the suppression of the Slave-Trade; with special instructions, not to interfere with French or American Vessels; but to apprise his Government of any instances of French or American ships trafficking in Slaves, that their respective Governments might be informed of such contravention of their own regulations.

This officer, under date of February 14, 1820, states: "The flags of France and America are now generally adopted, as the best cover of illicit slaving." On the 20th of February, 1820 he writes: "Two French vessels, and one under the American flag, are at anchor between this (Sierra Leone) and the Gallinas. By this and other facts of a similar complexion, the lords of the admiralty will see that the slave-trade is not only likely to increase on this coast, but that the flags of France and America will probably, in another year, cover the whole line of the windward coast, and be used for the worst purposes."

Under date of March 7, 1820, he states the circumstances of having boarded the *Gazette*, an American built schooner under Spanish colours, having on board 82 slaves; that num-

ber being but a little more than half her intended cargo. Her crew was composed, as these vessels' crews invariably are, of a motley groupe of nearly all nations. On the 16th of April, 1820, he further states, in his official despatch, "that swarms of American vessels, with (among others) French flags and papers from Martinique, upon this coast, will best prove how little the consequences from detection are dreaded, and with what confidence and security slave-dealers, under the French flag, act. America has passed laws forbidding the trade by her subjects, and has decreed heavy punishments on those who shall engage in it. She has also sent an armed force to the coast of Africa, and this force has captured vessels, the property of American subjects; still her measures are not yet complete, and American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in it, though under other colours and in disguise. But it may be hoped that time will effect in America, what it has in England, a total discontinuance of the traffick, as the government of America appears to have engaged in its suppression with great sincerity."

From these documents, (of which your memorialists beg leave to refer to the originals,) it appears that no application of our naval force could have been more seasonable, or more necessary, than that authorized by the act of the 3d of March, 1819, to be directed against the trade:

That on the termination of the period in which the Spanish trade could possess a legal existence, the same adventurers, and many of the same ships which had claimed the character and protection of that nation, merely changed their national denomination, by dishonestly assuming that of France and the United States; and persisted as formerly in the trade:

That, of the ships' capital, and persons subsequently engaged in the business, down to the present time, a great number have been American:

That less formality and scruple is evinced than formerly, in accomplishing the changes of the national character of these ships; and that the remnant of the trade has assumed a more

piratical and cruel form than it ever bore before : the flags and papers which the ships exhibit, scarcely affording a presumptive indication of their true ownership and national character—and the same ship, on different occasions, appearing in a variety of characters :—and, finally, it appears,

That the number of ships carrying French colours, has multiplied to an extent altogether incredible on any other supposition, than that adventurers of all other nations, and particularly of this country, have assumed a French disguise. It has been officially stated to our government, upon the most respectable authority, that 200,000 slaves have been carried off from the coast of Africa, by vessels under the French flag in the course of the last year.

Your memorialists perceive, in these facts, a proof of the absolute inefficiency of the measures hitherto pursued by this country for the entire suppression of the traffick even by Americans, although conducted with the greatest address and spirit :—the force so promptly despatched, and so vigorously applied by the skill and bravery of our officers, having driven them, not from the trade, but under a safer shelter. And until France shall either employ a cruising squadron to enforce her own decrees, or suffer her ships to be searched, the unprincipled adventurers of her country and ours, and of every other commercial state, will continue the trade under the shelter of her flag.

In relation to this power, your memorialists regret that they are obliged further to state, that although in 1818, she engaged to terminate the trade totally and immediately, yet there is incontestable evidence of a disposition even in some of her colonial and other officers, to whom the execution of the royal ordinance on this subject is entrusted, to connive at the most open and flagrant acts of its violation, and to permit the adventurers in this traffick, to proceed almost without molestation. On this subject your memorialists refer to a body of evidence contained in a late publication of the African Institution, which is extracted from still ampler de-

tails laid on the table of the British House of Commons in the beginning of the year 1821, and which accompanies this memorial. The protection afforded to the enterprises of American citizens, by the illegal use of the French flag, appears to have been of much greater extent than any documents, exclusively American, are able fully to detail. Your memorialists trust that France will no longer submit to this indignity. They pretend not to say that her government has ever been fully apprised of the extent of this abuse of her flag, or, if so apprised, that she has not been imposed upon by the statements of her subordinate agents in the inquiries she has made upon the subject. Whatever may have been the cause of her apparent apathy in a concern that has aroused the feelings and the efforts of almost all Christendom, none will rejoice more than your memorialists, to hear that it has been such an one as sustains the honour and humanity of that nation. Of the fact, however, here averred, she can no longer reasonably doubt, and if officially declared to her by our government, (as the reports of our naval officers will warrant,) and called upon in the spirit of amity to unite with us, in a common effort, to effect that which she has promised in the face of the world, and which, without her concurrence and aid, it seems difficult (if not impossible) to effect, it may confidently be hoped that her flag will be seen with ours, no longer protecting, but exterminating the remnants of this disgraceful traffick. That our government has a right so to speak, her own dignity and interest, (apart from the considerations of humanity,) obviously proclaim. Her own laws against her own citizens cannot be enforced, without great effort and expense, and a long continuance of them, if another Power will continue to permit its flag to be their refuge. It should, moreover, be considered, that the temptations to a commerce carried on by fraud and disguises, will make a habit of illegal trading, than which nothing can be more immediately injurious to our revenue, or demoralizing to our people. Your memorialists, therefore, cannot but hope that the wisdom of Con-

gress will devise some arrangement to which France and the other commercial powers will readily and honourably assent, which shall produce an efficient and united effort to deliver us from those evils, Africa from its awful and desolating scourge, and the world from its foulest reproach.

Recent intelligence from Africa has informed your memorialists of the acquisition, by their agent, of a territory on the coast, by compact with the natives, for the settlement of the free people of colour who have been removed by the Society from this country, and to enable them to receive such as are desirous of emigrating thither. A most judicious selection, (as your memorialists believe,) has been made for this establishment; and in preferring Cape Messurado to any other point on the coast for this purpose, they have paid no small regard to the advantages it presented, from a convenient harbour and good water, as a station for the relief and refreshment of our vessels of war, and as affording many facilities to the present operations and views of the government on that coast.

Your memorialists have heretofore represented the great importance of forming such establishments, both for the purpose of relieving our own country from a vast and increasing evil, and also to facilitate the total suppression of the African slave-trade.

All who are conversant upon this subject, have agreed in the opinion, that it is by operating upon the coast, and among the natives, introducing civilization and the useful arts among them, and an honest and beneficial commerce, that the slave-trade will be most speedily and effectually extirpated. Such is the view of your memorialists in the settlement they are forming, and now that they trust they can show that their design, (admitted almost universally to be highly desirable,) has the fairest prospects of success, may they not hope that some assistance will be afforded to the further prosecution of an object, so obviously of great national importance?

May they not, at least, expect that as their success has so necessary a connection with the great public measure of sup-

pressing the slave-trade, some portion of the public countenance and support, may be afforded them?

JOHN MASON,  
W. JONES,  
E. B. CALDWELL,  
F. S. KEY, } Committee.

No. III.

*Report of the Committee on the Suppression of the Slave-Trade; made in the House of Representatives, April 12, 1822.*

THE Committee on the Suppression of the Slave Trade, to whom was referred a Resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 15th of January last, instructing them to inquire whether the laws of the United States prohibiting that traffick have been duly executed; also, into the general operation thereof; and if any defects exist in those laws, to suggest adequate remedies therefor; and to whom many Memorials have been referred touching the same subject, have, according to order, had the said Resolution and Memorials under consideration, and beg leave to

REPORT :

That, under the just and liberal construction put by the Executive on the act of Congress of March 3rd, 1819, and that of the 15th May, 1820, inflicting the punishment of Piracy on the African Slave Trade, a foundation has been laid for the most systematic and vigorous application of the power of the United States, to the suppression of that iniquitous traffick. Its unhappy subjects, when captured, are restored to their country, agents are there appointed to receive them, and a colony, the offspring of private charity, is rising on its shores, in which such as cannot reach their native tribes, will find the means of alleviating the calamities they may have endured before their liberation.

When these humane provisions are contrasted with the system which they supersede, there can be but one sentiment in favour of a steady adherence to its support. The document



accompanying this Report, and marked A, states the number of Africans seized or taken within or without the limits of the United States and brought there, and their present condition.

It does not appear to your Committee, that such of the naval force of the country as has been hitherto employed in the execution of the laws against this traffick, could have been more effectually used for the interest and honour of the nation. The document marked B, is a statement of the names of the vessels, and their commanders, ordered upon this service, with the dates of their departure, &c. The first vessel destined for this service, arrived upon the coast of Africa in March, 1820; and in the few weeks she remained there, sent in for adjudication, four American vessels, all of which were condemned. The four which have been since employed in this service, have made five visits, (the Alligator having made two cruises in the past summer,) the whole of which have amounted to a service of about ten months by a single vessel, within a period of near two years; and since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is under orders for that service.

The Committee are thus particular on this branch of their inquiry, because unfounded rumours have been in circulation, that other branches of the public service have suffered from the destination given to the inconsiderable force above stated, which, small as it has been, has in every instance been directed, both in its outward and homeward voyage, to cruise in the West India Seas.

Before they quit this part of their inquiry, your Committee feel it their duty to state, that the loss of several of the prizes made in this service, is imputable to the size of the ships engaged in it. The efficacy of this force, as well as the health and discipline of the officers and crews, conspire to recommend the employment of no smaller vessel than a Corvette or a sloop of War, to which it would be expedient to allow the largest possible complement of men; and if possible she should be accompanied by a tender, or vessel drawing less

water. The vessels engaged in this service should be frequently relieved, but the coast should at no time be left without a vessel to watch and protect its shores.

Your Committee find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the Slave-Trade, by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital, and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffick, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations. It is ascertained, however, that the American flag, which heretofore covered so large a portion of the Slave Trade, has wholly disappeared from the coasts of Africa. The trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations. France has incurred the reproach of being the greatest adventurer in this traffick, prohibited by her laws; but it is to be presumed, that this results not so much from the avidity of her subjects for this iniquitous gain, as from the safety, which, in the absence of all hazard of capture, her flag affords to the greedy and unprincipled adventurers of all nations. It is neither candid or just to impute to a gallant and high-minded people, the exclusive commission of crimes, which the abandoned of all nations are alike capable of perpetrating, with the additional wrong to France herself, of using her flag to cover and protect them. If the vigor of the American navy has saved its banner from like reproach, it has done much to preserve unsullied its high reputation, and amply repaid the expense charged upon the public revenue by a system of laws to which it has given such honourable effect.

But the conclusion to which your Committee has arrived, after consulting all the evidence within their reach, is, that the African Slave-Trade now prevails to a great extent, and that its total suppression can never be effected by the separate and disunited efforts of one or more states; and as the resolution to which this report refers, requires the suggestion of some remedy for the defects, if any exist, in the system

of laws for the suppression of this traffick, your Committee beg leave to call the attention of the house to the report and accompanying documents submitted to the last Congress, by the Committee on the Slave-Trade, and to make the same a part of this Report. That Report proposes, as a remedy for the existing evils of the system, the concurrence of the United States with one or all the maritime powers of Europe, in a modified and reciprocal right of search, on the African coast, with a view to the total suppression of the Slave-Trade.

It is with great delicacy that the Committee have approached this subject; because they are aware that the remedy which they have presumed to recommend to the consideration of the House, requires the exercise of the power of another department of this government, and that objections to the exercise of this power, in the mode here proposed, have hitherto existed in that department.

Your Committee are confident, however, that these objections apply rather to a *particular proposition* for the exchange of the right of search, than to that modification of it which presents itself to your Committee. They contemplate the trial and condemnation of such American citizens as may be found engaged in this forbidden trade, not by mixed tribunals sitting in a foreign country, but by existing courts, of competent jurisdiction, in the United States; they propose the same disposition of the captured Africans now authorized by law; and least of all, their detention in America.

They contemplate an exchange of this right, which shall be in all respects reciprocal; an exchange, which, deriving its sole authority from treaty, would exclude the pretension, which no nation, however, has presumed to set up, that this right can be derived from the law of nations; and further, they have limited it, in their conception of its application, not only to certain latitudes, and to a certain distance from the coast of Africa, but to a small number of vessels to be employed by each power, and to be previously designated. The visit and search thus restricted, it is believed would insure the co-operation of one great maritime power in the proposed exchange, and guard it from the danger of abuse.

Your Committee cannot doubt that the people of America have the intelligence to distinguish between the right of searching a neutral on the high seas, in time of war, claimed by some belligerents, and that mutual, restricted, and peaceful concession by treaty, suggested by your Committee, and which is demanded in the name of suffering humanity.

In closing this Report, they recommend to the House the adoption of the following Resolution, viz :

*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to enter into such arrangements as he may deem suitable and proper with one or more of the maritime powers of Europe, for the effectual abolition of the Slave-Trade.

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No. IV.

*Extract of a letter from R. F. Stockton, Esq. to the Secretary of the Society, dated*

U. S. Schooner Alligator, Boston, July 25, 1821.

“ We have had an interesting cruise on the Coast, from the Shoals of the Great River to Cape Palmas : it was during the most unhealthy season, and under circumstances not the most flattering. Being in a very small vessel, we were often exposed to heavy rains, and occasionally encountered great fatigue. Notwithstanding which, we have returned in good health, only regretting that our cruise was so short, and that we accomplished so little of that which we promised ourselves. We had the fever on board, but in every instance it yielded to the skill of our surgeon, John W. Pearce, and his assistant T. W. Wiesenthal, to whose abilities and perseverance we all, in common gratitude, owe our thanks. Under these circumstances, I am bound to believe (my conclusions however are deduced from impressions rather than from unalterable opinions) that the horror for that coast, the hue and cry about the African fever, and the noise about the tornadoes, are but little else than a fable, generated by policy, listened

to because wonderful, and propagated by the interested. As to the climate, it is true the air is warm, and I think that a constant exposure to the sun must be very debilitating. The thermometrical observations of this Vessel, do not show that the temperature of the air has ever been above eighty-five degrees, measured by Fahrenheit's thermometer; but, as the country is seldom refreshed by a cool invigorating breeze, the heat is more uniform and of longer duration, and from that cause I think arises its pestilence, and not from the immediate power of the sun. The heat is not beyond bearing for a while, but from its constancy must overcome any human constitution that is unwarily exposed to it during any length of time without relief. The fever, I think, may be more readily avoided, and if taken is not so dangerous, and may be more easily destroyed than that which infests many places in our own country. The tornadoes, as I saw and felt them, are inconsiderable and harmless, in comparison with squalls met with on parts of the American coast at particular seasons of the year. We may have been particularly favoured, and it is possible that all the dangers which persons are led to apprehend, do ordinarily possess that country. But I can assure you, the fever has not assumed a living shape; the winds are not saturated with pestilence; that even on the coast of Africa oxygen forms a component part of the atmospheric air, and to inhale it is not certain death. We (for I think I am speaking the sentiments of my companions) respired as freely and enjoyed generally as good health as any country could have supplied us with. After examination and reflection, I honestly think that the climate presents all those obstacles which are the natural productions of a tropical soil uncleared and uncultivated, but that they will yield to proper precautions; and that nothing can prevent the consummation of your wishes but limited means, bad counsels, or feeble efforts. I wish you every success: I am more and more persuaded of the usefulness of your society: I believe it will be instrumental to ameliorate the condition of Africa. The unfeeling clan of Slave-Traders are still, and *more exultingly than ever*, draining

“the dearest veins” of that country. Is such to continue to be their fate?—And will not Christendom put an end to it? Are they to be torn from their homes, from their friendships, from their forefathers’ graves, while the *vultures* of the world are proclaiming *freedom*, and forming *coalitions for its security*? May the Father of Mercies take care of this oppressed people: and is it too uncharitable to hope that the hour of vengeance is approaching, when the hurricanes will “sweep from the deep” every sail that is spread for so unhallowed a purpose. My associates, most of whom were ready, (and I sincerely believe it,) to sacrifice on the altar of humanity, convenience, comfort, interest, and health, received encouragement to inform themselves on this subject: they were highly competent to the task, and will give, I have no doubt, any information within their knowledge.

My communications to you may be marked by a freedom of expression little suited to my years or the occasion, and possibly calls for an apology. My object is humanity—my means truth and sincerity.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

R. F. STOCKTON.

To the Committee from the Society for  
Colonizing the Free People of Colour  
of the United States.

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No. V.

*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Perry, to the  
Secretary, dated*

U. S. Schooner Shark, at Sea, Nov. 19, 1821.

“It is impossible for me to give a very correct description of Cape Mesurado, as I could observe it only from the ship. I understand, however, from the best authorities, that the soil is excellent, and capable of producing rice, indigo, coffee, cotton, sugar-cane, and the fruits and esculents common to tropical climates.

The Cape extends about three miles into the sea, forming on its northern side a fine bay or road, where vessels may anchor in ten fathoms water, near the shore. It is "steep and elevated towards the sea, with a gentle declivity on the land side." "The summit forms a level plane." This is the most eligible spot that I have yet seen, for the location of the Colony. The natives are less barbarous than those of the neighbouring nations, and are more pacific in their dispositions; and the presumption is, that if the trees were cut down, and the land cultivated, it would prove comparatively a healthy situation, as its projection into the sea affords it the advantage of the sea breeze, the strongest preventive of disease.

Since the date of the foregoing remarks, I have been twice on the coast, and my more extensive observations have not altered my opinion as to the advantages possessed by Mesurado over any situation I am yet acquainted with *on the Continent*.

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Mills is dead; by which event, the Agents lose the benefit of his very great influence.

Coloured people withstand the climate much better than the whites. Of the Colonists, (exclusive of the Agents,) but six have died, from the period of our departure in the *Cyane*, up to the 1st of November last. The last season has been considered a remarkably unhealthy one, and the probability is that the blacks having become seasoned to the climate, will hereafter enjoy tolerable health.

M. C. PERRY

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No. VI.

*Extract of a Letter from Dr. E. Ayres, Acting Agent of the American Colonization Society, in Africa, to the Managers, dated*

U. S. Schooner *Augusta*, at Sea, near Cape Mesurado,  
December 11, 1821.

We are now coming near Mesurado, where we intend trying to obtain a settlement. You will hear the result.

In my last I gave you an account of our proceedings at Fourah Bay. I fear having tired your patience already, though there are a few more particulars which I wish to lay before you. I found there still remained some of the people and many valuable articles at Shérbro. Not knowing how soon Lieut. Stockton might come, or what stay he could make, I thought it best to despatch the schooner immediately to Sherbro for them, which happily returned a few days before the Alligator arrived. Mr. Wiltberger took a passage to Sherbro, and was much benefited in health. They brought away all our mill irons, and many other things, with Camaraw and his children. This man had quarrelled with Coker, while at Sherbro. He sided with Kizel, and left the Colony. They had new quarrels, and Camaraw says that Kizel was going to murder him and his family. I do not pretend to know how much of it is true. He came to me, and wanted to join the colony. I did not like his conversation and behaviour, and would not admit him, but told him to go to Freetown and go to work, to maintain himself until we left this place for land of our own; then, if he behaved himself, he might join the compact. He then pretended it was not his wish, nor ever had been, to join the Colony. He made application to Lieut. Stockton to take him to the United States. We have his three children on board; but he went on shore, thinking, I suppose, that Stockton would wait his motions. But the signal was made for sailing, we got under way, and left him.

When Lieut. Stockton arrived at Sierra Leone, I had an interview with him. He immediately sent his officers to examine the Augusta. They pronounced her not sea worthy her masts, spars, and upper rigging being decayed. In consequence of the short allowance of his provisions, it became necessary for me to provide a method of returning to Sierra Leone, when we went down the coast. I applied to Mr. McCauley for masts and Spars, but there was no timber to be had that would answer the purpose. I then tried to charter a vessel for the purpose; but one offered, which upon examination proved to be nearly as bad as our own. Lieutenant



Stockton consented, as no alternative appeared, to venture in our own vessel.

On the 6th of December, we sailed out of the harbour. Lieut. Stockton was good enough to put on board the *Augusta* Lieut. M-Kean and four men: I took seven of our men.

We have had a very calm passage, and our old vessel sailed remarkably well. We anchored last night in Mesurado Bay. This morning, 12th of December, at day light, saw a number of Croomen rowing off to us—got under way, and at fifteen minutes past ten o'clock cast anchor close under Cape Mesurado. In a few minutes the boats were hoisted out, and the Lieutenant and myself were on shore.

We informed the people who gathered round us, that we had come to see the king: that we wanted to get some land to build houses on: that we had heard very good accounts of king Peter, and preferred settling with him: that the people on the Bagroo wanted us to settle in their country, but we said "No—we will go and see king Peter first—if he won't let us have land, then we settle somewhere else." We pretended to be very indifferent whether we succeeded with them or not, as there were so many places on the coast which we could get. This, in the end proved much to our advantage.

We finally succeeded in getting a sight of king Peter, and in a short time ended our palaver, by his thanking us for giving him the preference to his neighbours, and that we might have Mesurado; and to-morrow morning we are to finish the palaver and give a book. If, in the morning, we find no new obstacles in the way, but are enabled to complete our bargain, I think we may pronounce ourselves very fortunate indeed. Lieut. Stockton will give you a more particular account of our negotiation with the natives, and also a particular account of the place we have selected for a settlement.

I will now offer you some of the reasons which induced us to make the attempt at procuring Mesurado instead of taking Bassâ, the situation selected by your other Agents.

In the first place, all I had read on the subject, all the information acquired from British Naval Officers with whom I

have talked since my arrival, as well as some other intelligent persons, concur in recommending Mesurado, for many reasons. Bassâ is a low level country, consequently must be deprived of refreshing breezes, and for ever unhealthy. It has no harbour, and six months of the year, landing in boats is impracticable. It has no good watering place.

On the contrary, Mesurado Cape is a considerable eminence of land jutting into the sea, high enough to partake of the refreshing sea and land breeze, but not sufficiently elevated to obstruct the vapours and be rendered damp and unhealthy by exhalations and clouds hanging over it nearly half the day. There is a fertile island situated in the mouth of the river. A battery erected on the Cape would effectually command the harbour and entrance of the river. There is a pretty good harbour, and good watering place of excellent water.

Of these particulars you will receive a more minute account, from Mr. Stockton. The land at this place, is equally fertile with Bassâ, or any other part of the coast. With good cultivation it will yield all the productions of the tropical climate.

But another and an insuperable obstacle existed with respect to Bassâ. When Messrs. Bacon and Andrus left there, they took with them the king's son and another youth, and placed them under Mr. Johnson, at Regent's Town, to receive an education. The king's son has since deceased. Mr. Johnson was unwilling to trust the interpreters who had been present at the time of taking the boys, on shore, until the king had been informed of the death of his son, and had received the satisfaction for him which was customary in such cases. It therefore became necessary that we should take the youth who was present with the prince at his death, as well as the interpreter. The youth came over night, and went with me on board the *Augusta*. The interpreter was to have been on the wharf the next morning at sunrise, but from some unknown cause he did not come, and between eight and nine o'clock we got under way, and went to sea without him.

These things taken into consideration, determined us to attempt to negotiate for Mesurado. It has been the anxious desire of European Powers, to get possession of this place for more than one hundred years. Both the English and French have made repeated trials to obtain it. Lieut. Perry attempted to open a negotiation for it, by writing to Mr. Mills. They have all mistaken the true policy of dealing with these people; and no negotiation, other than for the necessaries of life, will be obtained from them without using more policy than this. Knowing the methods that had hitherto proved abortive, we determined to try a new system of proceeding: and instead of trusting to others to make that impression upon the king, which their fears or cupidity might prompt, we determined to go ourselves directly to the king, and plead our own cause.

On the 11th of December, in the night, we came to anchor off St. Paul's river. At day light on the 12th, got under way, and soon observed several canoes coming off to us. The moment we anchored our boat was out, and Mr. Stockton and myself went on shore before any wrong impression could be made upon the king. We landed on the beach, at the king's Crootown, and told them we wanted to see the king; we had presents on board for him; and showed them some rum and tobacco which we had taken on shore for him.

Three or four of the people who had gathered round us were dressed in large striped hoods, thrown over their shoulders, and had the appearance of being people of authority.

After waiting some time, they sent off an express for king Peter. It had been represented to us unsafe to go on shore without being armed, and that we should certainly be murdered and robbed. But we determined to go unarmed, as an evidence that our aim was pacific. While sitting and waiting for the king, under the shed of a Crooman, the people kept collecting, most of them with knives hanging to their sides. At length there came five or six armed with muskets. I began to think there might be some truth in the reports. We were now surrounded by fifty or sixty, armed in this way, and

we without the means of defence, except a demijohn of whiskey and some tobacco. I narrowly watched their countenances, as well as that of Mr. Stockton. I saw he was no way concerned, and a little observation showed there was yet no hostility in their intentions.

Express after express, was sent for the king. After a long time, one of the most reputable looking men told us "The king be fool—he no talk English—I his mouth, what I say, king say.—What you want?" We told him we were desirous of getting a place in Africa to build a house, make farms, &c. that we had come by Cape Mount and many other places, where we might probably have got land, but we heard king Peter was a good man, and we preferred coming first to see if we could buy a place of him. If we got a place, we raise tobacco, rum, sugar, &c. and sell to the natives, for rice, yams, beeswax, &c. We told them likewise, that we would have schools, and teach their children to read and write.—This immediately excited their suspicions that we were going to break in upon the customs of their forefathers.

Lieut. Stockton has shown himself throughout this business to be the most consummate master of the human heart, and it is entirely owing to his address and penetration that we have succeeded in obtaining a situation, the most desirable in many respects, of any on the coast; and for which, thousands of pounds would have been given by other Powers, could they have obtained it. We discovered at once, that the only way in which we could expect to succeed, was to touch their interest, by holding out to them such objects as appeared to them valuable, and not such as we should value ourselves.

After explaining our views to this person, and discussing them some time, they sent another message to the king, and he then made his appearance. He was dressed in a cotton garment of large blue and white stripes, thrown over his shoulders, and a person holding an umbrella over his head. He came, shook hands with us, and took a seat. When his interpreter related to him our object in visiting him, we did not fail to let him know the high estimation in which we held him

for veracity and punctuality ; and that this had induced us to prefer him to some other chiefs : and like most monarchs, we found his ear always open to the sound of his own praise. He said “ he thanked us for the favour we had done him in coming to him first, and we might have land.” We told him we wanted the Island at the mouth of the river, and the Cape. He objected to the Cape, and said “ if any white man was to settle on it, then king Peter would die, they would bury him, and then his women would cry a plenty.” We did not fail to place in the most favourable light the advantages which our trade would be to him ; but took good care, after our former experience, how we attempted to oppose their prejudices, or to offer to their consideration any views which they could not fully comprehend : we therefore said nothing of civilizing or christianizing them ; but left this, hoping our future example may recommend our principles to their adoption. After sitting some time in palaver, the king told us he would see his head men, and next morning he would meet us again on the beach, and make a book for the land. We gave them our rum and tobacco, and returned to our vessel.

On the 13th, we again went to meet his majesty. We found his head men but no king ; yet we sent off an express for him. It was not till after some time and several messages had passed, that we could get him to meet us. After sitting three hours in palaver, the unfortunate subject of the slave-trade was broached, and we again broke up the palaver.

Our prospect at this time was very dull ; we however determined not to give the subject up lightly ; and the next day, went on shore again, where the king appointed to meet us. When we got there, we found neither king nor any of his head men. Our prospects now, were truly discouraging. We, as we had done before, sent off an express for him. He sent word he would not come, nor let us have any land. It then became necessary either to go and seek the king in his capital, or to give up the case as impracticable, as all persons had found it, who had attempted to negotiate for this place before. To go to the town was to place ourselves entirely in

the power of a nation who had always been represented to us so savage as to render it unsafe to land on their shore without being completely armed. However, we were determined to go; and were conducted by a Crooman, through dark dismal ways, at one time wading through the water, and at another wallowing through the mud; passing through thick and dark swamps, in narrow paths, for six or seven miles into the interior. If one of us staid behind, the Crooman would halloo to us to "come along, come along—the devil will catch us." We at length arrived at his majesty's capital. We were shown into a palaver hall, spread with mats, to wait the coming of the king. The head men came and shook hands with us, and informed us that he was dressing, and would see us in a short time. They looked very grave, and few of them looked well pleased. After waiting about one hour, the king made his appearance. Instead of coming and shaking hands with us, he went and seated himself under another palaver hall. His prime minister then came and invited us to go to the king. He shook hands with us, but looked very angry. I had forgot to tell you, that the night before, they had accused the Croomen of being our friends, and drove them all out of town; and the poor fellows, for their fidelity to us, had to go and sleep on the beach, on the bare sand.

The first word the king said to us was, "What you want that land for?" This question, so often asked and as often answered, had again to be explained to him. We now found that among the Croomen who had been on board our vessel the day before, there was one who had been engaged with the father of the Bassâ youth we had on board. This man told them we had taken away the king of Bassâ's son and killed him, and when we got the land, we should cut their throats and bury them. Another Crooman saw some of our colonists on board and knew them: this circumstance gave them to understand we were the people who had been quarrelling so much at Sherbro. And, as if all these things could not throw difficulties enough to try our diplomatic skill, one fellow pre-

presented himself to Lieut. Stockton, and told him he was one of those whom the Lieutenant had captured on his last voyage, in the *Daphne*, and they had recaptured her on their passage home. These circumstances accounted for the change of conduct in the king and people. Our cause now looked truly deplorable. We were unarmed, in the midst of a nation so exasperated against us. But Lieut. Stockton's dexterity at mixing flattery with a little well-timed threat, turned all to our own advantage. When they complained of his taking the French for trading with them in slaves, he told them his orders were not to meddle with the French or any other nation: that when he saw the French vessel, he sent his boat to see who she was; that they fired at him, and when they fought him, then he whipped them and took their vessel: that he would not suffer any body to make a fool of him: and now king Peter wanted to make a fool of him: that he tell him, three days, he would let him have land, and drink up his rum, and take his tobacco, and now he say shan't have any land: this was fooling him. I believe the old king was afraid of being served as the French vessel was, for he soon came to, and promised to call some more kings, and meet us on the shore next morning, and make a book, which was to give us the land.

Mesurado Bay, December, 16.

It was my intention to have given you a circumstantial account of each day's proceedings while negotiating for the land; but we have been constantly employed, and now that we have completed the contract, we are in so great a hurry that I shall not have time to give you the particulars. I hope you will see Lieut. Stockton as soon as possible; he can give you all the information on the subject which will be necessary.

We have this morning been on shore and selected a situation for a town, and directed six houses to be built against my return from Sierra Leone with the people.

I consider our contract not only as a triumph over savage prejudice, but over European negotiation: For this you are entirely indebted to the energy, sagacity, and perseverance

of Lieut. Stockton. We have purchased a tract of country containing one million of dollars' worth of land, with the best harbour between Gibraltar and the Cape of Good Hope, an Island containing nine houses, and six others to be built; there are excellent springs of water near the site we have selected for a city; and at the pitch of the Cape, there is an excellent place for watering ships. All this we have purchased in fee simple for little more than was stipulated to be given for the annual rent of Bassâ, and not amounting to more than three hundred dollars. The Island at the mouth of the river we have named "Perseverance," to perpetuate the long and tedious palaver we had in obtaining it.

I am anxious to have a large ship with good accommodations, to lie in the harbour next rains, that she may serve as a hospital for the sick. In case I get sick, I want to run off a mile from the land, and remain until I get well. Lieut. Stockton can give you my views on this subject, and his own, which I believe are similar.

E. AYRES.

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*Agreement for the Cession and Purchase of Lands, entered into between the Agents of the American Colonization Society, and the King and Head-men of Cape Mesurado.*

KNOW ALL MEN, That this Contract, made on the fifteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred twenty-one, between King Peter, King George, King Zoda, and King Long Peter, their Princes and Head-men, of the one part; and Captain Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres, of the other part; WITNESSETH, That whereas certain persons Citizens of the United States of America, are desirous to establish themselves on the Western Coast of Africa, and have invested Captain Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres with full powers to treat with and purchase from us the said Kings, Princes, and Head-men, certain Lands, viz: Dozoa Island, and also all that portion of Land bounded north



and west by the Atlantic ocean, and on the south and east by a line drawn in a south-east direction from the north of Mesurado river, WE, the said Kings, Princes, and Head-men, being fully convinced of the Pacific and just views of the said Citizens of America, and being desirous to reciprocate the friendship and affection expressed for us and our people, Do **HEREBY**, in consideration of so much paid in hand, viz: Six muskets, one box Beads, two hogsheds Tobacco, one cask Gunpowder, six bars Iron, ten iron Pots, one dozen Knives and Forks, one dozen Spoons, six pieces blue Baft, four Hats, three Coats, three pair Shoes, one box Pipes, one keg Nails, twenty Looking-glasses, three pieces Handkerchiefs, three pieces Calico, three Canes, four Umbrellas, one box Soap, one barrel Rum; And *to be paid*, the following: three casks Tobacco, one box Pipes, three barrels Rum, twelve pieces Cloth, six bars Iron, one box Beads, fifty Knives, twenty Looking-glasses, ten iron Pots different sizes, twelve Guns, three barrels Gunpowder, one dozen Plates, one dozen Knives and Forks, twenty Hats, five casks Beef, five barrels Pork, ten barrels Biscuit, twelve Decanters, twelve glass Tumblers, and fifty Shoes, **FOR EVER CEDE AND RELINQUISH** the above described Lands, with all thereto appertaining or belonging, or reputed so to belong, to Captain Robert F Stockton and Eli Ayres, **TO HAVE AND TO HOLD** the said Premises, for the use of these said Citizens of America. And WE, the said Kings, and Princes, and Head-men, do further pledge ourselves that we are the lawful owners of the above described Land, without manner of condition, limitation, or other matter.

The contracting Parties pledge themselves to live in peace and friendship for ever; and do further contract, not to make war, or otherwise molest or disturb each other.

WE, the Kings, Princes, and Head-men, for a proper consideration by us received, do further agree to build for the use of the said Citizens of America, six large houses, on any place selected by them within the above described tract of ceded land.

IN WITNESS whereof, the said Kings, Princes, and Headmen, of the one part; and Captain Robert Stockton and Eli Ayres, of the other part; do set their hands to this Covenant, on the day and year above written.

( Signed )

King Peter, ✕ his mark.

King George, ✕ his mark.

King Zoda, ✕ his mark.

King Long Peter, ✕ his mark.

King Governor, ✕ his mark.

King Jimmy, ✕ his mark.

( Signed )

Captain Robert F. Stockton

Eli Ayres, M. D.

Witness, ( Signed )

John S. Mill,

John Craig.

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*Agreement with J. S. Mill.*

I HEREBY CONTRACT, for the consideration of one barrel of Rum, one tierce of Tobacco, one barrel of Bread, one barrel of Beef, one barrel of Pork, and one piece of trade Cloth, to give to Captain R. F. Stockton and Eli Ayres, all my right and title to the Houses situated on the Land bought by them on Cape Mesurado.

In Witness whereof, I have hereunto signed my name, on this sixteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred twenty-one.

( Signed )                      JOHN S. MILL.

Witness, ( Signed )

Charles Carey, ✕ his mark.

William Rodgers, ✕ his mark.

WE promise to present to Charles Carey, one Coat.

( Signed )                      R. F. STOCKTON,

ELI AYRES.

United States' Schooner Alligator, Mesurado, west coast of Africa.

December 16, 1821.

I am anxious that this letter may be conveyed to you by the first opportunity, and take the earliest moment to enclose copies of the written instruments, which were signed yesterday and to-day ; by which a tract of land and some houses at Cape Mesurado, have been ceded to the American Colonization Society ; and also a bird's-eye view of the harbour, &c.

I hope you will perceive by these documents, (though I must confess they are imperfectly executed,) the advantages that may reasonably be expected from a situation which has been for many years, (if historical report be true,) anxiously wished by many nations. I have read and heard so many contradictory and disgusting accounts of various plans on the coast, that, in fact, I cannot be reconciled to the *safety* of enlarging with regard to Mesurado ; but would rather that proper measures, great exertion, and reasonable time, should show whether I have been mistaken, or whether your agent has been either infatuated or deceived. It is, indeed, unnecessary to do so, if you are convinced of my sincerity, and believe in the sincerity of my views in lending my assistance to you ; particularly, as you will doubtless receive all intelligence, on that subject, from your zealous and worthy agent ; or to attempt to excuse myself for not having advised a negotiation for Bissao Axim, or some one of the places which have been so strongly recommended. I will be content to say, that procrastination and perfidy had already done too much mischief, to allow me to practise the one, or to give an opportunity for the other to be practised upon me. I received the best information that my own examination of the coast could give. I believed that there was no spot more eligible than this of Mesurado ; and advised immediate contract, payment, and possession.

It may not be amiss, however, and perhaps it is due to you, that some more positive reason should be given for not having examined Axim ; upon which situation some of your friends have lavished so many encomiums. *First, then--the English*

interest, which is extensively spreading itself on the coast of Africa, has never, as far as I have been enabled to inform myself, been exerted to obtain it. *Another*, they have given up the fort at Cape Appolonia, which is within a short distance of Axim. I had other objections to wasting time at that place, when it shall be necessary to state them. But I acknowledge these were, and are satisfactory to me with my present notions, in regard to the policy of England on this coast. Nor do I know that I am hazarding much, but think I am entitled to say, that, in the progress of a few years, our Indiamen will not be necessitated to call at the Cape Verde Islands for water, provisions, or a departure, at the risk of being fired into, as they will be enabled to procure all those necessaries at Mesurado. (if I am not wrong,) on more reasonable, certainly on more friendly terms.

To multiply words for your instruction might be offensive, as well as a wanton exposure of my own weakness, wherefore, Gentlemen, I will not now suggest, either what I think will be best to facilitate the permanent interests of the Society, or what ought to be immediately accomplished, to secure the advantages already obtained. I will simply urge, (for which I presume I may expect your forgiveness) that if we were allowed to look into, and examine those events, which carry with themselves the evidences of supernatural agency, we would find, I doubt not, that all the distresses which have grown to this Institution, whether from sources which have drawn forth the tear of anguish, or from the more unimportant causes of despondency and vexation, have been hallowed by infinite wisdom; and that from them we derive reasonable and strong grounds for future hope, that the five ensuing months are of infinite importance to you; and that during the progress of that time, the fate of your colony will be decided. ¶ As the Government is not at all concerned in your plans of Colonization, it would not be a proper subject of communication from me to the honourable Secretary of the Navy; but believing that the slave-trade, (in the destruction of which the Nation as well as the Government are so sin-

cerely and zealously engaged,) has received, by the purchase you have made at Mesurado, a fatal blow ; under which it may indeed linger some time, but must eventually expire ; and being persuaded of his philanthropy and benevolence, and that it will give him personally much pleasure to hear of your success ; allow me to ask you to present to him the papers accompanying this letter.\*

You have been too often disappointed in listening to the pleasing voice of zeal and enthusiasm, that I have been afraid to rejoice with you on your future prospects, and have curbed the natural current of my own feelings to prevent a recurrence of similar circumstances. I cannot refrain, however, from saying, that now is the moment. Let christians, and all the friends of humanity, join heart, and hand, and purse ; let experience, and wise counsellors, direct ; youth, energy, and integrity, execute ; all difficulties must vanish : and my sagacity on it, that the Colony, founded on North American humanity and liberality, will not be second to any in its contributions to the happiness of man, and the glory of our God.

With the hope that all my actions will show how much I have had at heart the public good ; and a wish to approve, as well as to express myself your friend,

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

R. F. STOCKTON.

\* The first act of the *new order of things* at Mesurado was, to declare that the slave-trade was contrary to the law of nature ; and a violation of "*jus gentium*:" that all persons, *native born*, or foreigners, so engaged, should be considered "*hostes humani generis*," and if prosecuted and convicted in *our high Court of Admiralty*, should be capitally condemned and punished.

## No. VII.

*Statement of the Case, and Extract from the Opinion of Judge Story, on the Trial in the Circuit Court at Boston, in December, 1821, of the French ship La Jeune Eugenie.*

By an act passed by the Congress of the United States, on the 2d of March, 1807, the importation of any slaves into any port of the United States was prohibited after the 1st of June, 1808; the time limited by the Constitution of the United States, beyond which slaves could not be imported. By this act the President was also authorized to employ armed vessels to cruise on any part of the coast, where he might judge attempts would be made to violate the act, and to instruct the commanders of armed vessels to seize, and to bring in, vessels, found on the high seas, contravening the provisions of the law. Previous acts had been passed to prevent the citizens of the United States from being engaged in the transportation of slaves from Africa, or elsewhere, to any foreign port.

By an act passed on the 20th of April, 1818, in addition to the above, it is provided, among other things, that in all prosecutions under this act, the defendant shall be holden to prove, that the negro, &c. which he shall be charged with having brought into the United States, or with purchasing, holding, selling, &c. was brought into the United States, at least five years previous to the prosecution, or was not brought in, holden, purchased, or otherwise disposed of, contrary to the provisions of this act.

By an act passed on the 3d of March, 1819, the power of employing the armed ships of United States, to seize and bring into port any vessel engaged in the slave-trade by citizens or residents of the United States, was continued in the President. And by this act such vessels, together with the goods and effects on board, are to be forfeited and sold, and the proceeds to be distributed in like manner as is provided by law for the distribution of prizes taken from an enemy, and the officers and crew to undergo the punishment inflicted by previous acts.

On the 15th of May, 1820, it was further enacted, that any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel, engaged in the slave-trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned in the whole, or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall land from any such ship or vessel, and on any foreign shore, seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour, by the laws of either of the States or Territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring, or carry, or shall receive, such negro or mulatto, on board any such ship or vessel with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction shall suffer death.

Under the authority of these acts, and for the purpose of more effectually enforcing the provisions of them, the public armed schooner Alligator, commanded by Robert F. Stockton, Esq. was sent, among other vessels, to cruise on the coast of Africa, early in the year 1821. On the 17th of May last, Captain Stockton fell in with the schooner La Jeune Eugenie, at Galenas, near Cape Mount, on the western coast of Africa, and captured her on the suspicion of her being engaged in the slave-trade; she at that time bearing the French flag, and having French papers. She was brought under the charge of a prize master, into the port of Boston, and libelled at the September Term of the District Court next following, as an American vessel engaged in the slave-trade.

All the regular ship's papers, and other documents relating to the cargo, were found on board of her. And it appeared from her register that she was owned by Messrs. Raibaud and Labatut, residents at Basseterre in Guadaloupe, but was built in the United States. It also appeared in evidence that she was fitted out at Basseterre in the month of February next preceding her capture; sailed from there, sometime in the same month, to St. Thomas, and from thence to the coast of Africa, with the ostensible purpose of procuring palm oil and other products of Africa.

Wm. M'Kean, a midshipman on board of the Alligator, and the prize master who brought the Eugenie into the port of Boston, deposed that the Eugenie had a moveable deck, that her main hatchway was very large, and grated with three iron bars, that the water on board was sufficient to supply two hundred men for a month. And her provisions, including rice, enough for her crew for a twelvemonth.

Joseph Dickson, a seaman belonging to the Alligator, deposed, that the Eugenie had a crew of nineteen persons, including boys; some of them Spaniards and some Italians, that she had a large supply of provisions sufficient for her crew for five months, and a number of handcuffs and fetters.

It was also in evidence that there was a surgeon attached to the vessel, and a supply of medicines on board.

Henry Henderson, a seaman belonging to another vessel on the coast, which was also captured by the Alligator, deposed, that he was on shore at a place called the Factory, four and a half days, in company with the Captain of the Eugenie. And that he understood that the Eugenie was then after a cargo of slaves. That the Captain had then procured twenty or more, and said that he should have all the slaves ready in twenty days; and Henderson further deposed, that he was told by the owner of the Factory, that the Captain of the Eugenie was to have 250 or 300 slaves. And that he also heard the king's son say the same thing.

All the seamen belonging to the crew of the Eugenie, who were examined, deposed, that they had no reason whatever to suppose that the vessel was engaged in the slave trade.

A claim was entered by the Chevalier de Valnais, the French consul, on behalf of the owners of the Eugenie, and also a protest against the seizure and judicial proceedings, on behalf of the French Government. A claim for restoration of the vessel, and damages for her seizure and detention was also made by M. Alleye de Billon, the attorney and agents of the owners, Messrs. Raibaud and Labatut.

A *pro forma* decree in favour of the claimants was rendered in the District Court, and the case brought up by appeal to the Circuit Court at the last October Term.



The libel contained two counts. The *First* alleged that the *Eugenie* was, at the time of the seizure, a vessel of the United States, seized for a contravention of the acts of the United States prohibiting the slave trade. The *Second* alleged that the *Eugenie* was captured as a prize, and, at the time of seizure, was concerned and employed in the slave-trade, without alleging to what nation she belonged.

[*In the Circuit Court the cause was argued, and the following is an extract from the opinion of the learned Chief Justice* ]

Having adverted to these preliminary considerations, I may now be permitted to proceed to the great points in controversy.

And the first question naturally arising out of the asserted facts, is, whether the African Slave-Trade be prohibited by the law of nations; for if it be so, it will not, I presume, be denied, that confiscation of the property ought to follow; for that is the proper penalty denounced by that law for any violation of its precepts; and the same reasons, which enforce that penalty ordinarily, apply with equal force to employment in this trade.\*

I shall take up no time in the examination of the history of slavery, or of the question, how far it is consistent with the natural rights of mankind. That it may have a lawful existence, at least by way of punishment for crimes, will not be doubted by any persons who admit the general right of society to enforce the observance of its laws, by adequate penalties. That it has existed in all ages of the world, and has been tolerated by some, encouraged by others, and sanctioned by most, of the enlightened and civilized nations of the earth, in former ages, admits of no reasonable question. That it has interwoven itself into the municipal institutions of some countries, and forms the foundation of large masses of property in a portion of our own country, is known to all of us. Sitting, therefore, in an American court of judicature, I

\* The *Fortuna*. 1 Dodson R. 81. *Madrado v. Willes*. 3 Barn. and Ald. 357.

am not permitted to deny, that under some circumstances it may have a lawful existence ; and that the practice may be justified by the condition or wants of society, or may form a part of the domestic policy of a nation. It would be unbecoming in me, here to assert, that the state of slavery cannot have a legitimate existence, or that it stands condemned by the unequivocal testimony of the law of nations.

But this concession carries us but a very short distance towards the decision of this cause. It is not, as the learned counsel for the government have justly stated, on account of the simple fact that the traffick necessarily involves the enslavement of human beings, that it stands reprehended by the present sense of nations ; but that it necessarily carries with it a breach of all the moral duties, of all the maxims of justice, mercy, and humanity, and of the admitted rights, which independent christian nations now hold sacred in their intercourse with each other. What is the fact as to the ordinary, nay, necessary course of this trade ? It begins in corruption, and plunder, and kidnapping. It creates and stimulates unholy wars, for the purpose of making captives. It desolates whole villages and provinces, for the purpose of seizing the young, the feeble, the defenceless and the innocent. It breaks down all the ties of parent, and children, and family, and country. It shuts up all sympathy for human suffering and sorrows. It manacles the inoffensive females, and the starving infants. It forces the brave to untimely death, in defence of their humble homes and firesides, or drives them to despair and self immolation. It stirs up the worst passions of the human soul, darkening the spirit of revenge, sharpening the greediness of avarice, brutalizing the selfish, envenoming the cruel, famishing the weak, and crushing to death the broken-hearted. This is but the beginning of the evils. Before the unhappy captives arrive at the destined market, where the traffick ends, one quarter part at least, in the ordinary course of events, perish in cold blood, under the inhuman or thoughtless treatment of their oppressors.

Strong as these expressions may seem, and dark as is the colouring of this statement, it is short of the real calamities

inflicted by this traffick. All the wars that have desolated Africa for the last three centuries, have had their origin in the slave-trade. The blood of thousands of her miserable children has stained her shores, or quenched the dying embers of her desolated towns, to glut the appetite of slave dealers. The ocean has received in its deep and silent bosom thousands more, who have perished from disease and want, during their passage from their native homes to the foreign colonies. I speak not from vague rumours, or idle tales, but from authentic documents, and the known historical details of the traffick—a traffick that carries away at least fifty thousand persons annually, from their homes and their families, and breaks the hearts, and buries the hopes, and extinguishes the happiness of more than double that number.\* “There is,” as one of the greatest of modern statesmen has declared, “something of horror in it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination.” †

It is of this traffick, thus carried on, and necessarily carried on, beginning in lawless wars, and rapine, and kidnapping, and ending in disease, and death, and slavery—it is of this traffick, in the aggregate of its accumulated wrongs, that I would ask, if it be consistent with the law of nations? It is not by breaking up the elements of the case into fragments, and detaching them one from another, that we are to be asked of each separately, if the law of nations prohibits it. We are not to be told that war is lawful, and slavery lawful, and plunder lawful, and the taking away of life is lawful, and the selling of human beings is lawful. Assuming that they are so under circumstances, it establishes nothing. It does not advance one jot to the support of the proposition, that a traffick, that involves them all, that is unnecessary, unjust, and inhuman, is countenanced by the eternal law of nature, on which rests the law of nations.

Now the law of nations may be deduced, first, from the general principles of right and justice, applied to the concerns

\* See State Papers of Congress, for 1821. Report on the Slave-Trade, 9th February, 1821, p. 59.

† Mr. Pitt's Speech on the Slave-Trade, in 1792.

of individuals, and thence to the relations and duties of nations ; or secondly, in things indifferent or questionable, from the customary observances and recognitions of civilized nations ; or, lastly, from the conventional or positive law, that regulates the intercourse between states. What, therefore, the law of nations is, does not rest upon mere theory, but may be considered as modified by the practice, or ascertained by the treaties of nations at different periods. It does not follow, therefore, that because a principle cannot be found settled by the consent or practice of nations at one time, it is to be concluded, that at no subsequent period the principle can be considered as incorporated into the public code of nations. Nor is it to be admitted, that no principle belongs to the law of nations, which is not universally recognised, as such, by all civilized communities, or even by those constituting, what may be called the Christian states of Europe. Some doctrines, which we, as well as great Britain, admit to belong to the law of nations, are of but recent origin and application, and have not, as yet received any public or general sanction in other nations ; and yet they are founded in such a just view of the the duties and rights of nations, belligerent and neutral, that we have not hesitated to enforce them, by the penalty of confiscation. There are other doctrines, again, which have met the decided hostility of some of the European states, enlightened as well as powerful, such as the right of search, and the rule, that free ships do not make free goods ; which, nevertheless, both Great Britain and the United States maintain, and in my judgment, with unanswerable arguments, as settled rules in the Law of Prize, and scruple not to apply them to the ships of all other nations. And yet, if the general custom of nations in modern times, or even in the present age, recognised an opposite doctrine, it could not, perhaps, be affirmed, that that practice did not constitute a part, or at least a modification, of the law of nations.

But I think it may be unequivocally affirmed, that every doctrine, that may be fairly deduced by correct reasoning from the rights and duties of nations, and the nature of moral

obligation, may theoretically be said to exist in the law of nations ; and unless it be relaxed or waved by the consent of nations, which may be evidenced by their general practice and customs, it may be enforced by a court of justice, whenever it arises in judgment. And I may go farther and say, that no practice whatsoever can obliterate the fundamental distinction between right and wrong, and that every nation is at liberty to apply to another the correct principle, whenever both nations, by their public acts recede from such practice, and admit the injustice or cruelty of it.

Now, in respect to the African slave-trade, such as it has been described to be, and in fact is, in its origin, progress, and consummation, it cannot admit of serious question, that it is founded in a violation of some of the first principles, which ought to govern nations. It is repugnant to the great principles of christian duty, the dictates of natural religion, the obligations of good faith and morality, and the eternal maxims of social justice. When any trade can be said to have these ingredients, it is impossible that it can be consistent with any system of law, that purports to rest on the authority of reason or revelation. And it is sufficient to stamp any trade as interdicted by public law, when it can be justly affirmed, that it is repugnant to the general principles of justice and humanity.

Now, there is scarcely a single maritime nation of Europe, that has not, in the most significant terms, in the most deliberate and solemn conferences, acts, or treaties, acknowledged the injustice and inhumanity of this trade ; and pledged itself to promote its abolition. I need scarcely advert to the conferences at Vienna, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at London, on this interesting subject, as they have been cited at the argument of this cause, and authenticated by our own Government, to show, what may be emphatically called the sense of Europe upon this point. France, in particular, at the conferences at Vienna, 1815, engaged to use " all the means at her disposal, and to act in the employment of these means, with all the zeal and perseverance due to so great and noble a cause." [the abolition of the slave-trade.] And accordingly, in the treaty

of peace between her and Great Britain, France, expressing her concurrence, without reserve, in the sentiments of his Britannic majesty with respect to this traffick, admits it to be “repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and of the enlightened age in which we live;” and, at a short period afterwards, the Government of France informed the British Government, that it had “issued directions in order, that on the part of France the traffick in slaves may cease from the present every where and for ever.” The conduct and opinions of great Britain, honourably and zealously, and I may add, honestly, as she has been engaged in promoting the universal abolition of the trade, are too notorious to require a pointed enumeration. She has, through her Parliament, expressed her abhorrence of the trade in the most marked terms, as repugnant to justice and humanity; she has punished it as a felony, when carried on by her subjects; and she has recognised through her judicial tribunals the doctrine, that it is repugnant to the law of nations. Our own country, too, has firmly and earnestly pressed forward in the same career. The trade has been reprobated and punished, as far as our authority extended, from a very early period of the Government; and by a very recent statute, to mark at once its infamy and repugnance to the law of nations, it has been raised in the catalogue of public crimes, to the bad eminence of piracy. I think, therefore, that I am justified in saying, that at the present moment the traffick is vindicated by no nation, and is admitted by almost all commercial nations as incurably unjust and inhuman. It appears to me, therefore, that in an American court of judicature, I am bound to consider the trade an offence against the universal law of society, and in all cases where it is not protected by a foreign government, to deal with it as an offence carrying with it the penalty of confiscation.

And I cannot but think, notwithstanding the assertion at the bar to the contrary, that this doctrine is neither novel nor alarming. That it stands on principles of sound sense and general policy, and, above all, of moral justice. And I confess, that I should be somewhat startled, if any nation, sincere-

ly anxious for the abolition, and earnest in its duty, should interpose its influence to arrest its universal adoption.

There is an objection urged against the the doctrine which is here asserted, that ought not to be passed over in silence ; and that is, that if the African slave-trade is repugnant to the law of nations, no nation can rightly permit its subjects to carry it on, or exempt them from the obedience to that law ; for it is said, that no nation can privilege itself to commit a crime against the law of nations by a mere municipal regulation of its own. In a sense the proposition is true, but not universally so. No nation has a right to infringe the law of nations, so as thereby to produce an injury to any other nation. But if it does, this is understood to be an injury, not against all nations, which all are bound or permitted to redress ; but which concerns alone the nation injured. The independence of nations guarantees to each the right of guarding its own honour, and the morals and interests of its own subjects. No one has a right to sit in judgment generally upon the actions of another ; at least to the extent of compelling its adherence to all the principles of justice and humanity in its domestic concerns. If a nation were to violate, as to its own subjects, in its domestic regulation, the clearest principles of public law, I do not know that that law has ever held them amenable to the tribunals of other nations for such conduct. It would be inconsistent with the equality and sovereignty of nations, which admit no common superior. No nation has ever yet pretended to be the *custos morum* of the whole world ; and though abstractedly a particular regulation may violate the law of nations, it may sometimes, in the case of nations be a wrong without a remedy.

Then how stands judicial authority on the subject ? It appears to me, speaking with all possible deference for those who may entertain a different opinion, that the case of the *Amedie*\* is directly in point ; and, unless the principles there stated can be shaken, they must govern the case now in judg-

\* 1 Acton's Rep. 240, S. C. 1 Dodson R. 84. note.

ment. Sir Wm. Grant, in delivering the judgment of the Court of Appeals in the *Amedie*, after adverting to the former state of the British law on the subject of the African slave-trade, uses the following language, which I quote the more readily, as I know not, how in so concise and luminous a manner to convey the sentiments, which on this subject I deliberately entertain. “But,” says that eminent judge, “by the alteration which has since taken place in our law, the question now stands upon very different grounds. We do now, and did at the time of this capture, take an interest in preventing that traffick, in which this ship was engaged. The slave-trade has since been totally abolished in this country, and our legislature has declared that the African slave trade is contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. Whatever opinion, as private individuals, we before might have entertained upon the nature of this trade, no court of justice could, with propriety, have assumed such a position, as the basis of any of its decisions, whilst it was permitted by our own laws. But we do now lay down as a principle, that this is a trade, which cannot, abstractedly speaking, be said to have a legitimate existence. I say abstractedly speaking, because we cannot legislate for other countries; nor has this country a right to control any foreign legislature, that may think proper to dissent from this doctrine, and give permission to its subjects to prosecute this trade. We cannot certainly compel the subjects of other nations to observe any other than the first and generally received principles of universal law. But thus far we are now entitled to act according to our law, and to hold that, *prima facie*, the trade is altogether illegal, and thus to throw on a claimant the burthen of proof, in order to show, that by the particular law of his own country he is entitled to carry on this traffick. As the case now stands, we think that no claimant can be heard in an application to a court of prize for the restoration of the human beings he carried unjustly to another country for the purpose of disposing of them as slaves. The consequence of making such proof is not now necessary to determine; but where it cannot be



made, the party must be considered to have failed in establishing his asserted right. We are of opinion, upon the whole, that persons engaged in such a trade cannot, upon principles of universal law, have a right to be heard upon a claim of this nature *in any court*." Such is the doctrine sanctioned by the highest Prize Court known to British jurisprudence. I consider it, as the High Court of Admiralty has considered it, as establishing the principle, that any trade contrary to the general law of nations, although not tending to, or accompanied with, any infraction of the belligerent rights of that country, whose tribunals are called to consider it, may subject the vessel employed in that trade to confiscation; and it matters not in what stage of the employment, whether in the inception or the prosecution, or the consummation of it, the vessel is arrested.\* It has been said that this doctrine first arose in a case of capture, *juri belli*, and was applied by a Court of Prize. Be it so;—but the doctrine is not limited in its terms or purport to cases of this sort. The capture, as a belligerent capture, was tortious and without any reasonable cause; and the court admitted, that there had been no violation of belligerent rights. But it applied the doctrine upon principles of universal law, and asserted, that it might be applied to a claim of such a nature *in any court*. The *Fortuna*,† and the *Donna Marianna*,‡ in which the doctrine was followed, were also cases of capture; but although it is pretty clear, that there were some lurking doubts as to the propriety of the doctrine in the mind of the Court, there was not the slightest attempt to place it upon any ground that limited it to the Prize jurisdiction. In the case of the *Diana*,§ which, at the interval of nearly a year afterwards, called again for the application of the general doctrine, no such distinction was even alluded to, although that was clearly, in the judgment of Court itself, a case on the Instance side of the Court, where condemnation was directly sought on an information for a for-

\* The *Fortuna*, 1 Dodson R. 81, 85, 86.

† The *Fortuna*, 1 Dodson R. 81, 85, 86.

‡ 1 Dodson R. 91            § Dodson R. 95.

seizure for asserted employment in the slave-trade. It turned out upon an investigation of the facts, that the vessel was Swedish ; and, as such, upon the supposition, that Sweden permitted the traffick to her subjects, restitution was decreed. but the Court unequivocally admitted the propriety of applying the doctrine to the case, if the Swedish law were proved to be deficient. I think I stand firm upon the position, that up to the period of these adjudications, no distinction like that now contended for, was in the contemplation of the Court ; and certainly no such distinction can in reason be applied to the doctrine in the *Amedie*. Whatever, indeed, may be the extent of the belligerent right of search and visitation, it does not authorize a subsequent capture, unless for just cause of suspicion ; and if the search be in this respect unproductive, it cannot be, that the capture is less tortious on account of the exercise of this right, than it would be, if no such right existed. The capture is just as wrongful, as a seizure in time of peace would be, and no more. It violates the right of the foreign ship just as much, and no more, than such a seizure ; and if, notwithstanding such a tortious capture, the party may avail himself of a ground of condemnation for the breach of universal law, independent of belligerent rights, he may, for the same reason, avail himself of it in case of such a tortious seizure. In truth, however, the law looks not to niceties of this sort. If for any cause, precedent or subsequent, known at the beginning or known at the end, the property is condemned, the party is justified and retroactively for all purposes the capture, or seizure, or forcible possession, call it what you may, is deemed rightful and *bona fide*.

The case of the *St. Louis*,\* which followed after a period of almost four years, has been pressed upon the attention of the court, and certainly is entitled to the most respectful and cautious examination. I will not yield to any person in reverence for the profound learning and talents of the accomplished Judge, by whom that decision was pronounced. His

\* 2 Dodson R. 210.

judgments have been justly the admiration of Europe and America; and will be read for instruction, for beauty of illustration, for felicity of style, and for unambitious, but lofty principles, long after their illustrious author is gathered to the fathers, who have enlightened and improved mankind; as long indeed, in my humble belief, as the common language of his and our country shall indicate to mankind our common lineage. Still, however, it is my duty, painful and responsible as it may be, and with whatever hesitation and humility, when I am led to differ from other minds, with which I have not the least title to be brought in comparison; I say it is my duty to follow the dictates of my own judgment in all cases, where my judicial conscience is not already bound by the decisions of the highest appellate court of the government under which I sit.

