

COLONIZATION OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

MARCH 3, 1827.

Read, and ordered to lie on the table.

MR. MERCER, from the Select Committee appointed on the subject, made the following

REPORT:

*The committee to whom were referred sundry memorials of the American Colonization Society, of citizens of various portions of the United States, together with the resolutions of the Legislatures of the States of Delaware and Kentucky, inviting the aid of the Federal Government to colonize in Africa, with their own consent, the free people of colour of the United States, report:*

That the memorials and resolutions present to the consideration of Congress an object which must be regarded as of the highest importance to the future peace, prosperity, and happiness, of the United States.

Surrounded with difficulties, in proportion to the magnitude of the interests that it involves, has been the circumspection with which the committee have approached it. Could they hope that the evil, to which the memorials and resolutions point, would find a remedy in silent neglect, or could be mitigated by concealment, they would ask to be discharged from its further investigation. The peculiar delicacy of another topic, almost inseparable, in imagination at least, however distinguishable in truth, from the purpose of the several memorials and resolutions referred to them, would induce the committee to avoid its consideration, if a sense of duty, prompted by the hope that their labor may not be in vain, did not urge them to proceed in the delicate task imposed upon them by the order of the House.

Its object, the committee are well aware, is not novel, nor even now, for the first time, presented to the notice of Congress. (See App. No. 1.)

It involves an inquiry into the expediency of promoting, by the authority and resources of the General Government, the colonization of the free people of colour, beyond the territorial limits of the United States.

The existence of a distinct race of people, in the bosom of the United States, who, both by their moral and political condition and their natural complexion, are excluded from a social equality with the great body of the community, invited the serious attention and awakened

the anxious solicitude of many American statesmen, as soon as the unhappy traffic which had annually multiplied them, ceased to be regarded as innocent. A part of them, once held by the same tenure which originally introduced them all into America, were, in some of the United States, liberated before, and in others, by, the revolution. In many States, however, their total number was, as it still continues to be, so great, that universal or general emancipation could not be hazarded, without endangering a convulsion fatal to the peace of society. No truth has been more awfully demonstrated by the experience of the present age, than that to render freedom a blessing man must be qualified for its enjoyment; that a total revolution in his character cannot be instantaneously wrought by the agency of ordinary moral and physical causes, or by the sudden force of unprepared revolution.

Still, in many States of the American Union, all the coloured population are now free; and, in others, so circumstanced as still to render universal emancipation dangerous to the public happiness; large bodies of free coloured people have arisen, from the influence of humanity in the master, under a system of laws which, if they did not promote, did not till recently prohibit, voluntary enfranchisement. The enlargement of the rights of the coloured race extend, however, to very various limits in the different States. In no two, perhaps, has it precisely the same extent. In none does it efface all civil and political distinctions between the coloured man and the white inhabitant or citizen. Over moral influences mere laws have every where less power than manners. No where in America, therefore, has emancipation elevated the coloured race to perfect equality with the white; and, in many States, the disparity is so great that it may be questioned whether the condition of the slave, while protected by his master, however degraded in itself, is not preferable to that of the free negro. Nor is this any where so questionable as in those States which have both the greatest number of slaves and of free people of colour. It is, at the same time, worthy of remark, that, among *these*, the principle of voluntary emancipation has operated to a much greater extent than the laws themselves, or the principle of coercion upon the master has ever done even among those States who had no danger, whatever, to apprehend from the speedy and universal extension of human liberty. So little ground is there, in fact, to be found among the different sections of the Union for those uncandid reproaches which, where not reprov'd, as alike impolitic and unjust, are calculated to sow the seeds of lasting jealousies and animosities among societies of men whose best interests are indissolubly connected, and who have only to know each other, intimately, to be as cordially united by mutual esteem as they are by a common government.

All must concur, however, in regarding the present condition of the free coloured race in America as inconsistent with its future social and political advancement, and, where slavery exists at all, as calculated to aggravate its evils without any atoning good. Among those evils, the most obvious is the restraint imposed upon emancipation by

the laws of so many of the slave holding States. Laws, deriving their recent origin from the obvious manifestation which the increase of the free coloured population has furnished, of the inconvenience and danger of multiplying their number where slavery exists at all.

Their own consciousness of their degraded condition in the United States, has appeared to the North as well as the South, in their repeated efforts to find a territory beyond the limits of the Union to which they may retire, and on which, secure from external danger, they may hope for the enjoyment of political as well as civil liberty. (See App. No. 2.)

The belief that such would and should be their desire, and a conviction that the voluntary removal of this part of the population of the United States would greatly conduce to the future happiness of the residue, have turned the anxious attention of many private citizens, and the Legislatures of several States, to the expediency of affording to them the means of colonizing a territory in Africa.

Anterior to the year 1806 three several attempts to procure a country suited to this object, had been secretly made by the General Assembly of Virginia, through a correspondence between the Executive of that State and the President of the United States. (See App. No. 3.)

The last, but, at the same time, the earliest *public effort* to attain this object, was made by the Legislature of the same State, in December, 1816, some time before the formation, in the City of Washington, of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour. The design of this institution, the committee are apprised, *originated* in the disclosure of the secret resolutions of prior Legislatures of that State, to which may also be ascribed, it is understood, the renewal of their obvious purpose in the resolution subjoined to this report. A resolution which was first adopted by the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the 14th of December, 1816, with an unanimity which denoted the deep interest that it inspired, and which openly manifested to the world a steady adherence to the humane policy which had secretly animated the same councils at a much earlier period. This brief and correct history of the origin of the American Colonization Society evinces that it sprung from a deep solicitude for *Southern* interests, and among those most competent to discern and to promote them. (See App. No. 4.)

Founded by the co-operation of several distinguished statesmen, co-operating with many patriotic and pious citizens, the American Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of colour, soon received the countenance of the Legislature of Maryland, and, succeeding it, at shorter or longer intervals, the unequivocal approbation of the States of Georgia and Tennessee, as it has very recently done of Delaware and Kentucky. (See App. No. 5.)

To these have been added, during the prosecution of its benevolent design, the favorable opinions and pious aspirations for its success, of almost every religious society in the United States. (See App. No. 6.)

To these influences, and to the success of its measures, it may be ascribed, that private subscriptions to the extent of near sixty thousand,

have co-operated with the collateral aid of the American Government in founding the present flourishing Colony of Liberia. On two several occasions, in the years 1825 and 1826, the General Assembly of Virginia have voted, at the request of the Society, a small pecuniary aid to its resources; and that of Maryland has, by a fixed annuity, very lately concurred in a similar benefaction. These acts may be regarded as an earnest of the continued adherence of both States to the opinions which they have repeatedly expressed in behalf of the object of the American Colonization Society.

The success of the Society, however, so far as it has advanced, is attributable, under Heaven, mainly to the persevering zeal and prudence of its members, and to the countenance and aid which it has both merited and received from the Federal Government.

The last annual report of the Society, which is hereto annexed, (see App. No. 7,) and the following extracts from the various reports and resolutions of former committees of the House of Representatives, charged, from time to time, with an inquiry into the most effectual means of suppressing the African Slave Trade, (see App. No. 8,) will show the present condition of the Colony which the Society have planted on the coast of Africa: its present relation to the Federal Government; and the character and extent of the aid which it has derived from the national resources. The prosperity of the Colony, your committee are assured by the report and memorial of the Society, surpasses the most sanguine hopes of its early founders, and furnishes conclusive evidence of the capacity of such communities, spread along the coast of Africa, not only to abolish, effectually, that inhuman traffic which has hitherto baffled the combined efforts of the Christian world, but to afford, on this oppressed continent, the long-sought asylum to such of its free descendants in America, as may choose to return to the land of their progenitors.

The aid hitherto derived by the Society from the co-operation of the Federal Government, has been limited to the execution of the act of 1819, under "the just and liberal construction" given to it, by the late President of the United States, in honor of whom, the chief town of the Colony has received a name which it will hand down, it may be hoped, to remote posterity, as a perpetual memorial of the wisdom and benevolence of the nation, over which he presided.

This construction harmonized the benevolent spirit of the act of Congress of 1807, which sought to abolish the American branch of the African slave trade, with the constitutional obligations of the General Government, to the several States, and to the Union. (See Appendix, No. 9.)

The memorialists found, on views yet more enlarged, an application to the General Government for more extended aid; and, sustained as they are, by their own weight of character, and the approving voices of so many States: by the wishes of so large a portion, indeed, of the American people; these views are entitled to the most respectful consideration.

They request the Congress of the United States to assume the government and protection of the Colony of Liberia, and to furnish to

the free people of colour, in America. the means of defraying the expense of their voluntary removal to the continent of their ancestors.

Objects of greater interest, though not now pressed, for the first time, on the consideration of Congress, have rarely been brought to the notice of this Government.

The first inquiry which they suggest, refers the Committee to the power of the Federal Government to grant the prayer of the memorialists : the next, to the expediency of doing so.

The Committee entertain no doubt, whatever, but that the Government of the United States has the constitutional power to acquire territory ; and that the people of every inhabited country, so acquired, must be regarded as standing, towards the Federal Government, in the relation of colonial dependence, till admitted as co-ordinate States with the common Union.

The inhabitants of every portion of the former Northwestern Territory, deriving their birth from the thirteen original States, and possessing the right of emigration, were, strictly speaking, recognized colonies of their common mother country, as are, at present, the territories of Arkansas, Michigan, and Florida. They had not the right of self-government, nor have these ; but they were, or are, dependent, for their laws, upon the Congress of the United States. Such territories, with their inhabitants, can, in no sense, be regarded as the colonies of any particular State, being made up of emigrants from all the States to the common territory of all, and the power to govern them has been exercised, at all times, under the unquestioned and indisputable authority of the Union.