The case of the *St. Louis* may be distinguished from that before the court, in several circumstances. The seizure was made at a time when no public ordinance of France prohibited the Slave-Trade, and before the recent discussions at Aix-la-Chapelle. Upon the very face of the information, the vessel was admitted to be French, and seized as such, and condemnation was sought upon two grounds, *first* the resistance of the right of search, of a British cruiser, in a time of peace; and *secondly*, because the trade was contrary to the laws of France, and the law of nations. The whole ground, therefore, excepting that of forfeiture under the law of nations, was removed from the cause, for no such right of search in point of law existed, and no such law of France in point of fact existed. And it is perfectly clear upon the doctrine of the other cases already cited, that it was necessary that a prohibitory law of France should concur with the public law of nations, before a foreign tribunal could apply the penalty of confiscation. The cause was, therefore, on its merits, correctly decided in perfect harmony with the former cases. But the learned Judge, in a most elaborate and masterly manner, discusses the general question, and comes to the conclusion, that the African Slave-Trade is not a crime against the

law of nations ; and that the seizure of a foreign ship, engaged in that trade, although it is prohibited by the nation to which she belongs. cannot be rightfully made by a British cruiser, and that a suit for condemnation of such a ship cannot be rightfully maintained in a British court.\*

The first observation that I am called upon to make, respecting this case, is, that I do not find, that the court any where attempts to distinguish between this and the preceding cases by limiting the doctrine of rejecting claims for illegality of traffick, to cases of capture during war, or suits in the Prize jurisdiction. Nor does it occur to me, meaning to speak with the greatest diffidence of my own judgment, that a distinction of that nature would be quite consistent with what fell from the court in the case of the *Diana*. † In the next place, I find myself utterly at a loss to comprehend how the fundamental doctrine of the case of the *Amedie*, and the other cases already cited, that the Slave-Trade, abstractedly speaking, cannot have a legal existence, and that it is repugnant to the principles of universal law, and the law of nations, can consist with the unequivocal denial of the same doctrine, in the case of the *St. Louis*. I find myself driven, therefore, to the conclusion, that the last case is meant silently to abandon and repudiate the whole doctrine on which the former cases rest. In this conflict of authority and learning, of matured and deeply weighed decisions, it is no rashness to follow those, which on the whole seem built on the most solid grounds of justice, public policy, and principle. In the struggle, which my own mind has undergone upon this occasion, I cannot escape from the conclusion, that the reasoning of sir William Grant has not been overturned, even if it should be thought in any measure shaken ; and that if I were to adjudge otherwise, it would be following another authority against the dictates of my deliberate judgment.

And I think I may call in aid the opinion of a court of common law, though perhaps not, in general, the best qualified

\* 1 Dobson R. 91, 92. † 1 Dobson R. 95.

court to entertain the discussion of questions of national law, to show, that the doctrine of the former cases meets the entire approbation of such tribunals. I allude to the case of *Madrazo v. Willes*,\* where, though single expressions may appear to militate with my own views on this subject, the fair result of the opinions stands in perfect consistency with the doctrine of the *Amedie*.

But supposing, that the opinions already expressed by the court are as erroneous, as the counsel for the claimant contends them to be, and that the law of nations is to be exclusively derived from the practice of nations, and the practice is in favour of the African Slave-Trade ; still there remains another obstacle to the recovery of the property by the claimants, which must be displaced before his title is unimpeachable. And that is, that the African Slave-Trade stands prohibited by the positive municipal regulations of France. This has not been denied at the argument, at least to the extent of reaching a case, where the trade is attempted to be carried on to a French colony, which is exactly the case before the court, if any slave voyage was intended by the owners. The French ordinance of the 8th of January, 1817, comes up to this point, and purports to be made in execution of the obligations by treaty, to abolish the Slave-Trade, however inadequate it may be justly deemed for this purpose. But I think, independently of this document, (which is admitted to exist,) by the general principles already asserted, the *onus probandi* rests on the claimants, to establish the legitimate existence of the trade in France ; and more especially since her recent declarations in the face of all Europe, that she had caused it to be every where abolished. They have not pretended to offer any proof on this point ; and the argument of their counsel proceeds upon the supposition of an actual prohibition.

It is said, that the cognizance of penalties and forfeitures for breaches of municipal regulations, exclusively belongs to

\* 3 Barn. and Ald. 353,—and particularly the opinion of Mr. Justice Best.

the tribunals of the nation by whom they are enacted. And this, in a general sense, with reference to the right to originate proceedings for the sole purpose of enforcing such penalties and forfeitures, may be true. But that any court may take notice of the laws of a foreign country, whether civil or penal, which come incidentally before it in the exercise of its general jurisdiction over persons or property, can admit of as little dispute. We know that the *lex loci* is often applied in courts of justice, to enforce rights and redress wrongs; and that contracts and titles, which cannot have a legal existence in the country where they have their origin, are held void every where. In respect to mere municipal regulations, the general rule certainly is, that courts do not take notice of them with a view to their direct enforcement. It is often said, that no country takes notice of the revenue laws of a foreign country, or holds itself bound to repudiate commercial transactions which violate them. But this is a rule adopted from a motive of policy or comity; and is not an essential ingredient in any system of the law of nations. If any nation were disposed to discountenance any smuggling, in violation of the laws of a foreign country, and in cases coming regularly before its own courts, were to refuse to recognise any rights of property founded on such violations, I am not able to perceive what just ground of complaint the offended nation could have against such conduct. It seems to me that it might with more justice complain of the refusal to enforce such laws, and to discountenance such violations. But where a title to property originates in what a nation deems in its own subjects a public crime, more especially if it be an aggravated crime, founded on fraud and rapine; and it finds that another nation deems it a crime of a like nature, and prohibits it is as such, and confiscates the property of its subjects engaged in the commission of it, I do not perceive why such property, so polluted by crime, should, if it falls into the custody of a court of a former nation, be so sacred from judicial touch, that it must be restored to the wrong-doer. And I would ask, where is the authority that requires such a court

to act in this manner, when the public policy of its own, as well as of the foreign government is avowedly engaged in endeavouring to suppress that crime? If, in a case before this court, acting *in rem*, a title to property, founded on theft or other municipal crime, or on a fraud committed in a foreign country, were set up, until my judicial conscience is better instructed, I should have extreme difficulty in recognising such a title, if the property was once legally in the custody of the court.

In the case now before me, on the face of the libel, the court certainly has jurisdiction; for if the allegation, as to the property being engaged in the Slave-Trade, against our laws, be well founded, it justifies condemnation. But jurisdiction does not depend upon the event of the suit, but upon the right to entertain the suit, and proceed by enquiry to settle its merits. In this respect, the case before me stands differently from that of the *St. Louis*. It is, therefore, in the investigation of the merits of this case, that I am met by the title of French subjects to the property; and that title, if the vessel be engaged in the Slave-Trade, is a title connected with a crime against France, and which by French law becomes forfeited. In this posture of the cause, it does not occur to me, that any principle of general justice, or of national comity, or of universal law, requires this court to surrender up the property to the claimants, however well it might be disposed to surrender it to the sovereign of France. If, therefore, this ground alone were before the court, as at present advised, I should incline to reject the claim, for the breach of this municipal law of France, which our country recognises as a breach, not of mere *positive law*, but of the immutable principles of justice.

If I am asked, what would be the predicament of this cause under the views, which have been suggested, I answer, that if the vessel be not American, engaged in a traffick contravening our laws, Lieut. Stockton and his associates can have no title to seek condemnation for any interest of their own, for a share in the forfeiture accrues to them only, when the

case is reached by our laws ; and the libel so far as it is founded on these allegations, must be dismissed. Then as to the claimants, their claim being rejected, there would be no person judicially before the Court to claim restitution. The property, then, must either be condemned to the United States generally, as unclaimed property, or forfeited property, upon principles analogous to those adopted in the *Etrusco* ;\* or it must remain in the custody of the Court, to be delivered up to the sovereign of France, if he should choose to interpose a claim, or assert a right to proceed against it in his own Courts for the supposed forfeiture.

It appears to me, that the latter is the true course. It enables the foreign sovereign to exercise complete jurisdiction over the case, if he shall prefer to have it remitted to his own courts for adjudication. It enforces the policy, common to both nations, of repressing an odious traffick, which is denounced by both. It makes our own country, not a principal, but an auxiliary, in enforcing the interdict of France, and subserves the great interests of universal justice. I am not aware of any obstacle in the constitution of a court of admiralty, proceeding *in rem*, to the adoption of such a practice ; and I am greatly mistaken, if it does not carry in its bosom the seeds of peace and conciliation, instead of animosity and recrimination.

Thus far I have proceeded in the cause without reference to any other claims, but those asserted in the original libel and answer. But at a late period in this cause, by direction of the President, a suggestion has been filed by the District Attorney, expressing a willingness to yield up the vessel to the French Government, or its consular agent, for the purpose of remitting the cause for ultimate adjudication to the domestic forum of the sovereign of the owners. To a suggestion of this nature this court is bound to listen with the most respectful attention. It is understood to be, not a direction to the court, for that is beyond the reach of executive authority, by an intimation of the wishes of the Government.

\* Rob. R. 262,—note (a.)



so far as its own rights are concerned, to spare the court any further investigation. If it had seemed fit to all the parties, whose interests are before the court, to agree to the course held out by this suggestion, it would have relieved my mind from a weight of responsibility, which has most heavily pressed upon it. But the French claimants resist this course, and require, that the property should be delivered over to their personal possession, and not to the possession of their sovereign. Under such circumstances this court must follow the duty prescribed to it by law, independently of any wishes of our own Government or of France. I have been compelled, therefore, reluctantly to travel over the whole merits of the cause, and to decide it with reference to the French owners, upon the great principles on which it has been argued.

After listening to the very able, eloquent, and learned arguments delivered at the bar on this occasion—after weighing the authorities which bear on the case, with mature deliberation,—after reflecting anxiously and carefully upon the general principles which may be drawn from the law of nations to illustrate or confirm them, I have come to the conclusion, that the slave-trade is a trade prohibited by universal law, and by the law of France, and that, therefore, the claim of the asserted French owners must be rejected. That claim being rejected, I feel myself at perfect liberty, with the express consent of our own Government, to decree, that the property be delivered over to the consular agent of the king of France, to be dealt with according to his own sense of duty and right.

No one can be more sensible than myself of the real magnitude and intricacy of the questions involved in this cause. It becomes me, therefore, to speak with great distrust and diffidence of my own judgment respecting its merits. But I think I have a right to say, that the American courts of judicature are not hungry after jurisdiction in foreign causes, or desirous to plunge into the endless perplexities of foreign jurisprudence. If I could have had my choice of cases, this class is not that which would have been selected from pecu-

har favour. But it is to be remembered, that while the court is not rashly to engage in asserting jurisdiction over foreign causes, from the odium, which is justly attached to a traffick conceived in atrocious and unfeeling cruelty, and stained and sealed with blood ; it has also a public duty to perform, from which it dare not shrink, to pronounce its own judgment of the law, and to leave to more wise and learned minds to correct any errors into which it may inadvertently have fallen.



A brief sketch of the several cases cited on the part of the libellants, and of the claimants, and noticed by the Court, is here made, for the use of such of our readers as may not have those cases within their reach. The most material facts only are stated, and such parts of the judgments, as apply most strongly to the case of the *Eugenie*, excepting the case of the *Amedie*, which being the leading one, the judgment of the Court in that is given entire.

#### THE AMEDIE, 1 *Acton's R.* 240.

This was an American vessel, captured by a British cruiser, in the latter part of the year 1807, on her way from Bonny, on the coast of Africa, to Matanzas, in the island of Cuba, with 10 slaves on board. She was libelled in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Tortola, and condemned as engaged in an illegal trade. From this sentence an appeal was prosecuted to the High Court of Appeals.

The first reason assigned by the captors for the condemnation of this vessel was, that " this ship was proceeding from Africa, with a cargo there laden, to Matanzas, in the island of Cuba, being part of a colony then belonging to His Majesty's enemies, contrary to the prohibitions of the order of His Majesty in Council, of the 11th day of November, 1807."

The second reason assigned was, that, " the voyage was contrary to the prohibitory laws of the United States of America, made for abolishing the slave-trade, which had been of

cially notified to the lords of Appeal by the act of the American Government in the case of the *Chance*, *Brown*, master; and although such laws of a foreign state may not amount to a direct or substantive ground of condemnation in a Court of Prize, yet they may and ought to exclude an American claimant from the benefit of those relaxations of the law of war, which, in favour of neutral states, have been introduced by his majesty's instructions, in regard to their commerce with the colonies of his majesty's enemies; a privilege which can only be understood to be granted to neutral governments as a branch of their national commerce, and not as an invitation to lawless individuals to engage in a trade which the neutral state itself has prohibited, and desires to discourage."

The third ground of condemnation assigned by the captors was, "that *Scott*, the supercargo and lader of the slaves, is admitted to have an interest therein, which is liable to confiscation, he being a British subject, by the statute of 46 Geo. III. cap. 52."

JUDGMENT. *Sir William Grant*. In the case of the *Amedie*, it must be considered, on the evidence produced to the court, and from the situation of this vessel at the time of capture, that she was employed in carrying slaves from the coast of Africa to a Spanish colony. We are of opinion this appears to have been the original design and purpose of the voyage, notwithstanding the pretence set up to veil the real intention of the proprietor. The American claimant, however, complains of the injury and interruption he has sustained in carrying on his usual and lawful trade, that of importing slaves for the purpose of sale, and calls upon the Prize court to redress the grievance, and repair the damage he has sustained by the capture and unjust detention of this vessel.

On the different occasions when cases of this description formerly came before the court, the Slave-Trade was liable to considerations very different from those which now belong to it. So far as respected the transportation of slaves to the colonies of foreign nations, this trade had been prohibited by the laws of America only; this country had taken no notice

of that prohibition ; our law sanctioned the trade which it was the policy of the American law first to restrict, and finally to abolish. It appeared to us, therefore, difficult to consider the prohibitory law of America in any other light than as one of those municipal regulations of a foreign state, of which this court could not take any cognizance, and of course could not be called upon to enforce ; nor could it possibly bar a party in a court of prize. But by the alteration which has since taken place in our law, the question stands now upon very different grounds. We do now, and did at the time of this capture, take an interest in preventing that traffick in which this ship was engaged. The Slave-Trade has since been totally abolished in this country, and our legislature has declared the African Slave-Trade is contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. Whatever opinions, as private individuals, we before might have entertained upon the nature of this trade, no court of justice could with propriety have assumed such a position as the basis of any of its decisions, whilst it was permitted by our own laws : but we do now lay down as a principle, that this is a trade which cannot, abstractedly speaking, be said to have a legitimate existence ; I say abstractedly speaking, because we cannot legislate for other countries ; nor has this country a right to control any foreign legislature that may think proper to dissent from this doctrine, and give permission to its subjects to prosecute this trade. We cannot, certainly, compel the subjects of other nations to observe any other than the first and generally received principles of universal law. But thus far we are now entitled to act, according to our law, and to hold that, *prima facie*, the trade is altogether illegal, and thus to throw on a claimant the whole burthen of proof, in order to show that by the particular law of his own country, he is entitled to carry on this traffick. As the case now stands, we think that no claimant can be heard in an application to a court of Prize, for the restoration of the human beings he carried unjustly to another country, for the purpose of disposing of them as slaves. The consequence of making such proof, is not now necessary to

determine ; but where it cannot be made, the party must be considered to have failed in establishing his asserted right. We are of opinion, upon the whole, that persons engaged in such a trade cannot, upon principles of universal law, have a right to be heard upon a claim of this nature, in any court. In the present case, the claimant does not bring himself within the protection of the law of his own country ; he appears to have been acting in direct violation of that law which admits of no right of property such as he claims : ours is express and satisfactory upon the subject.

Where, therefore, there is no right established to carry on this trade, no claim to restitution of this property can be admitted. We are hence of opinion, the sentence of the court below was valid ; and ought to be affirmed.

THE FORTUNA.—1 *Dodson's R.* 81.

This was the case of a vessel, bearing the Portuguese flag, captured by a British cruiser, in October, 1810, and sent into Plymouth as a prize.

It appeared in evidence, that she sailed from New-York under American colours, in the month of July, 1810 ; and ostensibly owned by an American citizen ; that she went to Madeira, landed part of her cargo, and about a week before her departure from thence, a bill of sale of the ship was executed to a native of Madeira, a Portuguese subject ; and in consequence of this sale, Portuguese papers obtained, and the Portuguese flag assumed. It appeared, from an inspection of the vessel, and other evidence in the case, that the object of the voyage was to procure a cargo of slaves, on the coast of Africa.

JUDGMENT. *Sir William Scott.* “An American ship, *quasi American*, is entitled, upon proof, to immediate restitution ; but she may forfeit, as other neutral ships may, that title, by various acts of misconduct, by violation of belligerent rights, most clearly and universally. But though this prize law looks primarily to violations of belligerent rights as grounds of con-

confiscation in vessels not actually belonging to the enemy, it has extended itself a good deal beyond considerations of that description only. It has been established by recent decisions of the Supreme Court, that the Court of Prize, though properly a court purely of the law of nations, has a right to notice the municipal law of this country, in the case of a British vessel, which, in the course of a prize proceeding, appears to have been trading in violation of that law, and to reject a claim for her on that account. That principle has been incorporated into the prize law of this country within the last twenty years, and seems now fully incorporated. A late decision, in the case of the *Amedie*, seems to have gone the length of establishing a principle, that any trade contrary to the general law of nations, although not tending to, or accompanied with, any infraction of the belligerent rights of that country, whose tribunals are called upon to consider it, may subject the vessel employed in that trade, to confiscation. The *Amedie* was an American ship, employed in carrying on the Slave-trade ; a trade, which this country, since its own abandonment of it, has deemed repugnant to the law of nations, to justice, and humanity, though without presuming so to consider and treat it, where it occurs in the practice of the subjects of a state which continues to tolerate and protect it, by its own municipal regulations : but it puts upon the parties who are found in the occupations of that trade, the burthen of showing that it was so tolerated and protected ; and on failure of producing such proof, proceeds to condemnation, as it did in the case of that vessel. How far that judgment has been universally concurred in and approved, is not for me to inquire. If there be those who disapprove it, I am certainly not at liberty to include myself in that number, because the decisions of that court, bind authoritatively the judicial conscience of this ; its decisions must be conformed to, and its principles practically adopted. The principle laid down in that case, appears to be, that the Slave-Trade, carried on by a vessel belonging to a subject of the United States, is a trade, which, being unprotected by the domestic

regulations of their legislature and government, subjects the vessel engaged in it, to a sentence of condemnation. If the ship should, therefore, turn out to be an American, actually so employed, and it matters not, in my opinion, in what stage of the employment, whether in the inception or the consummation of it, the case of the *Amedie* will bind the conscience of this court to the effect of compelling it to pronounce a sentence of confiscation.

“ I can have no doubt of her ( the *Fortuna's*) real character; and under the authority of the case of the *Amedie*, I condemn her and her cargo.”

The *DONNA MARIANNA*.—1 *Dodson's R.* 91.

This was the case of a vessel seized as she was proceeding to Cape Coast, for a cargo of slaves, under the Portuguese flag. It appeared in evidence, that she was originally an American vessel, had been *bona fide* sold to a British subject, and was now claimed as Portuguese property, on the ground that she had been since conveyed to a Portuguese merchant. The Court condemned the ship, as being a British vessel, engaged in the Slave-Trade.

*Sir William Scott.* “ It would be a monstrous thing, where a ship admitted to have been at one time British property, is found engaging in this traffick, to say, that however imperfect the documentary evidence of the asserted transfer may be, and however startling the other circumstances of the case, no inquiry shall be made into the real ownership. Here are on board this vessel only papers of mere form, and which are in contradiction with each other, leaving the whole transaction of the transfer in great doubt and obscurity, and if the court were to be prohibited under such circumstances, from inquiry into the reality of the Portuguese title, one sees how easily the provisions of the legislature would be defeated.

“ I can have no doubt that this court is bound judicially to consider this as a British vessel, and that this Portuguese disguise has been assumed for the mere purpose of protecting

the property of British merchants in a traffick which it was not lawful for them to engage in."

The DIANA.—1 *Dodson*, 95.

This was the case of a vessel under Swedish colours, seized at Cape Mount, on the coast of Africa, on the 10th of September, 1810, by a British cruiser, and carried to Sierra Leone, where proceedings were instituted against the vessel and cargo. At the time of the seizure, she had exchanged her outward cargo for 120 slaves, part of which she had received on board. An information was filed on the part of the captors, and a claim made for the ship and cargo as the property of a subject of the king of Sweden. The vessel and cargo was condemned in the Vice-admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, from which an appeal was prosecuted to the High Court of Admiralty.

JUDGMENT. *Sir William Scott*. "The condemnation (in the Vice-court of Admiralty) also took place on a principle which this court cannot in any manner recognise, inasmuch as the sentence affirms, 'that the Slave-Trade, from motives of humanity, hath been abolished by most civilized nations, and is not at the present time legally authorized by any.'" This appears to me to be an assertion by no means sustainable.

"Our own country, it is true, has taken a more correct view of the subject, and has decreed the abolition of the Slave-Trade, as far as British subjects are concerned; but it claims no right of enforcing its prohibition against the subjects of those states which have not adopted the same opinion with respect to the injustice and immorality of the trade. The principle which has been extracted by the judge of the court below, from the case of the *Amedie*, is the reverse of the real principle there laid down by the superiour court; which was, that where the municipal laws of the country to which the parties belong, have prohibited the trade, the tribunals of this country will hold it to be illegal, upon the general principles of justice and humanity, and refuse resti-



tution of the property : but on the other hand, though they consider the trade to be generally contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, where not tolerated by the laws of the country, they will respect the property of persons engaged in it under the sanction of the laws of their own country. The Lords of Appeal did not mean to set themselves up as legislators for the whole world, or presume in any manner to interfere with the commercial regulations of other states, or to lay down general principles that were to overthrow their legislative provisions with respect to the conduct of their own subjects.

“ The sanction of the colonial governor has been produced by the claimants, and I am clearly of opinion, under this authority standing before me, and standing uncontradicted, that Sweden has not abolished the Slave-Trade.”

On this ground, the sentence of the Vice-admiralty Court was reversed.

#### The SCHOONER PLATTSEBURGH.

This vessel sailed from the port of Baltimore, in December, 1819. In April following, she was found on the Coast of Africa, engaged in the Slave Trade, with an American supercargo on board, all her officers American, with the exception of one, and with a cargo which had recently left the United States. She was captured by the American ship of war *Cyane*, for being engaged in the Slave-Trade, in violation of the laws of the United States, and was libelled in the district court of the United States for the district of New-York. A claim was put in by Manuel Gonzales, styling himself Captain, on behalf of Juan Marina, of Santiago de Cuba, on the pretence that at the time of the capture the vessel was the property of a Spanish subject ; papers were produced to show that she was regularly documented as a Spanish vessel, and also a bill of sale, conveying her to the said Marina.

The vessel was condemned on the grounds that she was.

at the time of seizure, American property, and that the voyage originated in a port of the United States; but the learned Judge, in the course of his able opinion, made some suggestions in relation to the law of nations, applicable to a case of this description, which were cited by the counsel for the libellants, on the arguments made in the case of the *Eugenie*.

*Van Ness, J.* says, "Still another view may be taken of this subject. By the laws of the United States, and by those of great Britain, the Slave-Trade has long been prohibited to their respective citizens and subjects. Great and serious difficulties in the execution of these laws have hitherto tended to defeat the just and benign purposes for which they were enacted. Although they might operate to the exclusion of their own people from a direct participation in this criminal pursuit, yet it was in many instances indirectly prosecuted, under all the forms which fraud and ingenuity could devise; and while the other nations of Europe sanctioned this traffick, but little seemed to be accomplished in the great cause they were intended to support.

The principal powers of Europe have, however, successively abolished this trade, and the period has, I think, arrived, when courts of admiralty may safely hold that, *prima facie*, this trade is illegal, and impose upon the claimant of the captured property, the necessity of showing his exemption from the general rule. If he claims to be pursuing a trade permitted by the municipal laws of his own country, he must show it."

The application of a still broader principle, it is conceived, may properly be submitted to the consideration of courts instituted for the administration of national law. The United States, and all the nations of Europe, with the exception of Portugal, have now prohibited the slave-trade; the prohibition, therefore, is nearly universal; and it is pressed upon their serious deliberation, whether this traffick may not now be pronounced, as well contrary to the law of nations as of nature. A great portion of what has long been considered the law of nations, has received a less general recognition, and is founded on a basis not more sound or solid.

MADRAZO v. WILLES, 3 *Barnwall and Alderson*, 353.

This was an action brought by the plaintiff as the owner of a slave ship and of the slaves on board of her, against the defendant who was a captain in the British navy, for damages for the seizure of the said vessel and slaves. A verdict was obtained for the plaintiff, and a motion made on behalf of the defendant, for a rule *nisi* to reduce the damages, which was refused on the ground that the slave-trade was allowed by the Spanish government. Those parts of the opinions of the judges applicable to the case of the *Eugenie*, being already quoted in the argument on behalf of the claimants, and commented on by the court, it is not thought necessary to restate them here.

#### THE LOUIS.

This was the case of a French vessel which sailed from Martinique on the 30th of January, 1816, destined on a voyage to the coast of Africa and back, and was captured ten or twelve leagues to the southward of cape Mesurado, by an English cutter, on the 11th of March in the same year, and carried to Sierra Leone. She was proceeded against in the vice-admiralty court of that colony, and the information pleaded, 1st, that the seizors were duly and legally commissioned to make captures seizures: 2d, that the seizure was within the jurisdiction of the court: 3d, that the vessel belonged to French subjects or others, and was fitted out, manned, and navigated for the purpose of carrying on the African slave-trade, after that trade had been abolished by the internal laws of France, and by the Treaty between Great Britain and France: 4th, that the vessel had bargained for twelve slaves at Mesurado, and was prevented by the capture alone from taking them on board: 5th, that the brig being engaged in the slave-trade, contrary to the laws of France, and the law of nations, was liable to condemnation, and could derive no protection from the French or any other flag. 6th, that the crew of the brig resisted the English cutter, and piratically killed eight of

her crew, and wounded twelve others : 7th, that the vessel being engaged in this illegal traffick, resisted the king's duly commissioned cruisers, and did not allow of search, until overpowered by numbers. And 8th, that by reason of the circumstances stated, the vessel was out of the protection of any law, and liable to condemnation.

The ship was condemned in the vice-admiralty court at Sierra Leone, and from this decision an appeal was made to the high court of admiralty, and the decision there reversed. We only extract from the judgment of Sir William Scott, that part which discusses the question, how far this traffick, as carried on by France, was to be considered as contrary to the law of nations, and the vessel on that ground to be condemned. And it is to be observed here, that the French ordinance on this subject was not at that time in operation.

JUDGMENT, *Sir William Scott*. “ And I say legally criminal, because neither that court nor any other, can carry its private apprehensions, independent of law, into its public judgments on the quality of actions. It must conform to the judgment of the law upon that subject ; and acting as a court in the administration of law, it cannot attribute criminality to an act where the law imputes none. It must look to the legal standard of morality ; and upon a question of this nature, that standard must be found in the law of nations as fixed and evidenced by general and ancient and admitted practice, by treaties, and by the general tenour of the laws and ordinances, and the formal transactions of civilized states ; and looking to these authorities, I find a difficulty in maintaining that the traffick is legally criminal.

Let me not be understood, or misrepresented as a professed apologist for this practice, when I state facts which no man can deny, that personal slavery, arising out of forcible captivity, is coeval with the earliest periods of the history of mankind, that it is found existing, (and as far as appears without animadversion) in the earliest and most authentic records of the human race, that it is recognised by the codes of the most polished nations of antiquity, that under the light of chris-

tianity itself, the possession of persons so acquired, has been in every civilized country invested with the character of property, and secured as such, by all the protections of law, that solemn treaties have been framed, and national monopolies eagerly sought, to facilitate and extend the commerce in this asserted property: and all this, with all the sanctions of law, public and municipal, and without any opposition, except the protests of a few private moralists, little heard, and less attended to, in every country, till within these very few years, in this particular country. If the matter rested here, I fear it would have been deemed a most extravagant assumption in any court of the law of nations, to pronounce that this practice, the tolerated, the approved, the encouraged object of law, ever since man became subject to law, was prohibited by that law, and was legally criminal. But the matter does not rest here. Within these few years a considerable change of opinion has taken place, particularly in this country. Formal declarations have been made, and laws enacted in reprobation of this practice, and pains, able and zealously conducted, have been taken to induce other countries to follow the example; but at present with insufficient effect: for there *are* nations which adhere to the practice, under all the encouragement which their own laws can give it. What is the doctrine of our courts of the law of nations relative to them? Why, that their practice is to be respected; that their slaves, if taken, are to be restored to them; and if not taken under innocent mistake, to be restored with costs and damages. All this surely, upon the ground, that such conduct on the part of any State, is no departure from the law of nations; because, if it were, no such respect could be allowed to it, upon an exemption of its own making; for no nation can privilege itself to commit a crime against the law of nations by a mere municipal regulation of its own. And if our understanding and administration of the law of nations be, that every nation, independently of treaties, retains a legal right to carry on this traffick, and that the trade carried on under that authority, is to be respected by all tribunals, foreign as well as domestic, it

is not easy to find any consistent grounds on which to maintain, that the traffick, according to our views of that law, is criminal.

Against the subjects of countries, which have issued declarations hostile to the trade, the courts have not unfairly applied the *argumentum ad homines*. At the same time, it is impossible not to feel (and with concern) that if the real understanding of the law, both in this country and others, is to be collected from public acts, as well as from public declarations, it will at least be difficult to determine with certainty and precision, what that understanding really is; some parts of their systems looking one way, and some another.<sup>22</sup>

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FRENCH ORDINANCE.

*Department de la Marine et des Colonies.*

ORDONNANCE DU ROI.

LOUIS, par la grace de Dieu, Roi de France et de Navarre : Voulant pourvoir au cas ou il seroit contravenu à nos ordres concernant l'abolition de la Traité des Noirs :

Sur le rapport de notre Ministre Secretaire d'Etat de la Marine et des Colonies.

Nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce que suit :

ARTICLE I.—Tout Batiment qui tenteroit d'introduire *dans une de nos Colonies* des Noirs de Traité, soit François soit Etranger, sera confisqué, et le Capitaine, s'il est François, interdit de tout commandement.

Sera également confisqué, en pareil cas, toute la partie de la cargaison qui ne consisteroit pas en Esclaves ; a l'égard des Noirs, ils seront employés dans la Colonie aux travaux d'utilité publique.

ARTICLE II.—Les contraventions prévues dans l'article précédent seront jugées dans la même forme que les contraventions aux lois et réglemens concernant le commerce étranger.

Quant aux Produits des confiscations prononcées en conformité du même article, ils seront acquis et appliqués de la même maniere que sont les produits des confiscations pronon-

cées en nature de contraventions aux lois sur le commerce étranger.

ARTICLE III.—Notre Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat de la Marine et des Colonies est chargé de l'exécution de la présente Ordonnance.

Donné a Paris, en notre Chateau des Tuileries, le 8 Jour de Janvier, de l'an de grace 1817, et de notre Regne le 22d.

(Signé) LOUIS.

Par le Roi,

(Signé) LE Vte DE BOUCHAGE.

Pour Copie conforme,

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat de la  
Marine et des Colonies.

(Signé) LE Vte DE BOUCHAGE.

Pour ampliation,

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat de la  
Marine et des Colonies,

(Signé) Le Vte DE BOUCHAGE.

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#### No. VIII.

*The condition of certain Africans in Georgia, referred to in a former Report of American Colonization Society.*

The Board of Managers have lately received the Second Annual Report of the Putnam Auxiliary Society of Georgia, from which the following interesting extract is subjoined.

“As a matter of considerable interest to those who care for the moral standing of Georgia, the managers of the Putnam Society would call the attention of their fellow-citizens, and more particularly, the attention of his Excellency the Governor, and of the Legislature of Georgia, to the acts of Congress, and of this State, bearing upon several hundred Africans in certain predicaments, and to the proceedings of the Society in relation to some of them. The managers of the Putnam Society are the more emboldened to do this, inasmuch as they recognise in his Excellency the Governor, not only the person ‘authorized and requested’ by our Legislature, in their act of the 19th December, 1817, ‘to aid,’ on certain conditions, in promoting the benevolent views of the [Colonization] Society, in such manner as he may deem expedient;’ but they also recognise in him, one of the earliest members of the Milledgeville Auxiliary Society, &c. in the members of the present Legislature, and the

probable members of the next, many of the gentlemen who, so early after the formation of the Parent Society, concurred in the favourable recognition of its existence and object, and requested the Governor, conditionally, to 'aid' in promoting their 'benevolent views' as aforesaid."

"This topic may be very ably introduced by the following extract from the Second Annual Report of the Parent Society.—'One of the grounds assumed by the select committee [of the House of Representatives of the United States] in support of the object of the memorial [of the Colonization Society] is derived from its tendency to facilitate the execution of the laws of the United States prohibiting the importation of slaves, in a manner consistent with the spirit of the laws themselves, *the long established policy of the southern States*, and the genius of the Federal Constitution. It is well recollected, that as soon as Congress acquired the constitutional power of prohibiting the importation of slaves, which was on the 1st of January, 1808, they followed the example of the several States, in imposing heavy penalties upon the authors of this inhuman traffick. The first section of the act of the 2d March, 1807, declares that, 'after the above period, it should not be lawful to import into the United States, or the Territories thereof, from any foreign country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of such person as a slave, or to be held to service or labour.' The act subjects not only the American vessel, employed in violating the laws, to *condemnation*, but 'every person engaged in building, fitting out, equipping, loading, or otherwise preparing, or sending out such vessel, knowing, or intending it to be so employed, to the forfeiture of *twenty thousand dollars*.' A subsequent section makes it 'a *high misdemeanor* for any person to transport from any foreign country, and sell any person of colour, within the jurisdiction of the United States.' Upon conviction it subjects the offender to 'an imprisonment of not less than five, nor more than ten years, and to fine not less than one, nor more than ten thousand dollars.'—The purchaser or seller of any such person, so imported, who shall knowingly purchase or sell the same, is subjected to a forfeiture of *eight hundred dollars*, for every person of colour "so purchased or sold." To this section, the following extraordinary proviso is annexed: "that the aforesaid forfeiture shall not extend to any seller or purchaser of any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, who may be sold or disposed of *in virtue of any regulation which may be hereafter made by any of the Legislatures of the several States, in that respect, in pursuance of this act, and the Constitution of the United States.*"

"The authority of the State Legislatures, to which the proviso refers, is conveyed to them by a clause of the section of this act next preceding the last. It declares that 'neither the importer, nor any person or persons, claiming from or under him, shall *hold any right or title whatsoever*—



to any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, nor to the service or labour thereof, *who may be imported or brought* within the United States, or territories thereof in violation of law, *but the same shall remain subject to any regulations not contravening the provisions of this act, which the Legislatures of the several States or Territories, at any time hereafter, may make, for disposing of any such negro, mulatto, or person of colour.*"

A recent act of the Legislature of Georgia (19th Dec. 1817,) will show what construction has been given to this authority.

"The second section of the act empowers the Governor to sell, for the benefit of the State, any negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, brought into it, in violation of the laws of the United States; and sales to a considerable amount have accordingly been made," &c.

"The managers would be unjust, however, as well as ungrateful, if they passed unnoticed, the last section of this act, which provides, 'that if, previous to any sale of any such persons of colour, the Society for Colonizing free persons of colour within the United States, will undertake to transport them to Africa, or any other foreign place which they may procure as a colony for free persons of colour, at the sole expense of the Society, and shall likewise pay to his Excellency the Governor, all expenses incurred by the State, since they have been captured and condemned; he is authorized and requested to aid in promoting the benevolent views of the Society in such manner as he may deem expedient.'

"The managers [of the Parent Society] heard, with deep regret, of the execution of the second section of this act, in the course of the past year, (1818) without having it in their power to avail themselves of the recognition of the existence and object of the American Society, in the sequel of the act, and afford relief to the unfortunate beings whom violence and fraud had torn from the bosom of their native country, and a defect in the laws of the United States has consigned to hereditary slavery in the bosom of this. Surely, when the authority granted to the several States by the act of Congress which had been recited, is thus exercised, it is without due regard to the limitations which accompany the concession. So far from such an act of power being 'in pursuance of the act of Congress,' it is in direct contravention, not only of its positive and express provisions, but of its very spirit and title."

Whether this opinion of the Parent Society is correct or not, the managers of the Putnam Society will not determine: But its introduction is useful to show the view which has been taken, by men at a distance, of a part of our State policy. "It is an act," continue the managers of the Parent Society, "to prohibit, not to admit," the "importation of slaves." To contend that the consignment of innocent and injured foreigners to perpetual slavery, is "in pursuance of the Constitution of the United States," is to cast a reproach upon that instrument which it does not merit.

“But if the Legislature of Georgia (continue the managers of the Parent Society) have overstepped the authority with which the act of Congress invested them, in a case, to their judgment, it is presumed, of apparent necessity, *a necessity which they sought to avoid*” by inviting the interposition of the Colonization Society, “it becomes the Government of the United States, which created the evil, to provide for it an adequate remedy.”

In pursuance of the invitation of the Legislature of Georgia aforesaid, it appears, from the posthumous communication of Governor Rabun, at the annual session of 1819, that about April of that year, the agent of the Colonization Society arrived in Milledgeville, clothed with competent authority to ask, receive, and transport them, (certain Africans advertised to be sold in May, of that year, for the benefit of the State,) to their native country, free from charge or expense. “The proposition,” says Governor Rabun, “was marked with so much liberality and benevolence, that, without much hesitation, I agreed to deliver them over to the order of that humane Society, so soon as the Court of the United States shall adjudge them to be subject to the control of the constituted authorities of this State.”

“The libel, in the name of Miguel de Castro, against ninety-five African slaves, illegally introduced into this State, and the claim set up to the same, by William Bowen,” says Governor Clark, in his message of 7th November, 1820, “have been dismissed in the district court wherein they were depending. The attorney for the State in this case, being of the opinion, when called on by the executive, that it was necessary that those on hand should be condemned subject to the law of the State, by an adjudication in the district court; he was therefore requested to institute such proceedings as were necessary, which are now pending in that court.” From verbal information of gentlemen entitled to credit, it appears that the proceedings are still pending. So that the proceedings in the several cases instituted in relation to the Africans, will have extended from a short time after their seizure in 1818, to the session of the district court of the United States for the district of Georgia, in November next. Nor can this be deemed a misfortune; as one more opportunity will present itself, at the annual session next fall, for the humanity, not to say the justice, of the Legislature, to interpose, for the temporal salvation of a number of unfortunate fellow beings, who have been led, by the acts of the constituted authorities of this State, and the proceedings of a Society, whose interposition has been invited by the Legislature, to expect and long for this great deliverance. And the benevolent members of the Legislature, as well as every citizen of Georgia, caring for the happiness of the Africans, or for the moral character of the State, should remember, that, unless relief is extended, they will be subject under the act of 1817, and the resolutions of 1819-20, to be consigned to a hopeless state of slavery

“The condition in which the interposition of the managers has placed the thirty four Africans who were advertised for sale in Georgia, [in 1819,] will require the society, on the termination of the suit instituted for their recovery, by certain Spanish claimants,” says the annual Report of 1820, “to indemnify the State for the expenses hitherto incurred in their maintenance, and to provide for their removal to Africa.”

“It appears, then, to have been the intention of the Parent Society, in January, 1820, to carry into effect the arrangement they made in 1819, for the restoration of the thirty-four Africans. It is, no doubt, still their intention to do so, if able. But the annual Report of the present year says nothing on the subject: and it is to be feared that the pressure of the times, and the misfortunes of the Society on the coast of Africa, may prevent them from being *able* to do so.

“In addition to those native Africans already claimed by the managers,” (of the Parent Society,) says their annual Report for 1820, “there are others in Georgia, amounting in number to several hundreds, who have been brought into that State, under like circumstances. Of these, about sixty have been actually sold, and irrecoverably lost. The residue, to whom the pretended agents of certain Spanish houses have laid claim, have been delivered to citizens of Georgia, on stipulations requiring that the holders should deliver them to the court before whom those claims are now depending.”

“As, from the posthumous message of the late governor of Georgia, to the legislature of that State,” continue the managers of the Parent Society “there remains but little doubt, that in all these cases, decrees will be pronounced against the claimants, provision should be made, in conformity with the laws of Georgia and of the United States, for their protection after their enlargement, and their restoration to their native country. Some of them, it is feared, *have been put out under securities incompetent to insure their future delivery to the court.* The rest will hereafter be consigned to hereditary slavery, unless the justice of Congress shall interpose for their relief, or the funds of the American Society shall be so enlarged, as to enable the managers to claim them, under the provisions of the Georgia laws.”

“There is strong ground to believe, though the managers of the Putnam Society are not absolutely certain, that the sixty Africans sold by the State in 1818, are a part of the ninety five, to whom Miguel de Castro and William Bowen set up claims, which have been dismissed; and against whom proceedings have been instituted, on behalf of the Stase. Should they be condemned subject to the laws of Georgia, they cannot, like the thirty-four who are unsold, be turned over to the Colonization Society, but the proceeds of the sales may. And as the legislature have endeavoured to prevent the pollution of the State treasury by the price

of blood, ought not the proceeds of the sales, after deducting all the expenses incurred on account of Africans, to be so turned over? This would comport with the views of the legislature of 1817; which were, not to derive a revenue from an illicit and most cruel trade: but only to reimburse the expenses actually incurred by the State, and to throw the unfortunate persons in question, into the arms of a benevolent Society, for restoration to their country. 'Tis true, the sixty who have been actually sold, could not perhaps be so restored; but the proceeds of their sale, after deducting every cent of expense incurred on their account, and on account of all other Africans introduced in violation of the United States' laws, could be made the means of saving from the same dreadful fate, a considerable number of their unfortunate countrymen; several hundred of whom are subject to be sold under the laws of Georgia, for the benefit of the State, if adjudged subject to the State laws, if the justice of the general government should not supply the necessary funds for their relief, or if the funds of the Colonization Society should not unexpectedly be so enlarged, at an early day, as to enable them to relieve the Africans under the laws of Georgia.

“The managers of the Putnam Society are aware that there is an insensibility to the disgrace which would attach to the character of the State, by the sale of the Africans, founded on the well known principle, that contraband goods are proper subjects of confiscation and sale, for the public benefit. It should be remembered, however, that our laws recognise people of colour not only as *things*—not only as articles of property, but as ‘persons,’ as human beings, as men and women! In their former character, impressed by the hand of man, the Africans in question might very properly be sold for the benefit of the state; in their latter character, impressed by the hand of nature—inscribed by the finger of Heaven itself, they should be restored to their country. Nor can we justify the detention and sale of the Africans, on the same ground that we justify the detention and transfer of the mass of our slave population. In the case of our slaves, the separate claims of their numerous owners, the great number of slaves, the vast amount invested in this species of property, the mischievous consequences that would result from any thing like a sudden change in the existing state of things, and the indispensable necessity of maintaining due order and subordination among our slaves, will go far to justify our conduct.

“In the case of the Africans none of these reasons operate. There are no valid individual claims to them; their number is small; the amount expended by the State on account of them, is more than repaid; no mischievous consequences would result from their immediate removal; their detention and sale are not necessary to the maintenance of order among them or our slaves.

“ On leaving this topic, the managers desire that they may be understood. They have not asked a single cent from the State treasury. They only ask that the State shall not be *again* paid, from the scanty funds of a private society, those expenditures, which will have been amply reimbursed by the proceeds of the sales which have already taken place. They do not ask the State to relinquish its claim to a revenue arising from a legitimate or proper source: they only ask her to decline a revenue which she herself has shown a disposition to reject as improper. They only ask her, after fully reimbursing herself, to give the surplus, if any there be, arising from the sale of the sixty Africans, such a direction as will comport with the moral and political views recognised by the legislature and people of Georgia, which prompted the enactment of the provision attached to the act of 1817, and the consequent invitation to the Colonization Society—such a direction, as, although the fate of the sixty is perhaps sealed, will yet come nearest to the benevolent purpose of the legislature, by applying the surplus proceeds of their sale, to the restoration of their brethren who are yet within the reach of relief. The peculiar propriety of appropriating for such a purpose, a fund arising from such a source, is so manifest, that the managers hope it will force its way into the mind of every one.

“ But if the Board may not be permitted to hope that the surplus proceeds of the sixty, after amply reimbursing the State, will be turned over to the Parent Society, the Putnam Society, or some other Society in our own State; or to some authority, (state or federal,) for the general purpose of relieving the several hundred Africans, who are not yet placed beyond the hope of restoration; the managers must yet be permitted to hope, that on condemnation, the thirty-four in and about Milledgeville, who have been led, by the parent Society, on the invitation of this State, to expect deliverance, will be turned over, free of cost, to the Colonization Society—remembering, what has so often been repeated, that the proceeds of the sixty who have been sold, will far overgo the expenses incurred on their own account, and on account of the thirty-four, who are believed all to have belonged in fact to the same parcel of ninety-five. So deeply interested are the managers for the deliverance of the several hundred Africans, introduced in violation of the laws of the United States, and in contravention of the policy of Georgia; and more especially, of the thirty-four, who were so overjoyed at the prospect of deliverance held out to them, that it is difficult to leave this subject. The managers must, however, respectfully and earnestly implore the attention of the people, the legislature, and the executive of Georgia, to the case of the injured foreigners, and trust the result to their intelligence, their patriotism, and their humanity.

This strong appeal to the humanity of the Legislature of Georgia, was not disregarded. The managers are informed that a Resolution *unanimously* passed the last House of Representatives of that State, appropriating the proceeds of the sale mentioned in the able Report of the Putnam Society, to defray the expense of restoring to their long lost homes, such natives of Africa, as have been or may be brought into Georgia, in violation of her laws and those of the United States, for the suppression of the Slave-Trade.

This Resolution, the managers have learnt with regret, reached the Senate of Georgia too late to be acted upon, at their last session.

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#### POSTSCRIPT.

*From the Coast of Africa.*

By the schooner *Dolphin*, arrived at Charleston, files of the *Sierra Leone Gazette*, to the 24th of February, have been received. We are sorry to find that they confirm the verbal reports brought by the same vessel, that the Slave-Trade is still carried on to a shameful extent, on the windward coast of Africa.

We learn by Captain Pearson, who came home in the *Dolphin*, that the American Colonists were comfortably settled at Cape Mesurado, and were highly pleased with their prospects. They found the climate healthy, and the soil fertile, and their wish was that their brethren generally in the United States would embrace the first opportunity to come and settle with them.

[ *National Intelligencer.*

LIST OF SOCIETIES

AUXILIARY TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

[Owing to the failure of many Auxiliary Societies seasonably to forward their annual reports to the Parent Society, the following List is necessarily incomplete. It is earnestly desired that all the Auxiliaries would put it in the power of the Managers to incorporate a correct statement of their annual proceedings in the Appendix of their Report.]

MARYLAND AUXILIARY SOCIETY,  
(established in Baltimore.)

Col. John Eager Howard, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

Gen. Robert Goodloe Harper.....		.....Hon. Chief Justice Brice.
Gen. Wm. H. Winder.....		
Luke Turnan, <i>Treasurer.</i>		Edward J. Coale, <i>Secretary.</i>

*Managers.*

Peter Hoffman.....		.....John B. Morris.
Maxwell M'Dowell, M. D.....		.....Ph. E. Thomas.
John C. Smith.....		.....Isaac M'Kim..

*Life Members.*

Isaac M'Kim.....\$250		Nat. F. Williams.. 50
Thomas Ellicot.....100		Mr. Von Capf..... 50
Alexander M'Donald.....100		J. J. Cohen, jun..... 50
John N. D'Arcy } .....		John Purviance..... 50
Henry Didier } .....		Richard Caton..... 50
C. Carrol, of Car.....100		W. and N. Tyson..... 50
Thomas Tenant .....100		Luke Tiernon..... 50
Peter Hoffman.....100		Robert Gilmor.....200
John Hoffman.....100		William Tyson..... 50
George Hoffman .....100		Andrew Ellicott..... 50
Alexander Fridge } .....		James Ellicott ..... 50
— Morris } .....		Hugh Thomson ..... 50
J. W. M'Culloch .....100		John M'Henry ..... 50
John E. Howard.....200		Philip E. Thomas..... 50
James Campbell } .....		Evan Thomas.. ..... 50
J. Ritchie } .....		J. B. Morris ..... 35
John Oldfield } .....		Robert G. Harper.... 30
A. A. Williams .....100		Wilson, Mullikin, & Co. .... 30
Roswell L. Colt..... 80		

ANNAPOLIS AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

J. T. Chase, *President*.

*Vice-Presidents.*

1st, Wm. Kilty .....	11th, Wm. D. Diggress.....
2d, Thomas Blackistone .....	12th, Wm. R. Stuart.....
3d, William Spencer.....	13th, Ephraim K. Wilson.....
4th, Peter Emerson.....	14th, R. B. Taney .....
5th, C. Dorsey.....	15th, Charles S. Sewall.....
6th, Dr. Thomas Johnson.....	16th, William Hughlett.....
7th, William Hayward.....	17th, Thomas Kennedy.....
8th, James Murray .....	18th, George C. Washington.....
9th, Benjamin W. Leconte.....	19th, James Tidball.....
10th, John Moffat.....	

A. C. Magruder, *Secretary*.

Jonathan Pinckney, *Treasurer*.

John Brewer, *Recorder*.

*Life Members.*

Chas. Goldsborough, Governor of Maryland.....\$20	Henry H. Harwood..... 20
W. Kitty, Chan. do..... 20	Daniel Janifer..... 20
Henry Maynadier..... 20	Clem. Dorsey..... 20
John Pinkney..... 20	George C. Washington..... 20
Benjamin Harwood..... 20	E. R. Wilson .....
Henry H. Chapman..... 20	Samuel Claggett..... 20
Dr. John Ridgely..... 20	R. B. Taney..... 20
	Virgil Maxey .....

NEW-YORK AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

Col. Henry Rutgers, *President*.

*Vice Presidents.*

John R. B. Rodgers, M. D.....	.....Rev. Alex. M'Leod, D. D.
Divie Bethune.....	

Jonathan Goodhue, *Treasurer*.

G. N. Bleeker, }  
J. B. Beck, M. D. } *Secretaries.*

*Managers.*

Rev. John B. Romeyn .....	.....Mr. John Adams.
Rev. James Milnor.....	.....Mr. George Griffin.
Mr. John Griscom.....	.....Mr. Wm. Colgate.
Mr. Joseph Smith.....	.....Mr. Wm. B. Crosby.
Mr. Najah Taylor.....	.....Mr. George Gallagher.
Mr. G. P. Shipman .....	

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

A complete List of Officers for the present year has not been received.

Some of its principal contributors, are--

Rev. J. Janeway .....	\$20	Alexander Henry .....	30
Richard Dale.....	30	Godfrey Hager.....	20
Rev. Wm. A. Muhlenbug.....	30	Frederick Beasley .....	20
Charles Chauncey.....	20	Mr. Vauhgan.....	10
Cash .....	5	Paul Beck.....	20



Rt. Rev. W. White.....	25		Horace Binney.....	25
Mr. Clapier.....	10		William Meredith.....	10

SUBSCRIBERS IN PORTLAND, MAINE.

*Annual for Five Years.*

Richard Cobb.....		John Hull.
Levi Cutter.....		David Dana.
Nathaniel Dana.....		Reuben Mitcheli.
Luther Dana.....		Charles Blanchard
Samuel Freeman.....		Ezekiel Hoole.
Rev. Ed. Payson.....		Nehemiah Cran.

*Donations.*

Thomas Brown.....		A friend.
Cash by friends.....		Cash.
Rev. P. S. Ten Broeck.....		A friend.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF NEW-HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

Hon. Simeon Baldwin, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D....		William Moseley.
David Daggett.....		Isaac Gilbert.

*Managers.*

Obadiah Hotchkiss.....		Hezekiah Hotchkiss.
William Leffingwell.....		Æneas Monson, jr.
Asabel Tuttle.....		Wm. M'Crackan.
Joel Walter.....		Leman Dunning.
Luther Bradley.....		Rev. Henry Lines.
Henry Dennison, <i>Treasurer</i> ..		Ralph I. Ingersol, <i>Secretary.</i>

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF NEWBURY-PORT, MASS.

(List of Officers not received.)

*Annual Subscribers for Five Years.*

Thomas M. Clark.....	\$ 10 00		William B. Banister.....	\$ 5 00
Edward Rand.....	5 00		Phillip Coombs.....	3 00
Moody Pearson.....	2 00		Richard Bartlet.....	3 00
John S. Pearson.....	2 00		A. Knap.....	1 00
Henry Southwick.....	5 00		Samuel Tenney.....	1 00
Abner Caldwell.....	2 00		Joseph Hale.....	1 00
Alexander Caldwell.....	2 00		Edward Bass.....	1 00
Joseph S. Pike.....	2 00		Greendale Clark.....	1 00
John Boardman.....	2 00		John Dean.....	2 00
S. W. Thompson.....	2 00		William Bartlett.....	5 00
Moses Brown.....	5 00		.....	

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF PROVIDENCE, R. ISLAND.

Nathaniel Searle, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

Hon. William Jones.....		.....Alexander Jones.
Nehemiah R. Knight.....		.....

*Managers.*

Nicholas Brown.....		.....Thomas Burges
Rev. Nathan B. Crocker.....		.....Zachariah Allen
Samuel W. Bridgham.....		.....Stanford Newe
John Carlisle.....		.....
John Rowland, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		.....C. F. Tillinghart, <i>Secretary</i> .

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.  
(The Returns of this Society have not been transmitted)

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF VERMONT.

(The last Report of this promising and vigorous Auxiliary, has not been received.)

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF HARPER'S FERRY, VA.

John Stubblefield, *President*.

*Vice-Presidents.*

William M'Guire.....		.....Edward Wager.
Armistead Beckham.....		.....Roger Humphreys.

*Managers.*

John Strickland.....		.....John Rockenbaugh.
George Valleovy.....		.....Martin Birtenbaug
Philip Hoffman.....		.....James Clark.
Martin Hartman.....		.....Daniel Border.
John Reson.....		.....
Jacob Wark, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		.....John P. M'Guire, <i>Secretary</i> .

*Life Subscribers.*

William M'Guire.....	\$ 20 00		Roger Humphreys.....	\$ 20 00
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AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF FREDERICK COUNTY, VA.

Nathaniel Burwell, *President*.

*Managers.*

Rev. Alexander Balmain.....		.....Rev. George Reid
Rev. William Hill.....		.....Hon. Robert Whit
Rev. William Meade.....		.....Hon. Hugh Holme
Obed White, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		Augustine C. Smith, <i>Secretary</i> .

*List of Donations payable in Five Annual Instalments.*

Nathaniel Burwell,.....	\$ 500 00		John Kerfoot.....	\$ 100 00
Phillip Burwell.....	500 00		James Sowers.....	100 00
Rev. William Meade.....	500 00		William Mitchell.....	100 00
Richard A. Meade.....	500 00		Robert Berkeley.....	100 00
David Meade.....	500 00		James Davis.....	100 00

John Milton.....	500 00	Stephen Davis.....	100 00
William Garnegy.....	500 00	Judith Blackburn.....	100 00
Hon. Hugh Holmes.....	20 00	Rev. William Hill.....	50 00
Oliver Funston.....	200 00	Hon. Robert White.....	50 00
James Ship.....	200 00	Obed Waite.....	50 00
Susan Meade.....	100 00	James Baker.....	50 00
Mary Meade.....	100 00	Edward Smith.....	50 00
Lucy Meade.....	100 00	Joseph Fauntleroy.....	100 00
Rev. A. Balmain.....	100 00	Fielding Sowers.....	50 00
Daniel Lee.....	1 0 00	P. Nelson.....	10 00
Mrs. Page, of Fd.....	100 00	Adam Botyon.....	do..... 10 00
Mrs. Norris.....	100 00	Mrs. Blackburn.....	100 00
William Hay, sen.....	1 0 00	Mrs. J. Washington.....	20 00
James M. Hite.....	100 00	.....	.....

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF LOUDON COUNTY, VA.

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*Vice-Presidents.*

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Ludwell Lee.....	.....	Johnson Cleveland.
Israel Jamney.....	.....	Burr Powell.
James Moore.....	.....	James Heaton.
Mahlon Taylor.....	.....	William Elizey.
Samuel Nickols.....	.....	William Noland.
Isaac Brown.....	.....	.....

*Managers.*

Asa Moore.....	.....	Presley Cordell.
John Rose.....	.....	Charles B. Ball.
George Carter.....	.....	Stephen C. Rozell.
Jacob Mendenhall.....	.....	L. P. W. Balch.
R. H. Henderson, <i>Treasurer.</i>	.....	Rich. H. Lee, <i>Secretary.</i>

*Life Subscribers.*

George Carter.....	§ 30 00	John Rose.....	§ 30 00
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AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF CHARLESTOWN, JEFFERSON COUNTY, VA.

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*Vice-Presidents.*

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Adam Weaver.....	.....	George W. Humphreys.
Henry S. Turner.....	.....	Nathaniel Craighill.

*Managers.*

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Thomas Griggs, sen.....	.....	Wm. P. Craighill.
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George F. Washington.....	.....	Andrew Wood.
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William Little.....	.....	Thomas Griggs, jr.
Charles Lowndes.....	.....	.....
Rob. Worthington, <i>Treasurer.</i>	.....	John Marshall, <i>Secretary.</i>

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*Vice-President* .....John Baker.

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Rev. B. Allen.....	.....James Brown.
Abraham Shepherd.....	.....

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AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF ROCKINGHAM COUNTY, VA.

Hon. Daniel Smith, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

Dr. Peachy Harrison.....	.....Rev. Daniel Baker.
Major John Kenny.....	.....Col. Sam. H. Lewis.

*Managers.*

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Maj. Robert Grattan.....	.....George W. Harrison.
Capt. Sam. Lynn.....	.....James Hall.
Richard P. Fletcher.....	.....Benjamin Lewis.
John S. Herring.....	.....Alexander Herring.
Joseph Fawcett.....	.....Samuel Miller.

David Steele, <i>Treasurer</i> .....	Dr. Peachy Harrison	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
.....	James M. Bush.....	

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*Vice-Presidents.*

George Barnitz..... | .....Jacob Eichelberger.

*Managers.*

Charles A. Barnitz.....	.....Dr. William McIlvaine.
Andrew Cremer.....	.....Rev. Charles A. Morris.

John Schmidt, *Treasurer*..... | ....John Gardiner, *Secretary.*

SUBSCRIBERS IN HARTFORD, CONN.

John T. Peters .....	\$ 20 00	Silas Andrus.....	\$ 1 00
J. M. Wainwright.....	1 00	Henry Grew, 3 years.....	3 00
H. Huntington, for 3 years..	3 00	Mason F. Coggswell.....	5 00
Michael Ball.....	1 00	J. G. Norton.....	1 00
S. Spencer, 2 years .....	2 00	J. W. Edwards, 2 years.....	2 00
H. Hudson, 5 years.....	5 00	John Sargent, 5 years.....	5 00
Seth Terry, 3 years.....	3 00	Asa Willey.....	1 00
William L. Stone.....	1 00	A. Champion.....	5 00
Simeon Lincoln.....	1 00	H. L. Ellsworth, 5 years.....	5 00
A. Smith, 3 years.....	3 00	John M. Goumett.....	1 00

AUXILIARY SOCIETY IN NEW-LONDON, VA.

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*Vice-Presidents.*

James Stephen, sen..... | .....Col. John Wall.

*Managers.*

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Dr. William Stiptoe.....		.....Wm. Langhorne.
Dr. William Austin.....		.....Nicholas Cobbs.
Christopher Clarke.....		.....

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*Vice-Presidents.*

James R. Montgomery..... | .....Dr. Joseph Kent.

*Managers.*

Dr. William Beanes.....		.....Francis M. Hall.
William H. Lyles.....		.....John Hodges, (of Ths.)
Thomas P. Somerville .....		.....William Hebb.
Robert W. Bowie.....		.....George Calvert.
Francis Magruder.....		.....Richard W. West.
Samuel Sprigg.....		.....Charles Hill.

T. Tyler, *Treasurer*..... | .....Edward Harwood, *Secretary*

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF NORFOLK, VA.

(No Report has yet been received from the Society.)

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF GREENSBOROUGH, N. C.

George Swain, *President*.

*Vice-Presidents.*

David Worth..... | .....Jonathan Hadley.  
Jacob Hubbard..... | .....Abel Coffin.

*Managers.*

Joseph Swain.....		.....Henry Ballinger.
Obed Anthony.....		.....Sylvanus Swain.
Reuben Swain.....		.....Hermelius Mendenhall.
Job Worth.....		.....

James Johnson, *Treasurer*.... | .....John M. Dick, *Secretary*.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF CHAPEL-HILL, N. C.

Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D. D. *President*.

*Vice-Presidents.*

Major P. Henderson.....Wm. M<sup>c</sup>Cauley.....Robert R. King.

Thomas H. Taylor, *Treasurer*..... | .....William Hooker, *Secretary*.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

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Duncan McLevan, *Vice President.*

*Managers.*

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Abraham Stevens .....	.....	Samuel P. Asche.
Gordon Robins.....	.....	R. P. Tillingham, jr.
Jesse B. Shephard .....	.....	Elisha Stedman.
James Cameron,	<i>Treasurer.</i>	
Rev. G. T. Beidell,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>	
Rev. W. D. Snodgrass.		

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF RALEIGH, N. C.

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Hon. John L. Taylor.....	.....	Archibald Henderson, Esq.

*Managers.*

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Gen. Calvin Jones.....	.....	T. P. Devereux, Esq.
Col. B. Daniel .....	.....	William Hill, Esq.
Rev. Wm. McPheeters.....	.....	Joseph Ross, Esq.
Dr. A. S. H. Burges.....	.....	Meses Mordecai Esq.
Daniel Dupre, <i>Treasurer.</i> .....	.....	Joseph Gales, <i>Secretary.</i>

SUBSCRIBERS IN CHARLESTON, S. C.

Christ. Gadsden.....	\$50	John Anson.....	50
Wm. Smith.....	50	C. H. Gadsden.....	50
Mr. Poinsett, (dou.).....	50	Isaac Ball .....	50
Mr. Gibbs.....	3	William Clarkson .....	50
Rev. Mr. Payson.....	30	C. C. Pinckney .....	50
Mrs. Dehon.....	14	Mrs. Russell.....	30
Robert Smith.....	50	Mrs. Gregoire..	20
Mr. Poinsett.....	50	Mrs. Faber.....	10
Major Vanderherst.....	50		

SUBSCRIBERS IN SAVANNAH, Geo.

(Annually, for three years.)

James M. Wayne .....	\$20	Theodore Bartow.....	\$20
John Anderson.....	20	Hazen Kimball, 1 year .....	20
I. C. Dunning, 5 years .....	20	Jonathan Meigs, do.....	20
Joseph Cumming .....	20	Richard Habersham, do.....	20
Oliver Sturgess.....	20	I. B. Read .....	20
John P. Williamson..	20	A. G. Senns .....	20
William Taylor .....	20	F. R. Gray .....	20
David Leion .....	20	Anthony Berkley .....	20
Robert Habersham.....	20	I. Walbury .....	20
Archibald Smith .....	20	Henry Kolleck .....	20
Edward F. Tatuel.....	20		

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF AUGUSTA, Geo.

J. Walker, 5 years,.....\$25	M. C. Levensworth, 1 year.....\$10
J. H. Montgomery, do..... 10	Nicholas Ware, do..... 10
R. H. Wilde, do..... 10	L. C. Cantelon, do..... 10
Edward F. Cambell, do..... 25	John Campbell, do..... 10
Richard Tubman, do..... 20	Hugh Nesbit, do..... 10
Charles Labuzard, do..... 10	John Moore, do..... 10
Wm. Cumming, do..... 25	John Carmichael, do..... 10
Ralph Thomas, 1 do..... 10	Samuel Hale, do. .... 25
Augustin Slaughter, 5 do..... 25	James Frazar, do..... 10
Anderson Watkins, do. .... 25	

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(Annually for 5 years.)

*Subscribers.*

Wm. Rabun, dona. ....\$50	Thompson Bird .....\$10
George R. Clayton ..... 10	Arthur Ginn ..... 10
Joel Crawford..... 10	Solomon Betton..... 10
Daniel Storges ..... 10	Myles Green..... 10
John Lucas..... 10	William Turner..... 10
James Glen..... 10	Hines Holt ..... 20
John B. Hues ..... 10	Henry Darnell ..... 10
William H. Crenshan ..... 10	Richard Morgan..... 10
Walter Jones ..... 10	John Clark..... 10

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF PUTNAM CO. Geo.

Hon. C. B Strong *President.*

J. A. Cuthbert, *Vice President.*

*Managers.*

W. Abercrombie.....	Dr. T. Hoxey.
Wm. Flourday, sen.....	.....Iby Huden.
Eli S. Shorter .....	.....Rev D. L. White.
Dr. Wilson Williams.....	.....Rev. E. Moseley.

John Hudson, *Treasurer*,.....Wm. Turm, *Secretary.*

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF TENNESSEE.

No Returns have yet been made by this Society.

## ERRATA.

The names of two members of the Board of Managers, page 5, having been omitted, the whole corrected, are here reprinted.

### *Managers.*

Francis S. Key, Esq.	Rev. Obadiah B. Brown,	Jacob Hoffman, Esq.
Walter Jones, Esq.	Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer,	Wm. Thornton, Esq.
Rev. Dr. James Laurie,	Rev. William Howley,	Ths. Dougherty, Esq.
Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch,	Rev. Henry Foxall,	Col. Henry Ashton.
	Elias B. Caldwell, Esq.	<i>Secretary.</i>
	John Underwood, Esq.	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
	Richard Smith, Esq.	<i>Treasurer.</i>







3.-

THE  
SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR

*Colonizing the Free People of Colour*

OF THE

UNITED STATES.



WITH AN APPENDIX.



WASHINGTON :

PRINTED BY DAVIS AND FORCE, (FRANKLIN'S HEAD,) PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

.....

1824.

2.

# OFFICERS.

---

The Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, President.

## *Vice-Presidents.*

Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia.  
Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky.  
Hon. William Philips, of Massachusetts.  
Hon. Henry Rutgers, of New-York.  
Hon. John E. Howard, of Maryland.  
Hon. John C. Herbert, of Maryland.  
Hon. Daniel Webster, of Boston.  
Isaac M'Kim, Esq. of Maryland.  
General R. G. Harper, of Maryland.  
General John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia.  
General Charles F. Mercer, of Virginia.  
Robert Ralston, Esq. of Pennsylvania.  
Right Rev. Bishop White, of Pennsylvania.  
Jeremiah Day, D. D. of Yale College.  
General John Mason, of the District of Columbia.  
Samuel Bayard, Esq. of New-Jersey.  
William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. of Virginia.

## *Managers.*

Francis S. Key, Esq.	Rev. William Hawley,
Walter Jones, Esq.	Jacob Hoffmann, Esq.
Rev. Dr. James Laurie,	William Thornton, Esq.
Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch,	Joseph Gales, jun. Esq.
Rev. Obadiah B. Brown,	Colonel Henry Ashton.
Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer,	

ELIAS B. CALDWELL, Esq. *Secretary.*

JOHN UNDERWOOD, Esq. *Recording Sec'y.*

RICHARD SMITH, Esq. *Treasurer.*

RALPH RANDOLPH GURLEY.



## COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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The American Colonization Society held its Annual Meeting at the Supreme Court Room, in the Capitol, on Friday evening, 20th February, 1824.

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[We are greatly obliged to Mr. A. J. Stansbury, Reporter of the House of Representatives, for the following account of the proceedings on this occasion.]

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After the Hon. Bushrod Washington had taken the Chair, the Report of the Board was read by Mr. Gurley.

General Robert Goodloe Harper then rose and offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Board of Managers, for their active and successful attention to the affairs of the Society confided to their care, the prudence, steadiness, and diligence, displayed by them in all their operations, and their very able and satisfactory Report laid before this meeting.

General Harper then rose and addressed the meeting to the following effect :

MR. PRESIDENT,

I will now call the attention of the Society to a matter of some, though not, perhaps, of very great importance. It is to a proposition for giving a name to our African Colony. Names are, at all times, matters of convenience, and sometimes of advantage. Our Colony has at present no name. It is situated, indeed, near a Cape called Montserado, and has hitherto taken its only designation from this circumstance ; but that is a name not appropriate to its object, a name that means nothing. In reflecting on this circumstance, I have thought of

a name that is peculiar, short, and familiar, and that expresses the object and nature of the establishment—it is the term **LIBERIA** ; and denotes a settlement of persons *made free*: for our Colony may with truth be called the home and country of freedmen, in contradistinction to the slaves of whom they once formed a part. This name, if I mistake not, will be found easy and apt ; and it certainly has the merit of being very concise.

General Harper then submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the territory and settlement of the Society, near Cape Montserado, on the southwest coast of Africa, be, and hereby is, named **LIBERIA** ; by which name it shall be called and known in all the acts and writings of the Society and its agents.

General Harper again rose and said,

I will now offer another resolution of a similar character, but with a different object. It is not only to give a name to the principal town in our infant settlement, but at the same time to mark the gratitude of this Society to that venerable and distinguished individual, to whom it is more indebted than to any other single man. It is perfectly well-known, that but for the favourable use he has been pleased to make of the great powers confided to him, (a use as wise as it was liberal,) all our attempts and efforts must have been unavailing. No means that we possessed, or could have procured, would have proved adequate without his aid. As an acknowledgment of gratitude for his high and useful services, I make the following motion :

*Resolved*, That the town laid out and established at Liberia, shall, in like manner, be called and known by the name of **MONROVIA**, as an acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the present illustrious chief magistrate of the United States.

General Harper then rose and addressed the Society in an able and interesting speech ; of which the following very imperfect outline has been preserved :

I have now a proposition to submit of more important import, and, perhaps, of more doubtful character ; (I do not



mean in my own opinion, for of its propriety I entertain no doubt; but in the opinion of others.

I hold it perfectly clear, from what has come to my knowledge of the progress of this, and all similar establishments, that no means within the possession of this or of any other private association, are adequate to the attainment of those objects which such an association ought to hold in view. What are these objects? They are in the first place to aid ourselves, by relieving us from a species of population pregnant with future danger and present inconvenience; to advance the interests of the United States by removing a great public evil; to promote the benefit of the individuals removed, as well as of those of the same race that yet remain; and finally, to benefit Africa by spreading the blessings of knowledge and freedom on a continent that now contains 150 millions of people, plunged in all the degradation of idolatry, superstition, and ignorance. All these objects are embraced in the vast enterprise in which we have engaged. To attain these ends, to confer on the sons of Africa and on Africa herself, blessings so great so invaluable as these, requires means beyond the reach of any private individuals to command; all we have yet done, all we can expect to do, is merely to pave the way, to point out the track; and in accomplishing this, we have derived the most essential aid from the chief Executive Officer of the Union. These efforts of the Society have shown that it is practicable to transplant Africans from our shores to those of their native continent, and that when thus transferred, they are capable of enjoying freedom, civilization, and christianity. A few hundreds, at the utmost, a thousand colonists, might be within the reach of our efforts; by such an experiment we shall demonstrate this, and essentially benefit the individuals; but farther we cannot, by our own exertions, hope to go.

In the mean while, there exists among us a great social evil; a cancer on the body politic, that is gradually eating its way to the vitals of the state:—It is at work while we sleep and when we wake—and it will continue, if not speedily arrested,

to pervade and corrode, till at length it has destroyed, the entire mass of our social strength and happiness. It can't be touched by us ; it needs a far mightier hand. The removal of a few thousand individuals will, in an evil of such magnitude, produce but little effect—it will not even materially benefit this class of population themselves; for it consists of more than a million and a half of persons—and though 3 or 400,000 already free should be removed, the great political mischief among us would be but slightly affected. And though the benefits derived to Africa from such an increase of the Colony would not be unimportant, yet would they be small in comparison with those which the country may expect, from the complete eradication of this evil.

How then is that more extensive operation which alone can complete the scope of our design to be ultimately, or ever, accomplished? How is this vast mass of a vicious population to be safely withdrawn from among us, and with justice to those more immediately interested in their present condition? Their removal must have three qualifying circumstances. First, it must be *gradual*, for if attempted suddenly, a void would be occasioned by the precipitate subduction of so great an amount of effective labour, that would threaten the most serious inconvenience, if not great calamity. In the second place, it must be done *with their own consent*; for to think of doing it without, seems equally against reason, justice, and the dictates of religion. And in the third place, it must be done with the consent of those who have an interest in their labour—to no other idea would I ever yield my approbation or consent. Now, to accomplish the object we desire on the three conditions I have stated, most evidently requires national means. These means ought to be applied; the object is national, in its character, and in its consequences.

If a hostile army threatened to invade any portion of these United States, would it not afford a legitimate employment for the army and the fleet? Whether it were New-Orleans or Eastport that were threatened, would make no difference in the question—the object would still be national, and the na-

tional force would be called forth to meet it. I ask then whether the existence itself, of one or more of the States, is not a national object? And whether an evil threatening that existence is not a national evil? I need not prove it—to those who reflect at all, it cannot but be self-evident. To the national government then let us address ourselves. The object on which we address them is national in its magnitude, as well as in its consequences, both for good and evil—(chiefly for evil.) To have applied before, would have been premature—to such an application it might, and probably would have been replied.—“Shew us that your object is feasible; convince us that the thing can be done,” and such an answer would, I think, have been a wise and solid one. But now it cannot be made. The thing not only can be done, but has been done. A colony is actually established, in a healthy situation; peace has been secured; the means of supply and of sustenance are provided; all is done that needs to be done to complete the experiment, and to prove the practicability of the plan proposed.—Now we can go to the government with solid argument to support us, and appeal to their good sense as well as to their patriotism.

Gen. HARPER then submitted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That a respectful memorial be presented to Congress, on the part of this Society, stating the progress that has been made in establishing a colony of free people of colour at Liberia, on the south-west coast of Africa, the difficulties that have been surmounted in the progress of this establishment, its present situation, its prospects of ultimate success, and the benefits which it may be expected to produce; and praying for aid from the national government, in the further prosecution of this great national undertaking.

General Charles Fenton Mercer rose in reply.

He had listened, he said, with great pleasure to the remarks of his eloquent friend; and he did not now rise for the purpose of opposing the adoption of the resolution he had proposed to the Society, but only to remark on some of the introductory observations by which he had supported it. At a former meeting of the Society in this city, a resolution had

been brought forward of a similar kind. I doubted, said General M. its policy at that time, on a belief that our affairs were not yet ripe for such a measure. At the first organization of the Society, its sanguine friends were agreed in the opinion, that its success must depend chiefly on public opinion. The advocates of the plan might be charged with enthusiasm, which, in matters either of religion or of liberty, is apt to make men ready to believe almost whatever they wished, and to anticipate success as if it were to be produced by miracles. To repel this idea, it was agreed by all that the steps of the Society must be marked with the utmost caution and prudence; that in its acts might be found the best and most convenient answer to such an objection. It is now but seven years since the enterprise has assumed a public form; though it is as much as twenty years since in my parent state such a measure was first suggested. It was then discussed in secret council, and revolved only in the inmost meditations of a few distinguished men. Seven years ago the intelligence of the fact that such a plan was maturing, broke in upon my own mind, and brought with it the first ray of light upon a subject which it had been long and deeply, but almost hopelessly, pondering. After contemplating the evil in every various point of view, the result was that it was irremediable. This plan brought to me the first gleam of hope. It was not without difficulty that the Virginia Legislature determined to make public those councils; and since the promulgation of them the plan had had to encounter the most serious difficulties in public opinion. Nor is this at all surprising. The plan itself is imperfectly known or understood; in those parts of the Union remote from the slave holding states, we have few auxiliary societies, and the subject is little discussed. And though our progress has been more rapid of late, even now the means we possess, when compared with the population on which an influence has been attempted, are small, and I apprehend that we overrate the amount of our moral influence in society, when we indulge the supposition that our system is at present ripe for the measure proposed. We shall still be met with the charge

of enthusiasm ; and the objection has already been expressed by a Senator of the United States, that our object is grasped by feeble hands, wholly inadequate to sustain or to wield it. The objection is valid, if we alone are to make the attempt, or if it is to be attempted at all without the strength of the whole republic. And the question now presented is, whether we have so far conciliated public opinion as to render it safe to make an appeal to the government ; ours is emphatically a government of public opinion. We shall have to encounter that reluctance which is always felt towards embarking in new and untried enterprises : our effort contemplates great objects ; it looks at the colonization of those who go from our own shores, and the civilization of the native Africans. Reason shrinks appalled at the magnitude of the undertaking, and it will be attributed rather to the ardent wishes of our hearts, than the cool determination of our understandings, unless we mark our every movement with extreme caution.

So far we have lost nothing, not even time ; for while the Colony has been gradually making progress, we have been occupied in exertions in our own country. If those exertions had so far succeeded as to bring the subject into discussion in every state of the Union, I should think we ought to apply to Congress with a hope of success ; but I fear that we shall meet with difficulties in that body from prejudice, from the power of habit, and from constitutional difficulties as to the power of appropriation. On these accounts I should have preferred delay, till the legislatures of the several states had strengthened our application by memorials on the subject.

Still, however, we have obtained some. The Legislatures of Georgia, of Tennessee, of Maryland, and Virginia, have expressed sentiments favourable to our general object, and Ohio goes the full length of the resolution now on the table. But this is only a small portion of twenty-four states. I am not disposed, however, to oppose the resolution, but I doubt its policy.

I did hope the Managers would, ere this time, have ascertained the temper of the present Congress on this subject.

If this has been done, and we have any reasonable hope of success, I should then think we had better present our memorial ; but I am unwilling that it should be presented and fail.

I entirely concur with my friend in the encomium he has pronounced on our venerable Chief Magistrate for the firm and patriotic efforts by which he has advanced the design in which we are engaged. It is known to all the members of the Society, that \$100,000 were appropriated three years since, and 30 or 40,000 have been since applied to an object affiliated to our design, and essentially, though collaterally, contributing to its advancement ; the sending out of Agents of the United States to the African coast, and the transportation of persons in the public ships. By these means we have obtained, in fact, all we could have expected to obtain, had Congress decided to aid our enterprise ; nor has this been done by any perversion of his powers. It has been done avowedly and in good faith. The Executive apprized Congress of his construction of the powers confided to him, and that body tacitly assented to the construction. And I am not sure that it will be good policy to ask Congress for aid in a direct form, when we are already sure of receiving it from a collateral source. We may, in the mean while, expect to receive aid from each of the State Legislatures, in relation to the black population within the bounds of such state.

I only differ from my highly respectable friend in point of time. The policy is American throughout, for whatever relieves the south aids the north ; the strength of the south would be more available in time of war ; and in peace, a free-man is always better than a slave. The north, whatever she may think, or however she may feel, has a deep interest in the emancipation and the colonization of the slave population of the southern states. I make these remarks in reply to the argument of selfishness, which is sometimes brought in bar of the claims of this society to northern patronage ; for we have been charged with wishing only to remove our free blacks, that we may the more effectually rivet the chains of the slave. But the class we first seek to remove, are neither freemen nor slaves ; but between both, and more miserable than either.

George Washington Park Custis, Esq. then rose, and said that he would do himself the honour of seconding the motion made by his honourable friend. Mr. Custis supported the adoption of the proposed measure of applying for aid to the General Government in a speech replete with impressive imagery, but of which our limits will admit us to present only a very summary view. He observed that the early history of every attempt at Colonization had been uniformly marked with disaster, as if it were the will of heaven that all great and novel enterprises should be attended with difficulty in their outset, to shew how those difficulties could sink before labour and virtue. The cause of this Society had virtue on its side ; the object it sought to achieve was an act of retributive justice. The race it sought to benefit had been torn by the white man from their home and native land, and condemned without a provocation to toil and servitude ; and now we were endeavouring, by restoring to the land of their nativity to remedy, so far as remained in our power, the evil of our forefathers. With such an object to plead for, he would go to the great council of the nation as the guardians of American liberty, the conservators of the public morals : and he would tell them “ You are the last of Republics ; you boast that this is the seat of freedom, of justice, of honour, of high and magnanimous feeling. The evil we would remedy is none of ours, it was done before we were born, and it is left for us to undo.— Lend us your aid to strike the fetters from the slave, and to spread the enjoyment of unfettered freedom over the whole of our favoured and happy land.”

Mr. Custis then made some remarks in reply to what had fallen from Gen. Mercer, respecting the prejudices which still existed in northern sections of the Union, in relation to the character and designs of the Society ; and contended that it was not possible that such a feeling could long continue.

They have not forgotten that southern men were at their side when they braved the Canadian snows, and scaled the icy bulwarks of Quebec. Then we were only confederated states, now we are one nation, one family. He passed a warm enco-

mium upon the northern character, and felicitated the people of that part of the Union on their distinguished blessings and happy condition. But would they not dispense these blessings? Did they not feel for the condition of the south, so opposite in many respects to their own? Could they forget the heights of Cambridge, where they saw the hunting-shirt of the south coming up to their aid, and heard the voice of their brethren hailing the spark of freedom that northern hands had kindled, and crying out—"Go on, we are coming to support you!"

Mr. Custis anticipated with exaltation the results that would follow the success of the Society's efforts in removing this wretched population from the American soil, and restoring them to the land of their forefathers. When the bark that bore them approached the African shore, it would not be hailed with such shouts as welcomed Columbus when he bore to the people of the Western Archipelago the emblem of the cross—an emblem that appeared only to both nations in each others blood. We sent them the star spangled banner, that constellation whose rising lighted the world to freedom. When that banner shall float over their corn-clad hills and plains, waving in harvest, they will not think of Cortes or Pizarro—the name of America will be hailed with enthusiasm by millions on that vast continent that are now unborn. He called the society to remember the first colonization of this country. A feeble little vessel bore the adventurous band, but virtue and religion led the way; the genius of philosophy was perched upon the helm. Now we are become a great nation; should we not pity others?

In his remarks upon the unhappy situation of the planters, Mr. C. said, that what he spoke, he spoke not from speculation; he brought not the dreams of others, but his own experience; touching all those evils, he might with truth say—

*Quorum magna pars fui.*

He had lived to see, and painfully to feel, the errors of the system. His great hope lay in the magnanimity of those who were happily free from that system, and who, when they un-



derstood and became convinced of the feelings and desires of the men of the south for its entire removal, and saw a plan for that removal that presented a feasible prospect of success, would not, could not, refuse their aid to carry it into effect. The nation possessed the power to effect it. The Republic was not now feeble and panting from the mighty effort of its newly accomplished emancipation ; it had had time to breathe, to recruit its strength, to be refreshed, and to prepare itself for new exertions in the cause of light and liberty, and human happiness. On the subject of this enterprise, the nation has been as if in a deep sleep ; but when a lion slept, it was not the time to form conjectures on his power ; would you see his strength, you must rouse him up from his lair. With respect to the American Republic, she had only to awake, she had but to

“Stretch her hand—

She heav'd the gods the ocean of the land.”

What had she not already achieved ? If she could only be brought to *think* upon this subject, and once to turn her strength to its accomplishment, all difficulties would vanish before her way. The national genius, like the tube of Herschell, will discover satellites and suns that none believed had place within the starry sphere.

Mr. Custis urged the Society to persevere in its attempt upon the coast, undismayed by any discouragements. They may destroy our huts ; they may overwhelm us with numbers ; our bones may be scattered on the shore, but still we must persevere ; still let Columbia's flag be seen upon the coast, so long as we can hold but an inch of ground. Though we may be again and again cast down, still let us rise like Anteous from the ground, with strength renewed and invigorated by every repulse. He said he was a late convert to this cause ; but he had learned from the highest authority, that there was more joy over one that repented, than over ninety and nine persons who needed no repentance. He trusted the Society would continue its course under the same wise and able direction that had hitherto guided it. Light appeared in the horizon :

a triumph was before this Society such as the wisest man might envy, and the most virtuous man long to realize. They would triumph, not as conquerors, binding bleeding nations to their chariot wheels ; but as liberators, who came not to destroy but to save. Their triumph would not be like that of Pompey for three nations subdued ; whose train was filled with the groaning of captives in chains : their march would be surrounded by the songs of the grateful, the blessings of the free ; their triumph would be recorded in two hemispheres, and its lasting memorial would be written in heaven.

Gen. Harper replied, although his very able friend was not absolutely in opposition, he had suggested strong objections, deserving serious consideration. If we are defeated again and again in our addresses to the Legislature, this should not damp our ardour, but give new courage for new attacks. It is not whether public opinion is ready for this measure, but are we ready ? If so, aid may be claimed in our behalf : let us go to the Legislature and appeal to their good sense, rouse their feelings, awaken their patriotism, soften their hearts, and enlighten their understandings.

It is said there is no government for the colony, therefore this measure is premature. This is a reason with me for making the application. The Legislature of the United States only can form a Government ; I hope they will do it ; I think they ought to do it. They can create what now does not exist. Thus far, the Government has been only by consent and mutual understanding : a generous assumption of authority for beneficial purposes. Numerous applications to Congress may be necessary. The sooner they begin to be made, the sooner will they be acted on. I do not wish to see in Africa a colonial government, permanently attached to the United States. I do not wish for colonies to be held for use and made subservient : but I wish to see the paternal arm of authority stretched out for the protection of this colony, until it shall be able to manage its own affairs, legislative, judicial and executive.

This state of things cannot exist immediately. We hope it will soon. The authority now required is temporary to fit

the colony for perfect political independence. Such authority may be exerted. How soon Congress may think proper to establish a government for the colony is unknown: the sooner it is done the better. But Congress, it is said, will object to measures which may incur expense. There is in this body, it is said, a dread of taxation, and aid will be refused on the ground of economy. These difficulties are inherent in the very nature of our object. They arise from the character of our government and people. They must be met at some time: the sooner we commence, the sooner shall we overcome them. If our journey is long, we should set out the sooner.

It is said we must seek aid from the states—granted. They are called upon by the most powerful motives to activity and energy in the cause. But has not the nation an interest in our object as well as the states? Let us go to all the states; but not exclude the national government. There is scope for all united. There is a vast national object to be attained. I heartily concur in the opinion, that we should apply to the states. But by addressing Congress, we shall prepare the way for such application. We ought to explain our views and plan soon and fully; so that they may be seen and understood by the nation. The sooner and the more fully this is done the better; and in no way can it be so well done, as by an application to Congress, and the discussions to which it will give rise. Thus our light, instead of remaining hid under a bushel, will be placed on high, and seen by the nation.

W. JONES, Esq. made some remarks concerning the difficulty of the subject under discussion, and proposed the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That the resolution just offered be referred to a committee of five, who shall be instructed to inquire into the expediency of an immediate application to Congress, and the nature and extent of the aid to be asked for; and, that the said committee report the result of its inquiries to an adjourned meeting of this Society, on Friday, 5th March next.

The committee appointed under this resolution were—  
Gen. R. G. HARPER, W. JONES, Esq. WM. H. FITZHUGH, Esq.  
Gen. C. F. MERCER, Gen. JOHN MASON.

On motion by G. W. P. CUSTIS, Esq. *Resolved*, That this meeting consider the important services rendered to the African Colony when in circumstances of great distress, by Capt. Robert Traill Spence, and the officers and crew of the U. S. ship Cyane, services which were performed by them at the hazard of their lives, as entitling them to the gratitude and respect of all the friends of mankind.

On motion of Gen. C. F. MERCER, *Resolved*, That this meeting recommend to their friends the formation, as soon as practicable, of an Auxiliary State Society, in the principal city of each state in the Union, and the establishment of Societies subordinate to these, in each county or town of the several states.

On motion of Rev. WM. HAWLEY, *Resolved*, That this Society deeply lament the untimely death of Lieutenant Richard Dashiell, Commandant of the United States' schooner Augusta, whose piety and zeal in behalf of religion, and of the interest and prosperity of this Society, entitle his memory to be cherished with the most affectionate regard, by all the friends of this institution.

On motion of Rev. R. R. GURLEY, *Resolved*, That this Society is deeply sensible of its great obligations to Captain Laing, Captain M'Coy, Captain Woolrige, Lieutenant Rotheray, and those other officers in the service of his Britannic Majesty, who, during the recent contest between the American colony and the native tribes, contributed very important aid to our infant settlement.

On motion of Rev. LUTHER RICE, *Resolved*, That this meeting are truly sensible of the great generosity and disinterestedness of Mr. R. Seton, who, in a time of distress, offered his services to the colony, and that they deeply lament his death.

On motion of Rev. R. R. Gurley, *Resolved*, That this meeting consider the conduct of Midshipman Gordon, and his brave companions, of his Britannic Majesty's schooner Driver, who, when the colony was in a condition of great peril, offered their services for its defence, most of whom sacrificed their lives for its benefit, as most magnanimous, and entitling their memory to a grateful, sacred, and perpetual regard.

On motion of Gen. JOHN MASON, *Resolved*, That the able services of Dr. Eli Ayres, the Agent of the Society in the African colony, have entitling him to the gratitude, confidence, and esteem, of this meeting, and of all the friends of the objects it has in view.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Officers of the Society elected at the last annual meeting, be continued for the ensuing year.

*Resolved*, That the Society now adjourn, to meet again at the same place, on Friday, 5th March next.

# REPORT.

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WITH the warmest gratitude and invigorated hope, the Board record the events connected with their institution during the past year.

Aware of the exposed and suffering condition of the colony, the Managers proceeded, immediately after the publication of their last Report, notwithstanding the unfavourable season, to select emigrants and obtain supplies for an expedition. Efforts had been previously, but unsuccessfully made, to accomplish this object, and the delay was occasioned by circumstances which the Board could not control. Dr. Ayres, whose previous exertions as the government agent had been so important, consented to return; sixty-one coloured persons were received as colonists, and the brig *Oswego*, Capt. Wightman, was chartered, to convey this reinforcement, with its stores, to Africa. At this crisis, most alarming intelligence was received from the Colony.

In the hope of relieving themselves from strangers whose operations began to excite apprehension, and of pillaging their dwellings, all the tribes in the vicinity of the Cape had combined for the destruction of the settlement, and, strengthened by numerous mercenary warriors from the interior, had proceeded to violent and repeated attacks. Though the whole military force of the Colony did not at

this time exceed thirty men, yet their favourable position, superior arms and skill, and valorous spirit enabled them to repel, on the 8th of November, 800 of the natives, and on the 1st of December, according to the estimation of the Agent, nearly double this number, with a loss of only four killed and three wounded.

The same letters which informed the Board of this unfortunate contest, announced the cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the consent of the natives, to refer all matters of difference to the Governor of Sierra Leone. Though the intelligent and manly resistance of the settlers contributed in no small degree to discourage the assailants, yet for the truce just mentioned, the Colony was principally indebted to the kind interference of several British naval officers, particularly to that of Capt. Laing, the celebrated African traveller, whose familiar acquaintance with the native character gave facility and advantage to his negotiations.\*

Though this information was received only a few days before the departure of the *Oswego*, and when the colonists were already assembled for embarkation, yet duty as well as policy demanded, that it should not be concealed; that those who were about to link all their temporal interests with the destinies of the establishment in Africa, should not be left ignorant of its condition and prospects. A full statement was therefore made to them of all the facts just related; they were told that before them

\* Appendix, papers marked A.

were trials, perhaps death: that a Colony could survive in Africa only through the efforts of energetic, patient, and fearless men; that regrets would be too late when they were landed on a distant shore; that they were now at full liberty to remain in this country; yet the Board record it with pleasure, as an honourable instance of resolution, that no change was expressed in the purpose of a single individual.

The Oswego sailed from Baltimore on the 16th of April, and arrived at Cape Montserado on the 24th of May. The joy excited at the Colony by this event cannot be described. Unfortunately, the war, and subsequent attention to works of defence, had prevented any due preparation for the reception of emigrants, and though this circumstance, at any season, must have occasioned deep regret, at the commencement of the rains it was peculiarly distressing. A fever soon commenced, and spread with great rapidity amongst the new colonists. This was not unexpected; and considering the previous exertions of these people to unload the ship, their wretched accommodations, their early deprivation of the personal attentions of Dr. Ayres, who was among the first seized by the disease; the occurrence of eight deaths, furnishes in the view of the Board, no reason for change in the opinion which they have entertained of the African climate. Let it be remembered, that this fever has been generally mild, and that it has appeared in no instance among those who have resided one year at the Colony. A tropical climate is always trying for a short season,

to foreign constitutions, and the air of Montserado is, the Board are well convinced, pregnant with no danger, which is not annually encountered by thousands, who emigrate to the West Indies, or to the low lands of our southern states.

Nothing, surely, can be more unphilosophical, than to attribute an effect to one cause rather than to another, when various causes exist, any one of which may, with the same probability, have produced it, or to consider an effect as resulting from one only of several existing causes, which is most frequently produced by their combined power. Every intelligent and candid man must perceive, that the mortality among the colonists in Africa, may be imputed to other single causes with no less propriety than to the influence of climate, and that to consider the climate as alone efficient in the production of this mortality, would be, to leave unnoticed circumstances, which all history will show, have in their simultaneous agency excited diseases destructive to human life. One half the emigrants who landed at Plymouth, in the winter of 1620, died before spring. Did this fact furnish ground for the conclusion that the settlement of New-England was impracticable? The affirmative of this question might be consistently maintained by him, who, from the misfortunes which have impeded the progress of our Society, can deduce an argument to prove its design without wisdom, and its success impossible.

And here, the Board cannot but advert to the misrepresentations, which have, through the sedulity of



opposers, obtained an extensive circulation, and endeavour, by the exhibition of a few facts, to remove any false impressions which these fictitious reports may have left on the public mind.

Since the origin of the Society, two hundred and twenty-five emigrants, exclusive of those now on their passage, in the ship *Cyrus*, have sailed to Africa under the patronage of the Board. The census received with the last letters from Dr. Ayres, states the number then at the Colony, to be one hundred and forty. Let it not be supposed that this diminution of numbers has resulted from mortality alone. Previous to the purchase of Cape Montserado, several discontented individuals abandoned the Colony and settled at Sierra Leone, others returned to this country. Information of forty-six deaths only has been received by the Board. That more have occurred, the Board have no reason to believe. Twenty-two of these were among the passengers in the *Elizabeth*, the first vessel sent by the Society to Africa, and occurred soon after her arrival, near the commencement of the rains, through the unhealthiness of the spot on which, for a season, they were compelled to reside, and various other causes, by which future emigrants can never be affected. Four others took place while the colonists were at Sierra Leone, two of them only were the result of fever. Twenty others have taken place at the Colony since its establishment at Cape Montserado early in the spring of 1822; of these, four were killed in the

recent contest with the natives ; two were drowned, one died at the age of eighty through gradual decay, and one perished through his own rashness. Four others were children under four years of age. Now, the Board appeal to the candour of their countrymen, and ask, whether, when the difficulties and trials which must for a season, be inevitably experienced by every new settlement on a distant and barbarous shore, are duly considered, the facts just related, furnish reasons to conclude, that the establishment of a Colony in Africa is impracticable?

Mention has been already made of the friendly aid afforded to the Colony, when in circumstances of extreme peril, by the officers and crew of his Britannic Majesty's schooner, the Prince Regent. To secure a compliance on the part of the natives with the terms of the treaty concluded by Captain Laing, the commander of this vessel, Capt. M'Coy, permitted Midshipman Gordon and eleven sailors, belonging to the *Driver*, who nobly offered themselves to the service, to remain at the Colony until affairs should be finally adjusted.

The purposes of heaven are too dark and deep for the scrutiny of mortals ; they frustrate our best concerted measures, and frequently resign the noble-hearted to trials and death, on the very field of honourable and disinterested action. In the midst of his zealous efforts for the benefit of the Colony, Mr. Gordon was attacked by an inflammatory fever, which, on the 25th of December, terminated his life, and by the conclusion of the first

week in January, eight of his companions had shared the same fate.

“At the time of Mr. Gordon’s decease,” says Mr. Ashmun, “several vessels, two of which were armed cruizers, were lying at the Cape, and we were enabled on the following day, to pay our last respects to his remains by interring them, shrouded in the British flag, with the honours of war. The procession was composed of guards, a band of musicians, physician, clergyman, pall-bearers, carriers, and nearly every individual of the Colony who was able to walk to the grave. The whole was conducted with that decent solemnity, which bespoke the deep feeling of a large proportion of those who assisted on the occasion, for Mr. Gordon’s amiable qualities could not fail to recommend him to all his acquaintance. The language of the Society’s Agent, when communicating the intelligence of this melancholy event to Lieut. Rotheray, commander of his Britannic Majesty’s brig Snapper, is so pertinent, and accords so entirely with the feelings of the Board, that they beg leave here to introduce it. “To express the regret I feel, says this gentleman, that a measure so full of benevolence as the leaving this little force with us should have so disastrous an issue, it is superfluous to attempt, as I should but wrong my own feelings.”

“We have derived from the presence of these unfortunate men a great benefit; it assisted in a powerful manner to allay the warlike spirit of the natives: inspired a fresh spirit of resolution into our

people, and relieved them for nearly three weeks from a part of their almost insupportable burthens. I shall rest it, he continues, with the honour of my government, to make such an acknowledgment of the favours rendered by the officers and other agents of yours employed on this coast, as justice and a proper estimate of the beneficial influence of international favours, given and received, plainly dictate.”\*

Several children who had been taken captive from the settlement during the war, were, on the return of peace, immediately restored. An advantageous trade was commenced with the tribes in the interior, and before the arrival of the Oswego, the condition of the Colony was evidently improved. The United States’ sloop of war, *Cyane*, Capt. Spence, had been at the Colony in the month of April, and her officers and crew left there the monuments of their zealous and persevering exertions. It is impossible to estimate too highly the services of Capt. Spence and his generous companions. When informed of the sufferings of the Colony, they immediately repaired to Sierra Leone, fitted for sea the schooner *Augusta*, belonging to the United States, and hastening to the Colony, offered it most cheerfully, every aid in their power. Though the cruize of the *Cyane* had been already protracted in an unhealthy climate, Capt. Spence resolved without hesitation to remain so long on the coast as should be necessary to complete a work of defence, and make suitable provision for the approaching rains. He furnished the Colony with supplies and ammunition, built a

\* Appendix, paper marked B.

house for the Agent, and erected a tower of strong mason work, which, though somewhat injured by the subsequent rains, will, it is believed, prove an entire defence against the barbarians. Having nearly accomplished his designs, this efficient officer was interrupted in his exertions by the sickness of his crew, increased, no doubt, by the burning sun of that climate, and he was compelled to leave the Colony on the 15th of April.

The benevolence and zeal of Capt. Spence on this occasion, are the more striking, from the circumstance of his labouring under great debility from a fever contracted during a cruize of several months previous in the West Indies.

Determined, however, to neglect nothing, which might contribute to the results expected by government from an agency on the African coast, Capt. Spence instructed Lieut. Dashiell to take command of the *Augusta*, with a crew of six white and six coloured men, and to cruize in the vicinity of the Colony, for the purpose of at once subserving its interests and aiding in the suppression of the slave trade.

The Board deeply regret to say that Lieutenant Dashiell died at Sierra Leone, on the 22d of June. This mournful event has deprived the navy of an able officer, and the church of a distinguished christian. Midshipman R. R. M'Mullin succeeded him in the command of the *Augusta*, which is still on the coast of Africa.\*

The duties of the agency being found very ardu-

\* Appendix, paper marked C.

ous, Mr. Richard Seton, first clerk of the Cyane, highly recommended by Capt. Spence, consented to remain for a season at the Colony, and assist in a work evidently too great for a single individual. His services, though valuable, were short; a violent fever soon reduced him to extreme weakness, he lingered for some months and died in the Oswego on his return to the United States. If it is glorious to die for one's country, surely those who fall while aiding the cause of humanity, liberty, virtue, in a distant land, fall nobly, and deserve a grateful and lasting remembrance.

Since the arrival of Dr. Ayres, the number of buildings at the Colony has been considerably increased; certain irregular habits among the younger emigrants corrected; and a system of government adopted, which promises to exert an efficient and most salutary influence. The division of the land in the vicinity of the settlement, among the several families, has before this, no doubt, been effected, as Dr. Ayres observes in his last communication, "I have fixed upon the 1st of November for the time when all rations will cease to be delivered except to invalids." Such a division must minister every encouragement to industry, the great promoter of virtue, peace, and universal prosperity.\*

The evidences of public favour which the Board have received during the year, have afforded the highest encouragement, and they can no longer doubt that a general knowledge of their plans will be succeeded by the common and vigorous efforts

\* Appendix, papers A also D.

of the country to execute them, and that the design of the Colonization Society, notwithstanding the opposition it has experienced, will yet be consummated by the combined energies of a nation, and approved by the civilized world. A thousand powerful minds scattered throughout the Union, are at work for this institution; the objects which it is intended to promote are every where becoming subjects of thought and conversation, and the spirit of deep concern for its result is rapidly extending, securing to it the counsels of wisdom, the donations of wealth, and the prayers of religion.

During the spring, the Society for Inquiry concerning Missions in the Theological Seminary at Andover, thought proper to make the Colonization Society a subject for investigation. A committee appointed for the purpose prepared a report comprising the principal facts in the history of our Society, and presenting what was deemed a fair view of its claims to patronage. This report was written with great ability, and produced uncommon excitement. When presented, there was a unanimous and heartfelt expression of regard for the cause of the Colonization Society, and a resolution adopted to appeal to the public in its behalf. That this might be done with the greatest advantage, two gentlemen were requested to proceed to Washington and confer with the Members of the Board. They were accordingly present at a meeting in June, and the Board received from them much important intelligence, as well as several suggestions deserving very serious consideration.

During the deliberations at this time, the Board resolved to represent, without delay, in a publick address, the necessity for an immediate augmentation of their funds ;\* to appoint agents in different states to solicit contributions and form auxiliary societies ; to issue a prospectus of a periodical work to be published under the direction of the Board whenever the number of subscribers should be adequate to its support ; and to leave neglected no possible means of increasing the numbers and resources of the Colony before the return of the rainy season.

The Rev. Chester Wright, of Montpelier, Vt. one of the earliest and most efficient friends to the Society, kindly consented to accept a commission of agency for a few weeks in New-England, and though many obstacles were thrown in his way, his indefatigable exertions have greatly advanced the cause. Assisted by the Rev. Leonard Bacon, a young gentleman to whom the Board are greatly indebted for an able review\* of their Reports, first published in the Christian Spectator, and since copied into various periodical works, the efforts of Mr. Wright have excited an interest in the northern churches, which, the Board trust, will be permanent. The recent donation from the Vermont Society, proves that the Board may expect most important assistance from New-England.

In the state of New-York, the Rev. Loring D. Dewey has performed, with distinguished zeal and activity, for some months, the duties of agent, and by his unremitted endeavours, effected the establish-

\* Appendix, papers marked B. also appendix, E.



ment of several auxiliary societies. An association of this kind in New-York city, which has existed for several years, seems to have experienced a reanimating influence, and in their recent report the managers record with pleasure "their firm and unalterable conviction in favour of the great cause in which they are enlisted." They believe it to be a project not only practicable, but pregnant with the greatest blessings to humanity.\*

From the report of the Rev. Wm. M'Kenney, recently employed as agent for three months in Delaware and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, the Board conclude that the opinions and sentiments entertained by the most enlightened people in those places, are decidedly favourable to their object. Though compelled by severe illness to desist for some weeks from his exertions, Mr. M'Kenney has presented the plans of the Colonization Society to the consideration of many intelligent men, appealed to the churches for aid, assisted in the formation of several auxiliary institutions, and thus rendered important services to the general cause. Mr. M'Kenney every where received the kindest attention, and was assured by the distinguished men, that on their part nothing should be neglected which might be calculated to cherish or extend the flame which he had kindled, or by the adoption of measures for general and systematic collections, minister aid to the great enterprise in which the Society is engaged.\*

The recent formation of auxiliary societies in

\* Appendix, F. Appendix, G.

Richmond, Petersburg, and Portsmouth, Virginia; the eminent names enrolled among their members; the liberal donations already transmitted; and the deep interest expressed in the operations of the parent Society, are circumstances recorded by the Board with peculiar pleasure, not only as important immediate benefits, but as auspicious omens of far greater good.

Three very respectable societies have also been organized in this District, and promise considerable aid to the parent institution. To whom, indeed, can the Board look for support, at times when unexpected, immediate, and energetic action is demanded, and of course, when no assistance can be derived from distant friends, unless to those in their vicinity who have professed their regard for the Society; who are almost necessarily acquainted with its difficulties, and can inspect all its operations.

And why may not similar auxiliary institutions be formed in most of the counties and towns throughout the Union? Two or three individuals, possessed of zeal, industry, and perseverance in any degree like that which the cause merits, would, it is believed, seldom make an attempt to concentrate opinion, and collect donations in their neighbourhood in aid of the parent Society without success.

At the session of the Synod of North-Carolina, held in Fayetteville in September last, it was resolved "to recommend to each of its ministers to take such measures as might be necessary during

the ensuing year, for informing himself respecting the origin, progress, and present state of the Colonization Society, and respecting its transactions to the present date, and to take occasion to preach one discourse, at least, to his congregations, in the course of the year upon this important subject." This resolution was received without a dissenting voice. Resolutions expressing the most cordial approbation of the design of our Society, were, about this time, unanimously adopted by the synod of Philadelphia and Virginia. The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal churches, the General Baptist Convention, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian churches have, it is well known, given their sanction to the enterprise of the Board. The Board cannot record these honourable and auspicious movements among the ministers of religion, without devout acknowledgments to their great Benefactor, and an earnest prayer for his future benediction.

Nothing, surely, could afford the Board more sincere gratification, than to be able in the prosecution of their design, to assist, in a manner and degree, however humble, the benevolent and magnanimous intentions of the national government towards such Africans as may be imported into the country in contravention to the laws, and the belief that they may have contributed in any measure to the utility of the governmental agency on the African coast, is a powerful motive for future and undiminished exertion. And here, the Board beg leave to introduce from the January number of the North American

Review, from the pen of the Rev. Jared Sparks, an entire account of certain captured Africans who have been recently transported to the Colony under the protection of the United States. Those who would see a concise history of the progress, and a lucid exposition of the views of the Colonization Society, will find the whole article worthy an attentive perusal.

“Some weeks ago,” says the writer, “a vessel came into the harbour of Baltimore, which from various circumstances was thought to have negroes unlawfully detained on board. So strong was the ground of suspicion, that a few individuals took on themselves the responsibility of searching the vessel, and they found concealed eleven negroes, who were foreigners, incapable of speaking or understanding the English language. A prosecution was accordingly entered against the captain as being engaged in the slave-trade; but as he affirmed, that the negroes were his own property lawfully acquired, and no proof to the contrary could be adduced, he was acquitted. The law demands that in all doubtful claims to the property of slaves, the labour of proof shall rest with the claimant, and as the captain in the present case could produce no such proof, the negroes were detained by the court, although he was permitted to escape. Through the humanity of some of the active members of the Colonization Society,\* these negroes were provided for by being distributed among several families in the neighbourhood of Baltimore, to remain till they should learn

\* Appendix 1, No. 2

the language and be able to express their wishes in regard to their future destination.

“Fortunately, about this time, a young African by the name of Wilkinson, a native of the Susoo country on the Rio Pongas, arrived in Baltimore. Some years ago, a chief of the Susoo’s entrusted two of his sons to the care of the captain of a French vessel, trading in the Rio Pongas, who promised to take them to the West Indies, have them educated, and return them at the end of four years. When the stipulated time had gone by, and nothing was heard of the boys, Wilkinson was despatched to the West Indies to search them out; he succeeded in finding them, but had the mortification to learn that the treacherous captain had not been true to his word; he had deserted the boys, and they were turned over to work with the slaves. Wilkinson recovered them, however, without difficulty, sent them to their father, and came himself to Baltimore to take passage home in the Colonization Packet. He had already been several years in England, and spoke our language with fluency. Soon after his arrival he visited some of the recaptured Africans just mentioned, and discovered that they came from the region bordering on his own country, and spoke a dialect which he well understood, although it was not his native Susoo tongue. They were overjoyed at seeing a person with whom they could converse, but were incredulous when he told them that they were free, and might return home if they chose. They said he was deceiving them, that they knew

they were slaves, and should never again see their native land, their relatives and friends ; so thoroughly were they impressed with the melancholy conviction of being in slavery, that no protestations could make them believe in his entire sincerity. They exclaimed with raptures at the thought of freedom, and of going back to Africa, but would not hope that such a dream could ever be realized. The situation of these persons was made known by the Colonization Society to the President of the United States, who said, that if proper certificates were given of their desire to return, the government would pay the expense of transportation. The navy agent at Baltimore was ordered to have them examined. They were brought together for that purpose, and as the examination could only be carried on through Wilkinson as interpreter, he gave his testimony under oath. We shall speak of this interesting examination nearly in the words of Mr. Coale, secretary of the Baltimore auxiliary society, who was present and took an account of the proceedings in writing. The general question was put to them severally, whether they wished to remain in this country as freemen, or be sent to Montserado, and thence if practicable to their homes ; Dowrey was the first who was called to answer. He was a chief in his own country, of whom Wilkinson had some knowledge ; he replied, “ I wish to go home, I wish to see my father, my wife, and children ; I have been at Montserado, I live but three day’s walk from that place.” Barterou answered, “ Let me

go home, I have a wife, I have two children, I live a morning's walk from Dowrey." The next person called was Mousah, the son of a highly respectable chief, with whom Wilkinson was personally acquainted; he had been living with Gen. Harper, and when asked if he was not disposed to remain and be instructed, and go home hereafter and teach his countrymen, he replied; "General Harper is a good man, he will give me clothes and food, and be kind to me, but he cannot give me my wife and children." When the general question was put to Cubangerie, he replied; "Why do you ask this question over and over? I am so rejoiced at the thoughts of returning, that I want words to express myself. Do you not know that nothing is so dear as a man's home?" Mazzey said, "my mother is living, my father is living, I have two sisters, I shall be grateful to those who send me to my family and friends." The answer of Fanghah was, "I shall be joyful to go home, I have a father, mother, wife, sister, and three children to meet me in my own country." Corree said that all he desired was to be landed in Africa, and he should soon find his way home. Bauhah made nearly the same reply.

"After these eight persons were examined, they expressed great anxiety to be joined by two of their companions not present. These had been placed with a man, who, it seems, was not willing to part with them, and had reported that they wished to remain. This proved a false pretence set up with a view to profit by the labour of the negroes; and

whatever may be the power of the law in such a case, it will be difficult to make it appear in the eye of justice, in any better light than the crime of being engaged in the slave-trade. A writ on a fictitious suit was taken out against the negroes, and they were thus released from thralldom and brought to the place of examination. When they arrived, their companions sprang with extacies to meet them, embraced them again and again, caught them in their arms, raised them from the ground, and continued for half an hour at intervals to embrace and shake them by the hand. Nothing could exceed their joy at being told that they were free, and would sail in a day or two for Africa.

“These ten persons thus providentially rescued from perpetual slavery, and made happy in the anticipations of again beholding their native land, and of carrying gladness to many a weeping disconsolate heart, owed their deliverance chiefly to the Colonization Society. They have gone home to prove to their countrymen and friends, that white men are not all barbarians, traffickers in human flesh, and artificers of human misery; but that the flame of benevolent feeling may sometimes kindle and burn even in the breasts of this portion of their race whom they had hitherto known only as catchers of their own species, and workers in crime.

“We know not the spring of other men’s joys, but as for ourselves, call it weakness or enthusiasm, or what you will, we frankly confess, that the heartfelt delight of having been instrumental in restoring



these men to freedom and happiness, would have been to us a double compensation for all the embarrassments, rebuffs, and obstacles, numerous and severe as they have been, which the members of the Society have thus far experienced. Had they brought to pass from the beginning only this one deed, we would lift up our voice in praise of their noble achievement and say they had been blessed with a good reward. These rescued Africans, full of gratitude to their deliverers, sailed with Wilkinson in the *Fidelity*, for Montserado, in October last; Dr. Ayres had directions to send them home as soon as they arrived.”

The Board rejoice to say, that the slave-trade seems to have been less extensively carried on during the last year, and to express their belief, that few American citizens now share in the gains of this atrocious traffick. The earnestness and decision evinced by the government of the United States in its efforts to abolish this cruel trade; the opprobrium and punishment attached by Congress to a violation of its enactments on this subject; particularly, its recent determination to consider such violation piracy, and to neglect no reasonable means of detecting transgressors, have almost, if not entirely, restrained this traffick under the American flag, and promise to exert a benign and powerful influence upon the laws of the whole civilized world.

The encouragement given to the publication proposed by the Board, is at present insufficient to

justify its appearance, though from the communications of their friends, the Managers are induced to hope, that they shall soon be enabled to commence it. The character of this work must depend in no inconsiderable degree upon information derived from the Colony, and to render it worthy of general patronage, a regular and frequent correspondence with the Agent there, will be indispensable. Intercourse with the Colony has already been greatly facilitated by the establishment of a trading company in Baltimore, and the Board are happy to state that the arrangements now making by government, to guard the African coast, by vessels to succeed each other in cruizes of short duration, will probably afford the means of easy, frequent, and safe communication.

A large number of the free people of colour have the last year sought the patronage of the Board, and the disposition to emigrate to Africa seems coextensive with a knowledge of the motives to induce such emigration. It were easy to excite enthusiasm on this subject, but the Board do *not desire* it. The means will never equal the demand for transportation.

The resolution adopted by the Board in the month of June, to increase, if possible, the strength of the Colony during the present season, has not been neglected. By incessant effort such means have been obtained, as, though not equal to the expense necessarily incurred, have induced the Board to charter a vessel; and they are happy to announce

the departure of the ship *Cyrus*, on the tenth of last month, with more than one hundred emigrants. These people were all from Petersburg, Richmond, and the lower country of Virginia. Most of them were, it is believed, inferior in intelligence, industry, and morality, to none of their class in the country. Among these is the Rev. Colston M. Waring, a respectable coloured preacher, who, after having visited the Colony, now returns with his wife and children, and a considerable number of his pious and affectionate flock. May the benediction of heaven attend them; may the purity of their lives recommend christianity to barbarians; may religion console them amid all the discouragements of their work.

The Board state with pleasure that the expence of transportation to Africa is far less than has been supposed. One hundred emigrants have been taken out in the *Cyrus*, liberally supplied with provisions for twenty-six hundred dollars, making the cost of each individual twenty-six dollars. Even this sum will, the Board are convinced, suffer a very considerable reduction when the resources of the Colony shall be so augmented as to allow of the simultaneous arrival of larger reinforcements.

In conclusion, the Board venture to express the hope, that the time is not remote, when the hearts of all the people in this country shall be set as the heart of one man, to advance the cause of colonization; when the state governments and even Congress\* shall bring its mighty power to the execution

\* Paper H.

of a plan, which the Society most earnestly, but in weakness, endeavours to promote ; a plan, fraught with the richest benefits for a suffering and degraded people, most intimately, essentially connected, with the wealth, strength, and glory of our country.

In our national constitution, young and vigorous as it is, there exists a disease, growing with our growth and strengthening with our strength, which, unless remedied, will ruin us, possibly by slow decay, probably by sudden violence. Loudly, then, as by an Angel's voice, are we called upon to awake, and before age has fixed our habits, and the poison become mingled in the fount of life, make those exertions, which may secure perpetual strength, purchase immortal glory, and save us from terrors, darkening as we advance, which invest the future with clouds of mysterious and tremendous calamity. Whatever may be the fate of their cause, trusting in God, the Board will persevere ; for, in the prosecution of an enterprise, promising such benevolent such splendid results, they seek no higher praise than that of having exhibited the spirit ascribed by the poet to the stern and unconquerable Roman,

*Cuncta terrarum subacta  
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*

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Since the above Report was penned, Dr. Ayres has arrived in this country. His statements are such as to afford the strongest encouragement to the friends of our Society ;\* indeed, the question whether

\* Paper J.

a Colony can be established in Africa, seems to be decided in the affirmative.\* The emigrants were left in the enjoyment of good health, and had commenced the cultivation of their grounds. Constant attention, until very recently, to works of defence, has prevented any very considerable improvements; yet, as the Colony is now considered secure from the power of the natives, we may expect its prosperity rapidly to advance. It must, however, for some time longer, depend in part for a subsistence upon the charities of this country. Vegetables and corn will probably soon be raised in abundance, but the articles of meat and clothing must for one or two years be received from the United States. Supplies for the Colony are at this time demanded. The Board of Managers appeal to their friends for aid. Those who have confided in the generosity of the Society, must not be abandoned. The several auxiliary societies are most earnestly requested to transmit immediately such funds as they may possess, or as they may find it possible to obtain. May the liberality of the American people correspond to the greatness of the cause.

## DR.

*The American Colonization Society in Account with Richard Smith, Treasurer thereof.*

1822.			
April	20,	To cash paid J. Ashmun.....	\$100 00
May	19,	Ditto J. Gideon, Jr.....	9 00
	22,	Ditto J. Ashmun's draft.....	200 00
		Ditto do. ....	45 00
	25,	Ditto do. ....	100 00
June	11,	Ditto R. R. Gurley.....	150 00
	24,	Ditto Davis and Force.....	321 25
Oct.	25,	Ditto H. Payson, & Co.....	117 50
1823.			
Jan.	15,	Ditto R. R. Gurley.....	11 00
			<hr/>
			\$ 1,053 55
		Balance in hand	2,249 87
			<hr/>
			<u>\$3,303 42</u>

*Supra CR.*

1822.			
Mar.	22,	By balance per account rendered.....	2,525 16
April	30,	Mrs. Janet Lingan.....	10 00
May	7,	Auxiliary Society, Newburyport, per B. Bannister, Treasurer.....	61 00
Nov.	4,	Ditto Fred. county, Va. pr. O. Waite, Tr...	300 00
	13,	Ditto Jackson county, Ga per W Pentecost, Treasurer.....	40 00
1823.			
Jan.	6,	Ditto Norfolk, Va.....	100 00
		John Chew for the following persons, viz.	
		Miss Mercer.....	5
		Ch. Austin.....	3
		Joseph Waller.....	1
		Hor. Buckner.....	1
		Jac. Stares.....	1
		Edmund Taylor.....	5
			<hr/>
			16 00
Feb.	12,	Auxiliary Society of Jefferson county, Va. per W. Brown, Treasurer.....	55 00
	14,	J — of Alexandria.....	10 00
	15,	Auxiliary Society of Frederick county, Va. O. Waite, Treasurer.....	150 00
	19,	Mr. Withers.....	5 00
		Mrs. J. Withers.....	5 00
		Mrs. E. Withers.....	5 00
		A Lady.....	1 50
		The charity box of a young lady of the District.....	8 00
		Ditto of another do. 10 years old.....	6 76
		Rev. Asa Meade, Brunswick, Maine 1st mar- riage fee.....	5 00
			<hr/>
			<u>\$3,303 42</u>

## DR.

*The American Colonization Society in Account with Richard Smith, Treasurer.*

1823.					
March	26,	To R. R. Gurley's account to J. M'Fadon for freight of brig Oswego.....		\$1,000	10
		Cash paid R. R. Gurley.....		20	00
	31,	Ditto do. do. ....		55	00
April	14,	Loss on North-Carolina notes.....		10	64
	12,	Cash paid R. R. Gurley.....		200	00
		Ditto do. do. ....		600	00
	16,	Ditto do. do. ....		50	39
May	1,	Ditto do. do. draft to Bradford & Cook.....		29	65
	15,	Ditto do. do. E. J. Coale.....		30	00
	31,	Ditto do. do. ....		20	00
June	11,	Ditto do. I. King, jr. and T. Tyson..		237	50
		Ditto do. do. ....do.....		212	83
August	5,	Ditto do. J. Ashmun jr's draft.....		195	00
		Ditto do. Divie Bethune, & Co.....		107	47
Sept.	6,	Ditto do. M'Fadon and Harris.....		1,000	00
	19,	Ditto do. W. M'Kenney.....		75	00
	20,	Ditto do. King and Tyson.....		52	50
		Ditto do. R. R. Gurley, salary.....		200	00
October	3,	Ditto do. do. ....		100	00
	14,	Ditto do. do. ....		60	00
		Ditto do. Kinchy for books.....		6	00
Nov.	14,	Ditto do. J. Ashmun.....		50	00
		Ditto do. Mrs. C. A. M'Kenney....		12	00
Dec.	19,	Ditto do. R. R. Gurley.....		60	00
	31,	Ditto do. do. ....		550	00
		Ditto do. Davis and Force.....		234	87
				Amount	6,739 22
Feb.	13,	To balance on hand.....		281	72
				\$7,020 94	
1824.					
Jan.	5,	Ditto do. R. R. Gurley.....		1,000	00
	7,	Ditto do. do. ....		20	00
		Ditto do. do. ....		476	25
	9,	Ditto do. do. ....		50	00
		Ditto do. loss on Vermont notes....		3	05
	16,	Ditto do. John Stettenius.....		21	07

N. B. Of the above balance, \$29 are counterfeit notes.

*Supra CR.*

1823.					
Feb.	28,	By balance in hand per account rendered.....		2,249	87
March	10,	Cash from P. E. Thomas, on account of the Rockingham Auxiliary Society.....		45	00
	27,	Ditto Mrs. Mary I. Thomas, of Va. per F. S. Key.....		20	00
		Ditto Jon. Pinkney, Treasurer of the Auxiliary Society of Annapolis.....		6	00

March	27,	Cash from Gabriel Duvall, subscriber for 1821 and 1822.....	\$10 00
	23,	Ditto W. B. Bannister, Treasurer Aux. Soc. Newburyport, pr. J. Nelson..	50 00
	31,	Ditto R. R. Gurley for his collections in Philadelphia, viz.	
		From R. Ralston.....	10
		Mrs. Mary Carswell.....	5
		Mrs. Mary A. Ely.....	5
		Lemuel Lamb.....	5
		Alexander Henry.....	10
		Cash.....	5
		Bishop White.....	5
		Ch. Chauncey.....	5
		J. J. Janeway.....	5
			<hr/> 55 00
		Ditto Robert Ralston balance of collections	122 10
		Ditto A donation from ladies in Frederick county.....	10 00
		Ditto From M'Dupree, Treasur. Aux. Soc. in Raleigh, N. C.....	130 00
April	4,	Ditto R. R. Gurley, collections in Alexa..	119 00
		Ditto do. do. in Georgetown.....	35 00
		Ditto do. do. from various sources	25 14
	14,	Ditto John Gray of Fredericksburg.....	50 00
	18,	Ditto Auxiliary Society, Frederick county, Va. per Rev. Mr. Meade.....	100 00
	23,	Ditto Mrs. E. Murdock of Fredericktown..	30 00
	28,	Ditto Joseph Avery of Conway, Mass.....	10 00
May	30,	Ditto Vermont Aux. Society, per C. Wright	100 00
July	16,	Ditto Frederick county, Va. do. per Rev. Mr. Meade. proceeds 5 Hds. Tob.	185 08
	28,	Ditto Putnam, Geo. do. by W. Turner....	50 00
August	7,	Ditto H. Hill, from Rev. L. L. Barstow for collection in Keene, N. H. 4 July	16 25
	8,	Ditto Joseph Cowan, Staunton, Va.....	5 00
		Ditto Rev. Alban Hyde, collections in Lee, Mass. 4 July.....	6 00
		Ditto Rev. N. Willis, collections in Park-Street Church, Boston, 4 July....	60 00
August	11,	Ditto From Massachusetts Society to aid in the suppression of the slave-trade	500 00
	14,	Ditto A lawyer at Orrill, N. Y. the balance of costs in a suit between 2 col. men	3 00
	27,	Ditto H. Malcom, Hudson, N. Y. collection on 4 July, without previous notice	5 00
Sept.	11,	Ditto Platt Stout, Cor. Sec. of Aux. Soc. Maysville, Ken.....	20 00
	15,	Ditto Chris. E. Gadsden, Charleston, S. C.	50 00
	25,	Ditto H. Doyle, Tr. Aux. Soc. Fred. co. Md.	200 00
		Ditto Nath. Burwell, Va. per J. Von Rieser	200 00
		Ditto Mary Peters, Newhaven, of which \$7 70 were a donation of her pupils	15 00
		Ditto F. Anderson, Hagerstown, from himself and 2 friends of the Society...	10 00
Nov.	7,	Ditto Mary Dean, of New-Hampshire.....	30 00



Nov.	7,	Cash from N. Willis, of Boston, per D. C.....	\$2 00
	10,	Ditto E. Worrell, Tr. Aux. Soc. Wilm. Del.	50 00
	15,	Ditto Mrs. Sarah Charles, of Morris, N. J.	1 00
		Ditto Sarah Canfield, of do.....	1 50
		Ditto Robert Finley, of Baskinridge, do...	2 50
	19,	Ditto Donation from the Dedham, Mass. Female Society for educating Hea- then Youth.....	40 00
		Ditto An advance by said Soc. for educating 2 col. youth at Cape Montserado	40 00
	24,	Ditto From Miss. Sarah Black, on account of the Fem. Aux. Soc. Wilm. Del.	20 00
	26,	Ditto J. M. Smith, Schenectady, N. York	6 00
Dec.	1,	Ditto Neaham L. Washington, of Va. sub.	20 00
	2,	Ditto Mary L. Custis, of Georgetown.....	5 00
		Ditto Bushrod Washington.....	100 00
		Ditto L. D. Dennis, President, N. York....	100 00
	6,	Ditto J. Marshall, Tr. Aux. Soc. Richmond	450 00
	8,	Ditto Rev. Hor. Gilpin, Lanuington, N. J.	3 00
	17,	Ditto Miss Eliz. Stewart, contents of a cha- rity box.....	16 00
		Ditto From a friend.....	50
		Ditto J. W. Ross collected from the Presb. Congregation, Chambersburg, Pa.	5 00
	18,	Ditto Jedutham Loomis, Treas. Vermont Auxiliary Society.....	555 00
	19,	Ditto Miss A. Stewart.....	5 00
		Ditto Rev. D. Asherman, Knoxville, Ten.	5 00
		Ditto Rev. R. Post, of Washington, collect- ed at monthly concerts for prayer	14 00
Dec.	31,	Ditto Gabriel P. Disoway, Tr. Aux. Soc. Petersburg, Va.....	550 00
1824.			
Jan.	7,	Ditto B. — New-York.....	5 00
		Ditto Anson Brook, Treasurer Aux. Soc. Portsmouth, Va.....	62 00
	13,	Ditto Rev. Ch. H. Page of Charleston, Va. for col. by the Rev. Mr. Hawley..	15 00
	14,	Ditto Obed. Waite, Tr. Aux. Soc. Fred- erick county, Va.....	275 00
	29,	Ditto Aux. Soc. Queen Ann co. Maryland, per William M <sup>c</sup> Kenney.....	100 00
Feb.	5,	Ditto Hon. D. Garrison, amount collected in the Rev. George W. Jauvier's church, Salem, N. Jersey.....	5 00
		Ditto E. B. Caldwell, amount collected in the church of Rev. Jos. Caldwell, Chapell Hill, N. C.....	10 00
	7,	Ditto Rev. Ch. Hyde, of Doylestown, Pa. amount collected in his church....	10 00
	12,	Ditto J. M <sup>c</sup> Phail, Tr. Aux. Soc. Norfolk..	200 00
	21,	Ditto Rev. R. R. Gurley, for collections at the gen. meeting in the Capitol	16 00

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7,020 24

1822. To amount of expenses incurred in New-England in 1822.....	180 00
Dec. 16, Cash paid E. B. Caldwell, collections made for Society.....	130 00
1823. Ditto paid for supplies for colonists in the Oswego per abstract, &c.....	1,079 85
Mar. 24, Ditto John M'Fadon on account of freight of Oswego.....	1,000 00
Ditto Richard Smith, Treasurer, per account.....	347 24
Ditto contingent expenses per abstract, &c.....	54 24
Ditto supplies for colonists in the Cyrus per abstract, &c.....	693 63
Ditto Geo. Delius on account freight of Cyrus, &c.....	1,003 25
Ditto E. I. Coale supplies for colonists by the Fidelity	100 00
1824. R. R. Gurley's account for travelling and other contingent expenses.....	139 72
Jan. 1, One year's salary due this day.....	600 00
March 1, Balance in hands of the Agent.....	61 46

1822. By amount collected in New-England in 1822...	241 13
June 11, Cash received from R. Smith, Treasurer,.....	150 00
1823.	
Jan. 14, Ditto do.....	11 00
Collections made in Philadelphia.....	55 00
Cash received of Mr. Ralston of Philadelphia.....	122 10
Donations and subscriptions received.....	338 87
Mar. 24, Draft on R. Smith, Tr. in favour of Mr. M'Fadon	1,000 00
26, Cash received from do.....	20 00
31, Ditto do.....	55 00
April 10, Draft do. favour of E. I. Coale.....	600 00
11, Ditto do. do.....	200 00
12, Ditto do. do.....	50 39
14, Ditto do. Bradford and Coale.....	29 65
May 15, Ditto do. E. and J. Coale.....	30 00
Cash do. ....	20 00
Sep. 20, Ditto do. ....	200 00
Oct. 3, Draft do. do. favour of E. J. Coale....	100 00
13, Ditto do. ....	60 00
Dec. 19, Cash do. ....	60 00
25, Draft do. ....	50 00
27, Ditto do. favour of J. M'Phail.....	550 00
1824.	
Jan. 13, Ditto do. do.....J. Delius.....	1,000 00
7, Cash received.....	20 00
Feb. 14, Ditto do. do. for payment of bills.....	476 25

Dolls. 5,439 39

1824.