No State having the power to enter into any negotiation for the acquisition of foreign territory, the authority to make a treaty for that object must, and does, vest in the United States, or it exists nowhere. This reasoning is in accordance with the past history of the United States, and the tenor of the earliest report upon this subject from a Committee of this House. But, while this Committee recognize, in the Federal Government, the power to negotiate for the acquisition of territory, and to govern it and its inhabitants when acquired, as a Colony, they are not prepared, at present, to admit the expediency of doing so, in relation to the people and territory of Africa. Were the exercise of such a power deemed, by the Committee, indispensably necessary to the benevolent and useful purposes of the memorialists, a decision on the expediency of the measure proposed, would be involved in greater difficulty, and inspire the deepest solicitude. But, the Committee entertain a different opinion. The Colonial Agent of the American Society has experienced, especially of late, very little difficulty in procuring accessions of territory. No such difficulty need hereafter be apprehended, or none that mere pecuniary aid would not promptly obviate. Nor, for the protection of the Colony against a civilized enemy, does it appear to your Committee to be required, that the United States should assume over it any jurisdiction or power of political and civil government. The fatality of the climate of tropical Africa to the constitution of the white man, forms one source of

the security of any Colony of persons capable of withstanding its influence. Against the predatory incursions of the feeble tribes in the neighborhood of the American Colony, its own strength manifestly suffices for its defence; and, from the power of the maritime States of Europe and America, and the agitations and dangers of their frequent wars, the humanity of the world would afford a better protection than the flag of any single State, however powerful.

While the Colony of Sierra Leone was subject, as is that of Liberia at present, to the moral control of a society of private gentlemen it was once, during the disorders of the French revolution, attacked by a French squadron; but, such was the indignation awakened by this act of wanton barbarity, that it was promptly disavowed by the revolutionary Government of France: and, in all the subsequent wars of Great Britain, such an act has never been repeated, or even apprehended.

To render this moral protection more authoritative, your Committee beg leave to recommend to the House, in conformity with the report of a former Committee acting in relation to the same subject, the adoption of a resolution, requesting the President of the United States to "enter upon such negotiations as he may deem expedient, "with all the maritime Powers of the Christian world, for the purpose of securing to the Colony of Liberia," and such other colonies as may be planted on the African coast, for like purposes, so long as they may merit it, "the advantages of a perpetual neutrality."

Against the hazard, which must, however, shortly cease, if it has not already done so, arising from the desperate enterprises of those piratical adventurers who frequent the African coast, for the purpose of carrying on a trade now prohibited, North of the Equator, by all nations, and continued to the South by Brazil and Portugal alone, the growing strength of the Colony, aided by the frequent presence of the American flag in its vicinity, will furnish adequate security. To provide for its internal tranquillity, an assumption of its government, by the United States, would seem at first to be of greater moment. To the future peace and prosperity of the Colony, it may appear to be an indispensable guarantee. Some of the memorialists have so regarded it.

But as a responsibility, involving political considerations of no small magnitude, would, of necessity, attach to the exercise, by the United States, of a sovereign jurisdiction over a remote territory and people, the committee have been led, in conformity with the principles which they have already laid down, to consider it more prudent to trust the internal government of the Colony to the administration by which it has been, hitherto, so successfully conducted.

A mixture of the control of other magistrates than those of the same colour with the colonists, to be drawn, for that purpose, from the white population of the United States, might possibly arouse in other States, as well as in the colonists themselves, jealousies which do not at present exist, while no small sacrifice of human life would be the obvious consequence of attempting to sustain an authority over the

Colony by the force of any other power than that moral control which repeated benefactions, a sense of gratitude, and the dictates of interest, may long preserve to its American founders, and their successors.

When its population and power shall entitle Liberia to rank, as it may, and in all human probability will, hereafter do, among the civilized States of the Earth, negotiation will keep open and improve the avenue which, in its feeble, though yet flourishing condition, it now offers to the admission of the coloured race from America. Thus it may continue to subserve all the benevolent and useful purposes which its early patrons and friends had in view, without subjecting it to entangling alliances with, or a degrading dependence upon, any other political community.

The power and the expediency of affording pecuniary aid to the voluntary removal of the free people of colour, from America to Africa, are questions presenting to the committee fewer difficulties. (See App. No. 10.)

It is not easy to discern any object to which the pecuniary resources of the Union can be applied, of greater importance to the national security and welfare, than to provide for the removal, in a manner consistent with the rights and interests of the several States, of the free coloured population within their limits. And your committee would not hesitate to accompany this report with a resolution recommending, with suitable conditions, such an appropriation, did not the public business remaining to be disposed of, by the present Congress, preclude the hope, if not the possibility, of obtaining for such a resolution the sanction of this House.

They close their report, therefore, with an earnest recommendation of the prayer of the memorialists, and the accompanying resolutions of the States of Kentucky and Delaware, to the early attention of the next Congress.





## APPENDIX.

## No. 1.

At a meeting of the Society, held on the 1st day of January, 1817, the following resolution was adopted :

*Resolved*, That the President and Board of Managers be, and they are hereby instructed and required to present a memorial\* to Congress on the subject of colonizing, with their consent, the free people of colour of the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere."

The following resolutions have been adopted by the Society at its annual meetings, in 1819, 1820, 1826, and 1827 :

*Resolved*. That a committee of three be appointed to lay before the Congress of the United States, or any committee or committees which may be appointed by either branch thereof, the information which has been collected through the means of the Society, showing the practicability of the object of its institution; and respectfully, but earnestly to solicit the countenance, aid, and support of Congress in the accomplishment of that object."

*Resolved*. That a committee be appointed to prepare and present to the Congress of the United States, a memorial requesting that they will take such further steps, as to their wisdom may seem proper, to ensure the entire abolition of the African slave trade."

*Resolved*. That a committee be appointed to prepare and present, as soon as possible, to the two Houses of Congress, memorials, praying such aid and assistance to the Society as Congress shall think proper to afford."

*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers be empowered and directed, at such time or times as may seem to them expedient, to make respectful application to the Congress of the United States, and to the Legislatures of the different States, for such pecuniary aid, in furtherance of the object of this Society, as they may respectively be pleased to grant."

\* For the Memorial and Report, see No. 4, of the Appendix.

*Letter from the Committee of the Colonization Society, to the House of Representatives.*

To the Hon. HENRY CLAY,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SIR: In obedience to instructions from the American Society for Colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, we beg leave to lay before Congress some account of the measures pursued by the Society for accomplishing the great objects of its institution; and the result of their inquiries and researches after such facts and information as might most clearly demonstrate, how far any scheme of colonization, dependent for its success upon the interior state of Africa, and upon the actual condition and disposition of her native tribes, might be practicable, and also enable the founders of the intended colony to make the most prudent and judicious selection of a situation for it. In order to obtain the most recent and accurate information, from sources of the most unquestionable authority, the Society sent out, at great expense, two agents, Mr. Mills and Mr. Burgess; who have proved themselves eminently qualified for the undertaking. The agents first visited England, with a view to acquire such preparatory instruction in the most efficacious mode of pursuing the objects of their mission, as the great mass of rare, valuable, and authentic information collected in that country, from various sources, might afford them. They proceeded from England to the West coast of Africa, where they prosecuted their researches with such zeal, industry, and intelligence, as to have contributed essentially to the illustration of many important and interesting facts, connected with the geography, climate, soil, and products, of that part of the continent; and with the habits, manners, social institutions, and domestic economy of its inhabitants. From the information thus obtained, the present period would seem to be designated by a combination of favorable circumstances, as the fortunate crisis for reducing to the test of practical experiment, these views and objects of the Society, which have already met so encouraging a notice from Congress: and upon the comprehensive utility and beneficence of which (abstracted from any doubts of their being susceptible of practical execution) no question seems to be entertained in any quarter.

The present facilities for acquiring the requisite territory from the native tribes, in situations combining every advantage of salubrious and temperate climate, with fertile soil; the pacific and humanized temper of mind prevailing among these tribes; their existing prepossessions in favor of the expected colonists from America; the actual settlement in that part of Africa, of some prosperous, intelligent, and well disposed emigrants from among the free people of colour in this country; and the state of general peace, so favorable to enterprises of benevolence and utility, wholly unconnected with any political schemes of territorial or commercial aggrandizement; altogether form a conjuncture, which must prove decisive of the success of an immediate experiment. But upon any permanent continuance of

favorable a state of things, no human wisdom or foresight can calculate, with any reasonable certainty, if the present opportunity be not adequately improved.

It is now reduced to the single question, whether the undertaking shall be adopted and patronized by the Government, so as to become essentially national in its means and its objects; or whether its ultimate success is to depend upon the responsibility and exertions of individuals; whose zeal and perseverance, unsubdued and unabated by difficulty, by delay, or disappointment, may be surely counted on; but whose unprotected exertions and unaided resources, whether of power or of capital, must necessarily be contingent and precarious, if not in their ultimate effect, at least in the acceleration of the results.

It is now conceived to be apparent that, with the adequate aids and sanction from the Government, the present generation cannot pass away without permanent, practical, and important benefits from the experiment—benefits which will be felt equally in our social and domestic relations, as in the advancement of the great object of political and international morality, connected with the suppression of the slave trade: and this nation has ever stood foremost in the most decided and vigorous efforts to abolish that opprobrious traffic.