Mar. 1, By balance..... 61 46

Washington, 9th March, 1824. By authority vested in us by a resolution of the Board of Managers, we sanction the above account, having examined the same and found it correct.

JOSEPH GALES, JR. JOHN UNDERWOOD.

# APPENDIX.

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## PAPER A.

*Papers containing Correspondence of Captain Robert T. Spence, Dr. Eli Ayres, and J. Ashmun, relating to the Establishment at Cape Montserado.*

*Mr. Ashmun, acting Agent at Cape Montserado, to the Secretary of the Navy.*

Cape Montserado, November 26th, 1822, (morning.)

SIR : I had the honour of writing you by the Shark, on the 9th ultimo, and, subsequently, by the "Strong," in a very weak and sickly condition. We are now engaged in a bloody and perilous war with all the native tribes around us. On the morning of the 11th, were attacked by eight hundred, who were repulsed, after doing us some injury, with the loss of nearly one hundred killed on the spot.

Subsequently, we have been employed in a negotiation for peace, which I fear will fail. We expect another assault to be made on us in two or three days. The force is powerful in numbers, poorly armed, and cowardly. We hope, with God's help, to hold out till aid arrives from some quarter. Now, if a vessel of war lay in the road, all these hostile movements would probably have been prevented.

The spirits and health of our little number are much better than could be expected. We have six guns mounted on our lines, which we have supported by a musket shot-proof barricade. We have so constructed them as to include only about two-thirds of the town, the families without retiring within.

I am nearly reinstated in the enjoyment of health. We are obliged to increase our stock of provisions, ammunition, &c. by every vessel arriving in the road, provided she have them.

I have this day drawn on Mr. Beattie for \$272 10, and enclose you, sir, herewith, the bill of Captain Daily. We very much need an increase of our numbers ; men with *no*, or with *small*, families ; more hard shot, provisions and clothing, stone and other masons

We can now, with difficulty, muster thirty men fit for duty. These are obliged to stand upon their arms night and day; but, with a sufficient supply of good provisions and clothing, the habit will eventually set easy, and occasion no waste of constitutional vigour.

I shall endeavour to do my own duty, and make the people do theirs. Human weakness can reach no further. The two additional guns at Norfolk, twenty-five soldiers, and the fortifications spoken of in the preceding letter, (which, from the abundance of stone on the very ground, can soon be erected) in my opinion, would secure to us a peace as lasting and universal as could be desired; while the people of the agency could pursue the work for which they came to Africa, and improvements in husbandry and the arts rapidly extend their influence in this part of Africa.

I have the honour, sir, to be, your most obedient servant,  
 J. ASHMUN,  
*Acting Agent for liberated Africans.*

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November 26th, (Evening.)

SIR: Our negotiation with our perfidious enemies seems to have entirely failed of its object. They are bent on our ruin. We can only resolve to stand, and wait assistance. The presence of *one* vessel of war would deter them forever from attacking the settlement. Ten additional labourers, with one or two well acquainted with stone-mason work, united with what assistance we could give them, would, in four weeks time, complete a tower, battery, and wall, which, I beg leave to repeat, would so entirely command the whole surrounding country, as to ensure here, as it has invariably done elsewhere, perpetual peace, or something very nearly resembling it. We have only had time to begin the labour; and, while our people all lie on their arms nearly every night, never can finish it. Permit us, sir, in these circumstances, to hope for the aid asked, without being disappointed.

To aggravate our other losses, we have had seven of our children carried captive; the oldest about twelve. We hear from them daily; they appear to be as well treated as savage tenderness knows how to express itself towards them. According to a custom of the country, it may be confidently expected the children will be restored, of course, on the settlement of peace.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,  
 J. A.

*Loss on the American side, in the engagement of the 11th.*

Killed, 1 man, 1 woman; mortally injured, and since dead, 1 man; desperately do. 1 woman and 1 man, by bursting his own musket; badly do. 2 men; slightly do. 1 woman; carried captive, 7 children. Whole number of sufferers, 15.

J. ASHMUN.

Hon. SMITH THOMPSON, *Sec'ry Navy of the United States,*

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*Extract of a letter from J. Ashmun, Acting Agent of the United States for liberated Africans, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated*

American Agency, Cape Montserado, December 7th, 1823.

"In haste, I beg leave to inform you that, on Sunday morning last, the 2d, we sustained, with the loss of 1 killed and 2 badly wounded, a second attack of the natives; their numbers are rated at 1,500.

The Africans sent here by the government of the United States are all still unhurt, with the exception of the one wounded by the bursting of his own piece.

Our whole fighting force, including 10 of the African youths, is now 25. We have lost, in killed and wounded, in the actions of the 11th November, and 2d inst. 7 of our best men. We are at present reinforced by 13 men, marines, under the command of a Midshipman, belonging to his B. M. ship the *Driver*, provisioned for six weeks; and whose detention here, for that time, will cause no charge to the American government. A promising negotiation has been opened by Captain Laing, Bt. Lt. Infantry, passenger in the schooner "*Prince Regent*," from whom we obtained our men, and a moderate addition to our ammunition. No bill of it has been presented. It consists of

2 bbls. (100lbs. each) Cannon Powder.

28 do. 6 lb. Shot.

1000 Musket Balls, and

1 keg of Musket Cartridges.

But Captain Laing's exertions in negotiating a peace, and probably securing to us a *truce*, has laid the American government and Society under the greatest obligations. They positively refused to treat, freely, with an American; but promised, on penalty of the severest visitation, to abide by whatever terms the English, through Governor M'Carthy, shall prescribe. I had begun to treat with them often before, but, invariably, they violated their promises, and, finally, assured us they would die in the struggle, or destroy us; and fully convinced me that all overtures for peace were fruitless,

and they had suffered another repulse. Thus they have suffered, and, in this situation, Captain Laing found them. Be assured, sir, that British mediation shall extend, in this business, to no improper length, if I live, and have wisdom to judge correctly on the subject. The calling in of their aid I believe to have been absolutely necessary to our existence here 20 days longer, and the promptness with which it came, evinced it to be the dictate of friendship, and sensibility of feeling.

I can, sir, affirm, with confidence, that at least 2000 slaves are annually shipped from the Bay made by the projection of Capes Mount and Montserado: an armed vessel stationed there, and 24 soldiers ashore, would divert the traffic at least to some other part of the coast, and greatly reduce its extent."

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*Extract of a letter from J. Asinun to Capt. Spence, dated*

Cape Montserado, March 31, 1823.

Sir: Owing to the extraordinary reverses to which the establishment at this place, including an asylum for liberated captives, and a colony of free coloured people, from the United States, has been subjected: and the circumstance of no vessel arriving from America with supplies, during this trying period: we are reduced to the necessity of applying to you for such relief and supplies as our more urgent wants require, and your situation may enable you to furnish.

The absence of a small armed vessel from the roads of Montserado, certainly invited those aggressions of the native tribes, in consequence of which, all our improvements have been nearly suspended for several months, and the settlement surrounded with the horrors of a savage war.

A slight insight into the policy of these tribes, will discover that they never will venture to assail an establishment on shore, which has the support of even the most inconsiderable naval force. Your fore-sight has produced for us this important means of security, by repairing, manning, and allotting to the protection of the establishment, the schooner *Augusta*: her presence at Montserado will likewise have a most salutary influence in checking the sale and transportation of slaves in the neighbourhood of the Cape.

These inhuman practices, I regret to state, are to the present hour continued here, without restraint or disguise. Permit me to suggest the propriety of an application to our government to have this vessel commissioned, to employ her force against such American vessels as may visit that part of the

coast included between the Capes Mount and Montserado. This service she might, in my opinion, render the cause of humanity, without the least detriment to that to which she is specifically appointed.

I have already had the honour to represent to our government my views, in relation not only to the utility, but the absolute necessity of an efficient and well constructed work of defence, both for our security against the insults and aggressions of the natives, and to add respectability to the establishment, in the estimation of foreigners. Since those representations were communicated, we have unhappily been able to add the corroborative testimony of experience to their truth and importance. The native tribes, lured on by the hopes of getting possession of our stores, and observing nothing formidable in our means of defence, have attempted, by the utmost exertion of their power, our extermination; and a ship of war was actually sent by the acting commander of a large naval force, employed on this coast, to erect a foreign flag in the midst of our settlement, and transfer the jurisdiction of the Cape and neighbouring coast, and the allegiance of our people, to his own government! To such insults and injuries the establishment must always consider to be liable while destitute of the work in question. A just regard to the character of the nation imperiously demands, in my opinion, that the agency which it has seen fit to establish on this coast, for the most benevolent of purposes, should enjoy such a protection. I am happy, sir, to perceive that, on this subject, your views perfectly accord with my own; and was prepared on your arrival to ask for a part of the aid, which, in anticipation of any request on my part, you, sir, so promptly offered from your ship, for the erection of a *permanent and powerful fortification*. The labour and expense which the entire completion of this work will require, must necessarily be considerable—but its utility will be still greater; and I have that confidence in the wisdom and liberality of our government, that I would cheerfully share any pecuniary responsibility incurred in its erection, although without the authority of a specific order.

Vitally connected with the welfare of the settlement, is the preservation of the lives, and, as far as possible, the health, of the agents of Government. Nothing will contribute more essentially this desirable end than a comfortable habitation; several valuable lives have been unquestionably sacrificed for want of this convenience, and, in alluding to this subject, the recollection of an irreparable personal loss, powerfully intrudes itself upon my feelings. The accompanying circumstances were distressing: a female, of most delicate constitution, lying

under the influence of a mortal fever, in the corner of a miserable hut, (to ventilate which in a proper manner was impossible,) on a couch literally dripping with water, which a roof of thatch was unable to exclude; recovery under such circumstances was impossible: and the mortal struggle almost brought relief to the agonised feelings of surviving friendship.

A due regard to the preservation of my own life, and that of my successors, determined me to erect a comfortable house for the residence of the agents; but destitute both of suitable materials and of good mechanics, I could hardly have effected my purpose without the aid, in both these respects, which has been received from the *Cyane*. Against the important advantages of having a commodious house erected at this time in the settlement, no judicious person will weigh the expenses incurred by the purchase of lumber, and the subsistence and pay of the workmen. The house is nearly completed, in a most airy situation, and commands one of the finest prospects in Western Africa.

The propriety of soliciting the aid of workmen from on board the ship under your command, will, I hope, Sir, be obvious, when I inform you, that, of our small company of labourers, consisting only of thirty individuals, seven of the very best were either killed, or entirely disabled, in our conflicts with the natives, and that, the want of mechanical skill aside, the remainder are, to the present hour, obliged to mount guard every second night. Without help from the ship, we must either have left these works unattempted or unfinished, or have accomplished them in a most rude and unappropriate style.

The other improvements, to which the industry of a number of your crew has been directed, are scarcely less important; and altogether will afford us that security against external annoyance, and those domestic accommodations, during a rainy season of several months continuance, which we could not otherwise have hoped to enjoy.

To R. T. SPENCE, Esq.

*Commanding U. Ship Cyane, off Montserado.*

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*Extract of a letter from Capt. R. T. Spence to J. Ashmun.*

U. S. Ship *Cyane*, Western Africa, Montserado, 1st April, 1823.

SIR: Your communication of the 31st ult. I have had the honour to receive. Arriving on the coast of Africa after a long cruise in the West Indies, with my crew enfeebled by the heat of that climate, my own health in a precarious state, and that of some of my officers equally, I should have felt it my du-



ty to return, after a short tarry, immediately to the United States, had it not been for circumstances the most unexpected. Informed of your destitute situation, occasioned by the disasters of a war brought on by difficulties growing out of the nature of your settlement; moved by a sympathy and commiseration which suffering ought always to excite; wholly regardless of all personal sacrifice, I assumed a responsibility the emergency doubtless will justify; and, in anticipation of your requisition, provided such a supply of necessary subsistence as will enable you to go through the approaching rains without fear of famine—*thereby ensuring, I trust, your final success.*

The officers and crew of the Cyane have been engaged, day and night, in repairing, and getting in readiness for the service for which she will hereafter be applied, the schooner Augusta, found at Sierra Leone, deserted, and nearly destroyed. I shall leave her on the coast when I go hence, in a condition not less good than when first launched, with exception of her copper, which, however, will be sufficient for several years to come; she is placed in charge of a careful officer, well provided, and suitably armed. I promise myself that much good will result from her continued presence, and trust that your own expectations will be fully realized, from her remaining in the vicinity of the Cape.

It gives me great pleasure to contribute to your personal comfort; not so much to your comfort in accommodation, as to rescuing you from a hovel, which a continuance in would almost forbid a hope of your recovery; and which, from the Surgeon's report, I am induced to believe would ensure your death during the ensuing rainy season.

The tower I have commenced, I trust will prove to you a "tower of strength;" the impression it is calculated to make, the security it cannot fail to afford, will produce a two-fold operation; and be of infinite importance in many respects, all of which are too obvious to require exposition.

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Monrovia, June 18, 1823.

SIR: We arrived at Montserado on the 24th May, after a passage of thirty-two days from Cape-Henry. I find the Colonists have all been employed by Captain Spence, since his arrival here, on a fortification, which was not completed when I arrived. A few days after I arrived, about one-sixth part of wall tumbled to its base, and the rest has given way in every direction. I believe it will be less work to build a new one, than to repair the old. Previous to the attack of the natives, our people had got gardens enclosed, and vegetables flourish-

ing finely ; and, had it not been for this event, and they could have had a small part of their labour to bestow on their lots, they would have been amply prepared to have maintained themselves ; but, when the enemy came upon them, they were obliged to take up their garden fences to make a palisade of defence. Their gardens were all destroyed, and not so much as a hill of beans is growing in the colony. The rainy season has now fully commenced, and very little labour can be done until the next dry season, which will be in November.

This will make it necessary to continue the labourers at the public expense longer than I had contemplated in my former report, as I had expected a much more favourable state of affairs here.

One of the captured Africans was killed in the battle, and there is much jealousy of the natives against them, for fear of retaliation for their being sold.—I would therefore respectfully recommend to Government, not to send out any more captured Africans, until the requisite buildings can be erected, and a regular establishment made for them. Should it please God to restore my health and preserve my life, this will be accomplished in the dry season, and a regular system of management entered upon, when any number likely to be in the possession of Government could be managed. But, should I be called away by death, it would be highly dangerous, from the spirit which these have manifested, to multiply their number, without more efficient government being held over them than has been.

If it should please God to spare my life, I will endeavour to have the building erected early in the next season.

A fatality has attended every proceeding on this affair ; but, if I live, and am supported <sup>so</sup> I can stay here, I hope soon to alter matters, and set them on a better footing ; but, should any of the common casualties happen the trading company formed in Baltimore, that they should fail to comply with their contract, and I find myself neglected by both Government and Society, out of provisions, clothing, &c. I shall leave the place, and the cause, in despair.

The U. S. schooner *Augusta* has undergone a partial repair, but so slightly that she was thought to be hardly seaworthy ; But Mr. Dashiell, who was left in command of her, has ventured in her to Sierra Leone, to get some further repairs, to enable him to ride out the rains. He was in a very bad state of health. This system of repairing, out here, is very expensive, and is partially done, and poorly commanded and manned, as to be of no service to the colony. I beg leave to press, with the utmost urgency, as a security to the captured Africans, and the success of this cause, that Government keep here a vessel prudently commanded and well manned.

There is but one man who came out with me, but what is down with the fever. I was taken a week ago, and have not\* been able to see them since; but they are all doing well. We have five deaths, most of them from foolish obstinacy. I hope the worst is over with me. I have got so I can sit up a few minutes at a time, in which way this letter is written. I have the honour to be, your most obedient, E. AYRES.

The Hon. SMITH THOMPSON,  
*Secretary Navy U. S.*

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*Extract of a letter from Captain Robert T. Spence to the Secretary of the Navy, dated*

United States' Ship Cyane,  
Quarantine Ground, New-York, June 27, 1823.

"After an absence of twelve months from the United States, in the West Indies and on the coast of Africa, I have the honour to announce my arrival at this anchorage; last from a cruise among the Windward Islands.

Up to the 24th March, on which day my latest communications were addressed to you from Sierra Leone, you have been made acquainted with my official proceedings. Under that date, I informed you of the precarious situation of the colony at Cape Montserado, and of my intention to take prompt and effectual steps for its rescue and preservation. The schooner *Augusta* having been speedily equipped and made ready for sea by the activity of my officers, and such supply of necessary articles as would relieve the immediate wants of the colonists taken on board, together with about forty Kroomen, (whose labour had been secured, free of any expense to the United States,) I proceeded without a moments delay to the settlement, examining with due care the intermediate coast.

On my anchoring, after a short passage, at Cape Montserado, I received from Mr. Ashmun, the resident agent, a letter (see p. 52,) which with other communications, hereto appended, disclose the indigent and distressed condition of the colony, and forcibly show that my arrival was not only most opportune, and my anticipation of their wants provident, but, in every respect, essential to their future safety and preservation. The presence of the ship at this critical juncture, appeared indeed providential: for, without the succour it was my good fortune to afford, every thing might have been apprehended. A renewal of war was in agitation among the

\*The word *not* is left out in the original, and inserted here, as it is apparent it should have been in the original.

hostile princes ; and, from all we could learn, and observe, the conclusion was unavoidable, that the entire extermination of the colonists must have been the consequence. The head men were in the highest degree exasperated, appearing in no manner inclined to be appeased ; declaring that they had never entertained a design of selling the Cape ; that they had been overreached ; that they never possessed a full understanding of the agreement, (or “book,”) and, finally, that they never had sold, and never would consent to give up, Cape Montserado, the abode of one of their ideal beings, of superstitious veneration !

Having made such provision for the maintenance of the “agency,” during the approaching inclement season of the “rains,” (nearly at hand,) and by a friendly intercourse and other means mollified, as far as practicable, the excited temper of the neighbouring chiefs ; having afforded all the aid to the establishment, which, under other circumstances, might have been deemed sufficient ; my own health much impaired, my purser’s wholly gone, and that of my officers by no means vigorous ; having also placed a suitable vessel in the immediate vicinity of the colony, a cautionary measure, which should not be relinquished ; I should have felt justified, considering the sickly season was about to set in, (particularly as the stores and supplies of the ship, from extraordinary calls, had become inadequate for a full expenditure for any length of time,) in leaving the coast for the United States : but, sir, I could not persuade myself to adopt this course, while much remained to be done for the security of a settlement, the object of which appears to be fraught with such benefits to our common country ; especially as your instructions enjoined on me to do every thing for the agent and colonists which they might require ; and it being the object of an officer to acquire the Government’s, rather than his own, approbation ; to which end, I was ready to encounter any hardship, and to make any sacrifice.

The cause alleged, on the part of the chiefs, for making war on the peaceable settlers at Montserado, is merged in the statement previously given : namely, their never having had any intention to sell the Cape, the spot consecrated to one of their deities, or beings of superstitious idolatry ; that collusion had been practised in the purchase ; that it was not a fair and fully explained contract, as they were ignorant of the paper they had signed ; with others equally absurd and fallacious, founded neither in reason or truth. Such, however, were the causes set forth by them, in the various interviews had with the officers of this ship, during our stay, for their inexcusable and unprovoked enmity. But other latent induce-

ments existed, far more operative, which doubtless formed the true, and only cause of hostilities, committed by them on an unoffending people. The most prominent of these may be discovered in the embarrassments thrown in the way of the slave traffick, by a contiguous active check, restraining, by its presence, a trade they never can willingly forego ; as, also, in the hope they entertained of being able to obtain, without risk or loss, the spoil and plunder of a successful war : for they had been led to believe, by emissaries sent among them by slave factors, that there would be much booty of stores, goods, &c. In these alluring hopes and prospects, at all times cogent with beings of their propensities and uncivilized habits, may be seen the leading motives for attacking the establishment at Cape Montserado.

Seeing these to have been their incitements ; apprehending their present inaction was merely a truce for more vigorous preparation ; finding that the chieftains were far from being inclined to abandon either their claims, or intentions, but waited only for a season better suited to further both ; convinced, also, that the defenceless condition of the colony invited aggression ; I determined, in despite of the plausible objections my own mind furnished to a longer continuance on the coast, to exert myself, during the short period I was permitted to remain, with a view of placing the settlement in the best possible state of defence. This wish became strengthened by information received from Dr. Dix, (whose friendly and social interviews with the Princes, enabled him to obtain much useful matter,) that another attempt on the colony was positively meditated, when the season inimical to the health of its defenders should set in ; that they were sanguine in the hopes of *then* accomplishing their object, by the combined operation of war, sickness, and famine. My determination, on this point, received also additional strength, from a perspective of the fatal consequences which would inevitably result from renewed incursions on the part of these barbarians ; while the means of security were inadequate to inspire confidence on the side of the assailed, or apprehension on the part of the assailants, expulsion was certain. The entire extermination of a remnant of colonists, who, confiding in promises made them previously to embarking, had consented to leave the happiest country in the world, to sojourn in the land of their forefathers, was not only possible, but too probable ; added to which, the loss of a footing, happily acquired, in a situation second to none on the whole line of coast, after leaving Sierra Leone, and the consequent extinction of all future prospect of ever being again able to effect an establishment at a place so eligible, on terms so advantageous to the Society

and creditable to those who negotiated the purchase. A Martella Tower I conceived well suited to effect the object in view ; a fortress of this character was desirable on many accounts, nay, appeared indispensable, not only to the end of affording protection, and giving security in the hour of invasion, but as being also the best calculated to produce a change of policy on the part of the natives, and well suited to make such an impression, as would deter them from a renewal of aggression, and thereby prevent the calamitous consequences justly to be apprehended : at all events, the consequences of harassing and vexatious depredations. Again, I considered it expedient to make also a proper impression on the minds of foreigners, jealous of an establishment, whose continuance and prosperity threatens an annihilation of the Slave trade, in that particular section of country lying adjacent to the river Montserado : this, with me, was a consideration not without its influence. The foundation of the fortress being commenced, with the assistance of the Kroo-men, its progress was rapid ; alacrity gave animation and activity, and promised a speedy completion of a competent defence. In fifteen days, a circular massive work of stone, measuring one hundred and twelve feet in circumference, eight feet in thickness, and ten feet in elevation, was seen to tower above the surrounding heights, commanding the site for the town, and a wide range of the circumjacent country, capable of intercepting, by its position, any movement, made either within or without the bar of Montserado river. In my expectations I was not disappointed. During the time this work was progressing, I had frequent opportunities of discovering its effect in neutralizing, in no small degree, the menacing designs of the natives. Every day brought me additional proof of a change in their intentions, wrought by an amicable and conciliatory conduct, conjoined with preparations for defence—formidable to any eye, but with them, to all appearance impracticable. I was happy in perceiving this revolution in their sentiments, this change in their designs : as a friendly understanding with the powerful chiefs of the neighbouring villages, is the true policy to be observed on the part of the emigrants at Montserado. While this fortress was advancing, other operations, calculated in an eminent manner to improve the settlement, were also undertaken and carried through : indeed, nothing was left undone which I had the power to do ; conceiving that both the spirit and letter of your instructions required the performance of every thing which a limited means rendered practicable, tending in any way to ensure the success of an establishment instituted for colonizing the free men of colour of the United States, and for the reception of captured emancipated slaves : objects

commanding the approbation of every humane heart, and the benedictions of thousands, who are to be benefitted by their accomplishment. While I witnessed with satisfaction these laudable undertakings drawing to a completion, I felt no small impatience to leave the coast before the commencement of the "rains"—frequent tornadoes, warning me of their approach, leaving impressions on my mind by no means tending to reconcile me to a stay of many days. The health of my crew was, at this time, comparatively good, considering the length of time we had experienced the debilitating effect of tropical heat, and I felt no small anxiety to preserve them in this state, for the service they were yet to encounter in the West Indies—a hope fondly indulged, but in which I was cruelly disappointed.

Our labours were nearly at a close, when my Surgeon was suddenly taken down, and on the sixth day was no more! The sick list received several names in the course of a few days; cases at first apparently slight, speedily assumed the symptoms of the coast fever! The appearance of this disease determined me, especially as the castle was finished, to delay no time in removing from the coast. In pursuance of this resolution, the crew were forthwith embarked, and the ship immediately put to sea. This measure, carried into effect with promptitude, encouraged a hope that there would be an end to a malady understood to be peculiar to the African coast, generated by the miasma and poisonous exhalations from vegetable decomposition and a deleterious atmosphere, thrown from waters which, after the annual deluge has subsided, become stagnant and pestilential.

Such was my expectations, from so salutary a change; this expectation doubtless would have been realized, had the winds been sufficiently fresh and favourable to have enabled us to reach, in a short time, a higher latitude. It was not, however, our good fortune to be thus propitiated—but the reverse was our lot—fogs, calms, with an alternation of rains and intense suns, rendered our situation truly deplorable, and rapidly increased our sick list, so that, on the 25th of April, seven days after putting the ship to sea, the sick report contained the names of sixty of my officers and crew, and was for some time diminished only by death—not in fact diminished, for death but made room for others, brought down with similar symptoms, and threatened with a similar fate. The extreme humidity of the atmosphere, and the confined state of the ship, in consequence of torrents of rain, had changed, in a great degree, the character of this distemper, giving it all the features of the typhus. The symptoms were not altogether exclusively those attendant on this fever; they as-

sumed a compound and multifarious appearance, not always equally violent, but in most cases equally fatal. In many instances, a general suffusion took place, the body exhibiting a deep yellow tinge, together with a highly discoloured tongue; delirium, madness, instant prostration of strength, with convulsive contortions, carrying the victim off suddenly. In other cases, the symptoms were wholly different, vital decay producing a slow and destructive debility, resulting in extinction of life."

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*From Dr. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy.*

Monrovia, Africa, July 18, 1823.

SIR: A few days after landing in Africa, all the new comers were taken ill; there has but one escaped the sickness: we have lost eight of our number. The colonists who were out before, have been very healthy; there has not been a case of fever among them since I have been out. We are now all on the mend, but attended with a great degree of debility.

The captured Africans have been constantly employed in the defence of the colony, during the late war with the natives; and, since that time, the urgency of the affairs of the colony have been such that they have been constantly employed in preparing a defence for the place, which has deprived them of the opportunity of acquiring that information of agriculture and the mechanical arts which would benefit them in acquiring a livelihood in civilized life, according to the humane intentions of the President, expressed in his message to Congress, and approved by them.

Owing to this circumstance, I thought it my bounden duty to retain them a year longer, at the charge of the United States, to accomplish this purpose. I have placed them under the care of the Rev. Lot Carey, a coloured man. A part of each day they are to attend, and the remainder of their time to labour, under the immediate care of Mr. Carey, in clearing and cultivating the land, whereby they will acquire a knowledge that will benefit them through life. Their labour is always to be under my immediate direction.

I have not been able to settle the accounts of Mr. Macauley yet. The *Augusta* left here, a few days after my arrival, for the North, and has not returned, and probably will not, until after the rains—so that I am without the possibility of communication with Sierra Leone, and unable to accomplish it.

The goods received in the Colony from the Trading Company of Baltimore, will enable me to dispense with the neces-



sity of drawing bills on London for necessaries, but can draw directly on the government. I have the honour to be, your most obedient humble servant,

E. AYRES.

The Hon. SMITH THOMPSON, *Secretary U. S. Navy.*

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Freetown, 11th March, 1823.

SIR : Understanding that you wish to be acquainted with what stores, and other necessaries, may be useful to the American Colony on Cape Montserado, I beg leave to acquaint you with the following particulars. In December last, going down to Cape Coast in H. M. C. Schooner Prince Regent, I was informed by a Krou Canor, that the American settlers were in war with the natives, who had attacked them the night before and killed some men, I immediately hastened to the spot, though considerable beyond it, to render what assistance I could. On my arrival, I was informed by Mr. Ashmun, the American Agent, that they had suffered severely from the ill treatment of the inhabitants at King Peter's town; he was in constant fear of being attacked by two or three thousand men; he was also in want of powder and ball. I supplied him with the articles he stood in need of, and the next day proceeded to King Peter's town, accompanied by Capt. Lang, of the Royal African Light Infantry, when we made the agreement with the King, not to molest the settlers any more, until we heard from Sir Charles McCarthy. Having so far arranged peace and quietness, I proceeded on my voyage, on my return to Sierra Leone, in the Intercourse packet in February last, (they had not been disturbed since I saw them last;) I did not understand from the Agent what was actually wanted for the settlement, but I have every reason to believe, that the following stores would be useful, viz :

Gardners Tools, Pick Axes, Shovels, Powder, Shot, Muskets, Musket Balls, Beef, Pork, Flour, Lumber, Joist, Plank, Shingles, Nails of all descriptions.

The Colony was greatly improved, considering the few men residing there, and allowing for the difficulties they have laboured under; they have cleared away a considerable quantity of land on the Cape, and had built for their own defence a square consisting of the country wood, in the middle of which there was a long eighteen pound cannon, mounted on a pivot. I would recommend, if such a thing could be procured here, four or six field pieces as the most useful thing required on so young a Colony.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed,)

JNO. JAS. McCOY.

To Captain SPENCE, *United States Ship Cyane.*

Sierra Leone, March 12th, 1823.

SIR : I left the American Colony of free Blacks, at Cape Montserado, about the 22d ultimo, at which time they were in distress for provisions, clothing, ammunition, &c. There are five of the Colonists prisoners to, or in the knowledge of, King Peter—I redeemed one child with presents, and the Snapper Gun Brig obtained the release of another by a palaver.

The Colonists are unable to cultivate the land and defend themselves at the same time.

In my opinion they stand in need of Beef, Pork, Flour, Lumber, Nails, Gunpowder, Balls. &c. and particularly lead for casting musket balls ; these I consider absolutely necessary for their preservation. Some medicines and stores are also wanted for the sick.

They also want some good muskets, cutlasses, grape shot, ramrod and screws, for the 12 pounder, &c.

I paid for the child spoken of before 20 bars of tobacco, 20 yards of cloth, and 2 gallons of rum, which appear to be the best articles by which to obtain any thing from the natives.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant.

(Signed)

WILLIAM HABANGER.

To R. T. SPENCE, Esq.

*Commanding U. S. Ship Cyane.*

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## PAPERS B.

*Extract from Dr. Ayres' communications soon after the return of the Oswego.*

Monrovia, July 11th, 1823.

DEAR SIR : By the blessing of God, I am still in the land of probation, and my health so far improved, as to be able to give you a short account of what has happened since my writing by the Oswego.

The disease among us has totally differed in type and character from what I have formerly seen in the dry season, and required a new treatment. My health was fortunately preserved, until some of the first cases had run through their first stage, and I had pretty well discovered the character of the disease. At this critical juncture, there came along a British vessel which furnished us with five dozen of porter ; had it not been for this seasonable supply, many of us would now have been in our grave—our shamefully scanty supplies affording us nothing suitable to prescribe for arresting the dis-

case in its first critical change. After I was taken down, and could not visit the sick, I cannot in too high terms speak of the useful exertions of the Rev. Lot Carey. He three times a day visited the sick, brought me an account of their state, received my prescriptions, and attended to the administering of the medicine. To his great exertions we are all much indebted. On landing, the new emigrants took lodgings wherever they could find room to store in. When they all became sick, they were strewed over the floors with nothing under them but mats, and many of them drenched with rain every day. Under all these circumstances, we have been favoured by loosing but eight, five adults and three children. Among the deaths I have to lament that of Isaiah Preston, a young man of great promise; he has not left his equal in the Colony.

Our first attention was turned towards getting houses over our heads. The rains have been so incessant, and other interruptions from sickness, &c. that this is not yet accomplished. I hope we shall shortly have these houses finished; when that is done I shall introduce an entire new mode of procedure; their lots will be surveyed to them, and every one go to work for themselves. This, I hope, will produce a considerable alteration in the character of the colonists. There will be a number of those who will have to remain a charge to the Society.

There are two or three invalids, from wounds received in the war, that will never be able to work.

It is my intention, when the lots are divided off to the people, to allow them half their time to labour on their lots, and be liable to be called the other half of their time to publick labour.

I shall appoint three magistrates to serve for one year, whose duty it shall be to take cognizance of all disorderly conduct in the Colony; to have a hearing, and take evidence in the case, but pass no sentence. The last Saturday of every month I hold a court, when all the cases tried during the month by the magistrates are reported, and the magistrates stand the accusers in behalf of the Colony. The accused have the privilege of being tried by a jury if they wish it.

As soon as the houses are finished, and the lots appropriated to the individuals, it is my intention to put in practice the plan which has ever been nearest my heart in the plan of colonizing, viz. all male minors who have no guardian in the Colony, to be classed with the captured Africans; they are to have a house built for the occasion. The Rev. Lot Caréy has consented to take charge of them for the present.

They will be called up at five in the morning, and attend prayers; be ready to repair to business at sunrise: work until

eight, A. M. breakfast at 9, repair to work until 11 o'clock : then attend school until half past 12 ; adjourn for recreation until half past two ; their labour always to be subject to my order. They will be employed principally in clearing and cultivating a plantation in the best order ; we stand much in need of tools of many descriptions. I hope now in a short time to be able to give some more cheering accounts to the Society, of our proceedings in this quarter ; but it is yet in the bosom of futurity, and I know not what trials and obstacles it may please the Almighty to lay in our way.

My health is daily gaining, I can now be up half the day.

I have the honour to be, your most obedient humble servant,

E. AYRES.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY, *Agent A. C. Society.*

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A small mistake is to be found in a statement made by the Society's Agent, in a letter to a gentleman in Richmond, which has since appeared in some of the newspapers, and is corrected in this Report. We will take the liberty to recapitulate concisely the facts concerning the mortality amongst the African colonists.

The whole number sent out under the patronage of the Board, 225. Died at Campelar, of those who went out in the Elizabeth, 22. At Sierra Leone, 4 ; two of which by fever. At Liberia, 20 ; eleven only by fever. Total number of deaths, 46. The number at the Colony by the last census, 140 ; others have left the Colony ; some settled at Sierra Leone, some returned to this country.

We give, with pleasure, the following account of the sickness which occurred among the passengers in the Elizabeth, soon after her arrival in Africa in 1820, from the pen of one who was familiarly acquainted with all the circumstances of the case.

The Elizabeth arrived at Sherbro a short time before the rains commenced. The Agents were induced to accept the invitation of Kizzell, who was then supposed to be a zealous friend of the Colony, and to take up their temporary residence at Campelar, a town belonging to Kizzell. Campelar is a small island low and marshy, and surrounded with mud and mangrove trees, excluding the fresh air, and exposing the people to the full effect of marsh mud and vegetable putrefaction, without fresh air, just after a sea voyage. The only water at this place was very offensive, coming from the marsh, but which Kizzell at first persuaded them was a chalybeate spring, and healthy, whilst he was secretly getting the water

for himself from a spring on the continent, three miles distant. The sickness soon commenced, and the mortality was so rapid, that the people were soon deprived of medical aid, of nursing, and of almost every accommodation. When the cause of the sickness was discovered, and after the death of the white agents, the remainder were removed to another part of the island, under the care of their own people, Coker and Johnson; and it is a most remarkable circumstance in favour of the general healthiness of the climate, that not one died, it is believed, after the removal; although most of them were debilitated by the sickness at Campelar; their accommodations were miserable exposed hovels, in which they had to encounter the whole season of rains, which had just commenced, and their supplies of provisions and medicine limited and scanty, with but little order or discipline, and without any medical advice. The sick all soon recovered in their new situation, under all these disadvantages. Disposing, then, of the death of these twenty-two, as caused by the particular sources of disease from their situation and circumstances, it leaves but thirteen deaths of the whole number of emigrants from the fevers of the climate.

When we reflect upon the various deprivations and exposure to which the people have been subjected, in removal from place to place, and the many difficulties attending the first settlement of a new country, it will be matter of surprise that so few have died. In comparison with the settlement of our own country, it augurs strongly in favour of the general healthiness of the climate for the descendants of Africans.

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*Address of the Board of Managers published in August last.*

#### AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, urged by the most powerful motives of religion and humanity, appeal to a generous public in behalf of their great design.

Six years have elapsed since the institution of their Society; and, though want of funds has prevented very vigorous and extensive exertions, though sad occurrences have obstructed its operations, it has advanced; gathered strength in its progress; been instructed by misfortune; and, aided by Heaven, has demonstrated the practicableness of its plans, and confirmed the hope, early entertained, that its efforts, if well sustained, would be succeeded by splendid and sublime results.

Whether these efforts shall be thus sustained, it remains with this enlightened community to decide.

The territory purchased in Africa, appears to have been judiciously selected, and, it is believed, combines a greater number of advantages for a colonial establishment, than any other situation on the Coast. Elevated, and open to the sea, with a harbour to be easily rendered excellent; fertile, and well watered; intersected by the Montserado River, extending several hundred miles into the interior; bordered by tribes, comparatively, mild in character; it promises to the settlers every facility for the attainment of their objects.

The number now at the Colony, including the sixty who recently took passage in the brig *Oswego*, probably amounts to one hundred and ninety. The African tribes in that neighbourhood are neither ferocious nor brave; and the recent contest, in which their combined forces (amounting at one time to fifteen hundred) attempted to exterminate our Colony, nobly defended by its thirty men, proves any thing rather than difficulty of maintaining a stand against their power.

It proves, indeed, that the natives of Africa, like most uncivilized men, are treacherous; that, incited by the slave traders and the hope of plunder, they will not hesitate to murder the defenceless, and that a colony, if it survives at all, must live not by their favour, but by its own strength. It proves that our settlement, commenced at the expense of so much time, and money, and suffering, may perish—but only through neglect. And shall this Colony be abandoned?

The Board believe it impossible that their earliest friends, who have watched all the movements of their Society with the deepest concern; implored for it the favour of God; rejoiced to see it living, amidst misfortunes, and acquiring confidence in its march; will refuse their aid at this crisis, when the question is, shall all past exertion be lost, through present inactivity, or shall an immediate and powerful effort render permanent the foundations of a work, which, completed, shall prove an honour to our country, an incalculable advantage to Africa, a magnificent contribution to the light, freedom, and happiness of the world.

That the resources and strength of the Colony should be immediately augmented, appears to the Board indispensable; and most earnestly do they solicit their countrymen to furnish the means of performing it. The colonists, increased to double their present number, supplied with implements of husbandry, and (for a few months) with the means of subsistence, will, it is believed, never afterwards require pecuniary aid; but, perfectly secure from hostile violence, may engage, with

a moral certainty of success, in the peaceful and profitable employments of life. The immediate object of the Board, then, is to give stability to their establishment in Africa, and it is in behalf of that establishment that they make their appeal.

It is their determination, should the charities of the public equal their expectations, to send several vessels to the African coast in the ensuing fall, and to adopt and execute, without delay, such other measures as may contribute to the strength and prosperity of that Colony.

What mind, susceptible of benevolent feeling, or even of common sympathy, can reflect, without pain, upon the dangers, privations, and warfare, endured for many months past by the little band at Cape Montserado? Widely separated from the civilized world, surrounded by barbarous foes; suffering the untried influence of a tropical climate; destitute of the comforts, of the necessaries of life; in the daily expectation of death; no defence but their courage, no protection but God, they have stood with unbroken energy, and deserve for their conduct high commendation and a cherished regard.

The Board have not heard, with insensibility, of the trials of these men, nor wanted the disposition to relieve them. They have not possessed the means. But, though retarded in their efforts by the destitution of funds, they have recently rejoiced in the departure of the brig Oswego, well supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and having on board a reinforcement of more than sixty colonists.

The Board are happy to state, that, since the foregoing part of the Address was written, communications have been received from Africa, of a highly interesting and encouraging character. Health and harmony now prevail in the Colony; hostilities with the natives have terminated. The children who were taken captive on the 11th of November, have been voluntarily restored, and the settlement is greatly improved. The condition of the Colony, previous to the arrival of the Cyane upon the coast, though rendered more tolerable by the exertions of the Agent and people, assisted by an officer and several sailors from an English vessel, was, indeed, distressing; and the noble services of Captain Spence and his generous crew, cannot be too highly appreciated. This officer, when informed of the sufferings of the Colony, immediately repaired to Sierra Leone; fitted for sea the schooner Augusta, belonging to the United States, and, to the great joy of the colonists, arrived at Montserado on the 27th of March, where he offered to the Colony every aid in his power. Capt. Spence, though the cruize of the Cyane

had been already protracted, in an unhealthy climate, resolved, without hesitation, to remain so long on the coast as should be necessary to prepare the Colony for the approaching rains, and to strengthen it against any future attacks. He completed a suitable house for the Agent, and erected a tower of strong mason work, which, it is believed, will prove a safe defence against the barbarians. Having nearly accomplished his design, the benevolent and efficient exertions of this officer were interrupted by the sickness of his crew, increased, no doubt, by their exertions under the burning sun of that climate; and he was compelled to leave the Colony on the 21st of April. Several extracts from the letter of the Agent of the Society will be found in the Appendix. "It is too obvious," he remarks, in one of them, "to require repetition, that, what your Colony now wants, is a strong reinforcement of orderly and efficient emigrants."

Having exhausted their resources, the Board can look for the power of future exertion only to the liberality of a great, humane and Christian nation. They appeal to the several auxiliary institutions, and to all their friends, with confidence, for they have experienced, even in times of deep discouragement, their vigorous exertion. They appeal to their countrymen in general with high hopes, because the possibility of effecting their design is no longer problematical, while its benevolence and its greatness admit of no question. The obstacles deemed insurmountable have been overcome—the things thought impossible have been accomplished. Standing on an eminence which, it was said, they could not reach, the Board see before them an extensive prospect, fair as the morning spread upon the mountains—the land of promise to degraded thousands—the rich inheritance which God has given to tribes who have drank deep of the waters of affliction, laboured and wept in a land of strangers. Shall they not maintain their station, or rather shall they not advance and possess the land?

In conclusion, may not the Board be permitted to ask—How shall this great nation, so favoured, free, and happy, which God has delivered by his own right arm and exalted as a light and example to the world, exhibit, in an equal manner the strength of its gratitude, the consistency of its principles, the purity of its justice, or the power of its benevolence, as by engaging at once, and with energy, in an enterprise which, while it relieves our country from an immense evil, shall extend the empire of liberty and truth, terminate the worst of trafficks, rescue from present and future ruin a miserable race, and confer upon them, their descendants, and upon the



unenlightened population of a mighty continent, knowledge, civilization, dignity, all the blessings and hopes of a Christian people ?

J. MASON,	} Acting Committee.
W. JONES,	
F. S. KEY,	
E. B. CALDWELL,	
JAMES LAURIE,	

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C.

The exertions of midshipman R. R. McMullin, while upon the African coast were most meritorious. Though suffering severely by fever, and deprived of all the white men of his crew, he persevered in guarding the coast in the *Augusta*, until she became entirely unfit for sea. While the Captain, sailors, and Dr. Ayres, were sick on their passage home in the *Fidelity*, though extremely weak himself, he took the command, and by exposures which hazarded his life, and by great energy of conduct, secured, it is believed, the safety of the vessel and passengers. We are happy in paying this tribute to a gallant young Officer.

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PAPER D.

*Extracts from Mr. Ashmun's Letter, dated Monrovia, May 15, 1823.*

Cape Montserado, May 15, 1823.

Capt. Spence left the walls of the Tower raised above the foundation, (which consisted of heavy stone work,) about 11 feet; and had prepared most of the timbers for the platform, or gun floor.

Being much worn with cares, and fatigue,—and Mr. Seton offering to superintend this work—after organizing the labouring force of the colony, I went on board the “*Augusta*,” on the 21st of April, and sailed for Seltra-Kroo; about 200 miles S. eastward, for the purpose of conveying to their own country about 40 Kroo-men, who, in consideration of their passage had laboured for us three weeks.

Owing to the illness of Lieut. Dashiell on board, to contrary winds, and accidents which befel the Schooner, we did not return till the 13th of May;—after an absence from the Cape, of 21 days. Among the Schooner's accidents were, the loss of her stream anchor, and kedge, through carelessness; and

the carrying away of both her top-masts, which had injudiciously been retained from her old spars.

One century ago, a great part of this line of coast was populous, cleared of its trees, and under cultivation. It is now covered with a dense, and almost continuous forest. This is almost wholly a second growth—commonly distinguishable from the original, by the profusion of brambles and brush-wood which abounds amongst the larger trees, and renders the woods entirely impervious, even to the natives, until paths are opened by the Bill-hook.

The native towns are numerous, but not large. The people raise their own rice, cassada, and palm-oil; and procure their guns, powder, cloths, tobacco, knives, cooking utensils, and luxuries, from French slave traders. We saw at least three vessels of this description.

I observed, on this excursion, several situations, which, in point of local advantages were obviously preferable, as the seat of a colony, to Grand Bassa; but none, which I did not judge far behind Montserado. I was surprised to find the place selected at Bassa for the site of the colonial town to be a low peninsula, having an impassable swamp stretching along its rear for several leagues, and terminating sea-ward, in a sluggish creek!—King Ben, in anticipation of the arrival of our people, had built here, a large house, which shows to a great distance in the offing.—With this King, I had repeated conversations; and frankly explained the true reason why the contract of Messrs. Andrus and Bacon was not confirmed by their fathers in America; and told him that our nation, like England, could not, according to their laws, have any agency in carrying off the poor people of Africa. All this he seemed perfectly to comprehend; and after a few moment's silent reflection, coincided that he could not blame the Americans for observing their laws, and refusing to settle at Bassa. He should not persist in requiring it.

The conversation then reverted to the death of his son. I explained to him the cause and circumstances of his decease, as I had learnt them. *That Messrs. A. and B. had treated him with paternal tenderness, till their arrival at Sierra Leone; when they placed him under the care and instruction of one of the best of white men, to be instructed in whatever was most useful—that God visited him with a disorder which the most skillful men could not cure.* He stated in reply, that he was satisfied that “*God killed his son;*” but that “*Messrs. Andrus and Bacon promised to take his son to America, instead of Sierra Leone.*” Of that, I knew nothing; and told him, *that one of the men was dead, the other had left the country,—perhaps King Ben had misunderstood them; or they him.*

“Well,” he rejoined, “White men don’t come settle Bassa. No palaver for that. God kill my son. True:—but what you pay me for my son die in your hand?” I told him, white men had no such custom; and could not understand paying for a dead man. He soon observed, “That be true: white men can’t sabby black man’s fash. I say then, God kill my son. No palaver for that. But he die in your hand. That make my heart sorry. Now, what you give me to make my heart glad?” This was coming to the point.—I promised him a small present, provided he sent for it to Montserado. This he promised to do; and repeatedly expressed his wish, that the most perfect amity might forever subsist between his people and the Colony.

Every tribe, indeed, visited on this trip, declared by its Prince, or head-men, its intention to preserve with us a good understanding, and to trade freely to the colony. The particulars of our late war, especially the result of the two engagements, have been reported far and near, and given to the colony a character for strength and invincibility, which must, in different ways, contribute greatly to its advantage.

During this trip, I collected 230 gallons of palm-oil—an article of the first necessity here; answering the double purpose of lamp-oil and suet. The means of lighting our houses in this latitude, where the sun is, 12 hours out of every 24, below the horizon the year round, are necessary, not as a matter of convenience only, but of necessity. Besides supplying their own wants with the valuable article just mentioned, the people about Montserado prepare little or none for sale. Down the coast it is abundant and cheap.

I likewise engaged 25 Kroo-men as labourers—perhaps, eventually as settlers near the colony. The wages allowed this company, are 3 bars, or about 5 pounds of leaf tobacco, per man, for the month. The customary wages are 4 bars.

At the river Sesters is an English factory. Here I purchased 1500 feet of boards, at a very high price. But the unfinished state of the Agent’s house, and some other uses for which this article *must* be had, overruled the extreme reluctance with which I submitted to pay more for this little lot of lumber, than it was worth to the seller.

Returning to the colony on the 13th instant, I found Mr. Seton, the young gentleman from the Cyane, mentioned in my last, very ill of the fever. But apparently convalescent. By “convalescent,” when applied to cases of fever in this country, is by no means to be understood that the patient, if he be a white man, is in the way of a speedy recovery.

The colonists working under the superintendence of one of their number, have continued to raise the walls of the tower.

The battery platform is laid, and the walls carried a few inches above it. Under the hands of the 25 additional labourers, the work now proceeds more rapidly.

The season for planting and sowing the seeds of such vegetables and grains as produce only an annual crop, has now commenced, and will continue until the middle of June.—Most of the seeds on hand, having been in a damp store house for nearly a year, are, I fear, spoilt. Our people, I regret to say, have not commenced preparing their plantations; nor, for obvious reasons, would it be proper to impede the progress of our works of defence by withdrawing any of the labourers, even for agricultural purposes.

*June 5th.*

The English have established a regular packet communication between Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast. The distance is little short of 1,000 miles. The "Intercourse" Schooner commonly makes a trip, including the return, in about 2 months, and has made Montserado one of her touching places. May 31st. she arrived here from the lee ward, and proceeded on to Sierra Leone on the 2d instant, taking from Montserado about 20 Kroo labourers. It is customary for public and private vessels to accommodate gratuitously this class of people with passages to and from their native country, and the different European establishments on the coast, to which they resort for employment. They are regarded as a sort of common property. Every body employs them. To-day they will assist in getting a cargo of slaves on board a Spaniard, to-morrow, will aid an English cruizer to capture him; and no umbrage is given or taken. They never deal in slaves, and by common consent, the obvious dictate of interest, are never enslaved by Europeans. Hence, they come aboard of any vessel with an air of fearless confidence, and every indication of feeling themselves entirely at home.

With ordinary success in trade, on this coast, I can clear at least four times the sum which I shall ever ask or expect either of the Government or Society. And the business would not, to say the least, be more arduous, than a faithful discharge of duty within the colony. But my wish is, so long as the Society shall require my services, to lend them to the cause, unless compelled to resort to some other employment.

I feel unworthy of the vote of thanks passed by the Board for endeavouring to perform as well as I could, the arduous, and perilous duties connected with the defence of the colony. But, to know that any part of my conduct merits their approbation, is, I assure you, sir, among the most powerful motives, for endeavouring in future to deserve it.

The valuable present of clothing which I have received, has proved doubly so from the seasonableness of its arrival. But I need not say that it derives in my estimation, a much higher value from the occasion of the donation, and the enlightened source from which it proceeded. The grateful sentiment it has inspired, will long survive the period when the articles, themselves, shall have ceased to be of any value.

June 20, 1823.

I have only a few hours notice of the intention of Captain Weightman, of the Oswego, to sail immediately and direct to the United States.

Mr. Seton's return by this vessel, will supersede the necessity of adding much. We have many cases of sickness amongst the new comers, and some deaths; which are, however, to be attributed to other causes than the badness of the climate, the deaths of the two children excepted.

I trust you will receive more favourable accounts by the next conveyance.

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E.

*Review of the Reports of the American Colonization Society,  
from the Christian Spectator.*

The Reports of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour in the United States.—1818, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

To the government exercised over us while we continued in a state of colonial dependence, our country owes the greatest blot which stains her annals, and the greatest—almost the only curse, with which providence has seen fit to afflict her. The pittance of honour which England has acquired, or even the stupendous amount of glory which she claims, as a reward of her efforts against the slave trade, can never atone for the crime of introducing into her colonies without their consent, against their wishes, in defiance of their remonstrances, a population of slaves—a population which even if it were not literally enslaved, must forever remain in a state of degradation no better than bondage—a population whose relative increase is, and always must be, a positive diminution of national strength and wealth, and on whose character, and prospects, the philanthropist must for ever look with commiseration, and the patriot with fearful forebodings.

The bare mention of the institution whose reports are now before us, directs, with an impulse which we find it difficult to resist, towards a discussion of slavery as it exists, in the

United States, taking the subject in all its extent, and with all its relations to the prosperity of our country. And this impulse receives additional force from the, perhaps our readers would say, self-complacent impression, that though our conceptions of the nature and extent of this evil, are no less vivid than those of the more ardent of our fellow citizens, they are in some respects more liberal, if not more rational, than the doctrines on this subject which are frequently expressed, with the strongest conviction of their orthodoxy, by many of the journals and other publications of New-England and the middle states. But for the present we are compelled to wave that discussion, except so far as it is necessarily connected with our immediate object; and we do it in the hope that we shall be able ere long to present our readers with a review of that subject.

Our present design is to examine at some length the history, the prospects, and the claims of the American Colonization Society. We offer no apology for this, because there is too much reason to believe that a great proportion of our readers have never enjoyed a proper opportunity of examining these interesting reports for themselves, and those who have been more favoured in this respect, will certainly agree with us that every individual ought to know what an institution so gigantic in its designs has already accomplished, what it is now doing, and what it may reasonably hope to accomplish hereafter.

The American Colonization Society was organized at Washington about the commencement of the year 1817. In the words of its constitution, "the object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." Among the individuals most active in procuring its establishment, besides many of the present members of the Board of Managers, were the late Rev. Dr. Finley, of New-Jersey, and Samuel J. Mills. The former is indeed said to have been the original projector of the plan. At the period of its formation the society received the strongest expressions of approbation, and the warmest assurances of good will from many very distinguished men of the southern states. This was highly important, as it had a strong tendency to gain the confidence of the southern people, without which all the operations of the society, must of course, be exceedingly embarrassed. But the approbation of great men, and the sanction of great names, will never go far towards the attainment of any benevolent object. It is one thing for a professed orator to make a speech in favour of an enter-

prise, and it is quite another thing for him to bring all the resources of his knowledge and all the powers of his understanding, to bear upon the success of that enterprise, even though it should be at the expense of his popularity. And it is one thing for a man of wealth in a moment of generous excitement to place his name at the head of a subscription as the contributor of thirty, or fifty, or a hundred dollars, and it is altogether a different thing for the same man to renew his donation from year to year, when the novelty of the affair has gone by, or when the cause is labouring under a temporary depression, or when some of his neighbours will laugh at his enthusiasm. For the success of any benevolent object, we would rather have the favour of one pious female, than the favour of five rich men, who are actuated by no stronger and steadier impulse than the generosity of their nature. And in this, or any similar undertaking, the co-operation of the humble, noiseless, unnoticed Samuel J. Mills, would be better than the co-operation of almost any distinguished man high in office. It ought not to be expected that the men who are occupied with the bustle and intrigues of political life, will devote their time and attention to the minor business of doing good. They feel that it is enough for them to bid the philanthropist God-speed. It is enough for them to call the slave trade by all the hard names contained in the vocabulary of indignation, or to lift their hands and their voices in favour of popular enactments for its abolition. And it is no more than justice to them, that the scanty pittance of influence, which is perhaps all that their avocations will permit them to contribute, should be made to go as far as possible. Our benevolent institutions in New-England act on this principle ; and a society hardly seems to be organized unless it is able to prefix to its reports a bead-roll of Excellent and Honourable names. With this fact in view, we have been astonished to hear it objected to the colonization society, that they are too anxious to secure the patronage of great names. Without attempting a formal vindication of their policy in this respect, we will merely suggest that there is an old proverb touching the inexpediency of that man's beginning to throw stones who lives in a glass house ; and we close this digression by observing that much good would be accomplished if all our Senators and members of Congress who are enrolled as Presidents and Vice-Presidents, and Directors of Benevolent Societies, would devote to the objects which they profess to patronise, half that attention and half that zeal, which as we do assuredly know, southern Senators and members of Congress, have devoted to the object now under consideration.

The first important measure of the Board was the sending

of a mission of inquiry to Africa by the way of England. This was a measure of obvious necessity ; for in what other way could they obtain the information which was indispensable to the commencement of their enterprise ? The Society's agents, Messrs. Mills and Burgess, sailed from Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1817, arrived at Sierra Leone in March following, and after about two months spent in a laborious and painful survey of the coast, re-embarked on their voyage for America. The memory of this voyage is consecrated in the hearts of christians, by the fact that soon after they left Africa, Samuel John Mills, the man of God, whose name is so intimately associated with almost every great moral movement which has been made on our continent, finished the work which God had given him to do, and entered on his reward in heaven. The simple narrative of the missionaries which so beautifully describes their travels, and labours in Africa, has been read by thousands, and ought to be read by all. It was published entire in the second annual Report, and the substance of it may be found likewise in the biography of Mills.

By the exertions of some members of the Colonization Society, it was soon discovered that the law of the United States for the abolition of the slave trade, enacted in 1807, was extremely defective in some of its provisions. By one section of this law, the power of disposing of any slaves who might afterwards be introduced into the United States was vested in the Legislatures of the several states or territories into which they might be imported. In conformity with this provision the Legislature of Georgia had enacted that all negroes unlawfully introduced into that state, should be sold by the Executive *for the benefit of the state* ; and under that law, sales to a considerable amount were actually made, and the proceeds paid into the state treasury. The same act, however, recognised the existence and designs of the Colonization Society, and provided, that if that Society would engage to receive such persons of colour and transport them out of the country exclusively at their own expense, the slaves instead of being sold should be delivered into their hands. In consequence of the representations of the Board to Congress, the laws relative to the slave trade were revised, and it was determined to establish an agency on the coast of Africa for the reception of rescued slaves, and to send from time to time, a national ship to cruise along the coast so as to abolish the slave trade at its source. The particular point at which the proposed establishment should be erected, was left to the Executive ; and as it was evident that a co-operation between the government and the Colonization Society would equally promote the benevolent objects of both, the President deter-



mined to locate the agency at whatever place the Society should select for the site of their colony. Accordingly, the Elizabeth was chartered which carried out the agent of the Society, and the two agents of government, together with about eighty people of colour, who were to commence the settlement, and were to be employed for a time at the expense of government, in making the necessary preparations for the reception of such Africans as might be re-captured. Though the location of the colony had not been determined, it was expected that the agents would easily procure a favourable situation in the Bagroo country. They were compelled by a variety of unfortunate circumstances to land and make a temporary establishment on the low, unhealthy island of Sherbro. Here, while they were attempting in vain to negotiate for land with the treacherous natives, they were attacked by disease; and the three agents, and twenty of the colonists were swept away. The superintendence of the whole establishment devolved on Daniel Coker, one of the most intelligent and respectable of the settlers. Some of the colonists, who by the way seem not on that occasion to have been selected with much discretion, became disorderly; and the colony came so near to ruin that in the spring of 1821, when it was reinforced by the arrival of Messrs. Andrus and Wiltberger the Society's agents, and Messrs. Winn and E. Bacon the United States agents, with 28 effective labourers, they were instructed in consequence of the entire failure of the negotiations for land, to seek the protection of the British Government at Sierra Leone. The colonists were accordingly removed to Fourah Bay in the vicinity of Freetown, Messrs. Andrus and Bacon went to the Bassa country, and attempted unsuccessfully to purchase land for the colony. They had scarcely returned from this expedition when Mr. Bacon and his wife were attacked with the sickness incident to the climate, and sailed for America. Mr. Andrus soon after died, (Aug. 27) and in the succeeding month Mr. and Mrs. Winn, within a few days of each other, followed him to the grave. In the beginning of December, Dr. Ayres, who had been sent out as the Society's agent, and Lieut. Stockton of the U. S. schooner *Alligator*, sailed to Cape Montserado, and after struggling with great difficulties which they overcame by means of their acquaintance with the African character, succeeded in purchasing of King Peter, King George, King Zoda, King Long Peter, King Governor, and King Jimmy, for the consideration of about 300 dollars, a tract of country large enough for all the present purposes of the colony, supplied with excellent springs of water, fruitful in its soil and healthy in its climate, on the banks of a river as large as the Connecticut. "and

with one of the best harbours between Gibraltar and the Cape of Good Hope." The letter of Dr. Ayres, containing the history of this transaction, presents so vivid a picture of the character and manners of the natives, that we must be indulged with the following extracts :

" On the 11th of December, 1821, in the night, we came to anchor off St. Paul's river. At daylight on the 12th, got under way and soon observed several canoes coming off to us. The moment we anchored, our boat was out, and Mr. Stockton and myself went on shore before any wrong impression could be made on the king. We landed on the beach, at the king's Krootown, and told them we wanted to see the king : we had presents on board for him ; and showed them some rum and tobacco which we had taken on shore for him.

" Three or four of the people who had gathered round us were dressed in large striped hoods, thrown over their shoulders, and had the appearance of being people of authority.

" After waiting some time, they sent off an express for king Peter. It had been represented to us unsafe to go on shore without being armed, and that we should certainly be murdered and robbed. But we determined to go unarmed, as an evidence that our aim was pacific. While sitting and waiting for the king under the shed of a Krooman, the people kept collecting, most of them with knives hanging to their sides. At length there came five or six armed with muskets. I began to think there might be some truth in the reports. We were now surrounded by fifty or sixty, armed in this way, and we were without the means of defence, except a demijohn of whiskey and some tobacco. I narrowly watched their countenances, as well as that of Mr. Stockton. I saw he was no way concerned, and a little observation showed there was yet no hostility in their intentions.

" Express after express was sent for the king. After a long time one of the most reputable looking men told us ' The king be fool—he no talk English—I his mouth, what I say, king say. —What you want ? ' ' We told him we were desirous of getting a place in Africa to build a house, make farms, &c.' After explaining our views to this person, and discussing them some time, they sent another message to the king, and he then made his appearance. He was dressed in a cotton garment of large blue and white stripes, thrown over his shoulders, and a person holding an umbrella over his head. He came, shook hands with us, and took a seat. When his interpreter related to him our object in visiting him, we did not fail to let him know the high estimation in which we held him for veracity and punctuality, and that this had induced us to prefer him to some other chiefs : and like most monarchs,

we found his ear always open to the sound of his own praise. He said "he thanked us for the favour we had done him in coming to him first, and we might have land." We told him we wanted the Island at the mouth of the river, and the Cape. He objected to the Cape, and said "if any white man was to settle on it, then king Peter would die, they would bury him, and then his women would cry a plenty." We did not fail to place in the most favourable light the advantages which our trade would be to him; but took good care, after our former experience, how we attempted to oppose their prejudices, or to offer to their consideration any views which they could not fully comprehend: we therefore said nothing of civilizing or christianizing them; but left this, hoping our future example may recommend our principles to their adoption. After sitting some time in palaver, the king told us he would see his head men, and next morning he would meet us again on the beach, and make a book for the land. We gave them our rum and tobacco, and returned to our vessel.

"On the 13th we again went to meet his majesty. We found his head men but no king, yet we sent off an express for him. It was not till after some time, and several messages had passed, that we could get him to meet us. After sitting three hours in palaver, the unfortunate subject of the slave trade was broached, and we again broke up the palaver.

"Our prospect at this time was very dull; we however determined not to give up the subject lightly, and the next day went on shore again where the King appointed to meet us. When we got there, we found neither King nor any of his head men. Our prospects now were truly discouraging. We, as we had done before, sent off an express for him. He sent word he would not come, nor let us have any land. It then became necessary either to go and seek the King in his Capital, or to give up the case as impracticable, as all persons had found it, who had attempted to negociate for this place before. To go to the town was to place ourselves entirely in the power of a nation who had always been represented to us so savage as to render it unsafe to land on their shore without being completely armed. However we were determined to go; and were conducted by a Kroo-man, through dark dismal ways, at one time wading through the water, and at another wallowing through the mud; passing through thick and dark swamps, in narrow paths for six or seven miles into the interior. If one of us staid behind, the Krooman would halloo to us to "come along—the devil will catch us." We at length arrived at his majesty's capital. We were shown into a palaver hall spread with mats, to wait the coming of the King. The head men came and shook hands with us,

and informed us that he was dressing, and would see us in a short time. They looked very grave, and few of them looked well pleased. After waiting about one hour, the King made his appearance. Instead of coming and shaking hands with us, he went and seated himself under another palaver hall. His prime minister then came and invited us to go to the King. He shook hands with us, but looked very angry.

“The first word the king said to us was, ‘what you want that land for?’ This question, so often asked and as often answered, had again to be explained to him. We now found that among the Kroomen who had been on board our vessel the day before, there was one who had been engaged with the father of the Bassa youth we had on board. This man told them we had taken away the king of Bassa’s son and killed him, and when we got the land, we should cut their throats and bury them, another Krooman saw some of our colonists on board and knew them, this circumstance gave them to understand we were the people who had been quarreling so much at Sherbro, and, as if these things could not throw difficulties enough to try our diplomatic skill, one fellow presented himself to Lieut. Stockton, and told him he was one of those whom the Lieutenant had captured on his last voyage, in the *Daphne*, and they had recaptured her on their passage home. These circumstances accounted for the change of conduct in the King and people. Our cause now looked truly deplorable. We were unarmed, in the midst of a nation so exasperated against us. But Lieut. Stockton’s dexterity at mixing flattery with a little well timed threat, turned all to our own advantage. When they complained of his taking the French for trading with them in slaves, he told them his orders were not to meddle with the French or any other nation. That when he saw the French vessel, he sent his boat to see who she was; that they fired at him, and when they fought him, then he whipped them and took their vessel: that he would not suffer any body to make a fool of him: and now king Peter wanted to make a fool of him: that he tell him, three days, he would let him have land, and drink up his rum, and take his tobacco, and now he say he shan’t have any land: this was fooling him. I believe the old king was afraid of being served as the French vessel was, for he soon came to, and promised to call some more kings, and meet us on the shore next morning, and make a book which was to give us the land.

“The island at the mouth of the river we have named *Pre-servance*, ‘to perpetuate the long and tedious palaver we had in obtaining it.’

A settlement was begun without delay at Cape Montscra-

do by the colonists who had been residing at Fourah Bay. But in the mean time the African Sovereigns had repented of the bargain by which they had introduced into their vicinity a government favourable to the rights of man, and the progress of human improvement; and like their whiter and more civilized brethren of another quarter of the Eastern Continent, they were alarmed and looked with jealousy on an innovation which they with their little perspicacity could see—threatened in its progress to impose a new aspect on the face of the society, and to do away all the ancient and venerable abuses by which their wealth and power are supported. Accordingly when Dr. Ayres arrived with the colonists, he was notified by their majesties that the contract must be annulled, and that he could not be permitted to settle. He however ventured to land, so that while the colonists were building their houses he might negotiate with the kings at his leisure. The same course of conduct which Lieut. Stockton had taught him to pursue on the former occasion, proved successful here. The kings were intimidated by his decision and by the zeal of the settlers, and the treaty was ratified. But in a few weeks the difficulties were renewed.

“A British prize slave vessel had solicited and obtained permission to take water from the Cape. This vessel parted her cable and was thrown on shore. The spirit of hostility, excited by a dispute between the captain and one of the Kings added to the powerful motive presented by the presence of a French vessel waiting her compliment of slaves, induced the natives to attack her, with purposes of plunder. Several of our people engaged in her defence. In the contest which ensued, and which they in vain endeavoured to prevent, two of the natives were killed: and on the succeeding day, a British soldier and one of our colonists. Through the criminal inadvertency of an English sailor, who discharged a cannon in the immediate vicinity of the store house, this building took fire: and with it most of the clothing, provisions, and utensils of the colony were destroyed.—6th Rep.—p. 10.”

All was now in confusion. The natives had received demonstration of the bearing which the colony was to have on the slave trade. A grand palaver was assembled, consisting of seventeen kings, and thirty-four half kings. One or two of the most powerful of these were the decided friends of the colony, and had armed their subjects for war, in case peace could not be procured. Dr. Ayres appeared before this congress, and gave them to understand that he had purchased the territory in question and paid for it, that therefore he intended to retain it, and that if they thought they were able to ex

pel him they might make the attempt, and he would show them what fighting was:—he would bring ships, and batter down all the towns of those who opposed him from Cape Mount to the Line. “While making this speech,” says he, “I narrowly watched the countenances of Kings Brister and Boson. [King Boson is the most powerful friend of the colony.] Brister showed evident signs of concern, but Boson shook his sides very heartily with laughter. By this I found I had touched the right chord, and did not spare invectives. The other kings appeared uneasy and said one to another, Oh, look white man getting mad, white man getting mad! Boson, to second the impression I had made, sent one of his people round to circulate a report that there were four large ships a little way to the southward, making into the harbour.”—“This threw all into confusion, and it was with difficulty we could keep the kings together until the business was settled.

The difficulties having been adjusted, Dr. Ayres felt himself under the necessity of returning to the United States, for the sake of obtaining supplies. He accordingly took passage for this country on the fourth of June, 1821. On the 8th of August the settlement was reinforced by the arrival of the brig Strong from Baltimore with Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun, and thirty-five colonists, besides fifteen recaptured Africans. Mr. Ashmun had received a commission from the Colorization Society to act in their name in case he should find no agent at the colony. He accordingly assumed the direction of the establishment, laid out the plan of a town, and began to erect such fortifications as might secure it against any attack from the natives.

It was soon ascertained that the labour bestowed on these fortifications was not in vain. Many of the kings, as we have seen, were from the beginning exceedingly afraid that the influence of the colony would be to break up all trade—by which they mean the slave trade—and it is reasonable to suppose that their feelings of suspicion and hostility would not be allayed by the friendly suggestions and admonitions of the traders. Accordingly Mr. Ashmun and his fellow labourers seem to have been continually disturbed by reports of the hostile designs of their neighbours, and to have built the walls of their little town somewhat as Nehemiah and his countrymen builded the walls of Jerusalem; “every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon.” On the morning of November 11th they were attacked by a body of 800 natives, who coming upon them by surprise, gained possession of the settlement, till after one or two discharges of the eighteen pounder, they betook themselves to flight. On the second of December they returned with a

still greater force amounting to about 1500, and attacked simultaneously in two opposite quarters, but after receiving a few shots from the terrific "great guns," they made a hasty departure. They might perhaps have been entirely cut off by these repeated assaults, had it not been for the interference of a British schooner which providentially made its appearance in this season of distress. A cessation of hostilities was effected by the mediation of Capt. Laing, the distinguished African traveller who was on board, and twenty mariners were landed to guaranty the observance of the truce till the difficulties should be finally adjusted. When it is remembered that in this contest the whole effective force of the colony was twenty-eight men and boys, and that the whole loss was only three killed and four wounded, we may regard the result as proving at once the bravery of the settlers and the cowardice of the natives. In the trepidation of the assault, doubtless neither Mr. Ashmun nor the colonists would be able to form a very cool and deliberate estimate of the number of assailants; but after making every allowance for their seeing things double on such an occasion, it must be considered as proved, that one hundred well armed freemen, fighting for their liberty, and their children, and their homes, may defend the colony against all the hordes that can ever be mustered by the holy alliance of Africa. And here we cannot but remark that this affair illustrates very strikingly the difference between the wild men of that continent, and the wild men of America. If that establishment had been attacked, by 300, or 500, or 200 Indians,—we should have known its fate only by conjecture.

It was not to be expected that an arrangement like the one above mentioned would place the settlers immediately in a state of entire security and comfort. Accordingly, when the *Cyane* arrived on the coast, where she had been sent to execute the laws against the slave trade, she found them in a suffering condition. The noble and disinterested exertions of Captain Spence and his crew, in erecting a house for the agent, and a tower of strong mason work for the defence of the town, are gratefully acknowledged by the Managers in their address to the public inserted in the last number of the *Spectator*. This tower which is expected to bid defiance to the barbarians, has been called Stockton Castle. Africa will hereafter honour the men who are labouring for her deliverance. Her mountains and rivers, her provinces and cities, while they testify her gratitude, will be the monuments of their benevolence. And though friends and the public may weep at the loss of those who perish beneath the stroke of the sun by day, or of the moon by night, while labouring in

behalf of suffering humanity ; yet there is a consolation in the thought, that they have perished in a cause, for which they need not be ashamed to be martyrs. If we honour the memory of those who die on the bloody deck in extending the fame of American valour ; surely we ought to honour with a double reverence the memory of those who sacrifice their lives to extend the triumphs of American philanthropy. It makes us feel proud of our country, to see the zeal, and efficiency, which have uniformly been displayed by the officers and seamen of the national vessels that have been appointed from time to time to the African station. “ Most of my associates,” said Lieutenant Stockton, “ were ready (and I sincerely believe it) to sacrifice on the altar of humanity, convenience, comfort, interest and health.”

In April last, Dr. Ayres sailed from Baltimore in the brig *Oswego* with sixty new settlers,—if their voyage was favourable they must have arrived there more than two months ago.

A trading company has been formed in Baltimore, which if the plan succeeds will hereafter afford the means of a constant and regular communication with the colony. This company consisting of a few respectable merchants was formed with the approbation of the Board, and will we trust have an important connection with the regeneration of Africa. Its design is, we believe, after having made a fair experiment to run two or more vessels as regular traders between Baltimore and Cape Montserado. These will of course afford the means of conveyance to such as are desirous of emigrating. The first vessel sailed at the beginning of June and carried a few passengers.

The present condition of the the colony may be briefly described. It consists of 140\* settlers under the direction of two agents, ardently devoted to the cause, accustomed to their business, seasoned to the climate, and well acquainted with the African character. These men occupy a soil of whose productiveness it is difficult for an inhabitant of our climate to form any adequate conception. By the latest accounts the controversy with the natives seems to have terminated entirely to their satisfaction, so that the former intercourse with them for the purposes of trade has been resumed, and the settlers can clear and cultivate their lands without danger.

Such is the history of the American Colonization Society. Its *design* is general—the benefit of the whole African race. Its plan of *operation* is specific, the establishment on the coast of Africa of a colony of *free* people of colour from America. It is not a Missionary Society, nor a society for the suppression of the slave trade, nor a society for the improvement of

\* At this time, March, 1824, the number is about 240.



the blacks, nor a society for the abolition of slavery. It is simply a society for establishing a colony on the coast of Africa, and so far as any of these other objects are attained by its efforts, they must be attained either as the means, or as the consequences of establishing that colony. But limited as are the operations of this institution, it appears to us to be the *only institution which promises any thing great or effectual for the benefit of the black population of our country.* A single glance at the condition of these beings, and at the obstacles which lie in the way of their improvement, is enough to convince us of this.

There is at present within the limits of the United States, a coloured population of ONE MILLION, SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINE THOUSAND. The character, and circumstances of this class of the community fall, to some extent, under the personal observation of every man. Who is there, that does not know something of the condition of the blacks in the northern and middle states? They may be seen in our cities and larger towns, wandering like foreigners and outcasts, in the land which gave them birth. They may be seen in our penitentiaries, and jails, and poor houses. They may be found inhabiting the abodes of poverty, and the haunts of vice. But if we look for them in the society of the honest and respectable—if we visit the schools in which it is our boast that the meanest citizen can enjoy the benefits of instruction—we might also add, if we visit the sanctuaries which are open for all to worship, and to hear the word of God; we shall not find them there. The *Soodra* is not farther separated from the *Brahmin* in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual, and moral; than the negro is from the white man by the prejudices which result from the difference made between them by the God of nature. A barrier more difficult to be surmounted than the institution of the *Caste*, cuts off, and while the present state of society continues must always cut off, the negro from all that is valuable in citizenship. In his infancy, he finds himself, he knows not why, the scorn of his playmates, from the first moment that their little fingers can be pointed at him in derision. In youth, he has no incentive to prepare for an active and honourable manhood. No visions of usefulness, or respectability, animate his prospects. In maturer years, he has little motive to industry, or to any honourable exertion. He is always degraded in the estimation of the community, and the deep sense of that degradation enters into his soul, and makes him degraded indeed. We know that there are individuals, who in spite of all these obstacles to moral and social improvement, have acquired a character of respectability, and piety. But instances like

these, occasioned by the peculiar circumstances or powers of the individuals, cannot be brought to disprove the general assertion, which we make without the fear of contradiction, that the blacks are degraded, without any proper means of improvement, or any sufficient incentive to exertion, that they present the strange anomaly of a large part of the nation that loves to call itself the freest, and happiest, and most enlightened nation on the globe, separated by obstacles which they did not create, and which they cannot surmount, from all the institutions and privileges to which the other portions of the community owe their superiority.

But there is another still more important characteristic of the condition of our coloured population, in comparison with which every other circumstance dwindles into insignificance; and from which all that we have already said is only a single necessary consequence. We mean slavery. And on this subject we must express ourselves briefly, yet boldly. We have heard of slavery as it existed in the nations of antiquity, we have heard of slavery as it exists in Asia, and Africa, and Turkey; we have heard of the feudal slavery under which the peasantry of Europe have groaned from the days of Alaric, until now; but excepting only the horrible system of the West India Islands, we have never heard of slavery in any country, ancient or modern, pagan, Mahomedan, or christian, so terrible in its character; so pernicious in its tendency; so remediless in its anticipated results, as the slavery which exists in these United States. We do not mean here to speak of slavery as a system of bonds and stripes and all kinds of bodily suffering. On this point, there is, we believe, a great degree of misapprehension among our fellow citizens of the North. Many of them are accustomed to associate with the name of slavery, all that is horrible in the details of the African trade, and all that is terrific in the cruelties of Jamaica and Porto Rico. But we rejoice in the belief that these conceptions are erroneous; and that though there may be instances of unpunished, and sometimes perhaps almost unnoticed barbarity, the condition of a slave in most parts of the United States is generally as much superior to that of a slave in the West Indies, as the condition of an American farmer is to that of an Irish peasant. Here we are ready to make what all will consider the most liberal concessions. We are ready even to grant, for our present purpose, that, so far as mere animal existence is concerned, the slaves have no reason to complain, and the friends of humanity have no reason to complain for them. And when we use the strong language which we feel ourselves compelled to use in relation to this subject, we do not mean to speak of animal suffering, but of an im-

mense moral and political evil,—of slavery as it stands connected with the wealth and strength, and more especially with the character and happiness of our nation.

We have no room to enlarge on the political aspect of this subject. We will only ask—where would be the enterprise and the wealth and the strength of New-England, if her green hills and pleasant vallies were cultivated no longer by her own independent and hardy yeomanry, but by the degraded serfs of a Polish aristocracy? And what would not Virginia become, if she could exchange her four hundred and twenty-five thousand slaves for as many freemen, who, in blood and complexion, as well as in immunities and enjoyments, should be one with the proudest of her children?

But the mere politician cannot fail, in estimating the magnitude of this evil, to look at its moral tendency. The great men of the south have looked at it in this aspect, and have expressed themselves accordingly. Judge Washington pronounces it to be “an inherent vice in the community.” Mr. Jefferson uses language on this subject, too strong for even a northern man to regard it as strictly true. In his Notes on Virginia, he says—“The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other.” “The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in a smaller circle of slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with odious peculiarities.” “I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever.” And speaking of the probability, that the blacks may assert their freedom, he adds, “the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.” It would be easy to collect the sentiments of many highly honoured individuals in the southern states who have expressed themselves as decidedly if not as strongly. But it is enough to say, in regard to the moral influence of the system on the blacks, that laws exist in nearly all the slave-holding states, prohibiting their instruction, and even driving them from Sunday schools, because the public safety requires them to be kept in perfect ignorance; and in regard to its influence on the white population, that the most lamentable proof of its deteriorating effects may be found in the fact, that excepting the pious whose hearts are governed by the christian law of reciprocity between man and man, and the wise whose minds have looked far into the relations and tendencies of things, none can be found to lift their voices against a system so utterly repugnant to the feelings of

unsophisticated humanity—a system which permits all the atrocities of the domestic slave-trade—which permits the father to sell his children, as he would his cattle—a system which consigns one half of the community to hopeless and utter degradation, and which threatens in its final catastrophe to bring down the same ruin on the master and the slave.

There are two considerations in view, of which we ventured to remark that the slavery which exists in our country is more ominous in its character and tendency than any similar system which has ever existed in other countries. The first is, that slavery contradicts the primary principles of our republican government. Slavery was not inconsistent with the principles of Grecian and Roman democracy. It is in perfect harmony with the systems of government, which, excepting Great Britain and Switzerland, prevail in every province of the old world, from the Frozen Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Bay of Biscay to the Pacific. But it stands in direct opposition to all the acknowledged and boasted maxims in which is laid the foundation of our political institutions. The other consideration to which we refer is, that which spreads terror over every aspect in which the subject can be viewed, and which seems to tell us—for all these evils there is no remedy. It is the fact that the slaves, and those who have been slaves, and those whose fathers have been slaves, are all marked out and stigmatized with the brand which nature has stamped upon them. In Greece and Rome, as in almost every other nation, a slave might be made free, and then he was no longer a slave, but he was amalgamated with the rest of the community, and the road of wealth or honour or office was open before him, and his interests were united with the interests of the republic. But here the thing is impossible: a slave cannot be really emancipated. You cannot raise him from the abyss of his degradation. You may call him free, you may enact a statute book of laws to make him free, but you cannot bleach him into the enjoyment of freedom.

Now apply to this subject one very simple arithmetical calculation. In 1820 the slave population of the country was 1,500,000. Their annual increase is estimated at 35,000. Their number doubles in less than 20 years. Things remaining as they now are, in 1840 we shall have 3,000,000 of slaves; in 1860, 6,000,000; and in 1880, 12,000,000; a nation of slaves larger by 4,000,000 than the whole present white population of the United States. What a state of things will this be. Twelve millions of slaves. ‘A nation scattered and peeled,’ ‘a nation meted out and trodden down;’—and God forbid that it should be written in the blood and echoed in the

groans of that generation—"a nation terrible from their beginning hitherto." But even in the short sixty years which must elapse before such a state of things can take place, how much terror and anxiety must be endured, how many plots must be detected, how many insurrections must be quelled.

Plots! and insurrections! These are words of terror but their terribleness is no argument against the truth of what we say. If things go on as they are, words more terrible than these must be "familiar in our mouths." For, notwithstanding all that may be done to keep the slaves in ignorance, they are learning, and will continue to learn, something of their own power, and something of the tenure by which they are held in bondage. They are surrounded by the memorials of freedom. The air which they breathe is free; and the soil on which they tread, and which they water with their tears, is a land of liberty. Slaves are never slow in learning that they are fettered, and that freedom is the birth-right of humanity. Our slaves will not be always ignorant—and when that righteous Providence, which never wants instruments to accomplish its designs, whether of mercy, or of vengeance, shall raise up a Toussaint, or a Spartacus, or an African Tecumseh, his fellow slaves will flock around his standard, and we shall witness scenes which history describes, but from the thought of which the imagination revolts. Not that there is any reason to anticipate such an insurrection as will result in the emancipation of the slaves, and the establishment of a black empire. A general insurrection in the southern states, might indeed destroy their cities, might desolate their plantations, might turn their rivers to blood; but to be finally successful, it must be delayed for more than two or three generations,—it must be delayed till the blacks have force enough to resist successfully the energies of the whole American people; for at any time within sixty or a hundred years, the beacon fires of insurrection would only rally the strength of the nation, and the ill-fated Africans, if not utterly exterminated, would be so nearly destroyed that they must submit to a bondage more hopeless than ever.

Cannot the people of the United States be roused to an effort for the partial, if not for the entire, removal of the evils attendant on the circumstances of our black population? We refer to *all* these evils; though they cannot all be enumerated, for their name is legion. We refer to the condition of all the blacks whether bond or free. They are wretched, and their wretchedness ought to be alleviated. They are dangerous to the community, and this danger ought to be removed. Their wretchedness arises not only from their bondage, but from their political and moral degradation. The danger is

not so much that we have a million and a half of slaves, as that we have within our borders nearly two millions of men who are necessarily any thing rather than loyal citizens—nearly two millions of ignorant and miserable beings who are banded together by the very same circumstances, by which they are so widely separated in character and in interest from all the citizens of our great republic. The question is, cannot the people of the United States be induced to do something effectual for the removal of these evils? Without doubt they can be roused to an effort; for in a nation so far under the influence of christian principle as ours, there is a spirit which will answer to the voice of benevolence when it pleads the cause of humanity. It did answer in England, when Wilberforce and Clarkson lifted up their cry against the wrongs of Africa; and the consequence of their unwearied labours has been the formal abolition of the slave-trade by every christian power in both continents, and such a total revolution in public sentiment, that all who are not immediately interested in the nefarious traffick are ready to denounce it as the most high-handed outrage that ever was practised by fraud and power against simplicity and weakness. If the philanthropists of America will summon up their energies to a like effort—if they will never cease to warn their fellow-citizens of the extent and nature of these evils—if they will properly set before the public the political and intellectual and moral degradation of the blacks, and the danger which results from this degradation;—the same spirit which answered to the plea of Wilberforce will answer them, and the effect of their labours will be seen in the sympathizing efforts of all the enlightened and benevolent. We doubt not that the public may be excited on this subject, and if excited they may put forth such an effort as will alleviate the evils in question, and long delay, if not utterly prevent, their final catastrophe. The excitement required is not a momentary, feverish, half delirious excitement, like that produced by the agitation of the Missouri question—it must be something more calm and permanent. It must not be a sudden torrent passing away with the cloud that gave it birth; but a river whose broad, deep, peaceful streams are supplied by perennial fountains, and whose pure waters, like the waters of Jordan, shall wash away from our national character this foul and loathsome leprosy.

But *what* shall be done? This excitement must have a definite object,—what shall that object be? what kind of effort is demanded? We answer, *first*, any effectual effort for the benefit of the blacks must be such as will unite the patriotic and benevolent, in all parts of the country. There is perhaps no subject which excites so much of what is called *sec-*

*tional* feeling, so much of jealousy at the south, so much of exultation at the north, and so much of indignant invective in all parts of the Union, as the subject before us, in any of its relations. But this feeling at the north and at the south, is equally unreasonable, not to say equally criminal. The difference in regard to slavery and a negro population, between New-England and Georgia, we owe not to ourselves, or to our fathers, but to the God who has placed our habitation where the climate forbade the introduction of Africans, and where the hard soil could be cultivated only by the hands of freemen. Had the rough hills, and the cold winds, and the long winters of New-England, been exchanged for the rich plains and the burning sun and the enervating breezes of Carolina, all the sacred principles of puritanism would not have prevented the introduction of slavery, at a time when hardly a man could be found in either hemisphere, to raise his voice against the enormity, and when England was determined to infect all her colonies with the debilitating and deadly poison. What occasion then can we have to exult over our fellow-citizens? It is as if the heir to an estate should exult in the poverty of his neighbour. It is as if the man in health should glory over his brother in sickness.— And it is with indignation that we sometimes see the editors of political journals, in one part of the country, attempting to kindle and cherish such feelings;—for every such attempt excites and increases, and in some measure excuses, that techy sensibility, in respect to this subject, which the people of the south are always too ready to manifest. But still we are happy to believe, that notwithstanding all the vapouring of newspaper declaimers, the great majority of the northern people regard the matter, at least in times of calm reflection, with far more enlarged, liberal, national feelings, than is commonly imagined by their southern brethren. And we will even express our belief, that there is hardly any enterprise to which the militia of Vermont or Connecticut would march with more zeal, than to crush a servile rebellion, (if such an event should ever take place, with all its cruelties and horrors) in Virginia. The people of Maine belong to the same great community with the people of Georgia; and hence they desire at once the right and the duty of interfering to alleviate, and if possible to remove, an evil which affects the prosperity and safety of the whole American empire. The people of the south should know this, and if they once see their fellow-citizens engaging calmly and kindly in real efforts for the alleviation of this evil, their prejudices will be done away, and they will acknowledge the unseasonableness of their jealousies. If the people of New-England will talk less

of the guilt of slavery, and more of the means of counteracting its political and moral tendencies; or if, when they speak of its guilt, they would acknowledge that New-England is a partaker; if they will remember that it was their ships and sailors that carried the Africans in chains across the ocean, and that there are now men among them who are living on "the price of blood."—men whose wealth was "earned" by "sinews bought and sold!"—if they will speak of this subject with the modesty, and think of it with the shame, which such remembrances are calculated to inspire, they may soon find that there are principles and schemes of enterprise in which the benevolent of all the states can unite:—And would not a national effort, for the removal of this national evil, do away local prejudices, and bind together the different parts of the Union, with a closer bond of national feeling?

An effort for the benefit of the blacks, in which all parts of the country can unite, of course must not have the abolition of slavery for its immediate object. Nor may it aim directly at the instruction of the great body of the blacks.—In either case, the prejudices and terrors of the slave-holding States would be excited in a moment; and with reason too, for it is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves. It requires no great skill to see that the moment you raise this degraded community to an intellectual existence, their chains will burst asunder like the fetters of Sampson, and they will stand forth in the might and dignity of manhood, and in all the terrors of a long injured people, thirsting for vengeance.

But, notwithstanding these restrictions, occasioned by the necessity of the case, and the danger of exciting jealousy, the effort in question must be a *great* effort—great in its conception and great in its details. We mean that there must be a magnificence in its immediate object, and an attractiveness in every step of its progress, which will not let it be forgotten or overlooked among the numberless enterprises of the age. There is a certain simple grandeur in the design of the Bible Society, which fills the whole mind of the beholder, and awakens the benevolent heart to ecstasy, as it contemplates the mighty scheme in all its relations. It is this which has united, in the holy undertaking, christians of every name and of every country, and it is this which will always unite them, till the design of the Bible Society shall attain its perfect accomplishment. The Missionary Society, with perhaps less of that imposing simplicity, in its place seizes on the attention and affections of the public, by the charm which is thrown over all its proceedings. Every new report of its



progress, every letter from a distant missionary, awakens in the supporters of the enterprise, a higher joy and a livelier interest. And it is this increasing brightness in the details of its progress, which will always make it fresh and beautiful to the benevolent eye, till 'the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord.' So any effort for the removal of the evils to which our attention has been directed, before it can become powerful and lasting, must have something of the same character. There must be a similar grandeur in its object to arrest the public attention; and to keep up that attention, there must be the same interest thrown over the successive events of its history. Without the one, the great body of the people will not engage in the enterprise; without the other, they will not maintain it.

We have asserted that the Colonization Society is the only institution which promises any thing great or effectual for the relief of our black population. We have examined the condition of that population, and have pointed out the characteristics of the effort which shall accomplish any thing for their improvement. To establish our assertion, it remains for us to show that the direct object of this Society is attainable; and that the two characteristics above mentioned, belong to this scheme, and to this alone.

What other scheme, then, for the improvement of the blacks, is there before the public? What other efforts are we exhorted to make? What other projects do we hear of? There are a few Sunday schools established for their benefit in our large towns; and in some of our cities, the Africans have churches of their own, and tolerably well qualified ministers of their own. And more, to educate young men of colour for the work of the ministry among their brethren, there is, or there was, somewhere in the State of New-Jersey, an African seminary, with whose managers, funds, resources, students, instructors, and even local situation, the public at large have been, for three years past, about as well acquainted, as they are with the course of the Niger, or the police of Tombuctoo. But efforts of this kind, taken by themselves, hardly amount to any thing; they do not in the least affect the essence of the evil; and not only so, but by a great part of the slave holders they are considered dangerous, and therefore they can never become such as will unite the patriotic and benevolent in all parts of the country. The same remark will apply with at least equal force to the projects of 'the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race,' as set forth in an 'Address to the People of the United States,' which now lies before us, and which con-

tains some calculations and suggestions that ought to be familiar to every mind.

If then, there is any hope of extensive good for these two millions of beings, it must be found in the plans proposed by the American Colonization Society. But before proceeding to examine how far this plan possesses the characteristics necessary to success, it is important to notice the objection, sometimes urged, that the establishment of a colony in Africa is impossible.

If a colony of free blacks cannot be established on the coast of Africa, it must be, either, 1st, because free blacks cannot be induced to go, which is false, for they have gone, and hundreds are waiting to go,—or, 2ndly, because when they arrive there, they cannot be defended from the natives, which is disproved by the late contest,—or, 3rdly, because the soil will not yield them support, which needs no answer to any man who will look into a book of travels,—or, 4thly, because they must be cut off by the insalubrity of the climate, which is contradicted by the experience of the settlers, and by the testimony of travellers. It is contradicted by the experience of the settlers; for since they have occupied their present station, they have been visited with no sweeping pestilence, excepting only the recent mortality among those sent out in the Oswego; the number of deaths among them has been no greater than the average mortality of the same class of people in America. It is contradicted by the testimony of travellers. If we had room for extracts, they might easily be collected from a variety of authors. The opinion of Lieutenant Stockton must suffice :—

“ We have had an interesting cruize on the coast, from the shoals of the Great River to Cape Palmas : It was during the most unhealthy season, and under circumstances not the most flattering. Being in a small vessel, we were often exposed to heavy rains, and occasionally encountered great fatigue.—Notwithstanding which, we have returned in good health, only regretting that our cruize was so short, and that we accomplished so little of that which we promised ourselves. We had the fever on board, but in every instance it yielded to the skill of our surgeons.” “ Under all these circumstances, I am bound to believe, (my conclusions, however, are deduced from impressions, rather than from unalterable opinions,) that the horror for that coast, the hue and cry about the African fever, and the noise about the tornadoes, are but little less than a fable, generated by policy; listened to, because wonderful; and propagated by the interested. As to the climate, it is true the air is warm, and I think a constant exposure to the sun, must be very debilitating. The thermo-

metrical observations of this vessel, do not show that the temperature of the air has ever been above eighty-five degrees, measured by Fahrenheit's thermometer; but as the country is seldom refreshed by a cool invigorating breeze, the heat is more uniform, and of longer duration, and from that cause, I think, arises its pestilence, and not from the immediate power of the sun.\* The heat is not beyond bearing for a while, but from its constancy must overcome any human constitution that is unwarily exposed to it during any length of time, without relief. The fever I think may be more readily avoided, and if taken, is not so dangerous, and may be more easily destroyed, than that which infects many places in our own country. The tornadoes, as I saw and felt them, are inconsiderable and harmless, in comparison with squalls met with on parts of the American coast, at particular seasons of the year. We may have been particularly favoured, and it is possible that all the dangers which persons are led to apprehend, do ordinarily possess that country. But I can assure you, the fever has not assumed a living shape; the winds are not saturated with pestilence; even on the coast of Africa, oxygen forms a component part of the atmospheric air, and to inhale it is not certain death. We, (for I think I am speaking the sentiments of my companions,) respired as freely, and enjoyed generally as good health, as any country could have supplied us with. After examination and reflection, I honestly believe that the climate presents all those obstacles which are the natural productions of a tropical soil, uncleared and uncultivated, but that they will yield to proper precautions; and that nothing can prevent the consummation of your wishes, but limited means, bad counsels, or feeble efforts."

It is not pretended that the climate of Africa is as healthy to a native of Connecticut, as the country in which he was born. We say it may be compared in this respect, with other tropical countries. Is Montserado more unhealthy than New-Orleans or Havana? Yet these places have been colonized—and colonized with men, whose descendants it is proposed to carry back to the climate, to which, the constitution which they have inherited from their fathers, is adapted. Is it *impossible* to colonize Africa? And did the God of nature design that that continent, with all the luxuriance of its soil, and all the variety of its productions, should forever remain a wilderness? The happy inhabitants of Sierra Leone may give the answer.

\* Cape Montserado, it will be remembered, is "steep and elevated towards the sea," which "affords it the advantage of the sea-breeze."

With these facts before us then, we feel no hesitation in saying that this enterprise is practicable; and we say too, that it possesses the two characteristics already described, as essential to any permanent and effectual effort in behalf of the blacks. It is an enterprise in which *all parts of the country can unite*. The grand objection to every other effort is, that it excites the jealousies and fears of the south. But here is an effort in which the southern people are the first to engage, and which numbers many of their most distinguished men among its advocates and efficient supporters. But it promotes the *interests* of the south. True; and must not every plan of the kind, which promises to do any good, favour the interests of that part of the country where the evil to be remedied presses, with the most alarming weight? And does not this plan promote the interests of the *north* too? Are there not thousands of blacks in New-England? And do they add any thing to the good order and happiness of society? Or rather, are they not, and must they not continue to be, as a body, ignorant and vicious, adding more to the poor rates of the parishes in which they reside, than they do to the income of the government? And shall a cause, to which the good people of the south offer not only money, but in not a few instances, the freedom of their slaves, languish because the people of the north refuse to come forward with their good wishes, and their prayers, and their most liberal contributions. It will not. We dare to predict that the time is not far distant, when the north and the south shall unite in this work of charity, and when every new report of the prosperity of our colony, will awaken the same joy in every benevolent heart from Portland to Savannah.

This leads us to remark on the second characteristic, namely, that it is a *great* enterprise. There is a grandeur in the conception of it like the grandeur of the Bible Society; and if properly supported, every step of its progress must be attended by the sympathies and prayers of all who feel or pray for the missionary. Said Samuel J. Mills to his companion, "Can we engage in a nobler effort? We go to make freemen of slaves. We go to lay the foundation of a free and independent empire on the coast of poor degraded Africa. It is confidently believed by many of our best and wisest men, that if the plan proposed succeeds, it will ultimately be the means of exterminating slavery in our country. It will eventually redeem and emancipate a million and a half of wretched men. It will transfer to Africa the blessings of religion and civilization; and Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hands unto God."

Such is the object. To comprehend in any degree its

magnitude, we must look at it in its relation to the blacks of our own country, in its relation to the slave trade, and in its relation to the civilization of Africa. We might add the connexion it must have with American commerce, not only by affording a station at which our Indiamen might take in water and provision, in some important respects more conveniently than at the Cape Verde Islands; but also by opening to our merchants, at no distant period, a lucrative trade in all the productions of the climate. But we can only take the rapid glance at this topic, which is presented in the following extract from the third report.

“Has not the single port of Sierra Leone exported, in one year, since the abolition of the slave trade by England, a greater value than all western Africa, a coast of several thousand miles, yielded, exclusive of its people, for a like period anterior to that event? When this abominable traffick shall have been utterly exterminated; when the African labourer can toil secure from the treachery of his neighbour, and the violence of the man-stealer; that continent will freight, for legitimate trade, those ships which now carry thither chains, fetters, and scourges, to return home with the bones, the sinews, the blood, and the tears of her children. Her gold, her ivory, her beautiful dyes, her fragrant, and precious gums, her healing plants and drugs, the varied produce of her now forsaken fields and lonely forests, will be brought by a joyous and grateful people, to the nations who, once their plunderers and persecutors, will have at length become their protectors, friends, and allies.”

Let us look more particularly at the Colonization Society, first, in relation to the blacks of our own country. Leaving slavery and its subjects for the moment entirely out of view, there are in the United States 238,000 blacks denominated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being more vicious and miserable than slaves can be. Their condition we have attempted to describe, and the description may be repeated in two words, irremediable degradation. Now, is there not to the benevolent mind something noble in the thought of ameliorating the condition and elevating the character of these 238,000? The Colonization Society will do this. It will open for these men an asylum, whither they can flee from the scoffs and the scorn to which they are exposed. It will restore them to a real freedom in the land of their fathers. It will give them all the privileges of humanity in the land for which their Creator designed them. And should it be unable to confer on all, the benefits it proposes, still it would do not a little for their improvement. By elevating the character of those

who were transported to Africa, it would elevate in some degree the character of those who remained. It would set before them the strongest motives to industry, and honesty, and the acquisition of an honourable reputation. And here would be room for the other branches of benevolent exertion ;—here would be opportunity for Sabbath schools and all the apparatus of religious instruction. And is this a work to be overlooked or despised ?

But we have a million and a half of slaves. The black cloud almost covers our southern hemisphere. It is spreading—and extending—and every hour its darkness is increasing. Now to dissipate this cloud ; to let in light, the pure unmingled light of freedom, on our whole land—the prospect is too wide for our vision, the object too vast for our comprehension. Let us look then with a nearer view at a less magnificent object. There are men in the southern states, who long to do something effectual for the benefit of their slaves, and would gladly emancipate them, did not prudence and compassion alike forbid such a measure, of which it is difficult to say whether it would injure most the comfort and happiness of the slaves, or the welfare of the community. Now to provide a way for these men to obey the promptings of humanity, while they at the same time confer an equal blessing on the slaves and on the community—is not this a great design ? And if, inspired by their example, another and another master should emancipate his slaves ; and if in this way the subject should come to be discussed with new views and feelings ; and if emancipation, no longer useless and dangerous, should be no longer unpopular ; and if the voice of public opinion at the south should thus, by degrees, declare itself louder and louder against the practice of slavery ; till at last the system should be utterly abolished ; till not “ a slave ” should “ contaminate ” our soil ; till Africa, abused degraded Africa should stretch out her hands and pray for America ;—if this should be so, what a triumph would be achieved—what a glory would be shed on our country in the view of admiring nations. No wonder, then, that faith should be staggered, and benevolence overwhelmed at the prospect of a consummation so magnificent.

But the supposition of entire success in this plan, though it cannot be looked at without scepticism, is not absurd. The Society have from the first anticipated the co-operation of the national and state governments. The states of Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee, have expressed their approbation of the design, and have requested the national government to engage in it. The first of these states, it is believed, stands ready, as soon as Congress shall begin the work, to lend the most efficient aid in colonizing her own coloured population

Indeed we may say, that in all the northern part of that section of the country, the necessity of a grand and general effort is beginning to be felt, certainly by all intelligent reflecting men. If, then, the government of the United States should begin the work, and if the governments of the slave-holding states should, one after another, follow on, who shall set bounds to what might be accomplished. By the calculations in the second report, which are certainly moderate, it appears that 250,000 dollars would transport the annual increase of the free blacks; and 2,000,000, or a capitation tax of less than twenty-five cents on all the citizens of the United States, would transport the whole annual increase of bond and free. "The amount of duties collected on foreign distilled spirits, during each of the first six years of Mr. Jefferson's administration, would defray the sum total of this expense, and furnish half a million of dollars annually, to extinguish the principal, the capital stock, of the heaviest calamity that oppresses this nation." "And were the same duties charged in the United States, as in Great Britain, on the consumption of this fatal poison of human happiness, their net proceeds would, in less than a century, purchase and colonize in Africa, every person of colour within the United States." 2 Report, p. 34.

Thus these two evils—the greatest that our country has ever known—might be made to counteract and destroy each other.

But, whether such expectations are chimerical or not, there is an immense object to be gained by the efforts of the Colonization Society in the entire suppression of the slave trade. This horrible traffic, notwithstanding its abolition by every civilized nation in the world, except Portugal and Brazil, and notwithstanding the decided measures of the British and American governments, is still carried on to almost as great an extent as ever. Not less than 60,000 slaves, according to the most moderate computation, are carried from Africa annually. This trade is carried on by Americans to the American states. The assertion has been made in Congress by Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, that these horrible cargoes are smuggled into our southern states to a deplorable extent. Five years ago, Mr. Middleton, of South Carolina, declared it to be his belief "that 13,000 Africans were annually smuggled into our southern states." Mr. Wright, of Virginia, estimated the number at 15,000. And the cruelties of this trade which always surpassed the powers of the human mind to conceive, are greater now than they ever were before. We might, but we will not, refer to stories, recent stories, of which the very recital would be torment. The only way in which this trade can be speedily and effectually suppressed.

as the establishment of colonial stations in Africa, which will guard and dry up the fountains of the evil. There is no slave trade in the vicinity of Sierra Leone. Soon there will be none in the vicinity of Montserado. And when colonies shall be established at proper intervals along the coast, the slave-trade will exist only in the memory of indignant humanity. And is not this an object for benevolence to aim at?

But this is not all. The colony is to be a means of civilizing and christianizing Africa. Hitherto the extension of civilization, and, since Christianity was established in the Roman Empire, the extension of Christianity has been almost exclusively by colonies. Whence came the civilization of Greece? It was brought by colonies from Egypt. How was Italy civilized? By colonies from Greece. How was Europe civilized? By the Roman military colonies. Whence came the civilization of America? And is not that universal spirit of improvement which is springing up in Hindoostan occasioned, more or less directly, by the British conquests there, which have poured in thousands of Englishmen, who are in effect colonizing India? Two centuries hence the little band, who are now cultivating their fields and building their houses at Montserado, and spreading over the wilderness around them a strange aspect of life and beauty, may be remembered by the thousands of their descendants, with the same emotions with which the little band who landed at Plymouth two centuries ago, are now remembered by the thousands of New England. We do not fear to say, that to the friends of missions, the Colonization Society presents a loud and imperative claim. The advantage of the Moravian missions and of the modern missionary establishments in savage countries, is that they are in substance, little colonies. If you could carry from this country to the Sandwich Islands, a thousand civilized and educated natives, would you not think you had done much for Owhyhee? This is what can be done, and must be done, for Africa.

And will there not be an interest in the progress of the work? Will it not be delightful to watch the advances of the morning; to see the light breaking in on one dark habitation of cruelty, and another; to see the shadows of heathenism fleeing away, and the delusions which have so long terrified the ignorant pagans, vanishing; to see one tribe after another coming to the light of Zion, and to the brightness of her rising; to see Ethiopia waking, and rising from the dust, and looking abroad on the day, and stretching out her hands to God, and the day light still spreading and kindling and brightening, till all the fifty millions of Africa are brought into the "glorious light and liberty of the sons of God!" Is there



not enough in this to arrest the attention of the public, and to keep it fixed on this object with an untiring interest, till all shall be accomplished ?

The Niger's sullen waves

Have heard the tidings,—and the orient sun  
Beholds them rolling on to meet his light  
In joyful beauty — Tombut's spiry towers  
Are bright without the brightness of the day,  
And Houssa wakening from his age-long trance  
Of woe, amid the desert, smiles to hear  
The last faint echo of the blissful sound.

A few words more, and we have done. We had intended to notice one or two things in the management of this Society, which might be amended. One is, they have not kept up a constant communication with the public. The monthly reports of their treasury have not been published; and we have known very little of their proceedings but from their annual reports. Another deficiency appears to be—perhaps we judge incorrectly—a want of that energy and business-like regularity of operation which so characterize some of our northern benevolent institutions. Generally their colonists have arrived at the most unhealthy seasons of the year. We the more willingly curtail our notice of these defects, because we think we can see an evident improvement. They have issued proposals for publishing a periodical work, which we hope will be well supported by the public. And they have resolved, and they have called on the public to assist in executing the resolution, that if possible they will send three vessels with emigrants to Liberia this fall. We do earnestly hope that this call will be answered, and that the Board will be enabled to carry this design into execution, and by sending their settlers to Africa at the healthiest, instead of the most unhealthy seasons of the year, to ascertain whether the climate is actually so deadly as benevolent slave-traders and the other enemies of the scheme are fond of representing. The late unfortunate intelligence from Montserado, discouraging as it may be to the timid and heartless, ought to invigorate the friends of Africa. It has proved, what every body knew before, and what no man in his senses ever presumed to deny, that the climate of that coast, like other tropical climates, is dangerous to foreigners arriving at a certain season of the year. It has proved too that, whatever may be thought of one of the agents of the colony, the other is a man of sense and integrity — ‘a man of business, and one who knows how to command.’

The public have expected from this plan, we will not say too great, but too immediate results. For ourselves we expect to see repeated untoward events.—We do not anticipate any thing magnificent for twenty or fifty years to come. But christian benevolence is gifted to look into futurity.

Finally, if any thing is done, it ought to be done *quickly*.— If there are christians among us who intend to favour this object, let them do it without delay. We would venture to suggest to ministers of all denominations the propriety of laying before their people, sometime in the course of this month, the claims of an object so important to our country and to the human race, and soliciting their contributions. Let it be known on earth, let it be known in heaven, that America is awake on this subject—that her sons of every name and of every opinion are doing something for the emancipation and salvation of injured Africa.

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F.

*Extract from the first Annual Report of the New-York Auxiliary Colonization Society, 1823.*

It is unnecessary to dwell, in detail, upon the intermediate history of the Colony. The annual Reports of the parent Institution contain the amplest information on this subject, and are filled with a recital of the most important incidents in relation to its origin and progress. To the lover of bold adventure, as well as to the philanthropist and the Christian, we recommend the perusal of these interesting documents. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state, that, notwithstanding the dangers and the difficulties necessarily attending the planting of an infant settlement on a remote and barbarous shore, the colony still exists and flourishes. According to the latest accounts, the number of settlers is about two hundred, under the superintendence of two agents, of acknowledged character and abilities. The misunderstanding, which at first existed between them and the natives, has been satisfactorily adjusted, and every thing seems propitious to the growth and perpetuity of the establishment.

Such is a brief sketch of what has been accomplished under the auspices of the parent Society. To aid in the execution of a plan, so magnificent in its design, and so benevolent in its object, this auxiliary was formed. It has already existed for six years, and though less has been done by it than was either wished or expected by the friends of colonization, yet the Managers feel confident that its formation and continued existence have not been without their use. Although it has thus far contributed but little to the pecuniary resources of the Society, the Managers flatter themselves that it may have been the means of keeping alive, in this section of our country, a sympathy for the general object, which, it is hoped, will ere long pervade every portion of the community. Not-

withstanding the open hostility of some, the skepticism of others, and the cold indifference of a still greater number, the Managers are proud to record their firm and unalterable conviction in favour of the great cause in which they are enlisted. They believe it to be a project, not merely practicable, but pregnant with the greatest blessings to humanity. To this country it offers the only possible means of gradually ridding ourselves of a mighty evil, and of obliterating the foulest stain upon our nation's honour. To those who emigrate, it offers an asylum in the land of their fathers, where they may stand forth in the character of men, and enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen. To Africa, it offers the suppression of the slave trade, while it presents in bold perspective the brightest prospects of future civilization and refinement. If this unfortunate portion of our globe is ever to be regenerated in its intellectual and moral character, there is no question that it will have to be the result of efforts foreign to itself. All history proves that no people were ever redeemed from ignorance and barbarism, except through the agency of a nation already civilized.

If such be the fact, how immensely does the establishment of this Colony swell in interest, when viewed in its relations to Africa! It is no extravagant supposition, that, if success attends the present enterprise, colonies will ere long be found established in abundance along the coast of Africa, and that through them, civilization, science, and christianity, will pour their blessings over a suffering and degraded continent. It is impossible to believe, for one moment, that a plan which promises such splendid results will be suffered to languish by the American public. The countenance and patronage already extended to the infant settlement by the government of the United States, shows that the object is and ought to be a *national one*. The Managers entertain the hope, that ere long this must become a general sentiment throughout our country, and that every heart must be awakened to the claims of this institution.

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*The following calculations are from the New York Statesman.*

Emigrants usually consist of young people. Let the Society aid none but such, and equal numbers of males and females; females between the age of 18 and 28 years, males between 20 and 30 years. As the children of such parents would all be young, most of them under three years, and as when under that age their removal would cost but little with their parents, such children need not be estimated. Let the society aid 6000 annually of this class, between 18

and 30 years of age, and the population at the end of ten years will be, making all allowances, at least 100,000 less than it would have been, had none been removed. This will appear, if we consider how large a portion of the increase will spring from this class. Allowing for deaths, it would be a low estimate to say their numbers would double in the time.\* But estimating their increase only at two-thirds their number, and it will amount to 100,000 in ten years. By the last census, the number of free people of colour was 233,398, and the increase from 1810, is a little less than 47,000. At the same rate of increase, the number in 1830, will be some less than 293,000, if none are removed. Call it 293,000, and suppose the 6000 a year to be removed, and deduct the number with their estimated increase, estimated at 100,000, and it leaves 193,000. At the same rate of increase, and the same deduction the next ten years, the number will be 142,000 in 1840: 80,000 in 1850, being less than the number which would be removed the next ten years; the removing 6000 a year amounting to the same as the removal of 100,000 once in ten years. All, therefore, but the aged, would be removed in less than forty years. But the rate of increase of those who remain after the first ten years, considering the class that is removed, would be less by considerable the next ten; so that although four years are nearly gone since the first census, if the work were commenced this year, they would all be removed within forty years.

The expense, if it were all met by the society, and they were removed to Africa, would not exceed \$360,000 annually, and would probably be less. But as many might be removed to Hayti, as one-fifth would defray their own expense, the expense would be greatly reduced. I have put the rate of expense the same as Paul Cuffee estimated it, who carried out the first colonists that left our country for Africa. Of 38 whom he carried out, 8 bore their own expenses, which is more than one-fifth, and he wrote Mr. Mills that they could be carried out for \$60 each.

Vessels of 300 tons burthen might be fitted up so as to transport comfortably 250, and would make with ease two voyages in a year. But we will suppose they make two trips the year, and transport only 200 at a time, it would require but 15 vessels to be employed. The yearly expense of these vessels for charter and stores for the 200 passengers, allowing the passage out to be six weeks, will be \$192,000,

\*Suppose these 6000 to be parents, and that 1500 children are born annually, and that parents and children die annually at the rate of one out of forty, and there will be remaining, at the end of ten years, of the 60,000 parents and their children, upwards of 121,000. It is therefore too low to call it 100,000, making all allowances.

leaving \$168,000 to meet other expenses. Vessels of 300 tons can be chartered in this port, to make a voyage to Africa and back, all the expenses of the crew and their supplies included, for \$3500 to \$4500. Say the cost of vessel is \$4000, the supplies necessary for 200 passengers, estimated at \$2 a week each for six weeks' voyage, \$2400, the cost of one voyage, will be \$6400; two voyages \$12,800; making the expense of transporting the 6000 in 15 vessels \$192,000. But this expense would be much reduced by freight back, or by chartering the vessels only for the outward voyage, and by engaging with the same owner for several voyages. The expense would be much diminished as the colony increased, and trade commenced and increased between this and the colony. Coloured people too could be employed as transporters, and would be able to do it at a less rate than whites, as they have little share in other commerce. When the colony had become established and inviting, the spirit of emigration among them would be aroused, and they would seek out new places to settle; such as Sierra Leone, the south of Africa and the east, Madagascar, Hayti, and Columbia for mulattoes. Thousands would go yearly to these various places—thousands would be seen seeking employment to gain the means of emigrating, impelled to it by the powerful motives of liberty and property. It is only necessary for a few of their own colour, in whom they can confide, to return to them from some colony or country, with the report of having found an inviting land of equality and comfortable livelihood; and all this spirit of emigration would be aroused, all this would be seen. This is proved by the fact, that when Paul Cuffee returned, at least two thousand, in the vicinity of Boston, were desirous to have him carry them out to Sierra Leone; it is confirmed also, by the recent fact, that 100 immediately offered their names to go to Montserado, after Mr. Waring returned in August, at Petersburg, Virginia: and corroborated still further by the fact, that the Society, notwithstanding all the disasters of their colony, have found no difficulty in obtaining colonists.

How soon then and how easy might a degraded people be exalted to the rights of men, a growing empire be founded in Africa, Africa receive the blessings of civilization and christianity, and be delivered from the horrid barbarities of the slave trade, and our own country from an unhappy race, neither bond nor free, who though among us are not of us, and instead of being a source of strength to the nation, enfeeble and endanger it. How soon might all this be done, if the nation would but listen to the voice of interest and humanity, and commence the work!

“Let the same process,” say the managers of the New York society, “be adopted with the whole black population, and remove 30,000 yearly, and the whole will be removed within 50 years, allowing the rate of increase to diminish one per cent. every ten years, which it certainly would, considering the class that is removed. And the yearly expense, if wholly borne by the society, will not exceed ONE MILLION EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. But it would be diminished about one-fifth by what the emigrants would furnish themselves, and would be furnished them by owners of slaves who were colonized. That is, it would cost the nation less than one and a half millions to deliver itself from an evil that forebodes to be worse to our nation hereafter than British oppression was before the revolution, and to gain a glory more triumphant than that of our independence, as it would be less selfish in its character. And it can be gained without paying the bitterest part of the price, in conflict and blood. Let then the “debasement of our *ancestors* immortalize their *posterity*” of this age by its removal.”

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F.

*Extract of a letter from Rev. Loring D. Dewey.*

New York, February 18, 1824.

DEAR SIR: I last night returned to this city, having been gone six weeks longer than I anticipated, four weeks of which I impute to the excessive bad weather and sickness, being obliged to lie by nearly a week by a severe cold. Wishing to pass and re-pass the Hudson, in order to visit the principal towns each side, I was several times detained by its impassable state. Very rainy and muddy weather not only prevented meetings, but retarded my progress from place to place very much. It has in several respects been a bad season for my business. I was a fortnight longer in getting up the Society in Albany, in consequence of bad weather preventing meetings, and the Greek cause, and a little political fear too, concerning the Presidential election. But it was so important to form a Society in Albany, that I felt it must be formed, or I must give up all hopes of doing any thing in this State; and my experience since has shown me, if I had failed then it would have been labour and time almost spent in vain, to have prosecuted my agency elsewhere. I informed you from Albany that the Greek cause absorbed almost all the cash, and very much of the interest. But I am not certain that it has not compelled me to take the best course in the end. As I concluded in consequence not to ask for their money at

once, but to come and hear me, and then afterwards if they saw fit, aid the object. I obtained many more to hear me, and have always left the plan, with fair prospects of aid hereafter. I have found too a great deal of prejudice, and ignorance. To do away this prejudice and the ignorance that prevailed was necessary first, and this is the most that I have done, except the organization of several respectable Auxiliaries, and this has been done to a considerable extent. For this purpose the N. Y. Auxiliary Society's Report has been very useful. Many individuals who were opposed to the Society, because they supposed it a scheme of the slave-holders to get rid of the free blacks and their surplus slaves, or supposed all the colonists died as fast as they arrived in Africa, (and these you know have been the constant representations of the papers, before they read this Report,) afterwards became the warm supporters of its cause. I have been in many instances exceedingly gratified with the change that has taken place. One man stated in the meeting, convened to take measures to aid the Society, that when he first received the Report, he determined not to read it, and did not for some time; but at length he casually took it up and read a little, became interested, and now, said he, I not only feel interested, and disposed to aid this cause, but I feel it my duty to do it. I could relate similar anecdotes. I am persuaded, therefore, that although I have obtained little money, my time has been usefully spent in this town. Societies were actually organized, or in process for organization, when I left the plans, in sixteen towns, and fair prospects of their formation in three or four more. Besides this, I have sent Reports and Circulars to a number of other towns in the State. That I have not been idle is certain. Whether I have laboured to good effect must yet be determined. I, however, can say without a doubt if your Society will fit out an expedition from this port or Albany next season, these Societies will readily meet the expense. I trust it will be done.

Yours, with respect,

L. D. DEWEY.

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G.

*Letter from Rev. William M. Kenney, accompanying his Report.*

Georgetown, D. C. January 19, 1824.

GENTLEMEN:—The Report which accompanies this, exhibits a brief outline of my proceedings, during the time I was engaged in forming societies auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

As stated in that Report, I think you may confidently calculate on receiving, at least, one thousand dollars from Kent, Queen Anne's, Talbot, and Dorchester counties; and should the reports from the Colony, continue favourable, the impressions already made of the practicability of the scheme, will be deepened, and the efforts and the means to carry it on, will increase in a corresponding ratio.

The scheme is looked upon, in those counties, as an extraordinary stride in the political and moral march of our country, essentially important to its domestic tranquillity, and equally interesting and important to the free people of colour, whose happiness and elevation to the enjoyment of all the natural and the social rights of man, are closely interwoven with the whole plan, and dependent on its consummation.— This view of the subject has excited a general interest in the cause, and I am happy in having it in my power to assure you, that, among its warmest friends, are many gentlemen of the highest order in society, alike distinguished for their political foresight and humanity. They take another view of the subject, which cannot fail to strike every man's common sense, viz: Colonization in Africa is all-important to the entire destruction of the slave trade.

The magnanimous efforts of our own country, in conjunction with Great Britain, to effect the annihilation of this most inhuman traffick, will doubtless do much: but to finish the work, other and additional means are necessary—means calculated by natural process, to draw the attention of the natives, to the arts and blessings of civilized life. This done, the great work is finished, and Africa is free. Is it not obvious to the slightest observer of human nature and human operations, that there is the most perfect adaptation in the plan of colonization to this end?

It is also my duty to remark upon another fact, which came under my own observation; and I do it with great pleasure, because it is in direct refutation of imputations, cast upon the southern friends of the Society, involving the purity of their motives. Holders of slaves, expressed their ardent desire for the success of the scheme, assigning as one of their reasons, their belief, that it opened the only way that could be devised for gradual emancipation, without injury to the domestic relations of Society. Such are among its most zealous patrons on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and as the parent society shall receive means to widen its sphere of operations, so as to receive their people, they will be among the foremost to commence the work of gradual emancipation. Under present circumstances, it is almost entirely out of the question. A conviction of this lamentable state of things,



has forced itself upon many a benevolent heart on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; and such unhesitatingly say, if the Colonization Society shall fail in its efforts to transport the free coloured people to the land of their ancestors, the day of emancipation is entirely closed. *But it cannot fail!*—It involves considerations of too much magnitude and interest to the *nation*, and proposes the only effectual remedy to an evil, which has not only scourged and desolated Africa, but has also introduced into the bosom of our own country, the elements of confusion, distrust, immorality, and destruction. It cannot fail, because it is calculated to insure, (in part, at least,) not only the future prosperity of all the domestic relations of this country, but also to effect the intellectual and moral renovation of Africa, whose claims upon America and the nations of Europe, are marked with a peculiarity unknown to the demands of any other people.

The only four counties I passed through in Maryland, are named, and they will, as already observed, bear their due proportion of the necessary expenses of the parent institution; and, I am persuaded, there is not one county on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which will fail to unite in the noblest effort ever made by America, to extend the blessings of civilized life, and enlarge the sphere of those operations, which are essentially necessary to the consummation of heaven's highest purpose, viz: "peace on earth and good will to man." With considerations of respect, I am, gentlemen, your ob't servant,

W. McKENNEY.

To the Committee of Managers }  
of the A. C. S. Washington. }

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H.

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

On Friday evening last, 5th March, 1824, the Society met in the Capitol, according to adjournment, when the President being absent, WM. H. FITZHUGH, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair, and the Rev. R. R. GURLEY was appointed Secretary.