From the journals kept by the agents of their proceedings and personal observations; with an abstract of collateral information of unquestionable authenticity and great interest, collected by them from sources not frequently accessible to the general reader or inquirer; the Society has become possessed of many rare and valuable materials, not only for forming a more accurate judgment of the utility of the scheme of colonization, but also for demonstrating how flagrantly and notoriously, and with what impunity, the prohibitory laws of the United States, and of other nations, in regard to the slave trade, are violated, by their respective citizens and subjects. Some important hints also may be derived from these documents, for making the penal sanctions of those laws more effectual; and there is good reason to conclude, that the establishment of such a colony as has been projected by our Society, may prove an important and efficient adjunct to the other preventive checks provided by law.

The body of accurate and valuable information, thus collected, will be found among the documents, which we now beg Sir, through your kind mediation, to present to Congress.

We have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servants,

E. B. CALDWELL,

WALTER JONES,

F. S. KEY.

} Committee.

WASHINGTON, January 23d, 1819.

*In the House of Representatives of the United States.*

January 23d, 1819.

The Speaker presented to the House a letter addressed to him, signed by Elias B. Caldwell, Walter Jones, and Francis S. Key, a Committee of the American Colonization Society, accompanied with an account of the measures pursued by the society for accomplishing the great object of its institution, and of the result of their inquiries and researches; as, also, of documents showing the unlawful participation of the citizens of the United States in the African slave trade, which letter and its accompanying documents, was referred to a select committee; and

Mr Mercer, Mr. Mills, and Mr. Campbell, were appointed the said committee.

An extract, &c.

Attest,

THOS. DOUGHERTY, C. H. R.

*In the House of Representatives of the United States.*

March 3, 1819.

*Resolved,* That the account of Messrs. Davis and Force, for printing the documents accompanying the letter of the Committee of the American Colonization Society, to the Speaker of this House, amounting to two hundred and fifty-nine dollars, be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Attest,

THO. DOUGHERTY, C. H. R.

No. 2.

*Extract from the First Annual Report of the Board of Managers.*

“The Managers have ascertained that there are numbers of the highest standing for intelligence and respectability among that class of people, who are warmly in favor of the plan, from a conviction that it will, if accomplished, powerfully co-operate in placing the situation of their brethren here and in Africa in that scale of happiness and respectability among the nations of the earth, from which they have long been degraded. Offers of service have been received from many worthy and influential individuals of their own colour, and from a number of families from different parts of the United States, to become the first settlers in the colony, whenever a suitable situation shall be procured. The Managers can with confidence state their belief, that they would have no difficulty in procuring individuals among

them worthy of trust and confidence to explore the country if necessary, and to plant a colony of sufficient strength to secure its safety and prosperity. This being accomplished, there can be no difficulty in presenting its importance to their brethren, in such a manner and with such unquestionable testimony, as must command their fullest confidence.

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*Extract of a letter from a respectable gentleman in Vincennes, Indiana, to the President of the Society.*

“I feel a deep interest in your society, and highly approve the patriotic and benevolent motives which have induced its formation, and with every American citizen feel a pride in seeing the name of *Washington* at its head.

To aid its views I am prompted to send the following information. There are in this vicinity between fifty and a hundred free people of colour, who have by my means heard of your society, and are desirous of going to Africa, to help in forming a settlement or colony, should one be attempted. They live on the *Wabash*, on both sides; some in the *Illinois Territory*, and some in *Indiana*. They are in general industrious and moral. Some of them have landed property, and are good farmers; and some can read and write. They are sensible of the existing degraded condition in which they are placed by our laws, respecting the right of suffrage, and other disabilities.”

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*Extract of a letter written by Capt. Paul Cuffe to Mr. Mills, dated Westport, 1st mo. 6th, 1817.*

“In 1815 I carried out to *Sierra Leone* nine families, 38 in number, and, in 1816, I have had so many applications that I believe I might have had the greater part to have carried out of *Boston* and the vicinity.”

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*Extract from the Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers.*

“Continued assurances have been received by the Board of Managers, in the last year, of the readiness of many of the free people of colour in the *United States* to avail themselves of their contemplated asylum, whenever a suitable territory for its erection shall have been procured. These have proceeded from the most enlightened of this class of persons, comprehending individuals engaged in all the occupations of civil life, dispersed throughout the *United States*, and in sufficient number to form the basis of a respectable colony. To these assurances

have been added, the repeated declarations of several proprietors of their readiness to emancipate the whole, or a part, of their slaves, whenever a suitable abode in Africa shall have been provided for them, upon condition that they shall repair to it.

When the Managers add, that they have purposely avoided all appeals to these motives which ought to, and doubtless will, hereafter induce the free people of colour to exchange political slavery and moral degradation for independence and honor, these assurances are calculated to remove all doubt of the facility with which they will make this exchange, when they can effect it, not only with the permission, but the assistance also of their former masters.

The humane forbearance of the Managers and friends of the American Society to excite in the breasts of the free people of colour, hopes which might be hereafter disappointed, has deprived them, in some instances, of the means of correcting misconceptions of the origin and views of the Society. It has been suggested to be an invention of the Southern proprietor to rivet the chains of servitude upon his slaves, as if the circumstances which accompanied the origin of the society, the character of its members, and their solemn and reiterated declarations, did not forbid so unfounded an imputation. It would not be more uncandid to ascribe to them a design to invade the rights of private property, secured by the Constitution and the laws of the several slave-holding States, and to proclaim universal emancipation!

If, as is most confidently believed, the colonization of the free people of colour, will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and, consequently, more useful to his master, is it proper to regard this happy consequence to both, as the sole object which the society hope to attain? Is it a substantial objection to this, that, like every other effort to enlarge the stock of human happiness, it enlists in its favor the selfish, as well as the disinterested, affections of the heart? The inference deducible from all such suspicions, serves only to demonstrate that the success of the wise and charitable purpose of the society, is assured by the irresistible appeal which it makes to all the powerful sentiments of the heart, the most sordid and degrading, as well as the most benevolent and exalted."

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*Letter from the Petersburg African Missionary Society.*

PETERSBURG, Va. April 30, 1819.

DEAR SIR: Having been authorized by the Petersburg African Missionary Society of persons of colour, to address you in their behalf on the subject of the intended colony in Sherbro, permit me, honoured Sir, to tell you, that this society has been in existence only seven months, and their object is to send forth missionaries to the benighted land of

Africa; numbers would be willing to go if they could get correct information from you respecting the country, and the means of conveyance from this place. It is the general opinion among us, that if we could only obtain the information from the Board of your society, that would give us proper ideas of the site and mode of government, and how we should be protected: that we would embrace the opportunity and prepare to leave our adopted, for our colonial asylum.

Please answer this as soon as you conveniently can, as the people are anxious to hear from you.

With considerations of the highest esteem and respect,

I remain, dear sir, your truly humble servant,

JOHN T. RAYMOND,

*Corresponding Secretary African Missionary Society.*

To ELIAS B. CALDWELL, Esq.

*Washington City, District Columbia.*

PHILADELPHIA, *Sd June, 1819.*

DEAR SIR: The enclosed has just been left with me to obtain information on the subject to which it refers. At your leisure a communication may be made, which I can hand to the parties.

Very sincerely, I am, dear sir,

Your friend and obedient servant,

ROBERT RALSTON,

*Elias B. Caldwell, Esq.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May 29th, 1819.*

We, the undersigned, do hereby request the Colonization Society to give us an exact information of their progress in obtaining a ship and men to go on to the coast of Africa, on wages for one year, and to return if they choose and bring the report back to America.

*Daniel George,*

*Joseph Blake,*

*Ashmit Hall,*

*John Gun,*

*Francis Procter.*

*William Johnson,*

*William Foster,*

*James Brister,*

*Moses Miller,*

*John Walters,*

*Eph. Sanders,*

*T. George Fortune,*

*John Griffen,*

*Henry B. Kean,*

*Peter Stevenson,*

*Henry Witslony,*

*Samuel Branham,*

*Calin Green,*

*Richard Parker.*

The above persons are willing to offer their services. (most of them having families,) if satisfactory information is given to the inquiries now made.

*Memorial of the Free People of Colour to the Citizens of Baltimore.*

At a meeting of a respectable number of coloured persons convened at Bethel Church, December 7th, 1826, for the purpose of considering the propriety of promoting an emigration to the African Colony at Liberia, the Rev. Wm. Cornish was called to the chair, and Robert Cowly appointed Secretary. The meeting being organized, after due deliberation, the following resolution and memorial were read and adopted.

The proceedings were then ordered to be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published.

DECEMBER 11th, 1826.

At a very numerous meeting of respectable free People of Colour, held at the African Church, Sharp street, on Monday, 11th December, 1826, on motion of the Rev. Lewis G. Wells, Mr. James Deaver was called to the chair, and Remus Harvey appointed Secretary.

A memorial to the White People of Baltimore was then presented to the meeting, being the same adopted at the Bethel Church, on the 7th instant; and after the same had been read and discussed, it was adopted, and ordered to be part of the proceedings of the meeting, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published.

#### MEMORIAL.

We have hitherto beheld in silence, but with the intensest interest, the efforts of the wise and philanthropic in our behalf. If it became us to be silent, it became us also to feel the liveliest anxiety and gratitude. The time has now arrived, as we believe, in which your good work and our happiness may be promoted, by the expression of our opinions. We have therefore assembled for that purpose, from every quarter of the city, and every denomination, to offer you this respectful address, with all the weight and influence which our number, character, and cause, can lend it.