General HARPER, from the committee appointed on the 20th of last month, presented a report, which was read, as follows:

"The committee to whom was referred the resolution relative to a memorial to Congress, with instructions "to inquire into the expediency of an immediate application to Congress, and the nature and extent of the aid to be asked for," having had the subject under their serious consideration, have agreed to the following report:

“The resolution referred to them purports “that a respectful memorial be presented to Congress, on the part of this Society, stating the progress that has been made in establishing a colony of free people of colour at LIBERIA, on the southwest coast of Africa; the difficulties that have been surmounted in the progress of this establishment, its present situation, its prospects of ultimate success, and the benefits which it may be expected to produce; and praying for aid from the national government in the further prosecution of this great national undertaking.” The task assigned to the committee is to inquire into the expediency of such an application to Congress, at this time; and into the nature and extent of the aid to which the application, if now proper, ought to be directed.

“Of the expediency of now making such an application to Congress, the committee, after very full and attentive consideration, entertain no doubt. It seems to them very clear, and they believe is universally admitted, that no means which individuals, or any association of individuals, however numerous or zealous, can command, are adequate to the accomplishment of any thing more, than to prove the practicability of this enterprise, to shew the course which must be pursued in its successful prosecution, and to open and prepare the way for its accomplishment. This, your committee apprehend, has been already affected, by the efforts of this Society and its auxiliaries, aided by the liberal and enlightened measures adopted by the President of the United States, under the authority of Congress. A territory, probably the best and most suitable for the purpose which the whole southwestern coast of Africa contains, has been procured. A colony has been actually established, and now subsists; the hostility of the neighbouring tribes has been successfully resisted and overcome; and very considerable progress has been made in conciliating and securing their amity, their good will, and their confidence. Land has been distributed to the colonists, who have made much progress in erecting houses, clearing and enclosing fields, and preparing for a cultivation, not only sufficient for their own support, but for the supply of future emigrants. A species of government by consent has been established, in which the colonists have a share, and which has hitherto been found sufficient for the maintenance of security and order: and, above all, it has been found that, to the African race, for which this asylum is intended, the climate is so well suited, that far less mortality has taken place at this establishment, than usually attends new settlements, in our own or any other country. It is also proved, that free people of colour are ready and desirous to migrate in far greater num-

bers than the means at the disposal of the Society enable it to convey.

“All this, as the committee apprehend, incontestibly proves, not only the practicability, but the facility, of colonizing the free people of colour, in the place which has been chosen, and on the plan which has been adopted.

“If nothing were in view but the benefit of the individuals themselves, who are thus rescued from a state of hopeless degradation, where by far the greater part of them are worse than useless to themselves and to the community, however humane and praiseworthy the object must be admitted to be, it would possess little of a public character, which could give it a claim to the countenance of government. But it cannot, as the committee think, be denied, and ought not to be overlooked, that this enterprise touches ourselves, in national points of the most vital importance. They are too obvious to require particular explanation here, and too urgent to need enforcement. They require that the whole mass of free persons of colour, and those who may become such with the consent of their owners, should be progressively removed from among us, as fast as their own consent can be obtained, and as the means can be found for their removal and for their proper establishment in Africa. Nothing short of this progressive but complete removal, as the committee believe, can accomplish the great objects of this measure, in relation to the security, prosperity, and happiness of the United States.

“On the greatness of the number thus to be removed, and the rapidity with which, from various causes, it increases, the committee do not think it necessary to enlarge. It is well known to be far too great, to be sensibly affected by any resources which an association of individuals can command. To the nation, and to the nation alone, must we look for adequate means of accomplishing such a work.

“This the committee regard as an undertaking strictly and essentially national, in which, consequently, the national resources ought to be employed. The evil to be removed particularly affects, indeed, particular parts of the nation: but affects the rest by its necessary consequences, and is, therefore, a national evil. In the body politic, as in the natural body, a part cannot be diseased without endangering the whole, and a gangrene is not the less fatal, because it commences in the foot, or the hand. The governments, indeed, of those states which are most immediately affected by this evil, may justly be expected to do something; but, as the evil is strictly national in its character, the general government ought to be looked to, in the first place, and mainly for the remedy.

“ These reasons have led the committee to conclude, that application ought to be made to the national government. They are aware that doubts exist, in quarters entitled to the highest respect, about the expediency of making this application at present. But, after a careful consideration of that point, they are of opinion, that an immediate application is advisable. The time has come, when, the way being found to be practicable, opened, and prepared, the national government may, with propriety, enter on this great career. It has also come, when almost all that can be effected by individual resources, has been effected.

“ The committee would also remark, that, although it may be doubted whether, on a subject so vast in its consequences and connections, and so new, Congress will act immediately—this does not, in their opinion, furnish any sufficient reason for delaying the application. Time must be allowed for viewing the subject in all its bearings, for reflecting on it maturely, and for public opinion to receive and communicate the proper impulse. Nothing, the committee apprehend, will tend so effectually to produce and to hasten these desirable results, as full discussions and explanations of the whole subject in Congress for which the present moment seems particularly favourable. They are, therefore, of opinion, that it is advisable to make the application during the present session, and at as early a period as practicable.

“ On the nature and extent of the aid for which it would be proper to ask, more doubt may exist. But the committee are of opinion, after much reflection, that Congress ought to be requested to take under its protection the colony already planted ; to make provision for its increase by suitable appropriations of money, and by authorizing the President to make further purchases of land from the natives, as it may be wanted : to provide for its security, internal and external, by such regulations for its temporary government, as may be deemed advisable, and by authorizing the President to employ a suitable naval force on the coast, as well for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade, as for the purpose of impressing the natives with respect for the establishment ; and to make provision for the purchase, from time to time, of suitable territories, on the south-western coast of Africa, for the establishment of other similar colonies, as fast as they can be formed, with a due regard to the national resources, and to the public good.

“ It will, also, as your committee apprehend, be proper to pray for an incorporation of the Society, within this district, with proper powers and privileges, as an efficient mean of promoting these important objects, and for a continuation of

the appropriation for the restoration of recaptured Africans to their own country, and their support and protection there.

“All of which is respectfully submitted.”

It was, thereupon, resolved, that the said report be approved, adopted, and published, and that a memorial, accordingly, be prepared by the same committee, signed by the President, and presented to Congress, on the part of the Society.

R. R. GURLEY, *Secretary*.

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J.

Baltimore, February 18th, 1824.

GENTLEMEN : I have the pleasure to inform you of my arrival at this place on the 10th inst. in the schooner Fidelity, in thirty-seven days from Rio Pongas, and fifty-nine days from Montserado.

I left the colony in a state of prosperity—the lots were surveyed and allotted to the people in August, but the threatening aspect of the natives made it necessary to leave our agricultural pursuits, and attend to the defence of our colony, which occupied our time until November.

I was much disappointed in the effects produced by distributing the lots to each person. I had fondly looked forward to this era as a period which would put a stop to the dissensions and murmurs of the people, who have always been complaining that this had not been effected. But when this was done, they clearly demonstrated the principle which had really actuated them from the first. Instead of accepting them, and going to work to improve them, the old settlers to a man, and some of the brig Strong's cargo, refused to accept the lots, and became very turbulent. For this course many reasons were assigned—some that the society had deceived them; that they went out expecting to govern themselves, and had no idea of having white Agents, with various other reasons, which I reserve for a future communication.

Those whom I took out last, with the exception of two, accepted their lots, and shewed a disposition to be orderly and industrious. They were all recovering their health, and beginning to labour on their lots.

The plantations were allotted to such as had accepted their lots, and from the disposition manifested by them, I think they will soon be handsomely improved.

I have thus accomplished the objects which I had originally in view when I accepted the appointment as Agent of your society, which was to procure a situation for this unfortunate race of people on the Coast of Africa, and to see each one settled on lands of his own, where, by a course of honest industry,

he might procure a comfortable subsistence, and raise himself and posterity from that state of degradation in which he must ever be placed in this country, to a state of independence and happiness.

This being accomplished, I beg leave to resign my appointment as agent of your society, and I do hereby resign the same.

Indisposition since my arrival has been the cause of my not communicating to you more fully, and at an earlier date.

I have the honour to be, your most obedient humble servant,  
E. AYRES.

*Messrs. the Committee of the Col. Soc'y.*

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K.

*Dr. E. Ayres to the Abolition Society, Philadelphia.*

Washington, March 1<sup>th</sup>, 1824.

SIR: I received a letter from you dated March 3d, 1823, concerning a letter to King Shaker, of Gallenos, respecting a grandson of the King, now under the care of the Committee of the Abolition Society of Philadelphia.

I took the first opportunity after my arrival in Africa to send your communication to him; much gratified to have it in my power to shew the Africans that there were white men in the world, who were actuated by very different motives from those with whom they had been in the habit of dealing. They have been accustomed to look upon the character of a white man, as a combination of all that debases human nature. You may, therefore, judge of the feelings of an aged and fond grandfather, (for they have human feelings,) upon receiving intelligence of his long lost child. I accompanied your letter with an account of our settlement, and the object we had in view of returning the much injured Africans to the land of their forefathers.

He wrote me a very kind letter, (which I would have sent you, but it is mislaid) thanking me for the information, and requesting me to inform you of the great regard which he felt for the attention they had paid to his grandson. He begged me to assure the Abolition Society that he would remunerate them for all expenses they had incurred on account of his child. He seemed much pleased at the location of our colony, and wished to open a trade with us as soon as the rains should cease.

There has another circumstance occurred, which, in conjunction with the above, may be said to have opened a new era to the view of the natives on this part of the Coast.

The eleven Africans who were seized in Baltimore, and rescued from a piratical vessel, as you have doubtless heard

by the newspapers, were last November delivered to me in Africa, by the captain of the schooner Fidelity. It was ascertained that they had been taken in war near our settlement, and sold by King Shaker, of Gallenos, and by him sold to the captain of a Spanish vessel. This vessel was plundered by captain Chase, of Baltimore, and boldly brought into that port, trusting to his influence with certain persons of high standing, to elude the authority of our laws. But by the interference of E. Tyson, deceased, there was an investigation and the slaves were detained until I arrived in that city, and took charge of them as Agent of the Colonization Society. Their case could not be decided before I sailed for Africa, but they were shortly after set at liberty, and sent in the African packet to our colony, and delivered to my care. As they all preferred returning to their parents and families to remaining in our colony, they were permitted to do so.

When I went on board the vessel, though much emaciated and reduced almost to a skeleton, they immediately recognized me to be the person who had the year before rescued them from slavery. I had scarcely stepped my foot on deck before they were all round me, expressing by words and gestures the most heartfelt satisfaction for the favours they had received.

When the vessel was getting under way, yielding to early impressions, by which they had been taught to consider a white face and treachery as inseparable, they concluded they were betrayed, and were again to return to America. They sprang below to get their bags, and were about to plunge into the Ocean, and swim to the shore with their bundles. On being assured I was about to restore them to their native towns, some of which were nearly in sight, their confidence was restored, and they contentedly went to work. When arrived at Sugary, our crew being sickly, I sent on shore for Charles Gomez, a native, who had been educated in England, to come off with his boat, and take the captives on shore. He came, off, accompanied by several of the natives; and here a most interesting interview took place between these long separated acquaintances.

A circumstance attending this affair is truly characteristic of the African character. One of these captives had been taken by this Gomez two years before, in a war between him and the father of the captives, and afterwards sold to King Shaker. This captive was at first very shy of Gomez, and refused to go on shore with him, fearing the war was not yet over, and that he should be again sold to a slave vessel then lying in sight; but I assured him that he was in no danger; that I knew the war to be over; that Gomez was a par-

ticular friend of mine, and traded with me ; and, in the presence of both assured them, that should Gomez attempt to do him injustice, I would not fail to chastise him. These assurances entirely overcame his doubts, and when told that his father and the fathers of two others of them were then standing on the beach, not knowing that it was their sons, whom they had long supposed were doomed to perpetual slavery, were so shortly to be restored to their fond embraces, they all stepped into the boat, and in a few minutes astonished their delighted parents on the shore. I was much pleased to see that Gomez appeared truly to enter into the feelings of those poor creatures at this time, although he had been the cause of all their sufferings ; but that was considered by them as the fortune of war, and created no hostile feelings of revenge.

When taking my final leave of these poor fellows, they, pointing to their bags, filled with presents from Gen. Harper and Elijah Tyson, exclaimed, see there !—them daddies in America good man. These circumstances shew what entire confidence may be obtained over native Africans by good offices. I wish I could say it was possible to obtain the same degree of confidence over the coloured people of this country by any kindness whatever.

Does not this show the proper field to operate upon in suppressing the slave trade ? Send men among them capable of instructing them—let them be qualified in head as well as in heart—not avaricious speculators, nor yet ignorant enthusiasts ; but practical men, who can give the natives a living example of integrity of principle, and at the same time instruct them in other modes of obtaining the necessaries of life. Let them be taught the benefit of employing their time in cultivating the earth—shew them that the labour of a man for one year will produce more than they can sell him for—create a market for all they can supply, and give them in exchange such articles as they want, immediately their wars, which have been entered into merely to get slaves, the sale of which is the only method they know of to supply their wants, will cease.

I think myself authorized in this assertion, having witnessed the effects produced by the very limited trade which I opened with them for a short time while in the colony, and viewing the alacrity with which they entered into any new business which was proposed to them. I believe I am safe in saying there was more work performed within about 40 miles of the Coast in six weeks, at the close of the rains, with a view of trading with our colony when the rains should cease, than had ever been done in any four years before. If the first



impulse could produce this effect, what may be expected from a continuation of the same cause.

I have no doubt but that any expenses accruing to the Abolition Society on account of this lad, now under their care, will be faithfully discharged by King Shaker; and as it may be of immense importance to Africa hereafter, I hope the society will spare no pains to have him properly educated, and instructed in agriculture or the mechanical arts. Should he in future succeed to his grandfather's authority in the principal mart of the slave trade now on the Coast, this fortunate circumstance may be the means of rescuing more unfortunate beings from the iron hand of slavery, than all the exertions of the society have done since its first establishment.

That this may be the happy issue of your humane endeavours, is the ardent wish of your most obedient,

E. AYRES.

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*Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the information required by a resolution of the House of Representatives, of 27th February last, in relation to the suppression of the African Slave-Trade.*

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :

I transmit, herewith, to the House of Representatives, a report from the Secretary of State, with the papers therein referred to, in compliance with a resolution of that House, of 27th January last.

JAMES MONROE.

*Washington, 19th March, 1824.*

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Department of State, Washington, 18th March, 1824.

The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred a resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 27th of January last, requesting the President to communicate to that House such part, as he may not deem inexpedient to divulge, of any correspondence, or negotiation, which he may have instituted with any foreign government, since the 28th of February, 1823, in compliance with a request contained in a resolution of the same House of that date, relative to the denunciation of the African slave-trade as piracy, has the honour to submit to the President, copies of the correspondence requested.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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LIST OF PAPERS SENT.

- |                              |   |                   |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1. Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams, | . | 29 January, 1823. |
| 2. Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning, | . | 31 March, do.     |
| 3. Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams. | . | 8 April, do.      |

4.	Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning,	24 June,	1828.
5.	Mr. Adams to Mr. Nelson, (Extract)	28 April,	do.
6.	Same to Mr. Rodney, do.	17 May,	do.
7.	Same to Mr. Anderson, do.	27 May,	do.
8.	Same to Mr. Rush, with one enclosure ; Convention Slave Trade, (Extract)	24 June,	do.
9.	Same to Mr. Middleton, (Copy)	28 July,	do.
10.	Same to Mr. Everett, do.	8 August,	do.
11.	Same to Gen. Dearborn, (Extract)	14 do.	do.
12.	Mr. Rush to Mr. Adams, (Extracts)	9 October,	do.
13.	Mr. Sheldon to same, do.	16 do.	do.
14.	Same to same, with two enclosures ; correspondence with Viscount Chateaubriand, (Extracts)	8 Novr.	do.
15.	Mr. Everett to Mr. Adams, with two enclosures ; correspondence with Baron Nagell, (Extracts)	20 Novr.	do.

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*Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams.*

Washington, January 29, 1823.

SIR : To the complete abolition of the African slave trade, Great Britain, as you are well aware, has long devoted her anxious and unremitting exertions ; she availed herself, during the war, of her belligerent rights, and extended dominion in the colonies, to put down the inhuman traffick ; in peace, she has spared no labour, and shrunk from no sacrifice, to supply, by a general co operation of the maritime powers, whatever has been withdrawn from her peculiar controul by the cessation of hostilities, and the colonial arrangements consequent on that event. It is matter of deep regret, to his majesty's government, that the result of their exertions is far from corresponding either to the cause which demands, or to the zeal which sustains them. The pest, which they have pledged themselves to destroy, if it be in human power to destroy it, not only survives, to the disgrace and affliction of the age, but seems to acquire a fresh capacity for existence with every endeavour for its destruction.

To whatever fatality it may be owing, that, while the obligation of adopting and enforcing measures for the extermination of the slave trade, is solemnly acknowledged by the civilized world, this great object seems rather to elude the grasp than to approach its consummation. Great Britain perceives, in the postponement of her hopes, however mortifying for the moment, no reason either to relax from her efforts, or to abandon the expectation of final success. Impelled, by

the noblest motives, to persevere in the cause of abolition, and mindful by what slow laborious steps the present point has been attained, she looks forward, through surrounding obstacles, to that triumphant accomplishment of her purpose, the benefit and glory of which will only be rendered more signal by the difficulties attendant on its progress.

In calling on Europe and America to join with them in the discharge of this sacred duty, his majesty and his ministers have appealed, sir, with the more confidence, to your government, as the United States have long proclaimed their decided hostility to the slave trade, and are surpassed by no country in the vigour of their legislative enactments for its repression. The identity of principle, existing on this subject, between the two governments, is distinctly recorded in the treaty of peace; and, in answer to every proposal which has since, by his majesty's command, been addressed to your cabinet, for redeeming that pledge, by a broad and effectual application of the principle, a fresh assurance has been given of the unceasing interest with which the United States continue to promote the cause of abolition. When, to this accord, in principle and sentiment, is added the conviction, avowed by both parties, that, in spite of laws and treaties, the accursed traffick still thrives, under the eyes of an indignant world, it would seem impossible that the two powers should be long prevented from concerting a joint system of measures against the common object of their abhorrence and just proscription. Whatever circumstances, views, or impressions, may have hitherto defeated this expectation, his majesty's ministers are still unwilling to despair of finding the United States at length prepared either to close with the system of concert already offered to their acceptance, or to suggest a plan of equal efficiency in its place. The alternative embraces a duty, for the performance of which both countries are responsible before God and man.

A deep sense of this duty, and a reliance, by no means relinquished, on the general disposition of the United States, have prompted the several communications on this question, which have been addressed to you at successive periods, either through me or by means of the American Envoy in London. You will readily call to mind, sir, that, in the course of last summer, I apprised you of the intention of his majesty's ministers to press for an early re-consideration of the subject, submitting whether it might not prove agreeable to the American cabinet to anticipate that intended recurrence to it on the part of Great Britain, by some efficient proposal, originating with itself. I took occasion, in repeated conversations,

to urge anew those various arguments which support and justify the opinion of his majesty's government; and I also placed in your hands the official papers, then recently printed by order of Parliament, in further evidence of the extent to which the traffick in human beings was still carried on from Africa, under circumstances of aggravated cruelty. In declaring, as on former occasions, the readiness of his majesty's ministers to examine, with respect and candour, whatever scheme of concert, if any, the American cabinet might think proper to bring forward, as a substitute for theirs, you will remember how strongly I expressed my belief that the only effectual measure devised, or likely to be devised, was a mutual concession of the right of search. In the exercise of that right, under such guards, and with such limitations, as may serve to tranquilize the most apprehensive and scrupulous minds, it is still conceived that the best and only cure for this intolerable mischief is to be found. You assured me, at a subsequent conference, that my representations had been duly submitted to the President. I wish it were in my power to add, that the cause, which I pleaded, had prevailed.

From the printed documents which I had the honour of communicating to you, it appears that the French flag is more particularly employed to cover the illicit trade on the coast of Africa. It would, perhaps, be unfair to conclude, that French property and French subjects are concerned to the full proportion in which the colours of that nation are used; but it is manifest, that both are engaged in this commerce of blood, to an extent which reflects discredit, if not on the motives of the French administration, at least on the efficiency of its measures; and makes it imperative on those governments which are pledged to each other for the suppression of the slave trade, to declare their reprobation of what is at best a culpable remissness, and to omit nothing that may rouse the French cabinet to a more active exercise of its authority.

It was a part of my instructions to bring this point under your immediate consideration, and to intimate that the remonstrances of his majesty's ambassador at Paris, might be attended with more effect, if the American envoy at that court were directed to concur with his excellency in a joint representation on the subject. It would be idle at present to repeat the arguments adduced in executing this instruction. The answer which you returned in the name of the President, was unfavourable to the step I had suggested; and such was the result which it became my duty to announce to his majesty's Secretary of State. But no doubt was started with respect to the grounds on which my application rested; and, of those

notorious facts, to which I referred, as calling for a joint and impressive appeal to the good faith and good feelings of the French government, you seemed to be equally convinced with myself.

The reasons, indeed, which you allege for declining at that time to comply with a proposal, no less simple in its nature than useful in its object, I understood to be rather of a temporary character; and under this impression, I cannot but hope, that the period is now arrived when they will no longer be found to stand in opposition to the great considerations involved in this question.

In repeating, therefore, the invitation which I have already had the honour to convey to you on the part of his majesty's government, it only remains for me to request an early communication of the intentions at present entertained on this head by the government of the United States.

I beg, sir, that you will accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

STRATFORD CANNING.

To the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,  
*Secretary of State, &c.*

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*Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning.*

Department of State, Washington, 31st March, 1823.

SIR: Your letter of the 29th of January, was, immediately after being received, submitted to the consideration of the President of the United States. The delay which has hitherto procrastinated a reply to it has been occasioned, not by any abatement of the interest, on the part of the government of the United States, with which it regards every effort and proposal for the full and final suppression of the African slave trade; nor by any hesitation with regard to the decision which had already been formed and declared respecting the proposal of submitting the vessels and citizens of the United States, to the search of foreign officers upon the high seas; but by an expectation that measures contemplated by the national House of Representatives, might, before the close of the session of Congress, indicate to the Executive government of this country, views upon which it would be enabled to substitute a proposal for accomplishing the total abolition of the traffick, more effectual to its purpose, and less liable to objections, on other accounts, than that to which the United States cannot be reconciled, of granting the right of search. These measures were matured in the branch of the Legislature where they originated, only at the very termination of the session; and the Senate had not the opportunity of pro-

nouncing its opinion upon them. There is, however, no doubt on the mind of the President, that they would have obtained their sanction ; and he has, therefore, no hesitation in acting, so far, upon the expressed and almost unanimous sense of the House, as to declare the willingness of this Union to join with other nations in the common engagement to pursue and to punish those who shall continue to practise this crime, so reprobated by the just and humane of every country, as enemies of the human race, and to fix them, irrevocably, in the class, and under the denomination, of pirates.

I have the honour of enclosing herewith, a copy of the 4th and 5th sections of a law of the United States, passed on the 15th of May, 1820 ; by which it will be seen, that any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any *foreign* ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person *whatever*, being of the crew, or ship's company of *any* ship or vessel, owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, participating in the slave trade, is declared to have incurred the penalties of piracy, and made liable to atone for the crime with his life. The legislation of a single nation can go no further, to mark its abhorrence of this traffick, or to deter the people subject to its laws, from contamination, by the practice of others.

If the inference in your letter of the 29th of January, from the documents to which it refers, be correct, that the French flag is more particularly employed to cover the illicit trade on the coast of Africa ; and the conjecture likewise suggested in it, that this flag is used to cover the property, and the persons of individuals bound to other allegiances, be well founded, this statute makes every citizen of the United States, concerned in such covered traffick, liable, if detected in it, to suffer an ignominious death. The code of Great Britain herself, has, hitherto, no provision of equal severity in the pursuit of her subjects, even under the shelter of foreign banners, and to the covert of simulated papers and property.

I am directed by the President of the United States to propose, on their part, the adoption, by Great Britain, of the *principle* of this act ; and to offer a mutual stipulation to annex the penalties of *piracy* to the offence of participating in the slave trade, by the citizens or subjects of the respective parties. This proposal is made as a substitute for that of conceding a mutual right of search, and of a trial by mixed commissions, which would be rendered useless by it. Should it meet the approbation of your government, it may be sepa-

rately urged upon the adoption of France, and upon the other maritime powers of Europe, in the manner most conducive to its ultimate success.

I have the honour of tendering to you the renewed assurance of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The Right Hon. STRATFORD CANNING,  
*Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary  
 from Great Britain.*

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*Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams.*

Washington, April 8th, 1823.

SIR: I have received your official letter, dated the 31st ult. in answer to that which I had the honour of addressing to you on the 29th of January; and, together with it, a transcript of the 4th and 5th sections of an act of Congress, approved the 15th of May, 1820.

From this communication, I learn that the government of the United States is willing to join with other powers in declaring slave trade piracy, under the law of nations, and treating the perpetrators of this crime as enemies of the human race; that the American government is further prepared to enter into a formal engagement with Great Britain, to the effect of carrying the principle just specified into immediate operation, reciprocally as to their respective subjects or citizens; and, finally, that as soon as this proposal shall be accepted by the British government, the United States will be ready to concur in pressing its adoption on the court of France, and other maritime powers, in such manner as may afford the fairest prospect of success.

In whatever degree his Majesty's government may be disposed to receive this offer, as an acknowledgment that measures more efficient than any now generally in force, are indispensable for the suppression of the slave trade, it is not difficult to foresee, that fresh sentiments of regret will be excited, by the unfavourable view which the American administration continues to take of the principal measure suggested on the part of his Majesty. That measure, you are well aware, sir, is a mutual limited concession of the right of search; and though, as I have frequently stated, his Majesty's government, in adopting it by treaty with several of the maritime powers, and in recommending it with earnestness to the acceptance of others, particularly of the United States, have never opposed the consideration of any other plan, brought forward as equally effective; yet, having, from the first, regarded it in conscience as the only true and practical cure for the evil in question, they are naturally anxious,

from a deep sense of duty, to place it in its proper light, and to guard it, as far as possible, from prejudice or misconception. I, therefore, deem it of importance, on this occasion, to bring into one point of view, the several limitations under which it is conceived, that the right of search might be so exercised, as to clear it of every imaginable difficulty. To give the intended limitations their just value, it is requisite to bear in mind the particular objections, which have been urged against the interchange of a right of search; and for these, in their full extent, I can hardly be wrong in referring to your previous correspondence, since the last communication which I have received from you on this subject, though it describes the impressions of the American government as remaining unaltered, does not exhibit any argument in support of their opinion.

In answer to that class of objections which relate to the mixed commissions established by treaty, between his Majesty and the courts of Lisbon, Brussels, and Madrid, it may suffice to remind you of the intimation conveyed through Mr. Rush, in the early part of last year, which I had subsequently the honour of confirming at the Department of State. It might be expected, that any arrangement for the adjudication of vessels engaged in the slave trade, independent of those tribunals, would either leave the detained vessels to be disposed of in the ordinary way, by the sentence of a court of admiralty in the country of the captor, or place them under the jurisdiction of a similar court in the country to which they belonged. On the former supposition, it is not to be anticipated, that the United States could hesitate to admit the jurisdiction of a foreign court of admiralty, when sanctioned by mutual agreement, over the persons and property of citizens, abandoned to a pursuit, so flagrantly iniquitous, as to be classed by the legislature of their country with crimes of the most heinous description, and which the American government has declared its willingness to treat as piracy, under the law of nations. Great Britain, for her part, desires no other than that any of her subjects, who so far defy the laws, and dishonour the character of their country, as to engage in a trade of blood, proscribed not more by the acts of the legislature, than by the national feeling, should be detected and brought to justice, even by foreign hands, and from under the protection of her flag. In either of the supposed cases, it is clear that all impediments connected with the forms of proceeding, and peculiar construction of the mixed commissions, would be completely avoided; and, with respect to any embarrassment attending the disposal of condemned vessels, and liberated slaves, it has already been suggested by



a committee of the House of Representatives, that the provisions of the act of Congress, passed the 3rd of March, 1819, might be applied to them without difficulty or inconvenience.

The question being thus relieved from all connection with the mixed commissions, every constitutional objection, arising out of their alleged incompatibility with the institutions of the United States, is at once removed from consideration.—The remaining obstacles may be reduced under the following heads: the unpopularity of the right of search in this country; its tendency, if mutually employed, to produce an unfriendly collision between the two nations; and a certain supposed inequality, which would attend its exercise.

With respect to any doubt of its utility, created by a persuasion that very few vessels, under American colours, have been discovered, for some time past, on the Coast of Africa, it requires but little reflection to prove, that no conclusive inference can be drawn from that circumstance. Not to dwell upon the extent and nature of the slave coast, peculiarly favourable to the concealment of trading vessels, it must be remembered, that the United States have maintained, at no time, a greater number of cruizers than two, rarely more than one, and latterly, during several months together, no ship of war, whatever, on the African station. As late as the 14th of January, 1822, it was stated, officially, by the Governor of Sierra Leone, “that the fine rivers Nunez and Pongas, were entirely under the control of renegado European and American slave traders.”

But, if it were even manifest, that the active and judicious exertions of your naval officers in that quarter, had really effected a total disuse of the American flag in slave trading, the right of search would still be most highly desirable, in order to secure and extend so important an advantage. As an example, indeed, to other powers, particularly to France, whose subjects, encouraged by the loose and equivocal measures of their Government, are convicted, by a mass of evidence too strong to be resisted, of being concerned, to a deplorable degree, in this atrocious commerce, the concurrence of the United States in a system of which, the very first result is to augment considerably the means of bringing offenders to justice, can hardly be rated at too high a value. The example which they are called upon to give, is not merely due to the claims of humanity; Great Britain and the United States, are not only pledged to put down the slave trade, within the limits of their immediate jurisdiction; they are also bound, by solemn obligations, to employ their utmost endeavours for its complete and universal extermination. They have both succeed-

ed in their great and benevolent object, so far as the rigour of legislative enactments is capable of counteracting the temptation of enormous profit, which stimulates the unprincipled avarice of the slave merchant. It is the facility of escaping detection, and not any want of severity in the punishment attached to a violation of their laws, which, as far as they are concerned, requires a more decisive remedy ; and, a remedy adequate to the evil, can only be found in such measures as will strip the illicit trader of every disguise, and throw the chances entirely on the side of failure in his inhuman speculations. In the case of search, at sea, the means unavoidably employed in the commission of this crime are fortunately, it may be said providentially, of such a nature, as in general to furnish a plain substantial body of proof, for the conviction of the criminal.

For the satisfaction of those who seriously apprehend that the friendly relations subsisting between the two countries would be endangered, by the admission of a practice which, in their opinion, must necessarily produce a vexatious exercise of authority on the part of the searching officer, and frequent complaints on that of the merchant, whose vessel is subjected to search, with the supposed aggravation of an unequal pressure on one of the contracting parties, His Majesty's Government would, doubtless, agree to confine the right of visit to a fixed number of cruizers on each side, restricted, in the performance of this duty, to certain specified parts of the ocean; and acting under regulations, prepared by mutual consent, for the purpose of preventing abuses. To these important limitations, if not deemed sufficient, others might easily be added ; the arrangement, for example, might be temporary, adopted, in the first instance, for a short period, and only to be continued in the event of its being found, on trial, to operate in a satisfactory manner. With this understanding, a speedy termination would, at least, be ensured, to any objectionable result, attending its operation ; and, for the sake of interests as dear to humanity, an experiment, of which the advantage, as to its main object, is certain and complete, the inconvenience, contingent and momentary, might surely be reconciled with a due regard to considerations exclusively national.

Supposing that inconvenience should be found, in practice, to press unequally on either of the two parties, Great Britain, and not the United States, is most likely to have cause of complaint, inasmuch as the greater extent of her trade, especially on the coast of Africa, must naturally expose her, in a greater degree, to any injurious consequences of the agreement. Great Britain, however, is less disposed to shrink

from any sacrifice, by which she can materially advance the sacred cause of abolition, than to lament, and, if possible, to dispel those mistaken notions, and unfounded jealousies, which deprive her exertions of their full effect, and serve, but too successfully, to protract the existence of a mischief, which all unite in deploring. In point of principle, the honour of neither flag would be tarnished, by having its protection withdrawn for a season, from those who perpetrate the atrocities of the slave trade; and permit me, sir, to add, that what Great Britain is ready to allow, in a matter so vital to her pride and to her power, may surely be allowed, reciprocally by any other nation, however scrupulous in the maintenance of its maritime independence.

That an agreement between our respective cabinets, founded on a mutual right of search, thus guarded and explained, would fail to obtain the consent of the American Senate, or that a nation so enquiring and enlightened as the United States, would confound the proposed measure with that practice, which afforded matter of painful contention during the last wars in Europe, is what I am extremely unwilling to anticipate. The two objects are, in fact, so totally distinct from each other, in principle, purpose, and mode of execution, that the proposal of the British Government need only be presented to the examination, I will not say of a select and experienced assembly, but of the people at large, in order to be seen in its true bearings.

So far is the British proposal from tending to commit the American government on the long disputed question of the belligerent right of search, that, if it may be supposed to touch that question at all, it appears rather to operate in the sense of the United States, than unfavourably for their view of the subject.

The officers entrusted on either side with the duty of examining suspected vessels, would necessarily act under instructions calculated to ensure a perfect harmony between the principle and the application of this conceded right, nor is it to be feared that they would presume, in any case, to extend the visit thus authorized at sea, beyond the particular and specified object to which it is meant to be confined.

I have the honour to request, sir, that you will again accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

STRATFORD CANNING.

Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,  
*Secretary of State, &c.*

*Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning.*

Department of State, Washington, 24th June, 1823.

SIR: In the letter which I had the honour of addressing you, on the 31st of March last, a proposal was made, to be submitted to the consideration of your government, that the *principle* assumed in an act of the Congress of the United States, of 15th May, 1820, of considering and punishing the African slave trade as *piracy*, should be adopted as the basis of a stipulation by treaty between the United States and Great Britain; and to be urged separately upon the adoption of France, and upon the other maritime nations of Europe, in the manner most conducive to its ultimate success. It was observed that this offer was presented as a substitute for that of conceding a mutual right of search, and a trial by mixed commissions, to which the United States could not be reconciled, and which would be rendered useless by it.

Your letter of the 8th of April, to which I have now the honour to reply, intimates that his majesty's government will be disposed to receive this offer only as an acknowledgment that measures more efficient than any now generally in force, are indispensable for the suppression of the slave trade; and that, although they have never opposed the consideration of any other plan, brought forward as equally effective, yet, having from the first, regarded a mutual limited concession of the right of search, as the *only* true and practical cure for the evil, their prevailing sentiment will be of regret at the unfavourable view still taken of it by the government of the United States. Your letter, therefore, urges a re-consideration of the proposal for this mutual concession of the right of search, and by presenting important modifications of the proposal heretofore made, removes some of the objections which had been taken to it, as insuperable, while it offers argumentative answers to the others which had been disclosed in my previous communications on this subject to you.

In the treaties of Great Britain with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, for the suppression of the slave trade, heretofore communicated, with the invitation to the United States to enter into similar engagements, three principles were involved, to neither of which the government of the United States felt itself at liberty to accede. The first was the mutual concession of the right of search and capture, in time of peace, over merchant vessels, on the coast of Africa. The second was, the exercise of that right even over vessels under *convoy* of the public officers of their own nation; and the third was the trial of the captured vessels by mixed commissions in colonial settlements, under no subordination to the

ordinary judicial tribunals of the country to which the party brought before them for trial should belong. In the course of the correspondence relating to these proposals, it has been suggested that a substitute for the trial by mixed commissions might be agreed to, and in your letter of the 8th of April, an *expectation* is authorized, that an arrangement for the adjudication of the vessels detained, might leave them to be disposed of in the ordinary way, by the sentence of a court of admiralty in the country of the captor, or place them under the jurisdiction of a similar court in the country to which they belonged; to the former alternative of which you anticipate the unhesitating admission of the United States, in consideration of the aggravated nature of the crime, as acknowledged by their laws, which would be thus submitted to a *foreign* jurisdiction. But it was precisely because the jurisdiction was *foreign* that the objection was taken to the trial by mixed commissions; and if it transcended the constitutional authority of the government of the United States, to subject the persons, property, and reputation of their citizens, to the decisions of a court partly composed of their own countrymen, it might seem needless to remark, that the constitutional objection could not diminish, in proportion as its cause should increase, or that the power incompetent to make American citizens amenable to a court consisting one half of foreigners, should be adequate to place their liberty, their fortune, and their fame, at the disposal of tribunals entirely *foreign*. I would further remark, that the sentence of a court of Admiralty in the country of the captor, is not the *ordinary way* by which the merchant vessels of one nation, taken on the high seas, by the officers of another, are tried in time of peace. There is, in the ordinary way, no right whatever existing, to take, to search, or even to board them; and, I take this occasion to express the great satisfaction with which we have seen this principle solemnly recognised by the recent decision of a British court of admiralty. Nor is the aggravation of the crime for the trial of which a tribunal may be instituted, a cogent motive for assenting to the principle of subjecting American citizens, their rights and interests to the decision of foreign courts; for, although Great Britain, as you remark, may be willing to abandon those of her subjects who defy the laws and tarnish the character of their country, by participating in this trade, to the dispensation of justice even by foreign hands, the United States are bound to remember that the power which enables a court to try the guilty, authorizes them also to pronounce upon the fate of the innocent; and that the very question of *guilt* or innocence, is that which the protecting care of their constitution has reserved for the

citizens of this Union, to the exclusive decision of their own countrymen. This principle has not been departed from by the statute which has branded the slave trader with the name, and doomed him to the punishment, of a pirate. The distinction between piracy by the law of nations, and piracy by statute, is well known and understood in Great Britain ; and while the former subjects the transgressor guilty of it, to the jurisdiction of any and every country, into which he may be brought, or wherein he may be taken, the latter forms a part of the municipal criminal code of the country where it is enacted, and can be tried only by its own courts.

There remains the suggestion, that the slave trader captured under the mutual concession of the power to make the capture, might be delivered over to the jurisdiction of his own country. This arrangement would not be liable to the constitutional objection, which must ever apply to the jurisdiction of the mixed commission, or of the admiralty courts of the captor ; and if your note is to be understood as presenting it in the character of an alternative, to which your government is disposed to accede, I am authorized to say, that the President considers it as sufficient to remove the insuperable obstacle which had precluded the assent of the United States to the former proposals of your government, resulting from the character and composition of the tribunals, to whom the question of guilt or innocence was to be committed.

The objections to the right of search, as incident to the right of detention and capture, are also in a very considerable degree removed, by the introduction of the principle, that neither of them should be exercised, but under the responsibility of the captor, to the tribunals of the captured party, in damages and costs. This guard against the abuses of a power so liable to abuse, would be indispensable ; but, if the provisions necessary for securing effectually its practical operation, would reduce the right itself to a power merely nominal, the stipulation of it in a treaty, would serve rather to mark the sacrifice of a great and precious principle, than to attain the end for which it would be given up.

In the objections heretofore disclosed to the concession desired, of the mutual and qualified right of search, the principal stress was laid upon the repugnance which such a concession would meet in the public feeling of this country, and of those to whom its interests are entrusted in the department of its Government, the sanction of which is required for the ratification of treaties. The irritating tendency of the practice of search, and the inequalities of its probable operation, were slightly noticed, and have been contested in argument, or met by propositions of possible palliatives, or remedies

for anticipated abuses, in your letter. But the source and foundation of all these objections, was, in our former correspondence, scarcely mentioned, and never discussed. They consist in the nature of the right of search, at sea, which, as recognised or tolerated by the usage of nations, is a right exclusively of *war*, never exercised, but by an outrage upon the rights of *peace*. It is an act analogous to that of searching the dwelling-houses of individuals on the land. The vessel of the navigator is his dwelling-house; and like that, in the sentiment of every people that cherishes the blessings of personal liberty and security, ought to be a sanctuary, inviolable to the hand of power, unless upon the most unequivocal public necessity, and under the most rigorous personal responsibility of the intruder. Search at sea, as recognised by all maritime nations, is confined to the single object of finding and taking contraband of war. By the law of nature, when two nations conflict together in war, a third, remaining neutral, retains all its rights of peace, and friendly intercourse with both. Each belligerent, indeed, acquires, by war, the right of preventing a third party from administering to his enemy the direct and immediate materials of war; and, as incidental to this right, that of searching the merchant vessels of the neutral on the high seas, to find them. Even thus limited, it is an act of power, which nothing but necessity can justify, inasmuch as it cannot be exercised, but by carrying the evils of war into the abodes of peace; and, by visiting the innocent with some of the penalties of guilt. Among the modern maritime nations, an *usage* has crept in, not founded upon the law of nature, never universally admitted, often successfully resisted, and against which, all have occasionally borne testimony, by renouncing it in treaties, of extending this practice of search and seizure, to *all* the property of the enemy in the vessel of the friend. This practice was, in its origin, evidently an abusive and wrongful extension of the search for contraband; effected by the belligerent, because he was armed; submitted to by the neutral, because he was defenceless; and acquiesced in by his sovereign, for the sake of preserving a remnant of peace, rather than become himself a party to the war. Having thus, occasionally, been practised by all, as belligerents, and submitted to by all as neutrals, it has acquired the force of an usage, which, at the occurrence of every war, the belligerent may enforce or relinquish, and which the neutral may suffer or resist, at their respective options.

This search for, and seizure of, the property of an enemy in the vessel of a friend, is a relic of the barbarous warfare of barbarous ages; the cruel, and, for the most part, now

exploded system of *private war*. As it concerns the enemy himself, it is inconsistent with that mitigated usage of modern wars, which respects the private property of individuals on the land. As relates to the neutral, it is a violation of his natural right to pursue, unmolested, his peaceful commercial intercourse with his friend. Invidious as is its character, in both these aspects, it has other essential characteristics, equally obnoxious. It is an uncontrolled exercise of authority, by a man in arms, over a man without defence ; by an officer of one nation over the citizen of another ; by a man intent upon the annoyance of his enemy, responsible for the act of search to no tribunal, and always prompted to balance the disappointment of a fruitless search, by the abusive exercise of his power, and to punish the neutral, for the very clearness of his neutrality. It has, in short, all the features of unbridled power, stimulated by hostile and unsocial passions.

I forbear to enlarge upon the further extension of this practice, by referring to injuries, which the United States experienced, when neutral, in a case of vital importance ; because, in digesting a plan for the attainment of an object, which both nations have equally at heart, it is desirable to avoid every topic which may excite painful sensations on either side. I have adverted to the interest in question, from necessity, it being one which could not be lost sight of in the present discussion.

Such being the view taken of the right of search, as recognised by the law of nations, and exercised by belligerent powers, it is due to candour to state, that my government has an insuperable objection to its extension by treaty, in any manner whatever, lest it might lead to consequences still more injurious to the United States, and especially in the circumstance alluded to. That the proposed extension will operate in time of peace, and derive its sanction from compact, present no inducements to its adoption. On the contrary, they form strong objections to it. Every extension of the right of search, on the principles of that right, is disapproved. If the freedom of the sea is abridged by compact for any new purpose, the example may lead to other changes. And if its operation is extended to a time of peace, as well as of war, a new system will be commenced for the dominion of the sea, which may eventually, especially by the abuses into which it may lead, confound all distinction of time and circumstances, of peace and of war, and of rights applicable to each state.

The United States have, on great consideration, thought it most advisable to consider this trade as piracy, and to treat



it as such. They have thought that the trade itself might, with great propriety, be placed in that class of offences; and that, by placing it there, we should more effectually accomplish the great object of suppressing the trade, than by any other measure which we could adopt.

To this measure, none of the objections which have been urged against the extension of the right of search, appear to be applicable. *Piracy being an offence against the human race, has its well known incidents of capture and punishment by death, by the people and tribunals of every country.* By making this trade piratical, it is the nature of the crime which draws after it the necessary consequences of capture and punishment. The United States have done this, by an act of Congress, in relation to themselves. They have also evinced their willingness, and expressed their desire, that the change should become general, by the consent of every other power, whereby it would be made the law of nations. Till then, they are bound, by the injunctions of their constitution, to execute it, so far as respects the punishment of their own citizens, by their own tribunals. They consider themselves, however, at liberty, until that consent is obtained, to co-operate to a certain extent, with other powers, to ensure a more complete effect to their respective acts; they placing themselves, severally, on the same ground, by legislative provisions. It is in this spirit, and for this purpose, that I have made to you the proposition under consideration.

By making the slave trade piratical, and attaching to it the punishment, as well as the odium, incident to that crime, it is believed that much has been done by the United States, to suppress it, in their vessels, and by their citizens. If your government would unite in this policy, it is not doubted that the happiest consequences would result from it. The example of Great Britain, in a manner so decisive, could not fail to attract the attention, and command the respect, of all her European neighbours. It is the opinion of the United States, that no measure, short of that proposed, will accomplish the object so much desired: and it is the earnest desire of my government, that the government of his Britannic majesty may co-operate in carrying it into effect.

I pray you, sir, to accept the renewed assurances of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The Right Hon. STRATFORD CANNING,

*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary  
from Great Britain.*

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Nelson, dated*

Department of State, Washington, 28th April, 1823.

“ A resolution of the House of Representatives, at the last session of Congress, requests the President to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe, and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world. You will take an early opportunity to make known this disposition to the Spanish government; communicating to them copies of the fourth and fifth sections of the act of 3d March, 1819, which declares this traffick piratical when pursued by citizens of the United States; and you will express the willingness of the American government to enter into negotiations for the purpose of declaring it so, by the common consent of nations.”

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Rodney, dated*

Department of State, Washington, 17th May, 1823.

“ A resolution of the House of Representatives, at the late session of Congress, requests the President of the United States to enter upon, and prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations, with the several maritime powers of Europe, and America, as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation, as *piracy* under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.

“ In pursuance of the object, proposed by this resolution, you will communicate to the government of Buenos Ayres, copies of the several acts of Congress for the suppression of the slave trade, of the 20th of April, 1818; (U. S. Laws, vol. 6, page 325;) 3d March, 1819, (page 435;) and of 15th May, 1820, (page 529;) pointing their attention, particularly, to the fourth and fifth sections of the last, which subject to the penalties of piracy every citizen of the United States, guilty of active participation in the African slave trade. The adoption of this principle, in the legislative code of all the maritime nations, would, of itself, probably, suffice for the suppression of the trade. But, as it would yet not authorize the armed vessels of any one nation to capture those of another, engaged in the trade, a stipulation to that effect might be agreed to, by treaty, conditioned that the captor shall deliver over the captured party to the tribunals of his own country for trial; to which should be added, some guard of responsibility upon the capturing officer, to prevent the abusive exercise of his power.”

*Extract from the General Instructions to Richard C. Anderson, appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, dated*

Department of State, Washington, May 27, 1823.

“A resolution of the House of Representatives, at the late session of Congress, requests the President of the United States to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.

“In pursuance of this object, you will communicate to the Colombian government copies of the several acts of our Congress for the suppression of the slave trade, of the 20th of April, 1818, (U. S. Laws, vol. vi. p. 325,) of 3d March, 1819, (p. 435,) and of 15th May, 1820, (p. 529,) pointing their attention particularly to the 4th and 5th sections of the last, which subject to the penalties of piracy, every citizen of the United States guilty of active participation in the African slave trade. The adoption of this principle in the legislative code of all the maritime nations, would, of itself, probably, suffice for the suppression of the trade; but, as it would yet not authorize the armed vessels of any one nation to capture those of another, engaged in the trade, a stipulation to that effect may be agreed to by the treaty, conditioned that the captor shall deliver over the captured party to the tribunals of his own country for trial; to which should be added some guard of responsibility upon the capturing officer, to prevent the abusive exercise of his powers.”

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*Extract of a letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Rush, dated*

Department of State, Washington, June 24, 1823.

“A resolution of the House of Representatives, almost unanimously adopted at the close of the last session of Congress, requested “the President of the United States to enter upon and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.

“At the two preceding sessions of Congress, committees of the House had proposed a resolution, expressed in more general terms, that ‘the President of the United States be requested to enter into such arrangements as he may deem suit-

able and proper, with one or more of the maritime powers of Europe, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade ;' and this resolution had, in each case, been the conclusion of a report, recommending that the United States should accede to the proposal of a mutual and qualified\* concession of the right of search. The sentiments of the committee were, in this respect, different from those which had been expressed by the Executive Department of the Government, in its previous correspondence with that of Great Britain. No decision, by the House of Representatives, was made upon these resolutions, proposed at the preceding session ; but, upon the adoption of that which did pass, at the last session, it was well ascertained that the sentiments of the House, in regard to the right of search, coincided with those of the Executive : for they explicitly rejected an amendment which was moved to the resolution, and which would have expressed an opinion of the House favourable to the mutual concession of that right.\*

“ You have been fully informed of the correspondence between the governments of the United States and of Great Britain, concerning the suppression of the slave trade, heretofore ; and have been, from time to time, effectually instrumental to it yourself. You are aware of the grounds upon which the proposals, on the part of Great Britain, that the United States should accede to the stipulations similar to those which she had succeeded in obtaining from Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, were on our part declined.

“ The subject was resumed by the British minister residing here, Mr. S. Canning, a short time before the decease of the Marquis of Londonderry. It was suggested, that.

\* The House of Representatives did not on the occasion referred to by the Secretary of State, reject any proposition to exchange this right of search.

The resolution adopted by the House, as the Secretary demonstrates, involved the right of capture, and consequently the right to search the pirate. While the resolution was under consideration, and after its mover, Mr. MERCER, had delivered an argument in support of it, which distinctly traced the consequences of its adoption, and the evils it was designed to cure, among which was distinctly enumerated the absence of the right of mutual search, and the defects of the mixed commission courts of Great Britain, Governor Wright offered a clause which was deemed by the mover of the resolution, and the House, unnecessary, because the principle it contained was involved, as the Secretary himself admits, in the resolution itself.

To obviate farther debate, at so late a stage of the session of Congress, upon a subject which seemed to require none, the House almost unanimously sustained the previous question, and the resolution was then, as unanimously adopted.

since the total disappearance of the British and American flags, as well as of those of the nations which had consented to put the execution of their laws against the trade under the superintendence of British naval officers, it continued to flourish under that of France ; that her laws, though in word and appearance equally severe in proscribing the traffic, were so remiss in the essential point of execution, that their effect was rather to encourage, than to suppress it ; and the American Government was urged to join in friendly representations to that of France, by instructing the minister of the United States at Paris, to concur in those which the British ambassador at that court had been charged with making, to ensure a more vigilant fulfilment of the prohibitory laws. This invitation, at that time given only in oral conference, was also declined, from an impression that such a concurrence might give umbrage to the French government, and tend rather to irritation, than to the accomplishment of the object for which it was desired. Mr. Gallatin was, nevertheless, instructed separately to bring the subject to the notice of the French government ; and did so, by a note communicating to them copies of the recent laws of the United States for the suppression of the trade, and particularly of that by which it has subjected every citizen of the United States, who, after the passage of the law, should be polluted with it, to the penalties of piracy.

“ On the 29th of January last, Mr. Canning, in a letter to this Department, repeated the invitation of a joint and concurrent remonstrance, to be made by the British ambassador, and our minister in France ; and at the same time called, with great earnestness, upon the government of the United States, either to accede to the principle of the mutual and qualified right of search, emphatically pronounced, in his belief, to be the *only* effectual measure devised, or likely to be devised, ‘ for the accomplishment of the end, or to bring forward some *other* scheme of concert,’ which it again declared the readiness of his Majesty’s minister to examine with respect and candour, as a substitute for that of the British cabinet.

“ However discouraging this call for an alternative might be, thus coupled as it was with so decisive a declaration of belief that no effectual alternative had been, or was likely to be, devised, an opportunity was offered, in pursuance of the resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted at the close of the late Session of Congress, for proposing a substitute, in our belief more effectual than the right of search could be, for the total and final suppression of this nefarious trade, and less liable either to objections of principle, or to abuses of practice.

“ This proposition was accordingly made, in my letter to Mr. Canning of 31st of March last, to which his letter of the 8th of April was the answer. In this answer Mr. Canning barely notices our proposition, to express an opinion that his Government will see in it nothing but an acknowledgment of the necessity of further and more effectual measures, and then proceeds with an elaborate review of all the objections which, in the previous correspondence between the two governments, had been taken on our part to the British connected proposal of a mutual right of search, and a trial by mixed commissions. Our objection had been of two kinds ; first, to the mixed commissions, as inconsistent with our Constitution, and secondly, to the right of search, as a dangerous precedent, liable to abuse, and odious to the feelings and recollections of our country.

“ In this letter of Mr. Canning, the proposal of trial by mixed commissions is formally withdrawn, and an alternative presented as practicable, one side of which only, and that the inadmissible side, is distinctly offered, namely, of trial by the Courts of the *captor*. The other side of the alternative would, indeed, remove our constitutional objection, and with it might furnish the means of removing the principal *inherent* objection to the concession of the right of search, that by which the searching officer is under no responsible control for that act.

“ But, in our previous correspondence, our strong repugnance to the right of search had been adverted to merely as matter of fact, without tracing it to its source, or referring to its causes. The object of this forbearance had been to avoid all unnecessary collision with feelings and opinions which were not the same on the part of Great Britain, and upon ours. They had been willingly left undiscussed. This letter of Mr. Canning, however, professedly reviewing all the previous correspondence, for the removal or avoidance of our objections, and contesting the analogy between the right of search, as it had been found obnoxious to us, and as now proposed for our adoption by formal compact, I have been under the absolute necessity of pointing out the analogies really existing between them, and of shewing that, as right of search, independent of the right of *capture*, and irresponsible or responsible only to the tribunals of the *captor*, it is, as proposed, essentially, liable to the same objections as it had been, when exercised as a belligerent right. Its *encroaching* character, founded in its nature as an irresponsible exercise of force, and exemplified in its extension from search for contraband of war, to search for enemies' property, and thence to search for *men* of the searcher's own nation, was thus necessarily

brought into view, and connected the exhibition of the evils inherent in the practice, with that of the abuses which have been found inseparable from it.

We have declared the slave trade, so far as it may be pursued by citizens of the United States, piracy; and, as such, made it punishable with death. The resolution of the House of Representatives recommends negotiation, to obtain the consent of the civilized world to recognize it as piracy, under the law of nations. One of the properties of that description of piracies is, that those who are guilty of it may be taken upon the high seas, and tried by the courts of every nation. But by the prevailing *customary* law, they are tried only by the tribunals of the nation to which the vessel belongs in which the piracy was committed. The crime itself has been, however, in modern times, of so rare occurrence, that there is no uniformity in the laws of the European nations with regard to this point, of which we have had remarkable and decisive proof within these five years, in the case of piracy and murder, committed on board the schooner *Plattsburg*, a merchant vessel of the United States. Nearly the whole of her crew were implicated in the crime, which was committed on the high seas. They carried the vessel into Christiansand, Norway, there abandoned her, and dispersed; three of them were taken up in Denmark, one in Sweden, one at Dantzic in Prussia, and one in France. Those taken up in Denmark and in Sweden were delivered up to officers of the United States, brought to this country, tried, convicted, and executed. The man taken at Dantzic, was, by consent of the Prussian Government, sent to Elsinour, and there confronted with those taken in Denmark. The evidence against him on the examination was decisive; but, as he persisted in the refusal to *confess* his guilt, the Prussian Government, bound by an established maxim of their municipal law, declined either to deliver him up, or to try him themselves, but sent him back to Dantzic, there to remain imprisoned for life. The French Government, upon advisement of the highest judicial authority of the kingdom, declined, also, either to try the man taken up there, or to deliver him up, unless upon proof of his guilt being produced against him, at the place where he was confined; with which condition, it not having been in our power to comply, the man remained there, also in prison, presumably for life. From these incidents it is apparent that there is no uniformity in the modes of trial, to which piracy, by the law of nations, is subjected in different European countries; but that the trial itself is considered as the right and the duty only of the nation to which the vessel belongs, on board of which the piracy was committed. This

was, however, a piracy committed on board of a vessel by its own crew. External piracies, or piracies committed by, and from one vessel against another, may be tried by the courts of any country, but are more usually tried by those of the country, whose vessels have been the sufferers of the piracy, as many of the Cuba pirates have been tried in the British West India Islands, and some of them in our courts.

This principle we should wish to introduce into the system, by which the slave trade should be recognized as piracy under the law of nations; namely, that, although seizable by the officers and authorities of every nation, they should be triable only by the tribunals of the country of the slave trading vessel. This provision is indispensable to guard the innocent navigator against vexatious detentions, and all the evils of arbitrary search. In committing to foreign officers the power, even in a case of conventional piracy, of arresting, confining, and delivering over for trial, a citizen of the United States, we feel the necessity of guarding his rights from all abuses, and from the application of any laws of a country other than his own.

The draft of a Convention is herewith enclosed, which, if the British Government should agree to treat upon this subject on the basis of a Legislative prohibition of the slave trade by both parties, under the penalties of piracy, you are authorized to propose and to conclude. These articles, however, are not offered, to the exclusion of others which may be proposed on the part of the British Government, nor is any one of them, excepting the first, to be insisted on as indispensable, if others equally adapted to answer their purposes should be proposed. It is only from the consideration of the crime in the character of piracy, that we can admit the visitation of our merchant vessels by foreign officers for any purpose whatever, and in that case only under the most effective responsibility of the officer for the act of visitation itself, and for every thing done under it.

If the sentiments of the British Government should be averse to the principle of declaring the trade itself, by a Legislative act, piratical, you will not propose, or communicate to them, the enclosed project of convention. Its objects, you will distinctly understand, are two-fold: to carry into effect the resolution of the House of Representatives; and to meet, explicitly and fully, the call so earnestly urged by the British Government, that, in declining the proposals pressed by them upon us, of conceding a mutual and qualified right of search, we should offer a substitute, for their consideration. The substitute, by declaring the crime piracy, carries with it the right of search for the pirates, existing in the very nature



of the crime. But, to the concession of the right of search, distinct from the denomination of the crime, our objections remain in all their original force.

It has been intimated by Mr. S. Canning, that the suggestion itself, to the British Government, of the propriety of their passing a Legislative act, might excite in them some repugnancy to it. We should regret the excitement of this feeling, which the very nature of the negotiation seems to foreclose. Besides the legislative enactments which have virtually been pressed upon us, by all the invitations to concede the right of search, and to subject our citizens to trial for violations of our own laws, by foreign tribunals, Great Britain, in almost all her slave trade treaties, has required, and obtained, express stipulations, for the enactment of prohibitory laws, by France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. It was not expected that she would receive with reluctance, herself, a mere invitation to that which she had freely and expressly required from others. Still, if the sentiment should exist, we would forbear pressing it to the point of irritation, by importunity. You will, in the first instance, simply state, that, if the British Government is prepared to proclaim the slave trade piracy, by statute, you are authorized to propose, and to conclude, a Convention, by which the mutual co-operation of the naval force of Great Britain and of the United States may be secured, for carrying into effect the law, which on that contingency, will be common to both. Should the obstacle to the preliminary prove insuperable, you will refer the objections, on the part of the British cabinet, to this Government, for consideration.

By the loose information hitherto communicated in the public journals, it would seem that the proposition for recognizing the slave trade as piracy, by the Law of Nations, was discussed at the Congress of Verona. We are expecting the communication of the papers relating to this subject, promised by Lord Liverpool to be laid before Parliament. Heretofore, although the United States have been much solicited and urged to concur in the measures of Great Britain and her allies, for the suppression of the trade, they have been always communicated to us as purposes consummated, to which the *accession* of the United States was desired. From the general policy of avoiding to intermeddle in European affairs, we have acquiesced in this course of proceeding; but, to carry fully into effect the late resolution of the House of Representatives, and to pursue the discussions, hereafter, with Great Britain herself, whether upon her proposals or upon ours, it is obviously proper, that communication should be made to us of the progress of European negotiation, for ac-

completing the common purpose, while it is in deliberation. If we are to co operate in the result, it is just that we should be consulted, at least, with regard to the means which we are invited to adopt."

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## SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

*A Convention for the suppression of Piracy, committed by the African Slave Trade.*

*Article 1.* The two high contracting powers, having each separately, by its own laws, subjected their subjects and citizens, who may be convicted of carrying on the illicit traffick in slaves on the coast of Africa, to the penalties of piracy, do hereby agree to use their influence, respectively, with the other maritime and civilized nations of the world, to the end that the said African slave trade may be recognized, and declared to be, piracy, under the law of nations.

*Article 2.* It is agreed by the two high contracting parties, that the commanders and commissioned officers of either nation, duly authorized under the regulations and instructions of their respective governments, to cruize on the coasts of Africa or America, or of the West Indies, for the suppression of the slave trade, shall be authorized, under the conditions, limitations, and restrictions, hereinafter mentioned, to capture, and deliver over to the duly authorized and commissioned officers of the other, *any ship or vessel carrying on such illicit traffick in slaves, under the flag of the said other nation, or for the account of their subjects or citizens, to be sent in for trial and adjudication by the tribunals of the country to which such slave ship or vessel shall belong.* And the said commanders and commissioned officers shall be further authorized to carry, or send in, any such slave trading ship, so by them captured, into the ports of the country to which such slave trading ship shall belong, for trial by the tribunals, and conformably to the laws, of the said country. But the slave ship, so captured, shall not be sent into the ports, or tried by the tribunals of the captor.

*Article 3.* If any naval commander, or commissioned officer of the United States of America, shall, on the high seas, or any where without the territorial jurisdiction of the said States, board, or cause to be boarded, any merchant vessel of Great Britain, and visit the same as a slave trader, or on suspicion of her being engaged in carrying on the illicit traffick in slaves, in every case, whether the said visited vessel shall be captured and delivered over, or sent into the ports of her own country for trial and adjudication, or not, the boarding officer shall deliver to the master or commander of

the visited vessel—a certificate in writing, signed by the said boarding officer with his name, and the addition of his rank in the service of the United States, and the name of the public vessel of the United States, and of her commander, by whose order the said visit shall have been ordered; and the said certificate shall declare, that the only object of the said visit is to ascertain whether the said British merchant vessel is engaged in the slave trade, or not; and if found to be so engaged, to take, and deliver her over to the officers, or the tribunals of her own nation, for trial and adjudication. And the commander of the said public vessel of the United States shall, when he delivers her over to the officers or tribunals of Great Britain, deliver all the papers found on board of the captured vessel, indicating her national character, and the objects of her voyage, and with them a like certificate of visitation, in writing, signed by his name, with the addition of his rank in the navy of the United States, and the name of the public vessel commanded by him, together with the name and rank of the boarding officer, by whom the said visit was made. This certificate shall, also, specify all the papers received from the master of the vessel detained, or visited, or found on board the vessel, and shall contain an authentic declaration, exhibiting the state in which he found the vessel detained, and the changes, if any, which have taken place in it, and the number of slaves, if any, found on board at the moment of detention. And the same duties herein described shall devolve upon every commander, or commissioned officer, of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, by whom, or by whose order, any merchant vessel of the United States, or navigating under their flag, shall be visited for the said purposes, and upon the boarding officer by whom the visit shall be effected, on the high seas, or any where without the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain.

*Article 4.* No merchant vessel of either of the contracting parties, under the convoy of a public vessel of her own nation, shall, under any circumstances whatever, be captured, or visited by, or from, any public vessel of the other nation, as being engaged, or on suspicion of being engaged, in the slave trade.

*Article 5.* No search shall be made by, or under the orders of, the commander or boarding officer of any public vessel of either party visiting any merchant vessel of the other, as being engaged, or under suspicion of being engaged, in the slave trade, excepting such as may be necessary to ascertain if there be slaves on board for the purposes of the said traffic, or other proof that the said vessel is so engaged. No person shall be taken out of the said visited or captured

merchant vessel of either nation, by the commanding officer of the visiting vessel, or under his order. Nor shall any part of the cargo of the said visited vessel be removed out of her, until delivered over to the officers, or tribunals, of her own nation.

*Article 6.* When a merchant vessel of either nation shall be captured, as being engaged in the slave trade, by any commander, or commissioned officer, of the Navy of the other nation, it shall be the duty of the commander of any public ship of the Navy of the nation to which the captured vessel shall belong, upon the offer thereof being made to him by the commander of the capturing vessel, to receive into his custody the vessel so captured, and to carry, or send, the same into the ports of his own country, for trial and adjudication. And at the time of the delivery of the said vessel, an authentic declaration shall be drawn up, in triplicates, signed by both the commanders of the delivering and of the receiving vessels, one copy of which shall be kept by each of them, stating the circumstances of the delivery; the condition of the vessel captured, at the time of the delivery; the number of slaves, if any, on board of her; a list of all the papers received, or found on board of her at the time of capture, and delivered over with her, and the names of the master, or commander, of the captured vessel, and of every person on board of her, other than the slaves, at the said time of delivery; and the third copy of the said declaration shall be transmitted with the said captured vessel, and the papers found on board of her, to one of the ports of the country to which the said captured vessel shall belong, to be produced before the tribunal appointed, or authorized, to decide upon the said capture; and the commander of the said capturing vessel shall be authorized to send the boarding officer, and one or two of his crew, with the said captured vessel, to appear as witnesses of the facts in relation to her capture and detention, before the said tribunal. The reasonable expenses of which witnesses, in proceeding to the place of trial, during their necessary detention there, and for their return to their own country, or to rejoin their station in its service, shall be allowed by the tribunal of trial; and in case of the condemnation of the captured vessel, be defrayed from the proceeds of the sale thereof, and in case of the acquittal of the said vessel, they shall be paid by the government of the capturing officer.

*Article 7.* The commander or commissioned officer, of the Navy of either of the contracting parties, having captured a merchant vessel of the other as being engaged in the slave trade, if there be no public vessel of the nation to which the said captured vessel belongs, cruising upon the same station,

to the commander of whom the said captured vessel may be delivered over as stipulated in the preceding article, shall carry or send the said captured vessel to some convenient port of her own country, there to be delivered up to the competent tribunal, for trial and adjudication. And the said captured vessel shall there be libelled, in the name and behalf of the captors ; and in case of the condemnation of the said vessel, the proceeds of the sale thereof and of her cargo, if also condemned, shall be paid to the commander of the said capturing vessel, for the benefit of the captors ; to be distributed according to the established rules of the service of the nation to which such capturing vessel shall belong, for the distribution of prize money.

*Article 8.* The captain, or commander and crew, of the said vessel so captured and sent in for trial and adjudication, shall be proceeded against conformably to the laws of the country, whereinto they shall be so brought upon the charge of piracy, by being engaged in the African slave trade ; and the captain, or commander, the boarding officer, and other persons belonging to the capturing vessel, shall be competent witnesses to the facts relating to the said charge and to the capture of the said vessel, to which they shall be personally knowing : But every such witness, upon the criminal trial for piracy, shall be liable to be challenged by the person accused, and set aside as incompetent, unless he shall release and renounce all his individual claim to any part of the prize money, upon the condemnation of the vessel and cargo.

*Article 9.* It is agreed between the high contracting parties, that the right of visiting, capturing, and delivering over for trial, the vessels engaged in the African slave trade, and assuming their respective flags, is mutually conceded to the officers of their respective Navies, on the consideration that they have, by their respective laws, declared their citizens and subjects, actively participating in the said traffic, guilty of the crime of piracy.

That no part of this Convention shall be so construed as to authorize the detention, search, or visitation, of the merchant vessels of either nation, by the public officers of the Navy of the other, except vessels engaged in the African slave trade, or for any other purpose whatever than that of seizing and delivering up the persons and vessels concerned in that traffic, for trial and adjudication, by the tribunals and laws of their own country.

*Article 10.* It is further agreed, that this right of visiting, detaining, and delivering over for trial, vessels engaged in the slave trade, shall be exercised only by the commissioned officers of the Navy of the parties, respectively, furnished with

instructions from their respective governments, for the execution of their respective laws for the suppression of the slave trade. That the boarding officer, and the captain, or commander, of the vessel exercising these rights, or either of them, shall be personally responsible in damages and costs to the master and owners of every merchant vessel so by them delivered over, detained, or visited, for every vexatious or abusive exercise of the right. In the case of every vessel delivered over, as herein stipulated, for trial, the tribunal shall be competent to receive the complaint of the master, owner, or owners, or of any person on board of such captured vessel, or interested in the property of her cargo at the time of her detention, and on suitable proof of such vexatious or abusive detention or visitation, to award reasonable damages and costs to the sufferers, to be paid by the said commanding or boarding officer, or either of them, so charged with vexatious or abusive detention, or visit. And the high contracting parties agree, that their respective governments shall, in every such case, cause payment to be made of all such damages and costs so awarded, to the persons so entitled to receive them, within twelve months from the date of such award. And if any case of such vexatious or abusive detention, or visit, should occur, in which the vessel detained or visited shall not be delivered over for trial and adjudication, as herein provided, the commander and boarding officer by whom such vexatious and abusive detention, or visit, shall have been made, shall, also, be responsible in costs and damages to the sufferers, upon complaint before the competent Admiralty Court of the country of the said commander and boarding officer. And the respective governments shall, in like manner, cause payment to be made of any damages and costs awarded by said court, within twelve months from the date of the award.

*Article 11.* A copy of this Convention, and of the laws of the two countries actually in force, for the prohibition and suppression of the African slave trade, shall be furnished to every commander of the public vessels, instructed to carry into effect such prohibition. And in case any such commanding officer of the Navy of the United States, or of Great Britain, shall deviate in any respect from the dispositions of this treaty, and from the instructions of his government, conformable to it, the government which shall conceive itself to be wronged by such conduct, shall be entitled to demand reparation; and in such case the government of the nation, to the service of which he may belong, binds itself to cause inquiry to be made into the subject of the complaint, and to inflict upon him, if he be found to have deserved it, a punishment

proportioned to the transgression which may have been committed.

*Article 12.* The present treaty, consisting of ——— articles, shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within one year from this date, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and thereunto affixed their seals.

Done at ———, the ——— day of ———, in the year of our Lord,

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*Mr. Adams to Mr. Middleton.—No. 17.*

Department of State, Washington, 28th July, 1823.

SIR: At the close of the last Session of Congress, a resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives, almost unanimously, requesting “the President of the United States to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.”

In pursuance of this resolution, instructions for carrying it into effect have been given to the Ministers of the United States, destined to the Republics of Colombia and of Buenos Ayres, and to the Minister who has recently departed for Spain. But, as a negotiation for co-operation to effect the suppression of the African slave trade, had already been commenced with Great Britain, a special instruction upon the subject was forwarded to Mr. Rush, together with a full power, and a draft of a Convention, to be proposed, in substance, to that government, and which he has been authorized to conclude.

A copy of that instruction and draft are herewith enclosed; the general terms of which you will communicate, at such time, and in such manner, to the Imperial Russian Government, as you shall think proper.

You will, also, communicate to them the purport of the resolution of the House of Representatives, above cited, and copies of the laws of the United States prohibiting the slave trade. You will particularly invite their attention to the two sections of the Act of the 15th May, 1820, by which this offence, when committed by citizens of the United States, is subjected to the penalties of piracy.

The proposal that this principle should be recognized by the general consent of civilized nations, recommended by the resolution of the House of Representatives, appears to be

substantially the same with that made by Great Britain at the Congress of Verona. It was not acceded to by any one of the other powers there assembled, and the conferences on this subject terminated there by a mere renewal of the joint declaration against the traffic, of the Congress at Vienna. So long as the trade shall not be recognized as piracy by the law of nations, we cannot, according to our Constitution, subject our citizens to trial for being engaged in it, by any tribunal other than those of the United States.

The admission of the crime as piracy by the law of nations, would seem necessarily to subject the perpetrators of it to *capture*, by the armed force of every nation. And this might endanger the lawful commerce of the maritime nations, by subjecting them to the abuses of vexatious searches, without some special provision to guard against them.

This is the object of the stipulations proposed in the draft herewith transmitted; requiring that all vessels of one nation which may be captured, as slave traders, by the cruizers of another, should be delivered over for trial, to the tribunals of their *own* country.

You will see that Mr. Rush is instructed to correspond with you upon this subject. If the draft of the articles enclosed should lead to the conclusion of a Convention between the United States and Great Britain, a communication of it to the Russian Government will be made as soon as possible, and we shall propose that his Imperial Majesty's accession to it, if agreeable to him, shall be invited.

In the mean time you will informally suggest to his ministry, that it will be the desire of the Government of the United States to proceed in this matter, in perfect good understanding and harmony with them; and you will farther intimate that, as this has now become a general concern of the whole civilized world, and as Great Britain is negotiating, *jointly* and *severally*, with each and every of her allies in Europe, apart, and again with them all together, while she is also separately treating with us, we wish it to be considered whether it would not be expedient on all sides, that communication should be made to us of all the jointly concerted measures while they are mere proposals; and not that the knowledge of them should be withheld from us, until they are matured into positive treaties.

I am, with great respect, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

HENRY MIDDLETON,

*Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, at St. Petersburg.*



*Mr. Adams to Mr. Everett.*—No. 10.

Department of State, Washington, August 8th, 1823.

SIR: At the close of the last Session of Congress, a resolution was adopted, almost unanimously, by the House of Representatives, "That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time such negotiations, with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African Slave Trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world."

In pursuance of this resolution, instructions for carrying it into effect have been given to the ministers of the United States, destined to the Republics of Colombia and of Buenos Ayres, and to the several ministers of the United States in Europe.

As a negotiation for co-operation, to effect the suppression of the African slave trade, had already been commenced with Great Britain, a special instruction upon the subject has been forwarded to Mr. Rush, together with a full power, and a draft of a Convention to be proposed, in substance, to the British government, and which he is authorized to conclude.

A necessary preliminary to the conclusion of this proposed Convention, should it meet the assent of the British government, will be the enactment of a statute declaring the crime of African slave trading, piracy by the British law. In that event, it is proposed, by proper co-operation, that the influence of the two powers should be exerted, to obtain the consent of other nations to the general outlawry of this traffick, as piracy. In the mean time to give, at once, effect to the concert of both nations, it is proposed that the armed vessels of both, duly authorized and *instructed*, shall have power to *capture* the slave trading vessels which may assume the flag of *either*, and, if not of their own nation, to deliver over the captured slave trader to the officers, or tribunals of his own country, for trial and adjudication.

This principle is essential, as connected with that of constituting the traffick piracy, by the law of nations. So long as the offence was considered as of inferior magnitude, the Constitution of the United States forbade the submission of it, when charged upon their citizens to any foreign tribunal: and when the crime and the punishment are aggravated, to involve the life of the accused, it affords but a more imperative inducement for securing to him the benefit of a trial by his countrymen and his peers.

It appears that, at the conferences of Verona, the proposi-

tion was made by the British government, that the slave trade should be recognised and proclaimed as piracy by the law of nations. We have, therefore, reason to hope, that the proposal now made to them, on the part of the United States, will be favourably considered by them. In that case, further communications on the subject, with other governments, will ensue.

In the mean time, to fulfil the intentions of the House of Representatives, in relation to the Netherlands, you will communicate to their government a copy of the resolution, together with copies of the laws of the United States, prohibiting the slave trade, with particular notice of the two sections of the act of 15th May, 1820, by which the crime of being concerned in the African slave trade, when committed by citizens of the United States, is declared to be, and is made punishable as for piracy. And you will announce the readiness of the American government, should it suit the views of His Majesty, the King of the Netherlands, to enter upon a negotiation, for the purpose of carrying into effect the object of the resolution of the House of Representatives; namely, the denunciation of the African slave trade as piracy, by the law of nations.

I am, with great respect, sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT, Esq.

*Charge d'Affaires U. S. to the Netherlands*

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*Extracts of a letter, No. 6, from Mr. Adams to General Dearborn, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, at Lisbon, dated*

Department of State, Washington, August 14, 1823.

“ At the close of the last session of Congress, a resolution was adopted, almost unanimously, by the House of Representatives—

“ ‘ That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.’

“ A negotiation, for concerting measures of co-operation to effect the suppression of the African slave trade, had already for several years been pending with Great Britain; for which reason, a special instruction has been transmitted to Mr. Rush, together with a full power, and a draft of a convention

to be proposed, in substance, to the British government, and which he is authorized to conclude.

“Should this proposal meet the assent of the British government, a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of the convention will be the passage of an act of Parliament, declaring the crime of African slave trading, when committed by British subjects, piracy. An act of Congress to that effect, as relates to citizens of the United States, has been in force, as you are aware, these three years. When the crime shall have been constituted piracy by the statute law of both countries, each with reference to its own citizens, or subjects, the principle offered by the projected convention is, that the armed vessels of each, specially empowered and instructed to that end, shall be authorized to *capture* slave trading vessels, assuming the flag of the other, and to deliver over the captured vessels to the public cruizers, or to the tribunals, of their own country, for trial. This plan is offered as a substitute for that which was offered to us by Great Britain, which was predicated on the treaties already concluded between that power and Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. The leading principle of these treaties was the mutual concession of the right of maritime search, in time of peace, to the armed vessels of both, cruising for slave traders, and a mixed court of commissioners and arbitrators, sitting in colonial possessions of the parties, for the trial of the delinquents. To this system the United States have steadily declined to accede, for two reasons: One, because they had an invincible repugnance to subject their merchant vessels to the maritime search of foreign officers, in time of peace; and the other, because they could not subject their citizens to the jurisdiction of foreign tribunals, upon trials for offences against their laws.

“At the conferences of Verona, the British government appears to have proposed, that the African slave trade should be declared piracy by the law of nations. This is the same proposition recommended by the resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States. The ultimate object of the United States, and of Great Britain, therefore, is the same.”

“The negotiations suggested by the resolution of the House, must depend, materially, for their character and progress, with reference to other powers, upon the event of that which is thus pending with Great Britain. The instructions to the ministers of the United States in other countries have, therefore, been only of a general character.”

“Portugal is the only maritime power of Europe, which has not yet declared the African slave trade, without excep

tion, unlawful. Her own internal situation has, perhaps, recently tended to diminish the influence of those interests, which have heretofore prevailed to delay and postpone her acquiescence in the principle of total proscription upon that trade : It is hoped that she will not much longer resist the predominating spirit of the age, calling so loudly upon the Rulers of mankind, effectually to put down the crying sin of that abominable traffic.

“ In communicating to the Portuguese government copies of the resolution of the House of Representatives, and of the laws of the United States prohibiting the slave trade, you will state, that the Government of the United States will be ready to enter, at any time, when it may suit the views of that of Portugal, upon the negotiation contemplated by the resolution.”

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*Mr. Rush to Mr. Adams, giving him the substance of a conversation with Mr. Canning. [EXTRACTS.]*

“ London, October 9, 1823.

“ This latter subject,” (the slave trade) “ he said it was his wish to take in hand with me himself, and thus keep it detached from the general negotiation.”

“ Whilst we were speaking of the mode of taking up the question of the slave trade, I did not scruple to intimate, even at this early stage, that unless this Government was prepared to say, that it would cause a statute to be passed, declaring the trade by its own subjects to be piracy, and rendering it punishable as such, in manner, as had been done by the United States, that I was not authorized to make any proposals upon the subject ; that this, in fact, was the only basis upon which it fell within the intentions of my Government to attempt any arrangement of the subject whatever. I was happy to hear Mr. Canning say, in reply, that he did not, speaking from his first impressions, see any insurmountable obstacle, upon this score, to our proceeding with the subject.”

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*Extract from No. 11 of Mr. Sheldon, Charge d'Affaires of the United States at Paris, to the Secretary of State.*

“ Paris, October 16, 1823.

“ In the same conference, I also informed Mr. de Chateaubriand of the resolution of the House of Representatives respecting the slave trade, which made the subject of your despatch, No. 2, of the 14th of August. He repeated, in substance, what he had before stated to Mr. Gallatin in conversation, viz. that the French government were sincerely desirous of putting an end to that trade, and were taking all the

measures in their power to effect it by pursuing offenders, and executing rigidly the laws now in existence; but that the public opinion, generally, in France, and more especially in the Chambers, was against it, owing not only to the prevalence of the colonial interest in the question, but particularly to the circumstances under which their stipulations with England upon this subject had been made; so tender were they upon this point, that the proposition of adding new rigors to their laws, would be taken as a new concession to that power, and, instead of being adopted in the Chambers, would be more likely to provoke an attempt to repeal the prohibitory measures already established, in order to rid themselves, in that way, of one of the charges imposed upon them by the foreign occupation; that time was necessary to wear away these impressions; and until that should have arrived, no minister in France could be strong enough, upon this point, to do more than to watch over the execution of the laws already in force, which they were now disposed to do fully and faithfully, and which, if not entirely efficient, at least made the prosecution of the trade under the French flag hazardous and difficult.

“At present, therefore, it is not probable that France will consent to the proposal of the President, to enter upon the negotiation contemplated by the resolution of the House of Representatives. I have, however, made the proposal, in obedience to your directions; and have the honour to enclose a copy of the letter to Viscount de Chateaubriand, in which I have communicated to him that resolution.”

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*Extracts from No. 14 of Mr. Sheldon, Charge d'Affaires, to the Secretary of State, dated*

“Paris, November 5, 1823.

“I have received answers from Viscount de Chateaubriand, on the subject of the new and more effective measures proposed against the slave trade.”

“On the subject of the slave trade, the answer manifests a disposition to adopt such new provisions as may be found necessary for its more effectual suppression; and this disposition really exists; but, after what Mr. de Chateaubriand had stated in conversation, and which I have already communicated, these new and more rigorous legislative provisions can only be introduced gradually, and sometime will be required for effecting that purpose.”

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*Mr. Sheldon to the Viscount de Chateaubriand.*

Paris, October 15, 1823.

SIR: The minister of the United States to this Court had,

sometime before he left Paris, transmitted to your Excellency copies of the laws successively adopted by the United States for the suppression of the slave trade. This communication was intended for the special purpose of making the French government acquainted with the fact, that, so far as the United States were concerned, their legislation upon this subject had been ineffectual; that their laws had been violated, and the trade had continued, until they had denounced against it the highest punishment that a human tribunal can inflict.— Since it has been declared to be piracy, and punishable with death, the American flag has no longer been soiled with it.

At the last session of Congress, that body, desirous that the co-operation of the other maritime powers might be obtained in measures which we had found to be so effectual, formally requested the President to enter upon, and prosecute, negotiations with those powers, to that end. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the resolution adopted, with great unanimity, by the House of Representatives, upon that subject: and I am directed to declare, that the President is ready to enter upon the negotiation contemplated by it with France, whenever it may be agreeable to her. Instructions to the same effect have been given to all the ministers of the United States accredited to foreign powers, and the favourable results which are hoped from them will be made known at the earliest opportunities, to the French government. It may be expected that a co-operation in measures equally effectual with those heretofore brought forward for the suppression of this trade, and not open to similar objections, will be generally and readily afforded. I beg to offer to your Excellency the renewed assurances, &c. &c. D. SHELDON.

[TRANSLATION.]

*Viscount de Chateaubriand to Mr. Sheldon.*

Paris, October 29, 1823.

SIR: You did me the honour of writing me, on the 15th of this month, that the Government of the United States had only attained the effectual suppression of the slave trade by making it piracy, and by rendering those guilty of it liable to the same punishment. You have, at the same time, informed me, that that Government was disposed to co-operate with the other powers, by negotiating to attain, by the same means, the complete and general abolition of this traffic.

The communication which you did me the honour to address to me, cannot but deserve great consideration. I have requested the Keeper of the Seals to review, with great care, the laws and ordinances which have been made in

France, for obtaining the abolition of the trade : to certify, after this examination, in what points they may be insufficient, and to propose, for completing the same, in case of need, all the new dispositions which might accord with the independence and rights of the flag, and which might appear most proper to assure, in France, in an efficacious manner, the absolute cessation of a traffic so contrary to the rights of humanity.

Accept, sir, the assurances, &c.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Everett, Charge d'Affaires, to the Secretary of State, dated*

“Brussels, November 20, 1823.

“I have received from the Baron de Nagell, a preliminary answer to my note of the 7th, upon the slave trade, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.”

[TRANSLATION.]

*Mr. Everett to Baron de Nagell.*

Brussels, November 7, 1823.

SIR : I have the honour to subjoin to your Excellency, by order of my government, a printed copy of the laws of the United States, which forbid their citizens to pursue the slave trade ; also, a copy of the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 8th of February, 1823, by which the President is requested to concert, with the maritime powers of Europe and of America, the measures which may be most proper to effect the abolition of that trade, and to make it, by the universal consent of the civilized world, equivalent to the crime of piracy.

Your Excellency will remark, that it is already viewed in this light by the laws of the United States. The act of 15th of March, 1820, declares, (sect. 4 and 5) that the persons subject to the jurisdiction of the republic, who shall be engaged in the slave trade, either by seizing these unfortunates by force, or fraud, and carrying them on board their vessels, or by keeping them there, and making them an object of traffic, shall be deemed pirates, and punished with death.

In fact, this pretended commerce bears all the characteristics of piracy : that is, of felony committed on the sea. And, as it has been denounced as a crime by the greater part of civilized nations, it ought to fall into the particular class of crimes to which it naturally belongs, and undergo the penalties which the usage and the law of nations impose upon them. An unanimous declaration of the Christian powers, to this effect, would inevitably produce the entire cessation of

the trade. The public ships of each power would then be authorized, by the law of nations, to cruize against the persons who might be engaged in it, without regard to the colour of the flag with which they might pretend to be sheltered. Whilst, if the trade is only regarded, in each country, as an offence against the municipal laws, it would be lawful for any one nation alone, by permitting it, to afford an asylum under its flag, to the pirates of all the others.

The known character of the King, and the zeal which his Majesty has already displayed in his efforts to bring about the abolition of this infamous commerce, furnishes a presumption to the government of the United States, that that of the Low Countries will voluntarily co-operate with it to that effect. In communicating to your Excellency the subjoined papers, and in praying that you will be pleased to lay them before the King, I am charged to announce to him the desire of the President of the United States to obtain the co-operation of his Majesty in this work of justice, and to establish a concert between the two powers, in the measures which they may pursue, in common, to render the slave trade equivalent to the crime of piracy, by the universal consent of the Christian world.

I eagerly embrace this occasion to renew to your Excellency the homage of my most distinguished consideration.

A. H. EVERETT.

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[TRANSLATION.]

*Baron De Nagell to Mr. Everett.*

Brussels, November 13, 1823.

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th of this month, containing some propositions in regard to the slave trade, and to inform you, that, without delay, I laid this paper, and its enclosures, before the King.

I shall hasten to impart to you the determination of his Majesty, as soon as I shall have been informed of it; and, in the mean time, I seize this opportunity to renew the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

A. W. C. DE NAGELL.



N. B. The Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society will be held in Washington City, on the second Saturday in January. Of the hour and place public notice will be given.

The Managers hope to commence the African Repository on the first of June. Those having subscription lists in their possession, are requested to forward them immediately. Communications for this work, must be transmitted to R. R. Gurley, Georgetown.

It is much to be desired that collections should be taken up in the various churches of this country, to aid the American Colonization Society, on the fourth of July, or on the Sabbath next preceding, or succeeding this joyful day.

The Colonization Society is about to apply to the National Government for aid. We hope that all the friends of this institution will make every possible effort in its favour, the present season, recollecting that a discussion will probably take place concerning it during the next session of Congress.

Orders for this Report may be addressed to Davis and Force, Washington. Price 50 cents.

## Census of the Colony of Liberia, July 20, 1823.

## UPWARDS OF 40.

Names.	Arrived in.	Occupation.
N. Butler,	Elizabeth,	Carpenter.
G. Kiah,	Strong,	Farmer.
R. Sampson,	Nautilus,	do.
L. Carey,	do.	do.
I. Brander,	do.	Carpenter,
D. Hawkins,	Strong,	Labourer.
A. Edmondson,	do.	Farmer.
E. Johnson,	Elizabeth,	do.
James Fuller,	Oswego.	
J. D. Preston,	do.	
Jos. Blake,	Elizabeth,	Carpenter.
J. Warner,	Oswego.	
Chs. Butler,	do.	
B. Johnson,	do.	
L. Smith,	do.	
I. Bantam,	do.	
John Foulke,	Fidelity,	Labourer.
John Harris,	do.	
Saml. Weeks,	do.	
Saml. Nutter,	do.	

## WOMEN.

S. Langford,	Nautilus,	Nurse.
Mrs. Hawkins,	Strong,	
Can'd. Preston,	Oswego,	
S. Warner,	do.	
C. Brown,	do.	

## BETWEEN 21 AND 40.

L. Crook,	Elizabeth,	Farmer.
C. Brander,	Nautilus,	do.
J. Benson,	Strong,	do.
S. Campbell,	do. supend-	
	ed June 1, 1823.	
J. Champer,	Strong,	Blacksmith.
J. Gardiner,	do.	Farmer.
J. Lawrence,	Elizabeth,	do.
D. George,	Strong,	do.
R. Newport,	Elizabeth,	do.
F. James,	do.	Carpenter.
A. James,	do.	Farmer.
E. Jackson,	do.	Labourer.
J. J. Barber,	Nautilus,	Mason.
J. Carey,	do. deserted	
	July, 1823.	
Th: Harris,	do.	Caulker.
A. Williams,	Oswego.	
R. White,	Oswego,	Carpenter.
D. White,	do.	Shoemaker.
Fr. Deveny,	do.	
A. Curtis,	do.	
D. James,	do.	
S. W. Parker,	do.	

N. Clinton,	Oswego.
I. Boggs,	do.
T. Stewart,	do.
G. Mason,	do.

## WOMEN.

S. Draper,	Oswego.
N. Poulson,	do.
N. Bantam,	do.
C. Johnson,	do.
M. Thompson,	do.
M. Butler,	do.
N. Butler,	do.
M. Newport,	Elizabeth.
M. Crook,	do.
E. James,	Strong.
M. Draper,	Elizabeth.
H. Lawren,	do.
A. Edmondson,	Strong.
R. Benson,	do.
C. James,	Elizabeth.
R. Johnson,	do.
J. Jackson,	do.
S. Brander,	do.
H. Harris,	Nautilus.

## BETWEEN 10 AND 21.

E. Smith,	Elizabeth.
James Carey,	Nautilus.
I. Edmondson,	Strong.
L. Johnson,	do.
C. Johnson,	Elizabeth.
L. Johnson,	do.
I. Thompson,	Oswego.
A. Warner,	do.
I. Preston,	do.
I. Brown,	do.
William Foulke,	Fidelity.

## FEMALES.

E. Jackson,	Elizabeth.
Nancy Carey,	Nautilus.
N. Benson,	Strong.
E. Passaway,	do.
S. Edmondson,	do.
M. Benson,	do.
I. Johnson,	Oswego.
R. Preston,	do.
M. Preston,	do.
Mary Preston,	do.
L. Poulson,	do.
M. Curtis,	do.
T. Thompson,	do.
M. Warner,	do.
E. Johnson,	do.
J. Dolphin,	do.

UNDER 10.

Names.	Arrived in.
J. Benson,	Strong.
G. Benson,	do.
J. Alexander,	Elizabeth.
I. Alexander,	Born here.
A. Edmondson,	Strong.
I. Blake,	do.
I. Brander,	Born here.
D. Harris,	Nautilus.
F. Stewart,	Oswego.
FEMALE CHILDREN.	
E. Johnson,	Born in Africa.
E. Blake,	Strong.

E. Crook,	Born in Africa.
M. Laurence,	do.
G. Laurence,	do.
E. Edmondson,	Strong.
W. Edmondson,	do.
R. Benson,	do.
S. Fisher,	do.
R. Laurence,	Born in Africa.
S. Draper,	Oswego.
C. Preston,	do.
A. B. Butler,	do.
S. Warner,	do.
M. Warner,	do.
C. Dodges,	do.

DEATHS.

Mrs. Kiah, aged 70, died fever,.....	September, 1822.
Major Draper, 40, do.....	September, 1822.
Alexander, 33, Elizabeth,.....	drowned June, 1822.
Mrs. Blake, 30, Strong,.....	Ptitis, October, 1822.
Jos. Benson, 17, killed by enemy,.....	November 11, 1822.
Th: Spencer, 33, do. do.....	do.
Mary Tines, do. do.....	do.
Th: Tines. 28, Strong,.....	killed Dec. 1st, 1822.
Mrs. Edmondson, 80, Strong,.....	Decay, June, 1823.
John Warner, 19, Oswego,.....	drowned, June, 1823.
Mrs. Stewart, 20, do.....	fever, June, 1823.
Mrs. Deveny, 24, do. ....	do. June, 1823.
James Fuller, 16, do.....	do. June, 1823.
Frs. Deveny, 4, do.....	do. July, 1823.
Isaiah Preston, 20, Oswego,.....	do. June, 1823.
Emeline Deveny, 2 do... ..	do. July, 1823.
G. Johnson, 1, do.....	do. June, 1823.
M. D. Warner, 1, do. do.....	do. June, 1823.
— Stewart, born Oswego,.....	do. July, 1823.
Abel Herd, 42, Oswego, .....	do. June, 1823.

SUMMARY.

*Now in the Colony.*

Over 40, Males,.....20—Females.....5—Total 25
Between 21 and 40, Males 26—Females.....19—do....45
Between 10 and 21, Males 11—Females.....16—do....27
Under 10, Males,.. .. 9—Females.....16—do....25
Total of the Colonists,..... 122
Liberated Captives, all Males,..... 18
Grand Total,..... 140

*Deaths of Colonists at Montserado.*

Persons over 4 of both sexes,.....	4
Do 21 and under 40 do.....	5
Do. under 21 both sexes,.....	11
Total died since March, 1822,.....	20

J. ASHMUN.

N. B.—Since this census was taken, more than 100 persons have sailed in the *Cyrus*.

## DONATIONS.

*List of Donations from the citizens of Baltimore, in aid of the Colonization Society, May, 1822.\**

Robert Miller, Esq. 90 yards domestic cotton,.....	11 25
Talbot Jones, Esq 25 do. tow cloth,.....	5 00
Messrs. Tiffany and Wyman, 1 piece containing — yards domestic cotton,.....	5 50
Mr. Wm. Little, house of Cobb & Little, 1 piece domestic cotton	5 00
Messrs. Shaw and Tiffany, 1 piece domestic cotton, containing 29 1-2 yards.....	5 50
Messrs. Cushing and Jewett, Ewell's Medical Companion,.....	5 00
Dr. S. Sweetser, assorted medicines, .....	5 63
Drs. D. & C. Keener, assorted medicines,.....	6 92
Dr. Geo. Williamson, assorted medicines,.....	9 40
Ditto View of Slavery,.....	25
Ditto Tourtelli's Principles of Health,....	5 00
General R. G. Harper, school books and books of agriculture,....	40 00
Ditto other valuable books, maps, &c.....	30 00
Messrs. M'Donald and Ridgely, corner of Market and Howard Streets, 2 barrels of beef, price unknown,.....	
Dr. G. & J. Kearn, medicines,.....	2 50
Drs. Pease and Butler, medicines,.....	2 50
Drs. E. Ducatel & Son, assorted medicines,.....	5 95
Dr. R. Little, corner of M. and Hanr. streets, assorted medicines,	3 9½
Dr. H. Price, (opposite Barnum's) assorted medicines,.....	1 50
Dr. La Roche and Milheau, near bridge, medicines,.....	1 2½
Mr. Joseph Casey, Hanover street, assorted garden, fruit, and other seeds,.....	56 00
Thomas Smith, No. 8. Prate street, 12 plates,..	1 50
Mr. Proctor, Hd. Ware Merch. No. 3 Prate st. 12 knives & forks,	1 50
Isaac Tyson, ship bread,.....	20 00
Gen. Wm. McDonald, & Son, 1 qr. cask gun powder,.....	5 00
Ditto 1 box pipes,.....	2 50
Mr. Mears, No 1, Prate st. 1 doz. knives, (pocket).....	2 00
Bradford and Couch, 1 barrel flour,.....	6 75
Messrs. H. Payson & Co. No. 15, Bowley's wharf, 2 barrels beef, at \$8 50,.....	17 00
Gen. Hollingsworth and Sons, cash,.....	10 00
Mr. Hammers, Market street; 12 decanters, 12 tumblers, 1 box beads, 5 looking-glasses, .....	12 00
Mr. I. Cox, hatter, 4 hats at 75 each,.....	3 00
Mr. Egerton, exchange, 300 lbs. leaf tobacco and hogshead,.....	24 00
Mr. Hoppe, Gay street, 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Mr. Graffs, do. 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Messrs. Von Kopff and Brun, 100 lbs leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Mr. Rudewold, 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Mr. Hogerworth, Gay street, 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Messrs. I. and A. Smith, Calvert, near the water, some articles of hardware,.....	5 50
Mr. Kearn, shoemaker, Market street, 6 pair of shoes,.....	6 00

\* This list should have been published at an earlier date.

Young Men's Bible Society, Balt. 15 Bibles and 15 Testaments,	24 00
Mr. James Chester, his sub. Md. Aux. Col. Society,	25 00
Col. Jno. McHenry, on his subscription as above,	20 00
Mrs. Graham, cash,	3 00
Mr. Charles Salmon, various articles of merchandise,	4 56
Mr. Neelson, 12 knives and forks,	1 50
Messrs. J. & W. Smith, 24 knives and forks,	3 00
Mr. Warchi, 100 lbs. tobacco,	8 00
The ladies of Baltimore, about 55 in number, from 2 to 6 days work each, in making up 154 garments,	100 00
Mr. G. B. Raymond, 6 hats,	4 00
Mr. P. Diffendaffer, cor. of Fred. and Balt. 8 knives and 2 pots,	3 00
Alex. Boggs, Market street, sundries merchandise, price unknown,	
Mr. Warner, corner Gay and Market st. stationery and books,	3 00
Gen. Ridgeley, Gay street, 6 bars iron, wt.	9 00
Mr. N. Tyson, Spears' wharf, on his subscription,	25 00
Beck and Welch, 2 pieces containing 9 yds. red flannel,	20 50
Mr. Baltzell, Market st. No. 241, remnants of merchandise,	1 75
Mr. Baltzell, do. 230, merchandise, 16 check hdkfs.	1 50
Mr. Baltzell, do. 236, do. 16 check handkerchiefs,	2 00
Mr. Robinson, Howard street, delivered cedar ware,	4 25
Mr. Solman, do. delivered remnant merchandise,	2 50
Mr. Bryne, do. delivered pair shoes,	1 00
John E. Rigden, Market, No. 197, delivered knives, and forks, and spoons,	1 50
Mr. Sweetser, Market, No. 150, delivered remnants merchandise,	1 75
Jacob Albers, Howard, delivered 1 dozen jack knives,	2 00
Wm. Reanie, Great York street, delivered 1-2 dozen plates,	25
Drs. Coulter and Martin, 1 bottle mercurial ointment,	2 60
Mr. Earnest, a variety of queens ware articles,	5 00
Col. John E. Howard, don. plaid 22 1-4 yards, 23 shirting, 9 1-2 calico, 8 hdkfs.	12 32
Also 3 dozen spoons,	3 00
3 dozen tin cups,	3 00
3 stew pans,	1 00
Mr. Lamson, delivered 1 hat,	75
Sunday School Society, delivered cards, &c. for Sunday schools,	
Samuel Hoffman, Esq. box leaf tobacco,	10 00
Ditto. Marked tobacco samples,	12 00
Messrs. Murray, & Co. 2 pieces linen,	6 60
Ditto 1 do. flannel, 2 50,	2 50
Ditto 5 Blankets at 75,	4 50
Mr. Middleton, 1 gross buttons,	1 00
Mr. Taylor, auctioneer, merchandise,	5 00
Mr. Sinclair, garden and other seeds,	16 00
Mr. Skinner, do.	6 00
Mr. Laud,	1 00
Messrs. E. J. Coale, & Co. books, boxes, &c. &c.	40 00
Editors of the Morning Chronicle, and editors of the Federal Re- publican, two valuable files of the latest newspapers.	

*Donations received in Baltimore in April, 1823.*

From a lady,	1 00	A lady,	2 00
A lady,	2 00	Citizens of the eleventh ward,	43 00
S. R. Keane,	1 50	Citizens in the tenth ward,	35 20
Collection in Rev. Mr. Ne- vin's church,	40 00	A lady,	2 00
Mr. Patterson,	1 00	Another lady,	1 00
		A gentleman,	1 00

Thomas George and Thomas, various articles given to Abel Herd,.....	45 00
Mr. John Barr, one piece of cloth.....	60 00
Messrs. Shaw and Tiffany,..	5 00
Wm. W. Taylor, one box merchandise and goods, Brundige Vose, & Co.....	3 00
Cash,.....	50
Cash,.....	1 00
Mr. Creery's school,.....	1 70
Made up by the Ladies, 100 shirts, 50 roundabouts, and 50 waistcoats,.....	50 00
Nightengale & Co. hardware merchants,.....	2 25

*Donations received in the District  
of Columbia.*

Collection in Dr. Balch's church, Georgetown,.....	35 00
In Dr. Wilmer's church, Alex	110 00
In this sum are included the following donations and annual subscriptions:	
Judge Cranch,.....	30 00
Miss Landonia Randolph,..	10 00
Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Esq.....	10 00
Mrs. Custis (Arlington).....	7 00

*Annual Subscribers.*

Hugh Smith,.....	1 00
E. I. Lee,.....	1 00
Humphrey Peak,.....	1 00
R. C. Mason,.....	5 00
C. C. Lee,.....	1 00
G. W. P. Custis, Esq.....	1 00

*Donations received from various in-  
dividuals in Washington and  
Georgetown.*

J. P. Fenner,.....	1 00
Rev. Daniel Baker,.....	1 00
Gideon Davis,.....	1 00
John Bailey,.....	2 00
Thomas L. Thruston,.....	1 00
S. Pleasonton,.....	2 00
Thomas Mustin,.....	1 00
James Moore,.....	1 00
Alexander McDonald,.....	1 00
John Woodside,.....	3 00
Cash,.....	2 00
J. McCleery,.....	2 00
John S. Shaw,.....	2 00
Richard Harrison,.....	2 00

John Coyle, jr.....	5 00
Mr. King,.....	2 00
Cash,.....	75
G. W. P. Custis, Esq.....	10 00
Dr. Carnahan,.....	2 00
A young lady,.....	2 00
Miss Dicks, a suit of clothes for the Agent in Africa,..	
A lady near Fredericktown, Md.....	10 00
Miss Susan Meade, Frede- rick county, Va.....	100 00
Two valuable pieces of can- non, from Gen. John Mas- son, (District of Columbia.	

*List of Donations received by the  
Rev. L. D. Dewey, of the state  
of New-York, 1823.*

Col. Henry Rutgers,.....	100 00
The annual subscription of the same gentleman for 5 years,.....	50 00
Catharine Disseyster.....	25 00
H. Remsen,.....	5 00
Jonathan Little,.....	10 00
George Gallagher,.....	10 00
Gen. Mathew L. Clarkson,..	25 00
T. W. Steinhrenner,.....	15 00
Wm. Smith,.....	5 00
A Friend,.....	1 00
A coloured female,.....	1 00
J. Seymour,.....	2 00
A collection in the Congrega- tional Church and Society in Lanesboro' Mass. on the 4th July, 1823,....	5 00
A collection in the Congrega- tional Church and Society Great Barrington, Mass. 4 July, 1823,.....	8 21
Collection in the Reformed Presh. Ch. N. Y. Nov. 29, 1823,.....	11 50
Do. cash from 2 individuals,	1 00
John Brown,.....	2 00
Rev. John Johnson, New- burg, N. Y. by ladies of his society,.....	30 00
Rev. Nathan Bangs, N. Y. by young ladies of the Metho- dist Episcopal Church,....	30 00
Rev. Gardner Spring, by la- dies of his Society,.....	30 00
Eliza Woodruf, Morristown, N. J.....	10 00

Thomas Bassel, Lansingburg, N. Y. ....	5 00	From Rev. Jos. Smith, Har- risonburg, Va.....	20 00
<i>Received in New-England by the Rev. Chester Wright.</i>		From Rev. Alex. Irvine, Ma- lone, New-York,.....	20 00
From a few friends of the So- ciety in Boston,.....	62 00	From A. Smith, per Mr. Un- derwood,.....	10 00
From a few friends of the So- ciety in Salem,.....	40 00	From G. W. P. Custis, Esq. annual subscriber,.....	5 00
Donations mentioned by J. McPhail, Esq. Treasurer of the Norfolk Auxiliary Society:		For proceeds of work done by female teachers of Taney town, Md Sunday school,	20 00
From Wm. Maxwell, Esq....	50 00	From David J. Burr, to con- stitute Rev. Jesse H. Tur- ner a member for life,.....	20 00
Do. do. Collections made by him,.....	126 50	From a lady,.....	1 50
From Rev. Sam. Cornelius, for collections made by him,.....	20 00	From Rev. Benj. J. Lowe, of Johnsonburg, N. Jersey,..	8 00
Ditto .....	3 50	From Rev. W. Meade, in part of a legacy left by his sister, Lucy F. Meade,..	750 00
Total.....	200 00	From Rev. Mr. A. Shinn,....	3 00
Donations of one dozen men's shoes, and one dozen wo- men's, by Geo. Wilson, of Smithfield, in the hands of J. McPhail.		From Jno. Husks, Esq. Treas- urer of the Aux. Soc. Fay- etteville, N. Carolina,....	48 00
<i>The following sums have been re- cently acknowledged by the Treas- urer, in the National Intelligen- cer:</i>		From Abner McGreehee, of Georgia, per the Hon. Wi- ley Thompson,.....	20 00
From the Rev. Charles H. Page, of Charlestown, Va. by the Rev. Mr. Hawley,	15 00	From the Richmond Auxili- ary Society.....	192 00
From Obed. Waite, Esq. Tr. of the Aux. Soc. Frederick county, Va.....	275 00	From the Fayetteville Soc...	48 00
From Rev. Wm. McKenney, for the Aux. Soc. of Queen Ann's county, Md.....	100 00	From the charity box of a young lady in the District, per the Rev. Mr. Gurley,	4 75
From Rev. George W. Jan- vier, Salem, New-Jersey, collected in his church,....	5 00	From Th. Tarbell, Esq. Bos- ton, collections taken up in consequence of a circular letter,.....	500 00
From Rev. Joseph Caldwell, Chapel Hill, N. Carolina,	10 00	From Dr. William H. Wil- mer, per Rev. Mr. Haw- ley,.....	212 00
From Rev. C. Hyde, Doyles- town, Penn.....	10 00	From Rev. John H. Church, D. D of Pelham, N. H....	2 00
☞ For donations not mentioned in the above list, refer to the Treasurer's Account.		Hon. Arthur Livermore,....	5 00
		William Slade, jun .....	1 00
		Hon. James T. Sandford, of Tennessee, for life,.....	30 00
		A stranger,.....	10 00









## EXPLANATIONS OF THE MAP.

A. The mouth of the River Montserado.

B. Perseverance Island, so called by the American Colony, and the first land taken possession of by virtue of purchase.

C. The landing place of the settlement.

D. The House of the Agent of the Colony.

E. The Watering Place.

The land purchased for the American Colonization Society by Lieut. Stockton and Dr. Ayres, was Perseverance Island, and also that portion of land bounded North and West by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the South and East by a line drawn in a South East direction from the mouth of the Montserado.

The position of Cape Montserado, as observed on board the U. S. ship, Cyane, Robert Traill Spence, Esq. Commander, is in latitude (being the mean of a number of mer. ob. 6 dg. 18 min. 16 sec. North.

Longitude from Greenwich (mean of observations) 10 dg. 34 min. 13 sec. West.

H. Castle built by Capt. Spence, called Castle Stockton, 115 feet circumference, 8 feet thick, 15 feet high, mounting several pieces of cannon.

The extent of Coast represented on this map is about 18 miles.

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We are gratified in being able to present our friends with a map, which is so handsome a specimen of the Lithographic art. It was executed by a young gentleman of this city, who is entirely self-taught, and whose talents entitle him to general patronage.

LIST OF SOCIETIES

AUXILIARY TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

MARYLAND AUXILIARY SOCIETY,

(established in Baltimore.)

Col. John Eager Howard, *President*.

*Vice-Presidents.*

Gen. Robt. Goodloe Harper....		.....Hon. Chief Justice Bruce.
Gen. Wm. H. Winder.....		.....
Luke Tiernan, <i>Treasurer.</i>		Edward J. Coale, <i>Secretary.</i>

NEW-YORK AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

Col. Henry Rutgers, *President*.

*Vice-Presidents.*

1st, Col. William Few.....		3d, Mr. Divie Bethune,.....
2d, Rev. Alexander M'Leod, D. D..		4th, Rev. Philip Milledoler, D. D

Mr. Crove Wright, *Treasurer*.

Rev. Paschal N. Strong, *Corresponding Secretary*.

John B. Beck, M. D. *Recording Secretary*.

Loring D. Dewey, *Agent of the General Society*.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF ANNAPOLIS.

J. T. Chase, *President*.

*Vice-Presidents.*

1st, William Kilty.....		11th, Wm. D. Digress.....
2d, Thomas Blackstone.....		12th, Wm. R. Stuart.....
3d, William Spencer.....		13th, Ephraim K. Wilson.....
4th, Peter Emmerson.....		14th, R. B. Taney.....
5th, C. Dorsey.....		15th, Charles S. Sewall.....
6th, Dr. Thomas Johnson.....		16th, William Hughlett.....
7th, William Hayward.....		17th, Thomas Kennedy.....
8th, James Murray.....		18th, George C. Washington..
9th, Benjamin W. Leconte....		19th, James Tidball.....
10th, John Moffat.....		.....

A. C Magruder, *Secretary* | Jonathan Pinkney, *Treasurer*.  
John Brewer, *Recorder*.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF FREDERICK COUNTY, VA.

Nathaniel Burwell, *President*.

Obed. Waite *Treasurer*..... | Augustine C. Smith, *Secretary*.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF HARPER'S FERRY, VA.

John Stubblefield, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

William M <sup>4</sup> Guire.....		.....Edward Wager
Armistead Beckham.....		.....Roger Humphreys.
Jacob Wark, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		.....John P. M <sup>3</sup> Guire, <i>Secretary.</i>

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF LOUDON COUNTY, VA.

John Mines, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

Samuel Murray.....		.....Sydney Baily.
Ludwell Lee.....		.....Johnson Cleaveland.
Israel Janney.....		.....Burr Powell.
James Moore.....		.....James Heaton.
Mahlon Taylor.....		.....William Elzey.
Samuel Nichols.....		.....William Noland.
Isaac Brown.....		.....
R. D. Henderson, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		.....Richard H. Lee, <i>Secretary.</i>

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF CHARLESTOWN, JEFFERSON COUNTY, VA.

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*Vice-Presidents.*

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Adam Weaver.....		.....George W. Humphreys.
Henry S. Turner.....		.....Nathaniel Craighill.
Robt. Washington, <i>Treasurer</i>	.....	John Marshall, <i>Secretary.</i>

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF SHEPHERDSTOWN, VA.

James S. Lane, *President.*

*Vice President*.....John Baker.

John Cookus, *Treasurer*.....—..Kev. C. P. Kranth, *Secretary.*

AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF ROCKINGHAM COUNTY, VA.

Hon. Daniel Smith, *President.*

*Vice-Presidents.*

Dr. Peachy Harrison.....		.....Rev. Daniel Baker.
Major John Kenny.....		.....Col. Samuel H. Lewis.
David Steele, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		Dr. Peachy Harrison } <i>Secretaries.</i>
.....		James M Bush..... }

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF YORK, PENN.

Jacob Barnitz, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

George Barnitz..... | .....Jacob Eichelberger.  
 John Schmidt, *Treasurer*.... | ..John Gardiner, *Secretary*.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF HARTFORD, CONN.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY IN NEW LONDON, VA.

Rev. John Early, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

Jymes Stephen, Sen..... | . .....Col. John Wall.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF PRINCE GEORGE COUNTY, MD.

John Johnson. *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

James R. Montgomery..... | .....Doctor Joseph Kent.  
 T. Tyler, *Treasurer*..... | ...Edward Harwood, *Secretary*.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF GREENSBOROUGH, N. C.

George Swain, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

David Worth..... | .....Jonathan Hadley.  
 Jacob Hubbard..... | .....Abel Coffin.  
 James Johnson, *Treasurer* | John M. Dick, *Secretary*.

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Major P. Henderson.....Wm. M'Cawley.....Robert R. King.  
 Thomas H. Taylor, *Treasurer*.... | .....William Hooker, *Secretary*.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

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*Directors.*

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4.

THE  
**EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT**

OF THE  
**AMERICAN SOCIETY**

FOR  
**Colonizing the Free People of Colour**

OF THE  
**UNITED STATES.**

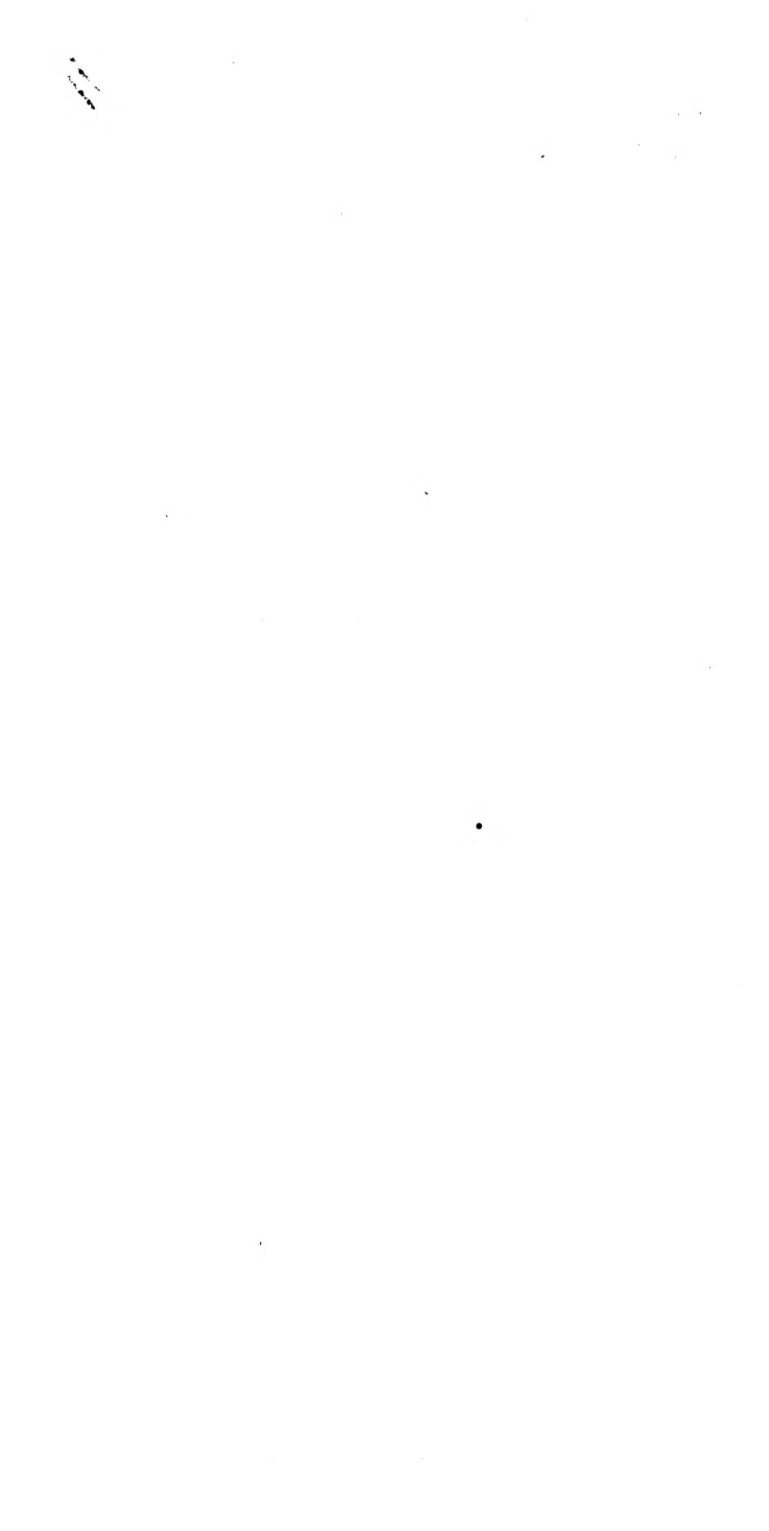
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**WITH AN APPENDIX.**

—  
**WASHINGTON CITY.**

.....

**1825.**

—  
JAMES C. DUNN, PRINTER; BRIDGE-STREET, GEORGETOWN.



The Eighth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, was held in the Supreme Court Room, in the Capitol, Washington City, on the 19th of February.

The audience was highly respectable, and the number present, unusually great. The attendance of the venerable Lafayette and several of the Judges of the Supreme Court, afforded high gratification.

Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Esq. one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institution, took the chair; when the Annual Report was read by Mr. Gurley.

Robert Field Stockton, Esq. then rose, and after presenting the Society with a copy of the Constitution of the New Jersey Auxiliary Society, together with a series of Resolutions adopted by the Board of Directors, addressed the meeting in an appropriate and eloquent manner.

G. W. P. Custis, Esq. then offered, and supported by some very energetic and interesting remarks, the following resolution; which was unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, That General Lafayette be appointed a perpetual Vice President of this Society.

When this resolution was read, the General expressed in a few words, the gratification he felt when invited to attend the Eighth Anniversary

Meeting of this Society; towards which he had ever felt the highest respect and affection. He would candidly say, that to be chosen a Member of the Society, would give him great pleasure, and be very consonant to the principles of all his life.

**On motion of General Walter Jones,**

*Resolved unanimously,* That this Society are deeply penetrated with regret, for the loss they have been called to sustain in the recent death of one of their Vice Presidents, General Robert Goodloe Harper; and that his distinguished worth, and especially his zeal and ability in the defence and promotion of the objects of this Institution, shall be held in affectionate and perpetual remembrance.

Mr. Gurley then addressed the meeting, and offered a resolution, which he withdrew at the particular request of one of the Managers.

The following resolutions were then offered, and adopted without objection.—

**By the Rev. Dr. Laurie,**

*Resolved,* That this Society acknowledge with gratitude the important aid it has received from various auxiliary Institutions.

**By Charles Carter Lee, Esq.**

*Resolved,* That this Society entertain a grateful sense of the zeal and fidelity with which the Managers have discharged their duties during the past year.

The following Gentlemen were then elected Officers of the Society for the ensuing year.



## OFFICERS.

Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, President.

### *Honorary Vice Presidents.*

Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia,  
 Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky,  
 Hon. Wm. Phillips, of Massachusetts,  
 Hon. Henry Rutgers, of New York,  
 Hon. E. Howard, of Maryland,  
 Hon. John C. Herbert, of Maryland,  
 Hon. Daniel Webster, of Boston,  
 Hon. Isaac McKim, of Maryland,  
 General Lafayette,  
 Hon. John Marshall, of Virginia,  
 Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia,  
 Gen. Charles F. Mercer, of Virginia,  
 Robert Ralston, Esq. of Pennsylvania,  
 Right Rev. Bishop White,  
 Jeremiah Day, D. D. Yale College,  
 General John Mason, District of Columbia,  
 Samuel Bayard, Esq. New Jersey,  
 Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Esq. Virginia.

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Francis S. Key, Esq.	Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer,
Walter Jones, Esq.	Rev. John N. Campbell,
Rev. Dr. James Laurie,	Joseph Gales, Jun. Esq.
Rev. Wm. Hawley,	Wm. Thornton, Esq.
Rev. S. B. Balch,	Col. Henry Ashton,
Rev. O. B. Brown,	Dr. Thomas Henderson.

E. B. CALDWELL, Esq. Secretary,

**JOHN UNDERWOOD, Recorder,**  
**RICHARD SMITH, Esq. Treasurer,**  
**REV. RALPH R. GURLEY.**

# REPORT.

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To persevere in a good cause, is the dictate of wisdom. The comprehensive and determined mind yields not to ordinary opposition; its march is onward, though enemies assail it and obstacles are thrown in its way; for it has learnt from history and experience, that almost every illustrious enterprize which the world has seen, has been consummated by mighty, unremitting, and protracted effort—by a strength of purpose which only death could conquer. The greatest benefactors of mankind, having adopted their plans under the sanction of conscience, having demonstrated to themselves their practicability, have suffered no conference with the selfish, the cold, or the wavering, to hinder them in the commencement or the progress of their work.

The design of their Institution, appears to the Managers of the Colonization Society to be good; the possibility of its accomplishment is clearly discerned; nor since its origin, has an event occurred, which justifies, in their opinion, relaxed exertions, or reduced expectations of success. A change in public opinion is requisite; and this change will be produced by the repeated and

striking exhibition of certain truths and facts, demonstrating that the object proposed, is essential to the best interests of our country, and in alliance with the holiest purposes of justice and religion.

Dr. Ayres, the Society's Agent, who had sailed the second time for the Colony, in April 1823, was compelled by extreme illness, in December of the same year, to quit his station; and after a long and distressing passage in the *Fidelity*, reached Baltimore in the month of February. Nothing possible in his weak and suffering state, had been left undone by this gentleman to correct existing evils, and to secure the prosperity and improvement of the Colony. Under his direction the site for the town was accurately surveyed and judiciously laid off; and an impartial distribution was made of the lots and plantations.

With this arrangement, however, the Board regret so say some of the earliest settlers were dissatisfied. As the founders and defenders of the Colony, they considered themselves entitled to peculiar privileges; and earnestly contended for an admission of their right to retain the grounds upon which they had originally fixed their habitations.

The ship *Cyrus*, Captain Gary, after a passage of thirty-two days, arrived at Liberia on the 13th of February, with one hundred and five emigrants; an event, says Mr. Ashmun, viewed with all

its connected circumstances, the most animating which has occurred since my residence in the Colony. The light of this mercy dispelled the gloom which began to settle upon the Colony, and the incense of gratitude seemed to ascend from every heart. Universal health had prevailed during the voyage. The landing was effected without an accident. The supplies relieved wants the most distressing. And numerous testimonies to the moral and religious worth of those just arrived, excited the belief that they would exert an influence, salutary, extensive, and powerful.

But hopes scarcely formed, often perish: and the loftiest expectations are suddenly dashed and lost in adversity. But wisdom is prepared for misfortune. Her purposes are fixed; nor can ordinary disappointment change the character or break the energy of her action.

The new emigrants had but just been permitted to exchange congratulations with their friends, and the Agent to announce, in a letter to the Board, the rejoicings upon their arrival, when the usual disease commenced its attacks, and in a few days, not an individual of their number had escaped its power.

When we consider the crowded and uncomfortable condition of the sick, few of whom had been allowed time to put up dwellings; the inadequacy of the medical stores; the want of a physician:—the early convalescence of all, except three small

children, will be attributed by every devout mind, to the special favour of Heaven. The services of the Rev. Lot Carey, who had long assisted Dr. Ayres, in his attention to the sick, were during this season, extremely valuable; and his sedulous and unwearied efforts at all times, for the benefit of the afflicted; demand the approbation and the gratitude of the Board.

As soon as their strength returned, the new Colonists exhibited a spirit of subordination, industry, and piety, equal to the high expectations entertained by the Agent.

Mr. Ashmun, whose health had long been impaired by disease—whose mind was oppressed by a weight of cares which no single individual ought to sustain, continued to discharge his duties until a short retirement from his station, and a change of air, seemed to offer the only chance of life.

For the benefit of any one who might succeed him, he left a full statement of the condition and necessities of the Colony; appointed E. Johnson, a man of tried integrity and ability, General Superintendent of affairs; provided for the instruction of the recaptured Africans; and took passage for the Cape De Verds, on the 2d of April. The vessel in which he embarked, was bound up the coast; and being detained several weeks at Bissao, a Portuguese settlement, he did not arrive at port Praya before July.

To make such temporary arrangements for the benefit of the Colony, as circumstances might require, and on the part of the United States' government, to make such a disposal of its property on the African coast, as might best secure the faithful application of it to the fulfilment of the noble purpose to which it is devoted, Mr. Gurley was instructed to sail for Liberia in the schooner *Porpoise*; and as the season was most unfavourable to health, he was directed to return in the same vessel. At the Cape De Verds, where the schooner touched for supplies, he found Mr. Ashmun, with his strength renewed, and prepared for an immediate return to the Colony. Accommodations on board the *Porpoise*, kindly offered by Captain Skinner, were accepted: and this vessel, after a visit of two days at Sierra Leone, anchored on the 13th of August, off Cape Montserado.

During Mr. Ashmun's absence, two events had concurred to produce a beneficial change in the Colony. The pressure of want, in the interval between the consumption of the public stores and the arrival of supplies by the *Fidelity*, had proved an irresistible argument for exertion, while the letters of the Board, received by this vessel, on the subject of the remonstrance\* and the spirit which dictated it, had softened if not subdued the temper of rebellion.

\* Received by Dr. Ayres.