We reside among you and yet are strangers; natives, and yet not citizens; surrounded by the freest people and most republican institutions in the world, and yet enjoying none of the immunities of freedom. This singularity in our condition has not failed to strike us, as well as you, but we know it is irremediable here. Our difference of colour, the servitude of many and most of our brethren, and the prejudices which those circumstances have naturally occasioned, will not allow us to hope, even if we could desire, to mingle with you one day, in the benefits of citizenship. As long as we remain among you, we must (and shall) be content to be a distinct race, exposed to the indignities and dangers, physical and moral, to which our situation makes us liable. All that we may expect, is to merit, by our peaceable and orderly behaviour, your consideration and the protection of your laws.

It is not to be imputed to you that we are here. Your ancestors remonstrated against the introduction of the first of our race, who



were brought amongst you; and it was the mother country that insisted on their admission, that her colonies and she might profit, as she thought, by their compulsory labor. But the gift was a curse to them, without being an advantage to herself. The colonies, grown to womanhood, burst from her dominion: and if they have an angry recollection of their union and rupture, it must be at the sight of the baneful institution which she has entailed upon them.

How much you regret its existence among you, is shown by the severe laws you have enacted against the slave trade, and by your employment of a naval force for its suppression. You have gone still further. Not content with checking the increase of the already too growing evil, you have deliberated how you might best exterminate the evil itself. This delicate and important subject has produced a great variety of opinions: but we find, even in that diversity, a consolatory proof of the interest with which you regard the subject, and of your readiness to adopt that scheme which may appear to be the best.

Leaving out all considerations of generosity, humanity, and benevolence, you have the strongest reasons to favor and facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove. It ill consists, in the first place, with your republican principles, and with the health and moral sense of the body politic, that there should be in the midst of you an extraneous mass of men, united to you only by soil and climate, and irrevocably excluded from your institutions. Nor is it less for your advantage in another point of view. Our places might, in your opinion, be better occupied by men of your own colour, who would increase the strength of your country. In the pursuit of livelihood and the exercise of industrious habits, we necessarily exclude from employment many of the whites, your fellow citizens, who would find it easier, in proportion as we depart, to provide for themselves and their families.

But if *you* have every reason to wish for our removal, how much greater are *our* inducements to remove! Though we are not slaves, we are not free. We do not and never shall participate in the enviable privileges which we continually witness: Beyond a mere subsistence, and the impulse of religion, there is nothing to arouse us to the exercise of our faculties, or excite us to the attainment of eminence. Though, under the shield of your laws, we are partially protected, not totally oppressed; nevertheless, our situation will and must inevitably have the effect of crushing, not developing, the capacities that God has given us. We are, besides, of opinion that our absence will accelerate the liberation of such of our brethren as are in bondage, by the permission of Providence. When such of us as wish, and may be able, shall have gone before to open and lead the way, a channel will be left, through which may be poured such as hereafter receive their freedom from the kindness or interest of their masters, or by public opinion and legislative enactment, and are willing to join those who have preceded them. As a white population comes in to fill our void, the situation of our brethren will be

nearer to liberty, for their value must decrease and disappear before the superior advantages of free labor, with which their's can hold no competition.

Of the many schemes that have been proposed, we most approve of that of *African Colonization*. If we were able and at liberty to go whithersoever we would, the greater number, willing to leave this community, would prefer *Liberia*, on the coast of Africa. Others, no doubt, would turn them towards some other region: the world is wide. Already established there, in the settlement of the American Colonization Society, are many of our brethren, the pioneers of African restoration, who encourage us to join them. Several were formerly residents of this city, and highly considered by the people of their own class and colour. They have been planted at Cape Mesurado, the most eligible and one of the most elevated sites on the Western coast of Africa, selected in 1821, and their number has augmented to 500. Able, as we are informed, to provide for their own defence and support, and capable of self increase, they are now enjoying all the necessaries and comforts and many of the luxuries of larger and older communities. In Africa we shall be freemen indeed, and republicans after the model of this republic. We shall carry your language, your customs, your opinions and Christianity, to that now desolate shore, and thence they will gradually spread, with our growth, far into the continent. The slave trade, both external and internal, can be abolished only by settlements on the coast. Africa, if destined to be ever civilized and converted, can be civilized and converted by that means only.

We foresee that difficulties and dangers await those who emigrate; such as every infant establishment must encounter and endure; such as your fathers suffered when first they landed on this now happy shore. They will have to contend, we know, with the want of many things, which they enjoy here; and they leave a populous and polished society, for a land where they must long continue to experience the solitude and ruggedness of an early settlement. But "Ethiopia shall lift her hands unto God." Africa is the only country to which they can go, and enjoy those privileges for which they leave their fire-sides among you. The work has begun and it is continuing. A foothold has been obtained, and the principle obstacles are overcome. The foundations of a nation have been laid, of which they are to be the fathers.

The portion of comforts which they may lose, they will cheerfully abandon. Human happiness does not consist in meat and drink, nor in costly raiment, nor in stately habitations. To contribute to it even, they must be joined with equal rights and respectability; and it often exists in a high degree without them. If the sufferings and privations to which the emigrants would be exposed were even greater than we imagine, still they would not hesitate to sacrifice their own personal and temporary ease, for the permanent advantage of their race, and the future prosperity and dignified existence of their children.

That you may facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove, is what we now solicit. It can best be done, we think, by augmenting the means at the command of the American Colonization Society, that the Colony of Liberia may be strengthened and improved for their gradual reception. The greater the number of persons sent thither, from any part of this nation whatsoever, so much more capable it becomes of receiving a still greater. Every encouragement to it, therefore, though it may not seem to have any particular portion of emigrants directly in view, will produce a favorable effect upon all. The emigrants may readily be enabled to remove, in considerable numbers every Fall, by a concerted system of individual contributions; and still more efficiently by the enactment of laws to promote their emigration, under the patronage of the State. The expense would not be nearly so great as it might appear at first sight: for when once the current shall have set towards Liberia, and intercourse grown frequent, the cost will of course diminish rapidly, and many will be able to defray it for themselves. Thousands and tens of thousands, poorer than we, annually emigrate from Europe to your country, and soon have it in their power to hasten the arrival of those they left behind. Every intelligent and industrious coloured man would continually look forward to the day when he or his children might go to their veritable home, and would accumulate all his little earnings for that purpose.

We have ventured these remarks, because we know that you take a kind concern in the subject to which they relate, and because we think they may assist you in the prosecution of your designs. If we were doubtful of your good will and benevolent intentions, we would remind you of the time when you were in a situation similar to ours, and when your forefathers were driven by religious persecution, to a distant and inhospitable shore. We are not so persecuted: but we, too, leave our homes, and seek a distant and inhospitable shore. An empire may be the result of our emigration, as of theirs. The protection, kindness, and assistance, which you would have desired for yourselves under such circumstances, now extend to us:—so may you be rewarded by the riddance of the stain and evil of slavery, the extension of civilization and the Gospel, and the blessing of our common Creator!

**WM. CORNISH,**

*Chairman of the meeting in Bethel Church.*

**ROBERT COWLEY,**

*Secretary of the meeting in Bethel Church.*

**JAMES DEEVER,**

*Chairman of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp street.*

**REMUS HARVEY,**

*Secretary of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp street.*

No. 3.

*Copy of a letter from Thomas Jefferson, late President of the United States, to John Lynd.*

MONTICELLO, Jan. 21, 1811.

SIR: You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin. to take measures for procuring, on the coast of Africa, an establishment to which the people of colour of these States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different Governments. Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population. Most advantageous for themselves as well as for us; going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their sojournment here a blessing, in the end, to that country.

I received, in the *last* year of my entering into the administration of the General Government, a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting me, at the request of the Legislature of the State, on the means of procuring some such asylum to which these people might be occasionally sent. I proposed to him the establishment of Sierra Leone, in which a private company in England had already colonized a number of negroes, and particularly the fugitives from these States during the Revolutionary war: and at the same time suggested, if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America as most desirable.

The subsequent Legislature approving these ideas, I wrote the ensuing year (1802) to Mr. King, our Minister in London, to endeavor to negotiate with the Sierra Leone Company, and induce them to receive such of these people as might be colonized thither. He opened a correspondence with Mr. W—— and Mr. Thornton, Secretary of the Company, on the subject; and, in 1803, I received, through Mr. King, the result; which was, that the colony was going on in but a languishing condition; that the funds of the company were likely to fail, as they received no return of profit to keep them up; that they were then in treaty with the Government to take the establishment off their hands; but that in no event should they be willing to receive more of these people from the United States, as it was that portion of settlers who had gone from the United States, who, by their idleness and turbulence, had kept the settlement in constant danger of dissolution, which could not have been prevented, but for the aid of the Marroon negroes, from the West Indies, who were more industrious and orderly than the others, and supported the authority of the Government and its laws.

I think I learned, afterwards, that the British Government had taken the colony into their own hands, and I believe it still exists.

The effort which I made with Portugal to obtain an establishment from them, within their colonies in South America, proved also abortive.

You inquired further whether I would use my endeavors to procure such an establishment secure against violence from other Powers, and particularly the French. Certainly, I shall be willing to do any thing I can to give it effect and safety.

But I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavors with individuals. Whereas, the National Government can address themselves at once to those of Europe to obtain the desired security, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with those nations to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents. Indeed, nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.

Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all its expenses; but for this, the national mind is not prepared. It may perhaps be doubted whether many of these people would voluntarily consent to such an exchange of situation, and but few of those who are advanced to a certain age in habits of slavery would be capable of governing themselves; this should not, however, discourage the experiment, nor the early trial of it. And propositions should be made with all the prudent caution and attention requisite to reconcile it to the interest, the safety, and prejudice of all parties.

Accept the assurance of my respects and esteem.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

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No. 4.

The resolution of the State of Virginia, to be seen in the succeeding pages of this note, had been, as the committee are assured, for several weeks before it was submitted, by its mover, to the House of Delegates of that State, shown to many members of that body. Its subject had also been made by him a topic of discussion in the city of Washington in the preceding Spring, and in the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, as well as at Princeton, in New Jersey, during the following Summer and Autumn. And a concurrent movement in relation to its purpose, in both Maryland and Virginia, had been distinctly concerted in Georgetown, within the District of Columbia, with a gentleman now residing there, as early as March, 1816, without the participation or the knowledge of any individual, whatever, residing North of Maryland.

An accidental disclosure in the city of Richmond, late in February, 1816, of the prior resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia was referred to, in the inception of this measure in Georgetown, and in every early stage of its subsequent prosecution. These statements

of unquestionable truth, capable of being sustained by ample testimony, are designed to suppress the suggestion, that any influence, exterior to the Southern States of the Union, or hostile to their interests, had the least participation in prompting the first organized public efforts to colonize the free people of colour of the United States. The sub-joined pages published at a press in the city of Washington immediately after the formation of the American Colonization Society, and filed among its records, are, also, in accordance with this hitherto private history.

# A VIEW

OF EXERTIONS LATELY MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF

## COLONIZING

THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR

IN THE UNITED STATES, IN AFRICA, OR ELSEWHERE.

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WASHINGTON :

PRINTED BY JONATHAN ELLIOT, 1817.

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### A VIEW, &c.

THE present age witnesses numerous and unexpected changes, and it is peculiarly grateful to the benevolent man to notice among these changes many which are ominous of good. As a traveller, wearied with the roughness and barrenness of the region he has past, enjoys the scenery of a cultivated and luxuriant country ; so the philanthropist, distressed with the confusion and misery which pervade many portions of the world, may still fix his attention on those favorable occurrences in Divine Providence, and contemplate with peculiar pleasure the rising glory of the Kingdom of Christ, and the prevalence of that religion which proclaims " peace on earth and good will to men."

The success which attends charitable and benevolent societies, has, in many instances, surpassed the expectations even of their friends and patrons. And whether the public are encouraged and gratified with the success of past exertions, or whether they are alarmed and excited by the miseries which thousands feel, and in which other thousands sympathize, it is but just to acknowledge that there exists an unusual sensibility and desire to aid the cause of humanity and religion. The tone of public feeling is elevated. If any sufficient object can be assigned for benevolent exertion, and can be enforced by any sufficient reasons, it will scarcely fail to receive all deserved approbation and support.

Influenced by these considerations, the following view of exertions lately made for the colonizing free people of colour, is presented to the public.

It is already known that the attention of many intelligent men in the United States has been recently turned with peculiar force and a corresponding zeal and spirit of perseverance to this subject. Some very important preparatory steps to such a measure have been taken. Soon after the commencement of the present session of Congress, the expediency of colonizing free people of colour became a subject of consideration with many gentlemen of respectability from the different States. The propriety of such a measure, could it be carried into effect, was generally admitted. It was thought that a design of such importance so intimately connected with the best interest of the citizens of the United States, and promising at the same time to improve and meliorate the state of that class of the community for whom provision was to be made, should not be abandoned without a vigorous and a thorough effort to carry it into execution.

The formation of a Colonization Society was therefore proposed. Many were led the more readily to approve of an institution of this kind, from a knowledge that this subject occupies the attention of many worthy citizens in different States; but particularly from the consideration which had been bestowed upon it by the Legislature of a highly respectable sister State (Virginia.) As the following preamble and resolution were approved by the House of Delegates of that State, previous to the first meeting for the formation of the American Colonization Society, it will be proper to introduce them in this place, as they were afterwards amended by the Senate and adopted.

“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 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 on the coast of Africa, or 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 be hereafter 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 on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature."

Believing that the Legislature of Virginia had entered upon this subject with a spirit and a determination to prosecute the measure proposed, and desirous of producing a more general and simultaneous feeling and movement in aid of this object, by calling the attention of the General Government to the subject, a meeting for the purpose of forming a Colonization Society was appointed to be held in this city on the 21st of December, 1816. At the time proposed a very respectable number of gentlemen attended.

*The following extracts relative to the proceedings of the meeting are from the National Intelligencer of December 24.*

Mr. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, having been called to the Chair, and Mr. Thomas Dougherty, of this District, having been appointed Secretary,

Mr. Clay, on taking the chair, said that he had hoped to have seen called to the place for which he had the honor of being selected, a gentleman (Judge Washington) who, from his name, his exalted station, and his distinguished virtues, would have communicated an additional importance to the present meeting. But as that gentleman was not present, Mr. C. regretted to learn, from causes beyond his control, he would, with great pleasure, endeavor to discharge the duties of the Chair. He understood the object of the present meeting to be, to consider of the propriety and practicability of colonizing the free people of colour in the United States, and of forming an association in relation to that object. That class of the mixt population of our country was peculiarly situated. They neither enjoyed the immunities of freemen, nor were they subject to the incapacities of slaves, but partook, in some degree, of the qualities of both. From their condition, and the unconquerable prejudices resulting from their colour, they never could amalgamate with the free whites of this country. It was desirable, therefore, both as it respected them, and the residue of the population of the country, to drain them off. Various schemes of colonization had been thought of, and a part of our own continent, it was thought by some, might furnish a suitable establishment for them. But, for his part, Mr. Clay said he had a decided preference for some part of the coast of Africa. There ample provision might be made for the colony itself, and it might be rendered instrumental to the introduction, into that extensive quarter of the globe, of the arts, civilization, and Christianity. There was a peculiar, a moral fitness in restoring them to the land of their fathers. And if, instead of the evils and sufferings which we had been the innocent cause of inflicting upon the inhabitants of Africa, we can transmit to her the blessings of our arts, our civilization, and our religion, may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate continent? We should derive much encourage-

ment in the prosecution of the object which had assembled us together, by the success which had attended the colony of Sierra Leone. That establishment had commenced about 20 or 25 years ago, under the patronage of private individuals in Great Britain. The basis of the population of the colony consisted of the fugitive slaves of the Southern States, during the Revolutionary war, who had been first carried to Nova Scotia, and who afterwards, about the year 1792, upon their own application, almost in mass, had been transferred to the Western coast of Africa. This colony, after struggling with the most unheard-of difficulties—difficulties resulting from the ignorance, barbarity, and prejudices of the natives; from the climate; (which were, however, found to be not at all insurmountable;) from wars, African as well as European; and such as are incidental to all new settlements—had made a gradual and steady progress, until it has acquired a strength and stability which promises to crown the efforts of its founders with complete success. We have their experience before us; and can there be a nobler cause than that which, while it proposes to rid our own country of a useless and pernicious, if not a dangerous portion of its population, contemplates the spreading of the arts of civilized life, and the possible redemption from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted quarter of the globe!

It was proper and necessary distinctly to state, that he understood it constituted no part of the object of this meeting to touch or agitate, in the slightest degree, a delicate question connected with another portion of the coloured population of our country. It was not proposed to deliberate on, or consider at all, any question of emancipation; or that was connected with the abolition of slavery. It was upon that condition alone, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the South and the West, whom he saw present, had attended, or could be expected to co-operate. It was upon that condition, only, that he had himself attended. He would only further add, that he hoped, in their deliberations, they would be guided by that moderation, politeness, and deference for the opinion of each other, which were essential to any useful result. But when he looked around and saw the respectable assemblage, and recollected the humane and benevolent purpose which had produced it, he felt it unnecessary to insist farther on this topic.

Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, of this District then rose. He said, he felt peculiar embarrassment in obtruding himself upon the notice of so large and respectable a meeting, in which he found some of the most distinguished characters in our country. I ask said he, your indulgence in offering to the consideration of the meeting the resolutions which I hold in my hand, and to a few explanatory observations. The objects of the meeting have been feelingly and correctly stated by the honorable chairman. The subject seems to be divided into

1st The expediency; and 2dly, the practicability of the proposed plan. The expediency of colonizing the free people of colour in the United States, may be considered in reference to its influence

on our civil institutions, on the morals and habits of the people, and on the future happiness of the free people of colour. It has been a subject of unceasing regret, and anxious solicitude, among many of our best patriots and wisest statesmen, from the first establishment of our independence, that this class of people should remain a monument of reproach to those sacred principles of civil liberty, which constitute the foundation of all our constitutions. We say, in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal" and have certain "inalienable rights." Yet it is considered impossible, consistently with the safety of the State, and it certainly is impossible, with the present feelings towards these people, that they can ever be placed upon this equality, or admitted to the enjoyment of these "inalienable rights," whilst they remain mixed with us. Some persons may declaim, and call it prejudice. No matter—prejudice is as powerful a motive, and will as certainly exclude them as the soundest reason. Others may say they are free enough. If this is a matter of opinion, let them judge—if of reason, let it be decided by our repeated and solemn declarations, in all our public acts. This state of society, unquestionably tends, in various ways, to injure the morals and destroy the habits of industry among our people. This will be acknowledged by every person who has paid any attention to the subject: and it seems to be so generally admitted that it would promote the happiness of the people, and the interest of the country, to provide a place where these people might be settled by themselves, that it is unnecessary to dwell on this branch of the subject.