In the character and appearance of the Colony, Mr. Garley found many sources of gratification. The eligible location of the town; the fertility of the soil; the adequate defences; the improvements, which, though not what they might have been, still indicated the application of a very considerable amount of labour; the absence of destructive disease; the active intelligence; the morality and religion; the quiet of the Sabbath; the Sunday Schools, one of which is composed of native children; the general cheerfulness and hope; and the gratitude evinced to the Board for a special mission in their favour;—these were circumstances witnessed by our Agent with inexpressible pleasure, and which it would be ingratitude to mention without an acknowledgment of the good providence of God. But it must not be concealed, that there were other subjects for melancholy thought.

The government appeared feeble and relaxed: some were dissatisfied with the recent decisions of the Board; the want of suitable medicines, and especially of a physician, had been felt in the death of several children, and in the protracted debility of the emigrants by the Cyrus; household and agricultural utensils and implements, seeds, and a thousand other things which minister to comfort and aid industry, could not be obtained. Facts of this kind, prevented the fulness of joyful emotion, and loudly appeal to every humane heart.



Mr. Gurley's unremitting efforts during his visit to the Colony, in conjunction with those of Mr. Ashmun, were directed to the organization of a government which should be energetic and permanent; and to the acquisition of such information as might assist the Board in the prosecution of their design. The few who desponded, were encouraged; resolution took the place of imbecility; irregularities were succeeded by order; and the whole state of affairs, when our Agent left the Colony, wore the aspect of peace, hope, and obedience.

Although in reference to the government of the Colony, the Managers cannot entirely concur in opinion with their Agent, yet they doubt not the utility of the recent mission, since it has at least called forth into action, the best dispositions of the Colonists, and confirmed their faith in the good intentions of the Board.

All who reflect, must perceive that at this crisis especially, the settlement of this Society in Liberia, has a claim upon the sympathies and charities of our countrymen. It is now suffering those privations which newly established colonies in an uncultivated country, without the patronage and protection of national power, usually experience: privations which, nobly endured, should be generously relieved. Who can view this Colony without interest? It promises to prove a blessed asylum for a wretched people. It is already to the

African tribes, like “a city set upon a hill which cannot be hid.” A thousand barbarians, who have long made merchandise of their brethren, and been regarded themselves, as the objects of a bloody and accursed traffick, come within its gates, and are taught the doctrine of immortality—the religion of the Son of God. Heaven forbid that this Colony should perish; for its influence to the most abject, injured, and miserable of our race, will be cheering as “the day-spring from on high,” and salutary as the waters of life.

The Board announce with pleasure, the rapid progress of their cause in this country. Every day is popular sentiment changing in its favour: that truth by which it is sustained, and must triumph, begins to be felt from one extremity of our land to the other; rousing for its defence, a thousand advocates—securing to its aid, the eloquence of the patriot and the prayers of the saint. It is even advanced by opposition: and those who aim at its defeat, are but helping it on to victory. The activity of friends or of foes, may alike awaken thought: and the reflections of the intelligent and the virtuous, cannot fail to produce the conviction, that the plan of our Society deserves universal approbation.

Dr. Ayres, accompanied by the Rev. George Boyd, proceeded, during the summer, on a mission for the benefit of the Society, through the middle and northern States. The pecuniary aid

received by these gentlemen, was inconsiderable: for at that time, the attention of some of the principal cities through which they passed, was fixed on the emigration to Hayti; and to obtain public collections for our cause, was found impracticable. The charitable of New England, were giving liberally to numerous other objects more familiar, and therefore more interesting; the inadequacy of previous information had in numerous instances prevented the formation of opinions in our favour; in some minds, doubts still existed concerning the motives of the Board; and little could be done, except in preparation for future efforts. The Agents of the Society, reached Boston just after the arrival of General Lafayette, whose presence attracted universal attention. The peculiar interest excited by this event, would have rendered any attempt to obtain public meetings, ineffectual. The views of the Society were however, explained in conversation, to many intelligent and judicious men, and their influence secured for its support.

In the theological Institution at Andover, Dr. Ayres found a thorough knowledge of the affairs of our Society, and a unanimous and determined disposition to assist in the prosecution of its object. A kindred and we trust equal zeal exists in the Seminary at Princeton; and the influence of these two distinguished schools, cannot fail to be felt in every State of the Union.

At the theological Institution of Hampden and Sydney College, Virginia, a strong desire is felt to recommend and promote our cause; and an important Auxiliary Society, it is believed, will be formed there without delay.

An association of Clergymen in New Hampshire, heard Dr. Ayres explain the intentions and proceedings of the Board, with manifest approbation: and by a resolution, that each member of their body, should preach once, at least, every year, on the subject of the Colonization Society, evinced their desire to recommend this Institution to all the citizens of the State.

The Managers with pleasure announce the recent formation of an Auxiliary State Society in New Hampshire, which they hope may prove no less efficient and liberal than that which has for several years existed in the state of Vermont.

New Jersey, also, has during the last summer, stood forth boldly in this great cause. The officers of the Society organized at Princeton in July, are among the first men in the State; and the energy with which they have commenced their operations, is worthy of their character. They have sought to enlighten the public mind, and to establish an Auxiliary Institution in each County of the State. The spirit of activity and enterprise which they have evinced, must in a short time effect both these objects. And here, the Board, convinced that the work in which they are engaged, while

it depends for its advancement, upon the offerings of charity, can proceed successfully, only through the agency of State Associations. sustained by subordinate Societies, beg leave to invite the attention of their friends to the example of New Jersey, and to pronounce it most worthy of universal imitation.

Christians of various denominations, have, to a considerable extent, the last year, celebrated by some religious service, the Anniversary of our national Independence, and on this occasion shown their charity as well as gratitude, by liberal contributions to our Society. We hope this practice may be generally adopted.

The services of the Rev. Wm. McKenney in the lower counties of Virginia, have been highly important, and the judicious and able manner in which they have been performed, deserves an honourable and grateful mention by the Board.

Through the agency of this gentleman, the plans and opinions of the Board have been explained to thousands who were previously too uninformed to be interested, or too mistaken in their ideas of the object of the Society, to form a true judgment concerning it,—several Auxiliary Institutions have been organized, and the requisite funds obtained for the outfit of a vessel, which with adequate supplies and sixty-eight emigrants, sailed a few days since from Hampton Roads for the Colony. For a more minute account of Mr.

M'Kenney's proceedings, we beg leave to refer to the Appendix.\*

The proposed establishment of an Institution in which young men of colour might be prepared by suitable instruction in agriculture, the arts, literature, and religion, for extensive usefulness in the Colony, has, the Board rejoice to say, been approved by their most distinguished friends; and in preparation for such an Institution, measures have already been adopted. That the formation of this Institution may not be delayed, they venture to suggest to all who have evinced so friendly an interest in their concerns, whether their object might not be early effected, by a plan, similar to that which gave rise to the Foreign Mission School in Connecticut.

The African Colony, blest with just education enough to feel its value, stretches out its hands towards its benefactors, and implores of them that knowledge, by which alone it can be conducted to a rank among civilized nations—that knowledge, which is the minister to social happiness, the source of wealth, the foundation of good government, the defence of freedom, the rich and imperishable treasure of immortal minds. To a judicious system of education in the Colony, the Board have ever looked, as to the last link in the chain of means for its improvement, without which, the whole

\* Note C.

series of preceding operations must prove of insignificant, if not doubtful utility. Nor can we with propriety, tax the benevolence and devotion of white men with the management of this system. Although there is no want of individuals ready to hazard life, or to die for a noble cause, yet the sacrifice of such men is not to be justified, when the object to be attained, may be safely accomplished by men of colour. Every white man, who tries a residence within six degrees of the equator, does it at his peril; while the black man may fix his abode there without hesitation.

Associations are awakened in the minds of the Managers by the subject referred to, indeed by every thing connected with the interests of the African race, most painful and poignant; and which throw a melancholy hue over all the recollections and hopes of this evening. In the death of General Harper, one of the Vice Presidents of this Society, the Managers feel that they have lost a friend, whose splendid talents commanded the respect of the loftiest, whose warm, practical, and efficient benevolence, the affection of the purest minds.

The Board do not presume to pronounce the eulogy of this great and virtuous man. But a remembrance of his noble principles and deeds, will not be useless, if, while it gives a solace to grief, it excites to imitation. That object, which appeared to our deceased friend to be so highly

important, and which he prosecuted with so much energy, is yet to be effected—not by miracle, but by the slow, laborious, persevering exertions of successive generations. Great changes in the moral condition and character of nations, seldom occur in the period of a single human life. But the influence of the man of real greatness, shall survive him. By the wisdom of his plans; by deeds which fade not from the memory, but shed their illustrious light upon the progress of our race; by an example, which once seen, engraves the image of its own beauty on another's heart, will he hold communion with futurity, and still act with the virtuous spirits of a distant age. The present Members of this Society, have assisted in giving origin and motion to a system, which will operate, we trust, with enlarged and augmented energy, long after they themselves shall have passed from this into the eternal world.

The slave trade is understood to have been carried on, during the last year, as extensively as ever, and with undiminished atrocity. The negotiations of our Government with Great Britain on this subject, which were supposed to have been happily terminated, are, it is painful to say, still in an embarrassed state; though no difficulties are thought to exist, which can prevent a successful result. But though the convention proposed between these two Governments is not important, the traffick can never be suppressed, except by the



combined influence of all the Christian powers. The voice of the civilized world must denounce the slave trader as a pirate; not a single flag must be permitted to protect him; not a sanctuary of refuge be left to him, before he will abandon a trade, which is little less extraordinary for its profits, than for its cruelty and its waste of human life.

Sweden we rejoice to hear, has lately co-operated with England, as Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands had before done, in an international denunciation of the Slave Trade, and in systematic efforts for its punishment.

In the same policy, it is understood through her minister, Brazil also, is ready to unite.

The Republic of Colombia has by law declared this traffick piracy, and by treaty with the United States, denounced it as such.\*

The first number of the African Repository, the intended publication of which was some time ago announced, will be issued in the month of March. In this work will be found explanations of the plans of this Society, and a history of its proceedings, all the interesting intelligence which may be received from Africa, with such essays on the subject of colonization, and such information concerning Institutions of a kindred character to our own, as may be expected to encourage our friends, and extend the influence of our cause.

\* This Treaty, we regret to say, has been rejected by the Senate of the United States.

Earnestly do the Managers desire to give circulation, throughout all the borders of our land, to such truths and statements as may kindle a zeal in every bosom, for the relief of a people, who in this country, must ever feel the miseries of a dark and degraded state, while in Africa, they may stand forth unshackled, the friendly guides and illuminators of heathen tribes. The Board trust, that not in vain shall they solicit for their work, the patronage of all their friends. .

The Managers have been enabled to secure to the Colony the services of a very able and respectable Physician, who is expected to sail for Africa in the course of a few days. A very important addition to the comfort and health of the settlement, cannot fail to result from the kind and judicious attentions of this gentleman.

It is frequently asserted by the apologists for selfishness and indolence, that to indulge the hope that this Society will ever achieve its enterprise, is delusive as the expectation of a golden age, or of the universal perfection of mankind. You would not attempt, say they, to level the Andes with one hundred men, or by the labours of a single apostle to regenerate the world. Think not, then, with your feeble powers to remove from our land an evil, the present extent and rapid growth of which, are less calculated to excite benevolence, than regret; less to kindle zeal, than to quench hope.

But here let it be remembered, that the Board, when considering their design in all its greatness, have ever viewed it, in connection, not with their weakness, but with our nation's strength. Their operations they have regarded but as the preludes to far mightier movements. They have spoken, not so much of what they should do, as of what might be done. They have expected no higher honour than to survey the ground, and collect together a few stones for the edifice, which if it ever rises, must be built up by the State Governments and the National Legislature. But should this nation, as such, fail to sanction their efforts, they will not have laboured in vain. Truth may be beneficial where it does not triumph, and Virtue in misfortune still show her Light.

Already has this Society planted civilized men on an uncivilized shore; Christians on a soil where Christianity was unknown;—and who will dare to assert that this seed sown in weakness, may not be raised in power?

But the belief cannot be entertained, that Congress and the State Legislatures will long refuse to patronise an object which promises so large a contribution to the wealth, political strength, and moral interests of our country. Were the Federal Government to afford protection to the African Colony, and to regulate its internal affairs, that State would lose all pretensions to good policy,

which should deny to its free people of colour the means of transportation.

It was the intention of the Board to present a memorial to Congress during the present session. This intention has not been fulfilled in consequence of circumstances which it is needless to mention.

Our nation is crowned with honours. She stands distinguished above all nations, by the wisdom and freedom of her Institutions; the depth and extent of her resources, and by her astonishing progress in wealth, population and power. She is now called to the execution of a work which Heaven will assist, and all mankind admire. Let her show her might, and perform it. Surely she will prove herself, magnanimous as powerful—and just, as free;—her courage equalled by her generosity, and her benevolence bright as her hopes.

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Letters received from Africa since this Report was put to press, state that the Colony is rapidly advancing in improvements, and is enjoying unexpected and unusual prosperity. Many events have recently concurred to promote the interests of this establishment: especially the changes which have taken place in the management of its internal concerns; the increase of trade, and the arrival of moral and industrious emigrants.

## DR.

*The American Colonization Society in Account with Richard Smith, Treasurer.*

1824.			
March 20,	To cash paid	William McKenney,	\$ 70
23,	Ditto	E. Ayres,	203 37
29,	Ditto	loss on North Carolina notes,	2 40
April 8,	Ditto	J. Ashmun,	200
12,	Ditto	ditto,	100
	Ditto	Th. Wheelan,	147 50
22,	Ditto	R. R. Gurley,	50
23,	Ditto	E. T. Ellicott & Co.	68 17
May 15,	Ditto	R. R. Gurley,	40
27,	Ditto	Thomas George & Thomas,	75 48
June 4,	Ditto	J. Ashmun,	200
17,	Ditto	P. Force,	205
18,	Ditto	R. R. Gurley,	250
	Ditto	William McKenney,	50
Sept. 8,	Ditto	Geo. Delius & Geo. Gloystein, transportation Colonists to Africa,	1080
22,	Ditto	E. Tracey,	25
24,	Ditto	J. Ashmun's draft,	86 10
27,	Ditto	Davis & Force,	200
Nov. 2,	Ditto	E. Tracey,	30
5,	Ditto	Jno Kennedy,	50
Dec. 6,	Ditto	E. Tracey,	30
27,	Ditto	R. R. Gurley,	200
1825			
Jan'y. 3,	Ditto	E. Ayres,	71 10
	Ditto	E. Tracey,	90
6,	Ditto	loss on North Carolina notes,	2
Feb. 26,	Ditto	William McKenney's draft,	141 80
March 19,	Ditto	R. R. Gurley,	30
23,	Ditto	ditto,	150
	Ditto	loss on N Carolina notes, 25th August, 1824,	3 50
	To balance in hand, including \$29, counterfeits,		810 19
			<u>\$4,661 61</u>

*Supra CR.*

1824.		
Feb 23,	By balance, including \$29, counterfeits,	\$ 281 72
1825		
March 23,	By donations, per Abstract A, from 23d Feb. 1824, to this day, inclusive,	\$ 4,379 89
		<u>\$ 4,661 61</u>

From the Account and Abstract B, of the Rev. I. D. Dewey, Agent, herewith transmitted, it appears that Mr.  
D

Dewey collected for the use of the Society, from Sept.			
1824, to Nov. 1824,	-	-	\$ 855 04
And that he expended for the Society, including his salary,	-	-	\$ 564 45
And transmitted to the Treasurer, on the 2d			
December, 1823,		100	
Ditto, 28th January, 1825,		190	854 45
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Leaving a balance in his hands, of			59

It appears from a memorandum, C, herewith submitted, furnished the Treasurer by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, that the Rev. Wm. McKenney received from various sources,

			\$2,133 22
And expended in the outfit of the brig Hunter, and for his own salary,	-	-	2,170 82
			<hr/>
Leaving a balance in his favour, of			\$57 60

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A.

*Abstract of Money paid to Richard Smith, Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, from 23d Feb. 1824, to 23d March, 1825.*

1824

March 5,	By Rev. Joseph Smith, of Harrisonburg, Va. per Hon. Mr. McCoy,	-	-	\$20
6,	Rev. Alexander Irvine, of Malone, New-York, collected from his charge,	-	-	20
8,	A. Smith, per Mr. John Underwood,	-	-	10
	G. W. P. Custis, his annual subscription, per ditto,	-	-	5
	Proceeds of work done by the female teachers of the Taneytown Sunday School, Maryland, to be applied to Missionary purposes,	-	-	20
12,	David I. Burr, to make the Rev. Jesse H. Turner, a member for life,	-	-	20
	A Lady, per Rev. R. R. Gurley,	-	-	1 50
19,	Rev. Benjamin J. Lowe, Johnsonburg, New Jersey, collected in the Presbyterian Congregation,	-	-	3
23,	Rev. Wm. Meade, in part of a legacy of his sister, Lucy F. Meade,	-	-	750
	Rev. A. Shinn, of Baltimore, Md.	-	-	3
24,	Abner, McGeehee, of Georgia, per Hon. W. Thompson,	-	-	20
25,	Auxiliary Society, at Richmond, Va.			192
29,	Ditto at Fayetteville, N. C.			48
				<hr/>
				\$ 1117 50

		Amount brought over,	\$ 1117 50
1824.			
Mar.	30,	Rev. R. R. Gurley, the donation from a charity box of a young Lady, in the District,	4 75
April	6,	Thos. Tarbell, contributed in various places in New England,	500
	8,	Rev. Doct. Wm. H. Wilmer, of Alexandria, D. C per Rev Mr Hawley,	200
	12,	Rev. John H. Church, D. D Pelham, N. H., by Hon. I. Bell,	2
		Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Wilmer, per Rev. Mr. Hawley,	12
	19,	Auxiliary Society, Newburyport, Mass., per Hon. J. Nelson,	47
May	11,	Ditto Vermont, per Thomas Tarbell, Esq.	210
		Thomas Tarbell, of Boston, Mass., for collections,	19
	15,	Robert Minshall, of Virginia, for ditto	6
	22,	George Herde, of Baltimore, Md. per Rev. R. R. Gurley,	10
	27,	Mrs. Deadrick, of Jones co. Tennessee, per Judge White,	3
	31,	Thomas Fairfax, Esq. of Virginia, per Hon. Mr. Mercer,	100
June	17,	Joseph Brown, Augusta Co. Virginia, per P. E. Thomas, of Baltimore, Md	5
July	1,	Several Ladies, Georgetown, D. C. to constitute Rev. Mr. Gurley, a member for life,	50
	7,	Collections in the Rev. Mr. Hawley's Church, Washington, D. C. 4th inst.	29 91
		Ditto in Rev. Mr. Post's do. do. do.	16
		Ditto in Rev. Dr. Balch's do. Geo Town, do.	17 12
	8,	Ditto in Rev. Mr. Little's do. Washington, do.	34 10
	9,	Ditto in Rev. Dr. Laurie's do. do. do.	10
	10,	Ditto in the Congregational Church, Middleburg, Connecticut, do.	5
	12,	Ditto in Rev. Mr. Allen's do. Washington, D. C. do	9 42
		Ditto in Rev. W. R. Smith's do. Northumberland, Pa do.	10
		Ditto in Rev. Mr Croe's do. Shrewsbury, New Jersey, do.	8
		Ditto in St. Ann's do Annapolis, Maryland, do.	22 25
		Ditto in Rev. Mr. M'Ilvaine's do. Geo. Town, D. C do.	27 12
		Capt. Isaac Bronson, of New-Haven, Conn. per Eli Thompson,	2
Aug.	10,	From a young Lady, Fauquier co. Virginia, a little Girl, in do. the reward of industry,	17 50
			2
			\$ 2476 67

		Amount brought over,	\$ 2476 67
1824.			
Aug.	29,	From a benevolent Individual, in Fauquier, the produce of labour,	50
	18,	Collections in the Episcopal Church, Hagerstown, Maryland, 4th July,	25
	25,	Auxiliary Society, Nansemond co. Va.	125
		Ditto Hertford county, do Ladies, of Murfreesborough, N. C. per W. McKenney,	43
	28,	Collections at Elk Ridge Church, Maryland, 25th July,	25 50
Sept.	13,	Ditto 2d Baptist Church, Baltimore, Maryland, 4th July,	12 50
	24,	Auxiliary Society, Talbot county, Md.	5
Oct.	21,	Joseph L. Smith, Frederick co. do.	109
	30,	A Lady, of Md., per Rev. Mr. Aydelot,	40
		A Friend of Zion,	1 84
		Auxiliary Society, of Georgetown, D. C.	5
Nov.	5,	Ditto Kent county, Md.,	34 75
	9,	Anonymous. of Alexandria, D. C.	89
	15,	Collections at Rockville, Maryland, 4th July, by Rev Mr. Mines,	30
	23,	Presbyterian Church, Goshen, New-York, to constitute their pastor, the Rev. Ezra Fish, a life member,	6 06
		Collections, 4th July, in Presbyterian Church, Orange county, New York,	30
Dec.	6,	Society of Ladies, in Frederick Parish, Virginia,	5
		Auxiliary Society, Greenbrier co Va.,	114 88
	11,	Reformed Dutch Church, New York, per John Redfield, Treasurer,	42
	13,	Auxiliary Society, Frederick county, Va.,	42 07
	14,	Ditto Putnam county, Geo.,	230
	18,	Ditto Charleston Virginia,	50
	29,	Three Ladies in Virginia,	70
1825.			
Jan.	6,	Auxiliary Society, Fayetteville, N. C.	20
	14,	Benjamin Ely,	5
		Isaac Orr,	5
		2d Eccl. Society, Hartford, Conn.	4
		William Hill,	1
		B B Darwood,	1
		A Lady in Hartford,	3
		Daniel Jones, do.	1
		A Friend, do.	1
	28,	Auxiliary Society, Wilmington, Delaware,	54 59
		Isaac Paffer, Richmond, New-York,	1
		Rev L. D Dewey, of New-York, per E. B. Caldwell, Esq.	190

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\$ 3913 36



	Amount brought over,	\$3913 36
1825.		
Feb. 23,	From Liberman Society, Essex county, Virginia, per Mr. Mercer,*	30
	John L. Sullivan,	1
	Presbyterian Congregation, Salisbury, Pa. per Mr. Ingham,	6
26,	Rev. Mr. Bell's do. New-Castle county, Delaware,	20
	Auxiliary Society, Eatonton, Georgia,	30
28,	Ditto Vermont,	350
Mar. 14,	Rev. David A. Sherman, Knoxville, Tenn	5
	John Sessford,— at general annual meet- ing,	1
19,	One of the Indian Delegation,	1
23,	A——, of Massachusetts,	20
	A young lady,—a donation, 14th Febru- ary, 1825.	2 53
		<hr/>
		\$379 89

\* We have received the following interesting account of the origin and design of the Liberman Society, mentioned in the abstract.

This little association was formed in the month of October last, for the sole purpose of aiding, as far as such small means could do so, the highly benevolent views of the Colonization Society. It consists entirely of ladies,—principally of the family of Mrs. James M. Garnett; and includes the greater part of her pupils. Several neighbouring ladies however, have become members; and such is the popularity of the object, that it is confidently believed every one in the county would do so, if it were practicable to attend the meetings. These take place every Saturday; the whole of which is devoted to the making of various little articles, both for ornament and use, which excite the industry, at the same time, that they exercise the ingenuity of the fabricators. These articles are sold, and the entire proceeds are to be transmitted, from time to time, to the Colonization Society. The demand for the work of this Institution, far exceeds their present power of supplying it.

## B.

*Account of Monies received for the American Colonization Society, by the Rev. L. D. Dewey, Agent.*

1823.		
Sept.	Of Colonel Henry Rutgers, New York,	\$100
	Catharine Deppeyster, ditto,	25
	General Matthew L. Clarkson, ditto,	25
	George Gallagher,	10
		<hr/>
		\$160 00

		Amount brought over,	\$ 160
1823.	Of Jonathan Little,	- - - - -	10
	H. Remsen,	- - - - -	5
Oct.	F. W. Steimbrenner,	- - - - -	15
	William Smith,	- - - - -	5
	Eliza Woodruff, Morristown, New Jersey,		10
Nov.	Mrs. Bunnel,	- - - - -	1
	A coloured Friend,	- - - - -	1
	J. Seymour,	- - - - -	2
	Miss Thorburn,	- - - - -	1
Dec.	The Rev. Mr. Wilson, Newburgh*—a collection in the Reformed Presbyterian Church under his charge,	- - - - -	11 50
	John Brown, Newburgh,	- - - - -	2
	Cash at Newburgh,	- - - - -	1
	Collection at Waterford,	- - - - -	6
	Thomas Bassel, Lansinburg,	- - - - -	5
	Captain W. V. Balknap,	- - - - -	15
1824.	<i>Life Subscribers.</i>		
Feb.	Rev. John Johnston, by ladies of his society, New- burgh,		30 25
	— Nathan Bangs, by young ladies of the Metho- dist Episcopal Church, New York,		30
	— Gardiner Spring, D. D. by ladies of his soci- ety, New York,		30
March,	— James M. Matthews, D. D. by ladies of his congregation, New York,		30
	— Gilbert R. Livingston, by coloured people of his congregation, Coxsackie,		30
Feb.	Waterford Auxiliary Colonization Society,		20
April,	Hudson ditto ditto,		25
	H. R. Townsend, New York,	- - - - -	1
	George Suckley ditto,	- - - - -	1
	Cash, ditto,	- - - - -	2
May,	Collected by the Greek Committee at Newburgh,		11 87

Annual Subscribers of New York, obtained between Sept.  
10 and November 28, 1824.

J. Morrison,	-	\$3	Amount brought over,	\$ 11
John Ferguson,	"	1	Rev. S. H. Cone,	1
Abner Halsey,	-	1	Rev. Charles G. Sommers,	1
J. P. Haven,	-	1	David Codwise,	1
Gaius Fenn,	-	1	David Johnson,	1
Cornelius Dubois,	-	1	E. Holbrook,	1
Wm Thorburn,	-	1	Rev. J. Williams,	1
I. D. Dewey,	-	1	G. P. Scott,	1
Marcus Wilbur,	-	1	Rev. Eli Baldwin,	1
	—		Charles G. Haines,	1
		\$ 11		
				\$481 62

\* Put New York, instead of Newburgh, in the last report.

Amount brought over, \$481 62

*Fourth of July Collections for 1823.*

By the Congregational Church and Society, Lanesborough, Massachusetts,	5
By Congregational Society of Great Barrington, Mass. <i>For 1824.</i>	8 21
From Rev. John S. Adrianu, in the Dutch Reformed Church,	13 28
In Peru, Massachusetts,	9
Bridgeport, Connecticut,	9
Union Parish, Southhold,	5
Presbyterian Church, Galway,	7
Low Dutch Reformed Church of New Holland, Bucks county, Pennsylvania,	5 32
Greenbush, Dutch Reformed Church,	8
Parsippany, New Jersey,	9
Southhold congregation,	4 25
Mercer congregation, Pennsylvania,	10
Green's Farms, Connecticut,	8 50
Sweden, Monroe county,	4 09
Ashfield, Massachusetts,	5
Norwalk, Connecticut,	12
Geneva,	30
Bloomfield, New Jersey,	20 80
Bloomington,	14 60
Peckskill,	5
Mount Pleasant,	5 16
Fairhaven, Massachusetts,	12
Augusta,	15
Chatham,	5 75
New Bedford, Massachusetts,	8
Wareham, Massachusetts,	3 72
Middletown, Orange county,	5 05
Nassau,	7 25
Newburgh, 1st Presbyterian Society,	15 04
Durham, ditto,	6 31
Wheatland,	8 37
Camden,	4
D'Kalbe,	2
Pokeepsie,	8 12
Scotchtown, Orange county,	4 53
Lebanon, New Jersey,	2 58
Whitehouse, New Jersey,	4 22
Sheffield, Massachusetts,	7 88
Cat-skill, Dutch Reformed congregation,	8 19
Homer,	20
Wilton, Connecticut,	14
Hopewell, New Jersey,	8 75
Fishkill, (Presbyterian)	4 50
	<hr/>
	\$855 04

## C.

*Statement of public and private Collections, made by the  
Rev. Wm. McKimney for and on account of the American  
Colonization Society.*

1824.

July 4,	In the Presbyterian Church, Norfolk,	\$ 32	90
	Methodist ditto, ditto,	25	30
	Baptist ditto, ditto,	8	
9,	Donation from Wm Boush, Princess Ann county,	10	
11,	Collected in the old Episcopal church, Williamsburg,	38	57
28,	ditto Methodist ditto, Smithfield,	15	81
Aug.	Received from the Ladies of Murfreesborough, N. C.	25	50
	From the Auxiliary Society of Hertford county, do.	48	
	In an open letter, to my care, directed to R. Smith, Esq from the Nansemond County Auxiliary Co- lization society, (Suffolk, Virginia,) and for warded to him by me,	125	
31,	Collected in the Methodist church, Hampton; Va	10	
Sept	Hampton Auxiliary society, (Elizabeth county ;	50	
Oct.	Collected in Jones Meeting house, Sussex county,	10	82
	Ditto Comanns Well ditto,	2	75
10,	Ditto Forts Meeting house, ditto,	2	50
	Donation from Colonel Austin Claiborne, Greens- ville county,	5	
	Ditto from Mrs Elizabeth B. Wilkins, ditto,	4	
	Ditto Mr Knight of North Carolina,	1	
Dec.	Recd of Wight County Auxiliary Society, (Smithfield)	52	
	Collected in Charles City county,		
	James Hanisson,	10	
	William E. Hill,	5	
	John Minge, Jr.	5	
	Miss Nelson,	6	
	David Minge,	20	
	Miss E. Royster,	1	
	Doctor Wilkinson's donation to the emigrants from Charles City county,		
	Two sheats, five bushels pease.		
	James Hanisson, Six ditto, — ditto		
	Received from G. Dissoway, Treasurer of the Pe- tersburg Auxiliary Society,	364	24
	Ditto from Benjamin Brand, Treasurer of the Richmond Auxiliary Society,	352	98
	Ditto from the following persons, for freights in the Hunter for Liberia—		
	Mr Brand of Richmond, for 3 hhd. of tobacco,	45	
	Mr. Crane of Richmond, for 3 do. do, 4 bbls of whiskey, 5 large cases, 6 small do., 1 keg to- bacco, 1 role sole leather, one keg nails, &c	89	25
	Miles King, Esq. Navy Agent, for the govern- ment stores, specified in the paper marked F,	524	37
	Amount carried over,	\$ 1886	94

1824.	Amount brought over,	\$ 1886 94
Dec.	Received for freights on board Abel Pearson's schooner from Richmond, chartered to convey the emigrants from Richmond and Charles City County, viz.	
	From Mr. Brand, for 3 hhd. tobacco,	3 75
	— Crane, for sundries,	9 82
	Collected in Norfolk by the Colonization Society,	186 38
		<hr/>
		2086 89
	Deduct from the above, 5 per cent. on \$73 50 received from Murfreesborough, viz. \$25 50 from the Ladies, and 48 from the Auxiliary Society, being the discount I paid to reduce it into Virginia money, at the time I remitted to Mr. Smith,	3 67
		<hr/>
		2083 22
	Add to the above, the sum of Fifty Dollars, advanced to me when I accepted my present agency, on the 14th of last June,	50 00
		<hr/>
		<u>\$ 2,133 22</u>

*Freight charged to Emigrants.*

John Griffin, 1 hhd. tobacco,	- - - -	\$ 13 25
Jones & Brown, 1 do.	- - - -	13 25
Mr. Johnson, Colonist, 1 do.	- - - -	13 25
		<hr/>
		\$ 39 75

NOTE.—In these charges, the freight from Richmond is included. I put them at \$12 freight to Liberia.



## APPENDIX.

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### PAPERS A.

*Constitution of the American Society for Colonizing the Free  
People of Colour of the United States.*

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called, "The American Society for colonizing the Free People of colour of the United States."

ARTICLE 2. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the general government, and such of the states as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

ARTICLE 3. Every citizen of the United States, who shall subscribe these articles, and be an annual contributor of one dollar to the funds of the Society, shall be a member. On paying a sum not less than 30 dollars, at one subscription, shall be a member for life.

ARTICLE 4. The officers of this Society shall be, a President, thirteen Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Recorder, and a Board of Managers, composed of the above named officers, and twelve other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, at their annual meeting on new year's day, (except when that happens to be the Sabbath, and then the next day) and continue to discharge their respective duties till others are appointed.

ARTICLE 5. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and to call meetings of the Society, and of the Board, when he thinks necessary, or when required by any three members of the Board.

ARTICLE 6. The Vice Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge these duties in the absence of the President.

ARTICLE 7. The Secretary shall take minutes of the proceedings, prepare and publish notices, and discharge such other duties as the Board, or the President, or in his absence the Vice President, according to seniority, (when the Board is not sitting) shall direct. And the Recorder shall record the proceedings and the names of the members, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ARTICLE 8. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the Society, under such security as may be prescribed by the Board of Managers; keep the accounts, and exhibit a statement of receipts and expenditures at every annual meeting, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ARTICLE 9. The Board of Managers shall meet on the first Monday in January, the first Monday in April, the first Monday in July, and the first Monday in October, every year, and at such other times as the President may direct. They shall conduct the business of the Society, and take such measures for effecting its object as they shall think proper, or shall be directed at the meetings of the Society, and make an annual report of their proceedings. They shall also fill up all vacancies occurring during the year, and make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary, provided the same are not repugnant to this constitution.





for the purpose of electing officers, and receiving the report of the Board of Managers.

ART. 6. There shall be a Delegate annually appointed to attend the meeting of the parent Society, at Washington, and report thereto the state of this Society.

ART. 7. A member may at any time discontinue his subscription, by notifying the Treasurer thereof.

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## PAPERS B.

*Resolution passed by the Legislature of Virginia, 23d December, 1816.*

WHEREAS, the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of colour as had been, or might be emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth; but have hitherto found all their efforts for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success;—they now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the government of the United States in abolishing the African slave trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth both before and since the Revolution, zealously sought to terminate,) to renew this effort, and do, therefore, *Resolve*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the North Pacific, or at some other place, not within any of the States, or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are

now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object: *provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory, shall be obligatory upon this Commonwealth, until ratified by the Legislature.

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*Resolution passed unanimously by the Legislature of Maryland.*

“By the House of Delegates, January 26, 1818.

*Resolved unanimously*, That the Governor be requested to communicate to the President of the United States, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, the opinion of this General Assembly, that a wise and provident policy suggests the expediency, on the part of our national government, of procuring, through negotiation, by cession or purchase, a tract of country on the western coast of Africa for the colonization of the free people of colour of the United States.”

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*Resolution passed by the Legislature of Tennessee.*

*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee*, That the Senators in Congress from this State be, and they are hereby instructed, and that the Representatives be, and they are hereby requested, to give to the government of the United States, any aid in their power, in devising and carrying into effect, a plan which may

have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country, the free people of colour who are within the limits of the United States, or within the limits of any of their territories.

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TRENTON, N. J. *January 25, 1825.*

SIR: In compliance with a joint Resolution of both Houses of the Legislature of New Jersey, I have the honor of transmitting to you the annexed copy of certain Resolutions, passed by them at their late session, with a request that you will co-operate in all national measures having a tendency to effect the objects therein mentioned.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

I. H. WILLIAMSON.

HON. LEWIS CONDICT.

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### STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

*Resolved, by the Council and General Assembly of this State,* That the consideration of a system providing for the gradual emancipation of the people of colour held in servitude in the United States, be recommended to the Legislatures of the several States of the American Union, and to the Congress of the United States.

*Resolved,* That, in the opinion of this Legislature, a system of foreign colonization, with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would in due time effect the entire emancipation of the slaves in our country, and furnish an asylum for the free blacks, without any violation of the national compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals; and that such a system should be predicated

upon the principle, that the evil of slavery is a national one, and that the People and the States of this Union ought mutually to participate in the duties and burdens of removing it.

*Resolved*, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these Resolutions to the Executive of each State in the Union, respectively, with a request that they lay the same before their several Legislatures; and that his Excellency will also forward a like copy to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, requesting their co-operation in all national measures having a tendency to effect the same object embraced therein.

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In January, 1824, the Legislature of Ohio adopted resolutions, recommending the gradual but entire emancipation of slaves, and a system of Foreign Colonization; and the passage of a law by the General Government, with the consent of the slave-holding States, providing that all children born of slaves thereafter, be free at the age of twenty-one; and recognizing the evil of slavery as a national one, and the principle that all the States should share in the duties and burdens of removing it.

The Legislatures of Rhode Island and Indiana, have (if we mistake not) adopted similar resolutions.

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*Resolution submitted for consideration in the Senate of the United States, 18th February, 1825, by Mr. King of New York.*

*Resolved by the Senate of the United States of America,* That, so soon as the portion of the existing funded debt

of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off: then, and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute, and form, a Fund, which is hereby appropriated, and the faith of the United States is pledged that the said Fund shall be inviolably applied, to aid the emancipation of such Slaves, within any of the United States, and aid the removal of such Slaves, and the removal of such free persons of colour, in any of the said States, as, by the laws of the States, respectively, may be allowed to be emancipated or removed, to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America.

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*Resolution submitted by Mr. Mercer in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 27th February, 1825, and read and ordered to lie upon the table.*

*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the Slave Trade, and its ultimate denunciation, as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.

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March 2d, Mr. Tucker of Va. offered the following Resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be required to ascertain the probable expense of extinguishing the Indian title to a portion of the country lying west of the

Rocky Mountains, that may be suitable for colonizing the free people of colour; the best known routes across the said Mountains, and the probable cost of a road and military posts necessary to a safe communication with such Colony; and to report the same to this House at the next session of Congress.

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*Resolution just adopted by the Methodist Conference, of Virginia.*

Oxford, North Carolina, February 28, 1825.

*Resolved*, That this Conference highly approve the object of the American Colonization Society, and recommend it to the patronage of the people of our charge.

(Signed) JOHN EARLY, Secretary.

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## PAPERS C.

### MR. MCKENNEY'S REPORT.

NORFOLK, VA. FEBRUARY 8th, 1825.

*Dear Sir,*

In offering to the Committee of Managers of the American Colonization Society, the report of my proceedings since last June; I feel it to be due to the people of the south, as well as to myself, to state, that but for frequent indispositions during a part of the summer, and nearly the whole of October, the number of Auxiliary Societies would have been much larger, and the means to carry on the noble cause in which you are engaged, would have increased in a corresponding ratio. This opinion is founded upon something more substantial than mere conjecture, viz: pressing invitations, both written

and verbal, from gentlemen of standing and influence, to visit their respective counties for the purpose of organizing Societies.

I congratulate the Managers on the pleasing prospect, which is daily brightening, of realizing *all* their predictions in regard to the cordial co-operation of the *south*, in promoting the magnificent scheme which they have so far demonstrated to be entirely practicable.

African Colonization is no longer looked upon as the scheme of a few enthusiastic, but well meaning men; pleasing only to the imagination, and *altogether quixotic*; but as an enterprise involving the substantial honour of the nation, and the essential happiness of millions of its population. It is now by the most enlightened, wherever I have travelled, *felt* to be a cause of radical importance, and admirably calculated to promote, at one and the same time, a variety of essential interests. Combining as it does a variety of motives, it happily unites politicians, philanthropists, and christians; each of whom see in it, the elements of a system perfectly adapted to the object they respectively have in view.

In Virginia particularly, I flatter myself the day is not far distant, when the fostering hand of the State will be stretched out to sustain the efforts, and facilitate the object of your Auxiliaries within its borders. There is now before the Legislature a bill for the precise object; and my information from Richmond, authorises the hope that it will pass.

In North Carolina the cause has many warm-hearted and influential friends: and all that seems to be now necessary to give it a general interest throughout the State, is the appointment, by your Board, of agents suitably qualified to develop the object and plans of the parent Society.



I have received several communications from intelligent citizens of that State, earnestly requesting to be visited; and from one single individual, whose heart is full of kindness and charity, I have had the offer of all his slaves, about 100; which he is not only willing to give, but offers also to furnish each one with some little outfit, to make them comfortable on their arrival in the Colony. Among that class of people, however, there is an apprehension (and who can blame them? for they are ignorant,) that their condition would not be bettered in Africa. One or two years more, at most, will convince them of their error, and when this is done, it will be seen at home and abroad, that the American Colonization Society, while it *properly enough* stands aloof from the question of slavery, and the abolition of slavery; and interferes not at all with any State or other regulations upon the subject, opens a safe and wide door to all who may be disposed to emancipate their people. And, believe me, sir, (I write not at random) there are hundreds in Virginia and the Carolinas, who will avail themselves of the opportunity, for the double purpose of new modelling their domestic economy, and giving to their people the privileges and blessings of freedom, which they can never, under any probable circumstances, enjoy in the United States.

With pleasure I record the fact, that at this moment there are on board the brig Hunter, which sailed from this port on the 2d instant, with 68 emigrants for the Colony; four persons who were liberated by Mr. Williamson of North Carolina, for the express purpose of constituting them citizens of Liberia. Also, another from Southampton county, of this State.

For a short time, the Haytien scheme seemed to divide the attention of the free blacks of this section of country;

but now, as far as my information extends, they are generally looking towards Africa—being persuaded that a location there will be more advantageous to themselves and to their children. The religious part of that people are *decidedly* favourable to Africa for many reasons; one of which alone, while it indicates the genuineness of their piety, exhibits at the same time a nobleness of mind which entitles them to the friendly consideration and patronage of all Christians; and may I not add, of patriots too?—They wish to benefit the *native* African race—they sympathize with them in their afflictions, and are ardently desirous to avert their *idolatry* and *superstition* and *ignorance*. They seem anxious to teach them the arts, and bring them to a knowledge of the blessings of civilized life; they devoutly hope to be instrumental in drawing their attention to the worship and service of Almighty God. And they think that *their colour* will give to their example and teaching a more *immediate effect*, than could be produced in any other way, or by any other people, however well they might be qualified in every other respect. One who is now on board the Hunter with his family, (and who had made a visit to the Colony before he would consent to take his family out) told me with an expression of feeling, which gave to his declaration the *tone of truth*, that he had enjoyed more happiness in four weeks, while engaged in teaching the native children the use of letters, than he had ever experienced in the whole course of his previous life.

I am happy to state, that the free blacks of this Borough have sent out by the Hunter, sundry small presents to the Colony, and among them 70 odd yards of domestic plaids, for the use of the “Sunday African School” children. Mr. Brand and Mr. Crane of Richmond, have also sent out to the same School, a trunk of ready made clothes.

My report exhibits what has been done by the citizens of this place, Richmond, Petersburg, and other towns and counties.

I am pleased in having had it in my power to exhibit in my report, that the expense to the Society of transporting the emigrants by the Hunter, does not average more than \$20 per head, including provisions for nearly sixty days.

With considerations of respect,

I am, dear sir, yours truly,

WM. MCKENNEY.

*Rev. R. R. Gurley.*

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Extracts from the Report of the Rev. Geo. Boyd and Dr. Ayres, who during the last summer, visited the Middle and Eastern States, to aid the objects of the Society.

“From New York we went to New Haven, where we arrived on the 3d of August. In conversation with the Rev. Mr. Croswell, Judge Baldwin, and others, we learnt that the Auxiliary Society of this place had never had a meeting since its organization; and it was their opinion that it would not be expedient to attempt to revive it at this time. The subject of Slavery, as it affects our country, has been well considered by intelligent men at the East. They believe it to be a serious, and a growing evil. But say they, we are not so much interested as the inhabitants of the Southern States, and they do not seem to be concerned to get rid of it.”

“The impression appeared to be very general, that the Colonization Society was an expedient devised by the holders of slaves, to get rid of the free black population; who being at liberty to inform themselves, became troublesome, as they became enlightened. Our principal

difficulty here, was to obviate this objection. At a public meeting called for thẽ purpose, we took occasion to show that the Society, so far from being a scheme of the southern gentlemen, owed its origin to the enlightened zeal and indefatigable exertion of a citizen of New Jersey."

"After we had endeavoured to answer the objections which we had heard—to explain the views, and recommend the objects of the Society—to state its past operations and successes—and to give as much information as time would permit; we found the gentlemen present, all willing to think more favourably upon the subject. As an evidence of their kind feelings and good wishes, the following preamble' and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

' WHEREAS, the American Colonization Society, formed for the purpose of colonizing the free people of colour residing in the United States, (with their own consent) in Africa, or elsewhere, as Congress should deem it expedient, has now been in operation nearly eight years, and has established a Colony on the western coast of Africa, thereby proving the practicability of the undertaking;

' Therefore, *resolved*, That this meeting highly approve of the proceedings of said Society, and heartily concur in the wish, that what has been so auspiciously begun by private benevolent exertion, may be prosecuted to a successful termination by the aid of the General Government.

' *Resolved*, That a committee of five persons be appointed, of which the Chairman and Secretary of this meeting shall be two, who shall be called the "Corresponding Committee of New Haven", with whom the Managers of the Society may communicate, and through whom, from time to time, any interesting information may be laid before the public.' "

“From New Haven, we went to Hartford on the 10th, where we found very much the same state of things to prevail. When the matter was explained, and understood, no one was disposed to oppose the measures of the Society. \* \* \* \* \* We are of the opinion, that if the further efforts of the Society should have to depend upon private liberality, there is no part of our country where a more decided support could be expected, the matter being well understood. We called a meeting here, in the State-house, which was well attended by the gentlemen of the place, although the evening was a very unpleasant one. After we had addressed the meeting, resolutions similar to those passed at New Haven, were adopted, without the least hesitation or opposition. The gentlemen seemed to take an unusual pleasure in contemplating the subject; which they were pleased to say had been presented to them in a new and interesting light. We were detained at the room until a late hour, answering questions and giving information concerning Africa.”

Resolutions similar to those adopted in New Haven and Hartford, met the approbation of the citizens of all the principal places visited by the Society's Agents.

A distinguished Member of Congress, from New England, after expressing his disbelief in the practicability of the undertaking, observed, “Gentlemen at the South, have given this subject more thought than I have, and they think differently. It is a matter in which they are more particularly interested; and I am of the opinion, that if they will bring forward any definite proposal to Congress, for which they will hold themselves responsible, and which it is in the power of Congress to grant, they ought to be assisted to a reasonable extent.” He concluded by saying, “I will vote for any proposition,

under the above restrictions, which Mr. Clay or Mr. Mercer (both of them being of the Society) will bring forward; and I am fully of the opinion, that the Representatives from the Eastern States will agree with me, in this view of the subject."

"Your Agents, in concluding their report, beg leave to remark, that, in their opinion, little dependance can be placed upon any effectual or permanent pecuniary aid from the Northern and Eastern sections of our country; while at the same time, they are persuaded, from what they saw and heard, that if it should please the national Legislature to take this subject into consideration, and aid the cause of the Society, it will meet with almost universal approbation."

In a subsequent letter, Dr. Ayres remarks,

"It is with much pleasure I contemplate the influence likely to be exerted in our favour by the students in the Theological Seminaries of Andover and Princeton. Such a number of young men, returning annually to their homes, with minds stored with correct information, and warmed with zeal for the cause, must in a considerable degree promote the interests of the Society. And with the view of stimulating the young Gentlemen of these Schools to a full examination of the subject in all its bearings, I will here take the liberty to suggest the propriety of offering a premium for the best essay on some question connected with colonization."

## PAPERS D.

**E**xtract from the last Will and Testament (dated the 16th April, 1822,) of Miss Elizabeth Lee Jones, formerly of Northumberland, afterwards of Fairfax, in Virginia: who died at the seat of her brother, Capt. Thomas ap Catesby Jones, in Fairfax, on the            day of  
1822.

“4. I give and devise to Bushrod Washington, Francis S. Key, Walter Jones, the Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch, the Rev. O. B. Brown, the Rev. Dr. W. Wilmer, the Rev. Dr. James Laurie, the Rev. W. Hawley, the Rev. Henry Foxall, Dr. W. Thornton, Thomas Dougherty, Henry Ashton, Elias B. Caldwell, John Underwood, and Richard Smith, the present President and Board of Managers of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States; and to the survivors and survivor of them, and to their assigns, all the slaves now belonging to me, or whereof I shall die possessed; and the future issue and increase of the same: in trust for the following purposes and uses, to wit: 1st. to be held at the absolute disposal, and under the control and direction of the said society, or of the acting managers of the same for the time being: so as such disposal, control and direction, be in furtherance and execution of the plan of colonization now adopted and pursued by the said society; or of the same plan under such modifications, as the said society may, in its wisdom, hereafter institute and establish: embracing, within the authority and intent of the said trust, any plan for the preparatory education and discipline of the intended colonists, which the said society, or the said acting managers, under its authority, may institute:—the said slaves, and the future increase and issue of the same, to be held, at all times hereafter, subject to the orders and disposal of the said society, or

of the acting managers of the same, for the purposes, either of colonization and complete emancipation, or of such preparatory education and discipline as aforesaid. And in the case of the death, resignation or removal to an inconvenient distance of any of the said trustees to whom the said slaves are devised as aforesaid, or for any other cause deemed sufficient by the said society, or by the said acting managers of the same, they the said trustees, or such of them as remain or survive, shall or may either assign over the said trust entirely, or admit into a participation of such trust, by special assignment, such person or persons, as may be appointed by said society, or by the said acting managers thereof.

“2d. But as it is uncertain when the said society, or the said acting managers thereof, may be in a condition to assume upon themselves the practical execution of the said trust, it is therefore my will and desire, that, in the mean time, until the said society, or such acting managers, shall see fit to interpose and call for the said slaves, or any of them, in order to be disposed of in furtherance and execution of the said trust; the said slaves, or such of them as may not be called for as aforesaid, shall serve my relations; and shall be appointed among them as follows.” [Here follow particular allotments of the several negroes amongst the relatives of the testatrix.] “Such services being given upon the express condition, and with an implicit reliance, upon the *honour* and *good faith* of my said relations, that the said slaves respectively allotted to them, shall receive such moral and religious instruction, and be so habituated to the useful arts of domestic life, as to prepare them, as well as circumstances will allow, for their ultimate destination of emancipated colonists; and, in particular, that the *children* be reared with a view to that destination.”



[Here follow some provisions for certain of the negroes who were thought too old for colonization.]

“And as to the boy Davy, son of Nancy, it is my earnest wish and recommendation to the trustees herein before named, and to my executors, that he be immediately put to school, on some public foundation, in order to be educated as a missionary to Africa, or as a minister of the gospel to be settled in the proposed colony in Africa, under the patronage of the said society; and if it be found impracticable to get him admitted into any public school, then that the best and speediest arrangement be made for placing him in the family of some minister of the gospel, upon condition of his receiving the necessary instruction to fit him for such ministry among the people of his own class.”

“3d. If it shall so happen that the said Colonization Society, or the acting managers of the same, shall not find it expedient within ten years after my decease, to execute the trust herein before declared, in regard to the colonization of the said slaves: then I do hereby declare and desire, that after they shall have respectively served the persons to whom I have devised their services, as herein before declared, for the space of ten years from my decease, they shall be absolutely and unconditionally emancipated and free: reserving, as before, to the said trustees and their assigns, under the direction of the said society, or of the acting managers of the same, full and unlimited discretion and authority, at any time within the said ten years, to withdraw the said slaves, or any of them, from such service, and forthwith to emancipate and colonize them: or subject them to such preparatory course of education and discipline, as is herein before provided.”

*Memorial of the Richmond and Manchester Colonization Society, presented January, 1825.*

To the Delegates and Senators of the Legislature of Virginia, in General Assembly convened:

The memorial of the Richmond and Manchester Auxiliary Society for colonizing in Africa the free people of colour of the United States, most respectfully represents:

That, pursuing the example of their fellow-citizens in various counties and towns of this Commonwealth, as well as in several other States of this Union, your memorialists have formed themselves into a Society, for the purpose of co-operating in the benevolent and patriotic objects of the parent Institution, established in the city of Washington, in December 1816, under the denomination of "The American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States."

It is with no little pride that your memorialists trace the establishment of this Institution to several resolutions which passed both branches of the General Assembly, with great unanimity, more than twenty years ago; but more especially to that of the 23d December, 1816, which received the sanction of the House of Delegates, with the exception of only seven votes, and of the Senate with that of a single Senator. Your memorialists know not whether this resolution was ever acted upon by the Executive of this Commonwealth; nor have they heard the result of the correspondence which it must have occasioned between the Governor of Virginia and the President of the United States. Your memorialists are apprised, that the correspondence between the present Chief Magistrate of the Union, when Governor of Virginia, with one of his most distinguished predecessors in the presidential chair, was read in the House of Delegates, during the short debate which preceded the almost unanimous adoption of

the resolution of 1816; and that it disclosed, as the whole tenor of his public administration has since done, a deep interest in the successful execution of the policy which dictated all those resolutions. In the absence of any public information which could lead to an opposite inference, your memorialists cannot doubt the continued and steady favour of both governments, towards an enterprise, which, if it fail of effecting all that it proposes to accomplish, must nevertheless be regarded as praiseworthy; and if successful, as your memorialists humbly trust and believe it will ultimately prove, must yield the greatest blessings, social, political and moral, both to Africa and America. Although not insensible to the wrongs of a much injured and afflicted continent, embracing more than one-fourth of the habitable globe, your memorialists acknowledge that the most forcible appeal addressed to them by the parent Society, is in behalf of the United States; and more especially of this, their native State. The last census disclosed the melancholy truth, that three years ago, Maryland and Virginia together, contained more than 76,000 free people of colour.\* To their actual condition and rapid increase, your memorialists beg leave, earnestly to call the attention of the General Assembly. Nearly one moiety of the whole number are inhabitants of this Commonwealth; and their condition is perhaps sufficiently illustrated by the fact, that in Virginia, the most agricultural State in the Union, although not debarred from holding lands, not two hundred out of 37,000, are proprietors of land. Of their actual occupations in this city and elsewhere, your memorialists forbear to speak. They sum up all that they would say in

\* The number of persons of this description in the United States was 233,443.

a few words, borrowed from one of the annual reports of the parent Society: "that, placed midway between freedom and slavery, they know neither the incentives of the one, nor the restraints of the other; but are alike injurious by their conduct and example, to all other classes of society."

Rapid as has been the growth of this class of our population, their relative increase exceeds their actual multiplication. Between the years 1800 and 1810, their numbers mounted up from 20,507 to 30,570. During this period, the white population of the Commonwealth received an accession of 32,860, and the slave population of 45,550 only. Between the years 1810 and 1820, the laws annexing the condition of banishment to emancipation, having checked their increase, they grew from 30,570 to 36,889, acquiring an accession of 20 2-3 per cent.; while upon a capital of 551,534, the white population was increased 64,688, or only 11 72-100 per centum; and the slave population upon a stock of 392,518, increased 32,135, or 8 18-100 per cent. only. The progress of the same class, in the adjoining State of Maryland, has been yet more rapid.

Nor need these results occasion any surprise. The spirit of emigration carries the master to distant regions for the advancement of his fortune; and with it, his condition in life. His slaves accompany him, or are sent before as articles of traffick. Not so with the free negro; who, almost every where corrupted and debased, suspected, and, therefore, often persecuted; what can he gain by a change of abode? He succeeds to forsaken and decaying dwellings, and to the barren heritage of worn out fields; or seeks shelter in the adjacent thickets of pine and cedar.

To provide for him a better country, is alike the dictate of humanity towards him, and of policy towards ourselves. While he remains here, no white labourer will seek employment near him: hence it is, that in some of the richest counties east of the Blue Ridge, the white population is stationary, and in many others it is retrograde. Virginia, once the first State in numbers, as she is still in territory, has become the third, and will soon have to descend to the fourth rank. The valuation of the *lands* of New York, exceeds the estimate of all the *lands and slaves* of the most ancient State in the Union.

To provide a country suited to the condition and wants of this class of our free population, was the object of the resolution of a former Legislature. It has been the purpose of all the labours of our parent Society in Washington; which comprehends amongst its members, many of the most distinguished and patriotic citizens, not only of this Commonwealth, but of her sister States. The object which they sought, has been obtained, and a colony of coloured people, some of whom were once inhabitants of the city of Richmond, is now planted and growing at Liberia, on the coast of Africa. Since the meeting of the last General Assembly, a ship has sailed from James River, conveying more than 100 free persons of colour, natives of Virginia, who have gone to seek a home in our young colony, and in a few days another vessel will proceed on the same destination. Feeble, at present, through your memorialists the colony implores the Legislature of Virginia, who contributed to its birth, to nourish its infancy and to rear it to maturity. In return, it promises an asylum to all that intermediate class of population which the laws drive from the bosom of the Commonwealth, without providing for them another home. They offer to reconcile your humanity to your policy, on terms alike just and expedient. They ask the aid of the Com-

monwealth, simply in defraying the expense of their removal to the country which has been provided for them; the expense of their faithful compliance with the legal conditions, on which alone their emancipation is now permitted. Even the criminals of Great Britain, when required by the sentence of a judge to leave the kingdom, are transported at public expense, a distance of 10,000 miles, to New Holland.

All that was predicted by the lukewarm friends, or open enemies of the Virginia resolution, has been contradicted by experience, that infallible test of truth. A country salubrious to the coloured man, is provided in Africa, the land of his forefathers, for his reception. Its coast, though laid waste by the slave trade, and forsaken by its native inhabitants, is not a "sandy barren;" but fruitful in whatever can nourish the body and delight the eye of man. Two harvests crown the labour of the year; and no protracted winter devours their fruits.

The voyage to Liberia is not as long as to Brazil. Its cost to the emigrant passenger does not exceed twenty dollars. This sum to the free negro, is the price of political liberty, of social happiness, of moral and religious improvement. Contrasted with the condition of the first settlers at Jamestown, the African emigrant has superior advantages. Sierra Leone illustrates them all; and in its growth has outstripped all other British colonies.

The establishment of the American colony, will be another means of protecting an injured continent against the horrors of the slave trade; as well by its moral, as its physical influence, by substituting for that ferocious traffick, a legitimate commerce in the peaceful products of African labour; by repelling and punishing, when it shall have acquired strength, all piratical descents upon its own, or the adjacent shores. Nor is it the least of the

recommendations in its favour, that the colony will extend to Africa a knowledge of our language, our laws, our systems of free government, and the blessings of the Christian religion.

It has already repaid the United States for the aid afforded by the general government to its first settlement, by providing a place of reception for captured Africans; and thus reconciled the long neglected duty of that government to repress the African slave trade, with the obvious policy of the southern States, which forbids a further augmentation of their coloured population. It has thus wiped from the statute book, the odious and unjust, as well as extraordinary authority, so long vested by Congress in the several States, to enslave those very captives whom the laws of the United States were designed, and professed to liberate. It offers to this Commonwealth a similar advantage to facilitate partial emancipation, by receiving its subjects. And, while it reconciles the dictates of humanity to the suggestions of policy, it widely enlarges the sphere of both.

Your memorialists will add but one other view of this subject. In reply to the unfounded charge, that the efforts of the Society are prompted by inconsiderate enthusiasm, and their resources inadequate to their object, they assert, that the parent Society never contemplated, by their unassisted and limited means, to do more than remove the first objections, which ignorance or indifference threw in their way. It is the peculiar boast of the United States, as it is the characteristic feature of all their institutions of civil policy, that they have their origin in public opinion, and derive their stability and strength from the public will. Hence a free press, aided by social intercourse and correspondence, are the great instruments of political effect in America. It is on these, and these only, that the American Society have founded all their

hopes of success. Having expended near \$20,000 of their own funds, in purchasing lands, and planting a colony of free blacks in Africa; having demonstrated the practicability of giving to the Virginia resolution complete effect, they have now arrived at a stage of their labours, where their Auxiliary Societies in the several States may, they trust, confidently appeal to their respective Legislatures for aid in an enterprise, which in some States before, and in others since its commencement, has received the sanction of their approbation.

The annual reports of the parent Society, herewith presented, will demonstrate to what extent that approbation has been expressed by the people, as well as by their representatives, of Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, where a direct intercourse was established between the State Governments and the Society at Washington.

Your memorialists will not presume to point out any particular mode in which Legislative aid should be afforded; but they confidently trust, that having obviously taken the lead in this noble enterprise, Virginia will not be the first to abandon her own policy, by denying it the co-operation of her own power and resources. Any aid the Legislature may please to grant, in any mode its wisdom may prescribe, will be gratefully received and faithfully applied; but your memorialists respectfully suggest, that to furnish the emigrants with a few articles of coarse cloathing, with farming utensils, and with <sup>such</sup> other articles manufactured in the State Penitentiary, & may be adapted to an infant colony, will be of great and immediate utility to the colonists, without imposing a burthen on the treasury. And as in duty bound, your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

[In consequence of this memorial, we rejoice to say the Legislature, from various useful articles in the Penitentiary, appropriated the amount of \$ 500.]



## LIST OF SOCIETIES.

*Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.*

## MARYLAND AUXILIARY SOCIETY,

(established in Baltimore )

Col. John Fager Howard, *President.**Vice Presidents.*

Hon. Chief Justice Bruce.

Luke Tiernan, *Treasurer.*Edward J. Coale, *Secretary.*

## NEW YORK AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

Col. Henry Rutgers, *President.**Vice Presidents.*

Col. William Few,

Rev. Alexander M'Leod, D. D.

Mr Divie Bethune,

Rev. Philip Milledoler, D. D.

Mr. Crove Wright, *Treasurer.*Rev. Paschal N. Strong, *Corresponding Secretary.*John B. Beck, M. D. *Recording Secretary.*

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF ANNAPOLIS.

J. T. Chase, *President.**Vice Presidents.*

1st, William Kilty,

2d, Thomas Blackistone,

3d, William Spencer,

4th, Peter Emmerson,

5th, C. Dorsey,

6th, Dr. Thomas Johnson,

7th, William Hayward,

8th, James Murray,

9th, Benjamin W. Lecompte,

10th, John Moffat,

11th, Wm. D. Digges,

12th, Wm. R. Stuart,

13th, Ephraim K. Wilson,

14th, R. B. Taney,

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## **ERRATA.**

The addition at page 29, in the Treasurer's Abstract, has been rendered incorrect in some copies, by the + having been accidentally drawn from its place; it should be \$4,579 89.

*Proposals for publishing by subscription, under the direction of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, a monthly periodical work, to be entitled the*

## **African Repository and Colonial Journal.**

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THE Managers of the American Colonization Society, have resolved to issue the first number of the African Repository, in March next. Unfortunate and unavoidable circumstances have long prevented its appearance, but we trust that its late publication will occasion no want of encouragement.

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