As to the blacks, it is manifest that their interest and happiness would be promoted, by collecting them together where they would enjoy equal rights and privileges with those around them. A state of degradation is necessarily a state of unhappiness. It debases the mind: it cramps the energies of the soul, and represses every vigorous effort towards moral or intellectual greatness. How can you expect from them any thing great or noble, without the motives to stimulate, or the rewards to crown great and noble achievements? It not only prevents their climbing the steep and rugged paths of fame, but it prevents the enjoyment of the true happiness of calm contentment, satisfied with enjoying but a part of what we possess, of using only a portion of what is in our powers. Take away, however, the portion that is not used, and it immediately becomes the object of our fondest desires. The more you endeavor to improve the condition of these people, the more you cultivate their minds, (unless by religious instruction,) the more miserable you make them in their present state. You give them a higher relish for those privileges which they can never attain, and turn what we intend for a blessing into a curse. No; if they must remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of degradation and ignorance. The nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy. Surely, Americans ought to be the last people on earth, to advocate such slavish doctrines, to cry peace

and contentment to those who are deprived of the privileges of civil liberty. They who have so largely partaken of its blessings, who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be among the foremost to extend it to others.

I will consider the practicability of colonization under three heads: The territory, the expense, and the probability of obtaining their consent.

1. The Territory. Various places have been mentioned by different persons: a situation within our own territory would certainly possess some considerable advantages. It would be more immediately under the eye and control of our Government. But there are some real and some apprehended evils to encounter. Many apprehend that they might hereafter join the Indians, or the nations bordering on our frontiers in case of war, if they were placed so near us—that the colony would become the asylum of fugitives and runaway slaves—added to these difficulties, there are inveterate prejudices against such a plan, in so large a portion of the country, which would be impossible to overcome or remove. Upon mature reflection, with all the light that has yet been shed upon the subject, I believe it will be found, that Africa will be liable to the fewest objections. A territory might, no doubt, be procured there; the climate is best adapted to their constitutions, and they could live cheaper. But, Mr. Chairman, I have a greater and nobler object in view, in desiring them to be placed in Africa. It is the belief that, through them, civilization and the Christian religion would be introduced into that benighted quarter of the world. It is the hope of redeeming many millions of people from the lowest state of ignorance and superstition, and restoring them to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Great and powerful as are the other motives to this measure; (and I acknowledge them to be of sufficient magnitude to attract the attention and to call forth the united efforts of this nation,) in my opinion, and you will find it the opinion of a large class of the community, all other motives are small and trifling compared with the hope of spreading among them the knowledge of the gospel. From the importance of this view of the subject, permit me to enlarge a little upon it. Whatever may be the difference of opinion among the different denomination of Christians I believe they will all be found to unite in the belief that the scriptures predict a time, when the gospel of Jesus Christ shall be spread over every part of the world, shall be acknowledged by every nation, and perhaps shall influence every heart. The opinion is, perhaps, as general, that this glorious and happy day is near at hand. The great movements and mighty efforts in the moral and religious world, seem to indicate some great design of Providence on the eve of accomplishment. The unexampled and astonishing success attending the various and numerous plans which have been advised, and which are now in operation in different parts of the world, and the union and harmony with which Christians of different denominations unite in promoting these plans, clearly indicate a divine hand in their direction. Nay,

sir, the subject on which we are now deliberating has been brought to public view, nearly at the same time in different parts of our country. In New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, and perhaps other places, not known to me, the public attention seems to have been awakened, as from a slumber to this subject. The belief that I have mentioned leads Christians to look with anxious solicitude and joyful hope to every movement, which they believe to be instrumental in accomplishing the great designs of Providence. They will receive, your proposal with joy, and support it with zeal; and, permit me to say, that it will be of no small consequence to gain the zealous support and co-operation of this portion of the community.

On the subject of expense, I should hope there would not be much difference of opinion. All are interested, though some portions of the community are more immediately so than others. We should consider that what affects a part of our country is interesting to the whole. Besides, it is a great national object, and ought to be supported by a national purse. And, as has been justly observed by the honorable gentleman in the chair, there ought to be a national atonement for the wrongs and injuries which Africa has suffered. For although the State Legislatures commenced early after our independence to put a stop to the slave trade, and the National Government interfered as soon as the Constitution would permit, yet, as a nation, we cannot rid ourselves entirely from the guilt and disgrace attending that iniquitous traffic, until we, as a nation, have made every reparation in our power. If, however, more funds are wanting than it is thought expedient to appropriate out of the public Treasury, the liberality and the humanity of our citizens will not suffer it to fail for want of pecuniary aid. I should be sorry, however, to see our Government dividing any part of the honor and glory which cannot fail of attending the accomplishment of a work so great, so interesting, and which will tend so much to diffuse the blessings of civil liberty, and promote the happiness of man.

Among the objections which have been made, I must confess that I am most surprized at one which seems to be prevalent, to wit: that these people will be unwilling to be colonized. What, sir! are they not men? Will they not be actuated by the same motives of interest and ambition, which influence other men? Or will they prefer remaining in a hopeless state of degradation for themselves and their children, to the prospect of the full enjoyment of the civil rights and a state of equality? What brought our ancestors to these shores? They had no friendly hand to lead them; no powerful human arm to protect them. They left the land of their nativity; the sepulchres of their fathers; the comforts of civilized society, and all the endearments of friends and relatives, and early associations, to traverse the ocean; to clear the forests; to encounter all the hardships of a new settlement, and to brave the dangers of the tomahawk and scalping knife. How many were destroyed! Sometimes whole settlements cut off by disease and hunger; by the treachery and cru-

elty of the savages; yet, were they not discouraged. What is it impels many Europeans daily to seek our shores, and to sell themselves for the prime of their life to defray the expense of their passages? It is that ruling, imperious desire, planted in the breast of every man, the desire of liberty, of standing upon an equality with his fellow men. If we were to add to these motives, the offer of land, and to aid in the expense of emigration, and of first settling, they cannot be so blind to their own interest, so devoid of every noble and generous feeling as to hesitate about accepting of the offer. It is not a matter of speculation and opinion only. It has been satisfactorily ascertained, that numbers will gladly accept of the invitation. And when once the colony is formed, and flourishing, all other obstacles will be easily removed. It is for us to make the experiment and the offer; we shall then, and not till then, have discharged our duty. It is a plan in which all interests, all classes and descriptions of people may unite—in which all discordant feelings may be lost in those of humanity—in promoting peace on earth and good will to men."

Mr. John Randolph, of Roanoke, rose and said, that it had been properly observed by the chairman, that there was nothing in the proposition [*referring to the resolutions which follow*] submitted to consideration which in the smallest degree touches another very important and delicate question, which ought to be left as much out of view as possible. But, Mr. R. said it appeared to him that it had not been sufficiently insisted on, with a view to obtain the co-operation of all the citizens of the United States, not only that this meeting does not in any wise affect the question of negro slavery, but as far as it goes, must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the United States over his slaves. It appeared to him that this aspect of the question had not been sufficiently presented to the public view. It was a notorious fact, he said, that the existence of this mixed and intermediate population of free negroes was viewed by every slave holder as one of the greatest sources of the insecurity, and also unprofitableness, of slave property; that they serve to excite in their fellow beings a feeling of discontent, of repining at their situation, and that they act as channels of communication not only between different slaves, but between the slaves of different districts; that they are the depositaries of stolen goods, and the promoters of mischief. In a worldly point of view, then, without entering into the general question and apart from those higher and nobler motives which had been presented to the meeting, the owners of slaves were interested in providing a retreat for this part of our population. There was no fear that this proposition would alarm them: they had been accustomed to think seriously of the subject. There was a popular work on agriculture, by John Taylor, of Caroline, which was widely circulated and much confided in, in Virginia. In that book, much read because coming from a practical man, this description of people were pointed out as a great evil. If a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending

them hence, there were hundreds, nay, thousands of citizens, who would, by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession.

Mr. Robert Wright, of Md. said he could not withhold his approbation of a measure, that had for its object the melioration of the lot of any portion of the human race, particularly of the free people of colour, whose degraded state robs them of the happiness of self government, so dear to the American people. And, said he, as I discover the most delicate regard to the rights of property, I shall, with great pleasure lend my aid to restore this unfortunate people to the enjoyment of their liberty ; but I fear gentlemen are too sanguine in their expectations, that they would be willing to abandon the land of their nativity, so dear to man. However, I have no indisposition to give them that election by furnishing all the means contemplated. But, while we wish to promote the happiness of these free people of colour, we ought to take care not to furnish the means of transporting out of the reach of the master his property.

Mr. Caldwell offered the following preamble and resolutions which were unanimously adopted.

The situation of the free people of colour in the United States has been the subject of anxious solicitude, with many of our most distinguished citizens, from the first existence of our country as an independent nation ; but the great difficulty and embarrassment attending the establishment of an infant nation, when first struggling into existence, and the subsequent convulsions of Europe, have hitherto prevented any great national effort to provide a remedy for the evils existing or apprehended. The present period seems peculiarly auspicious to invite attention to this important subject, and gives a well grounded hope of success. The nations of Europe are hushed into peace ; unexampled efforts are making, in various parts of the world, to diffuse knowledge, civilization, and the benign influence of the Christian religion. The rights of man are becoming daily better understood ; the legitimate objects of Government, as founded for the benefit and intended for the happiness of men, are more generally acknowledged, and an ardent zeal for the happiness of the human race is kindled in almost every heart. Desirous of aiding in the great cause of philanthropy, and of promoting the prosperity and happiness of our country, it is recommended by this meeting to form an association or society for the purpose of giving aid and assisting in the colonization of the free people of colour in the United States. Therefore,

*Resolved*, That an association or society be formed for the purpose of collecting information and to assist in the formation and execution of a plan for the colonization of the free people of colour, with their consent, in Africa, or elsewhere, as may be thought most advisable by the constituted authorities of the country.

*Resolved*, That Elias B. Caldwell, John Randolph, Richard Rush, Walter Jones, Francis S. Key, Robert Wright, James H. Blake, and John Peter, be a committee to present a respectful memorial to

Congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as may be thought most advisable for procuring a Territory in Africa, or elsewhere, suitable for the colonization of the free people of colour.

*Resolved*, That Francis S. Key, Bushrod Washington, Elias B. Caldwell, James Breckenridge, Walter Jones, Richard Rush, and William G. D. Worthington, be a committee to prepare a constitution and rules for the government of the Association or Society, above mentioned, and report the same to the next meeting for consideration.

And the meeting adjourned until next Saturday evening, at six o'clock.

HENRY CLAY, *Chairman*.

THOS. DOUGHERTY, *Secretary*.

At an adjourned meeting of the citizens of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, and many others held in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States, on Saturday the 28th day of December, 1816, for the purpose of receiving and considering, from the committees appointed to that duty at a previous meeting, a constitution of the Society, for meliorating the condition of the free people of colour in the United States, by providing a colonial retreat on this or the continent of Africa; and a memorial to Congress requesting the sanction and co-operation of the General Government in the object of the Institution aforesaid: a Constitution was reported by the committee appointed for that purpose: and having been discussed and amended, was then unanimously accepted by the meeting, in the following words:

ART. 1. This society shall be called "The American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States."

ART. 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 color, 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 6. The Vice Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge these duties in the absence of the President.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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 time 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.

ART. 10. Every Society which shall be formed in the United States to aid in the object of this Association, and which shall co-operate with its funds for the purposes thereof, agreeably to the rules and regulations of this Society, shall be considered auxiliary thereto, and its officers shall be entitled to attend and vote at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers.

The committee appointed for the purpose having reported a draft of a memorial to Congress, discussion arose respecting the same. Whereupon it was, on motion,

*Resolved*, That the committee appointed to prepare and present to Congress a memorial on the object of this Association, be instructed to port the same to the annual meeting of the Society for its consideration.

On motion, it was also

*Resolved*, That the first election of officers of the Society shall be held on the first Wednesday in January ensuing; of which due notice shall be given by the Secretary in the public prints in the District of Columbia; and that meanwhile a book shall be opened for receiving subscriptions to the Constitution, at the Reading Rooms in Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, at the Office of the National Intelligencer, and with the Secretary of this meeting.

And then the meeting adjourned.

H. CLAY, *Chairman*.

THOS. DOUGHERTY, *Secretary*.

*Wednesday, January 1, 1817.* The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, met this day, agreeably to the directions of the constitution. The Hon. Henry Clay, Chairman. Thomas Dougherty Secretary. The Society proceeded to the election of its officers.

The Honorable Bushrod Washington was unanimously elected President.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Hon. William H. Crawford, *of Georgia.*  
 Hon. Henry Clay, *of Kentucky.*  
 Hon. William Phillips, *of Massachusetts.*  
 Col. Henry Rutgers, *of New York,*  
 Hon. John E. Howard, }  
 Hon. Samuel Smith, } *of Maryland,*  
 Hon. John C. Herbert, }  
 John Taylor, *of Caroline, Esq. of Virginia.*  
 Gen. Andrew Jackson, *of Tennessee,*  
 Robert Ralston, Esq. }  
 Richard Rush, Esq. } *of Pennsylvania,*  
 Gen. John Mason, *of the District of Columbia,*  
 Rev. Robert Finley, *of New Jersey.*

MANAGERS.

|                        |                   |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Francis S. Key,        | James H. Blake,   |
| Walter Jones,          | John Peter,       |
| John Laird,            | Edmund I. Lee,    |
| Rev. Dr. James Laurie, | William Thornton, |
| Rev. Stephen B. Balch, | Jacob Hoffman,    |
| Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, | Henry Carroll.    |

Elias B. Caldwell, *Secretary.*

W. G. D. Worthington, *Recording Secretary.*

David English, *Treasurer.*

*Resolved.* That the President and Board of Managers be, and they are hereby instructed and required to present a memorial to Congress on the subject of colonizing, with their consent, the free people of colour of the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere.

Mr. Clay having left the chair, Gen. Mason, one of the Vice Presidents, presided as President.

*Resolved, unanimously.* That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Mr. Clay, for the ability and attention with which he has presided as Chairman of the meetings in organizing the society.

On motion of Mr. Herbert.

*Resolved, unanimously.* That the Rev. Robert Finley be requested to close the meeting with an address to the Throne of Grace.

*Memorial of the President and Board of Managers of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.*

In the House of Representatives, January 14. Read, and ordered to lie on the table.

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

The memorial of the President and Board of Managers of the "American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States."

*Respectfully shows :*

That your memorialists are delegated by a numerous and highly respectable association of their fellow citizens, recently organized at the seat of Government, to solicit Congress to aid with the power, the patronage, and the resources of the country, the great and beneficial object of their institution; an object deemed worthy of the earnest attention, and of the strenuous and persevering exertions, as well of every patriot, in whatever condition of life, as of every enlightened, philanthropic, and practical statesman.

It is now reduced to be a maxim, equally approved in philosophy and practice, that the existence of distinct and separate castes, or classes, forming exceptions to the general system of policy adapted to the community, is an inherent vice in the composition of society: pregnant with baneful consequences, both moral and political, and demanding the utmost exertion of human energy and foresight to remedy or remove it. If this maxim be true in the general, it applies with peculiar force to the relative condition of the free people of colour in the United States; between whom and the rest of the community, a combination of causes, political, physical, and moral, has created distinctions, unavoidable in their origin, and most unfortunate in their consequences. The actual and prospective condition of that class of people; their anomalous and indefinite relations to the political institutions and social ties of the community, their deprivation of most of those independent, political, and social rights, so indispensable to the progressive melioration of our nature; rendered, by systematic exclusion from all the higher rewards of excellence, dead to all the elevating hopes that might prompt a generous ambition to excel; all these considerations demonstrate that it equally imports the public good, as the individual and social happiness of the persons more immediately concerned; that it is equally a debt of patriotism and of humanity, to provide some adequate and effectual remedy. The evil has become so apparent, and the necessity for a remedy so palpable, that some of the most considerable of the slave holding States have been induced to impose restraints upon the practice of emancipation, by annexing conditions, which have no effect but to transfer the evil from one State to another; or, by inducing other States to adopt countervailing regulations, and in the total abrogation of a right, which benevolent or conscientious proprietors had long

enjoyed under all the sanctions of positive law and of ancient usage. Your memorialists beg leave, with all deference, to suggest that the fairest and most inviting opportunities are now presented to the General Government, for repairing a great evil in our social and political institutions, and at the same time for elevating, from a low and hopeless condition, a numerous and rapidly increasing race of men, who want nothing but a proper theatre, to enter upon the pursuit of happiness and independence, in the ordinary paths which a benign Providence has left open to the human race. Those great ends, it is conceived, may be accomplished by making adequate provision for planting, in some salubrious and fertile region, a colony, to be composed of such of the above description of persons as may choose to emigrate; and for extending to it the authority and protection of the United States, until it shall have attained sufficient strength and consistency to be left in a state of independence.

Independently of the motives derived from political foresight and civil prudence, on the one hand, and from moral justice and philanthropy on the other; there are additional considerations and more expanded views to engage the sympathies and excite the ardor of a liberal and enlightened people. It may be reserved for our Government, (the first to denounce an inhuman and abominable traffic, in the guilt and disgrace of which most of the civilized nations of the world were partakers) to become the honorable instrument, under Divine Providence, of conferring a still higher blessing upon the large and interesting portion of mankind, benefitted by that deed of justice; by demonstrating that a race of men, composing numerous tribes, spread over a continent of vast and unexplored extent, fertility, and riches; unknown to the enlightened nations of antiquity; and who had yet made no progress in the refinements of civilization; for whom history has preserved no monuments of arts or arms: that even this, hitherto, ill fated race, may cherish the hope of beholding at last the orient star revealing the best and highest aims and attributes of man. Out of such materials, to rear the glorious edifice of well ordered and polished society, upon the deep and sure foundations of equal laws and diffusive education, would give a sufficient title to be enrolled among the illustrious benefactors of mankind; whilst it afforded a precious and consolatory evidence of the all prevailing power of liberty, enlightened by knowledge and corrected by religion. If the experiment, in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast regions and unnumbered tribes, yet obscured in primeval darkness; reclaim the rude wanderer, from a life of wretchedness, to civilization and humanity; and convert the blind idolater, from gross and abject superstitions, to the holy charities, the sublime morality, and humanizing discipline of the Gospel—the nation, or the individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benignant enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race; unapproachable to all but the elected instruments

of divine beneficence: a glory, with which the most splendid achievements of human force or power must sink in the competition, and appear insignificant and vulgar in the comparison. And above all should it be considered, that the nation or the individual, whose energies have been faithfully given to this august work, will have secured, by this exalted beneficence, the favor of that Being, "whose compassion is over all his works," and whose unspeakable rewards will never fail to bless the humblest effort to do good to his creatures.

Your memorialists do not presume to determine, that the views of Congress will be necessarily directed to the country to which they have just alluded. They hope to be excused for intimating some of the reasons which would bring that portion of the world before us, when engaged in discovering a place the most proper to be selected; leaving it, with perfect confidence, to the better information and better judgment of your honorable body to make the choice.

Your memorialists, without presuming to mark out, in detail, the measures which it may be proper to adopt in furtherance of the object in view; but implicitly relying upon the wisdom of Congress to devise the most effectual measures, will only pray, that the subject may be recommended to their serious consideration, and that, as an humble auxiliary in this great work, the association, represented by your memorialists, may be permitted to aspire to the hope of contributing its labors and resources.

BUSH. WASHINGTON, *President.*

The memorial, after being read, and ordered to be printed, was referred to the *Committee on the Slave Trade*, Messrs Pickering, Comstock, Condict, Tucker, Taggart, Cilly, and Hooks: their report and resolution follow:

*REPORT on colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, February, 11, 1817. Read, and committed to a Committee of the the Whole House on Monday next.*

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the President and Board of Managers of the "American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States," have had the same under their deliberate consideration. The subject is of such magnitude, and attended with so many difficulties, it is with much diffidence they present their views of it to the House.

Were it simply a question of founding a colony, numerous and well known precedents show with what facility the work might be accomplished. Every new territory established by our Government, constitutes, indeed, a colony, formed with great ease; because it is only an extension of homogeneous settlements. But in contemplating the colonization of the free people of colour, it seemed obviously necessary to take a different course. Their distinct character and relative condition render an entire separation from our own States and Territories indispensable. And this separation must be such as to

admit of an indefinite continuance. Hence, it seems manifest that these people cannot be colonized within the limits of the United States. If they were not far distant, the rapidly extending settlements of our white inhabitants would soon reach them; and the evil now felt would be renewed; probably with aggravated mischief. Were the colony to be remote, it must be planted on lands now owned and occupied by the native tribes of the country. And could a territory be purchased, the transporting of the colonists thither, would be vastly expensive, their subsistence for a time difficult, and a body of troops would be required for their protection. And after all, should these difficulties be overcome, the original evil would at length recur by the extension of our white population. In the mean time, should the colony so increase as to become a nation, it is not difficult to foresee the quarrels and destructive wars which would ensue: especially if the slavery of the people of colour should continue, and accompany the whites in their migrations.

Turning our eyes from our own country, no other, adapted to the colony in contemplation, presented itself to our view, nearer than Africa, the native land of negroes; and probably that is the only country on the globe to which it would be practicable to transfer our free people of colour with safety, and advantage to themselves and the civilized world. It is the country which, in the order of Providence, seems to have been appropriated to that distinct family of mankind. And while it presents the fittest asylum for the free people of colour, it opens a wide field for the improvements in civilization, morals, and religion, which the humane and enlightened memorialists have conceived it possible, in process of time, to spread over that great continent.

Should the measure suggested be approved, an important question occurs: In what way shall its execution be essayed?

A preliminary step would be, to provide for the perfect neutrality of the colony, by the explicit assent and engagement of all the civilized Powers, whatever dissensions may at any time arise among themselves.

The next important question is: Will it be expedient to attempt the establishment of a new colony in Africa, or to make to Great Britain a proposal to receive the emigrants from the United States into her colony of Sierra Leone?

At Sierra Leone, the first difficulties have been surmounted; and a few free people of colour from the United States, have been admitted. A gradual addition from the same source, (and such would be the natural progress,) would occasion no embarrassment, either in regard to their sustenance or government. Would the British Government consent to receive such an accession of emigrants, however eventually considerable, from the United States? Would that Government agree that at the period when that colony shall be capable of self-government and self-protection, it shall be declared independent? In the mean time will it desire to monopolize the commerce of the colony. This would be injurious to the colonists, as well as to the United States. Should that country, from the nature of its soil and other circumstances,

hold out sufficient allurements, and draw to it, from the United States the great body of the free people of colour, these would form its strength, and its ability to render its commerce an object of consideration. Now, as the great and permanent benefit of the *colonists*, was the fundamental principles of the establishment—will the British Government decline a proposition calculated to give to that benefit the important extension which will arise from a freedom of commerce? To those at least, at whose expense, and by whose means, the colony shall be essentially extended? Should an agreement with Great Britain be effected, no further negotiation, nor any extraordinary expenditure of money, will be required. The work already commenced will be continued; simply that of carrying to Sierra Leone, all who are willing to embark.

It would seem highly desirable to confine the migrations to a single colony. The two distinct and independent colonies, established and protected by two independent Powers, would naturally imbibe the spirit and distinctions of their patrons and protectors, and put in jeopardy the peace and prosperity of both. Even the simple fact of separate independence, would eventually tend to produce collisions and wars, between the two establishments, (unless, indeed, they were far removed from each other,) and perhaps defeat the further humane and exalted views of those who projected them. The spirit which animated the founders of the colony of Sierra Leone, would be exerted to effect a union of design, and the cordial co-operation of the British Government with our own; and, it might be hoped, not without success. It would be in accordance with the spirit of a stipulation in the last treaty of peace; by which the two governments stand pledged to each other, to use their best endeavours to effect the entire abolition of the traffic in slaves, while the proposed institution would tend to diminish the quantity of slavery, actually existing.

If, however, such enlarged and liberal views should be wanting, then the design of forming a separate colony might be announced, by the American Ministers, to the maritime Powers; and their guarantee of the neutrality of the colony obtained.

Your committee do not think it proper to pursue the subject any further at this time; but that the Government should wait the result of the suggested negotiations; on which ulterior measures must depend.

In conclusion, your committee beg leave to report a joint resolution, embracing the views herein before exhibited.

*Joint Resolution for abolishing the traffic in Slaves, and the Colonization of the free people of colour of the United States; February 11, 1817. Read, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.*

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the President be, and*

he is hereby, authorized to consult and negotiate with all the Governments where Ministers of the United States are, or shall be, accredited, on the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the traffic in slaves. And, also, to enter into a convention with the Government of Great Britain, for receiving into the colony of Sierra Leone, such of the free people of colour of the United States as, with their own consent, shall be carried thither; stipulating such terms as shall be most beneficial to the colonists, while it promotes the peaceful interests of Great Britain and the United States. And should this proposition not be accepted, then to obtain from Great Britain, and the other maritime Powers, a stipulation, or a formal declaration to the same effect, guaranteeing a permanent neutrality, for any colony of free people of colour, which, at the expense and under the auspices of the United States, shall be established on the African coast.

*Resolved.* That adequate provision shall hereafter be made to defray any necessary expenses which may be incurred in carrying the preceding resolution into effect.

It is doubtful whether the preceding report will be acted upon by Congress *this session*; nor can we decide upon the course which the National Legislature will hereafter pursue relative to this subject. The friends, however, of efforts of the kind proposed, will welcome this commencement of a new era of benevolent exertions in behalf of a depressed and needy class of the community. It is hoped that Colonization Societies will be formed in different parts of our country, and that whatever interesting information may be collected, relative to this subject, will be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, residing in this city. It is expected that a correspondence will be soon opened, by the direction of the Society, with certain members of the African Institution in London, and with other societies and individuals in different places, for the purpose of promoting the object presented to the public in this pamphlet.

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No. 5.

*The following resolution unanimously passed 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.

By order.

LOUIS GASSAWAY. Clerk.

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Act of the Legislature of the State of Georgia.

*An act for disposing of any such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, who has been, or may hereafter be imported, or brought into this State, in violation of an act of the United States, entitled, "An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1808."*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met. and it is enacted by the authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for his Excellency the Governor, and he is hereby authorized, to appoint some fit and proper person, to proceed to all such ports and places within this State, as have, or may have, or may hereafter hold, any negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may have been, or hereafter may be seized or condemned under the above recited act of Congress and who may be subject to the control of this State; and the person so appointed shall have full power and authority to ask, demand, and recover, and receive, all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, and to convey the same to Milledgeville and place them under the immediate control of the Executive of this State.*

*SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That his Excellency the Governor is hereby empowered to cause the said negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, to be sold, after giving sixty days notice in a public Gazette, in such manner as he may think best calculated for the interest of this State.*

*SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That, if previous to any sale of any such persons of colour, the Society for Colonization of 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 said Society, and shall likewise pay to his Excellency the Governor all expenses incurred by the State, since they have been captured and condemned, his Excellency the Governor is authorized and requested to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said Society, in such manner as he may deem expedient.*

Assented to, 19th December, 1817.

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*Resolution of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee.*

Your committee are of opinion that such parts of said memorial and petitions as ask this General Assembly to aid the Federal Go-

vernment in devising and executing a plan for colonizing, in some distant country, the free people of colour in the United States, is reasonable, and, for the sake of effecting the object which they have in view, the committee have drafted a resolution, which accompanies this report, the adoption of which they would recommend.

The committee are of opinion that such parts of the said memorials and petitions as pray the passage of a law to prohibit the bringing of slaves into, or through, the State, for sale, as well as those parts which pray that the owners of slaves of certain ages and descriptions, may be permitted to emancipate them without giving any security, are reasonable, and to endeavor to accomplish those objects, they have drafted a bill, which accompanies this report, the enacting of which into a law, the committee also recommend.

All which is respectfully submitted.

NATH. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

Mr. Willis, from the same committee, submitted the following resolution: which was read and adopted:

*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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*Resolutions of the General Assembly of Delaware.*

Whereas, the "Wilmington Union Colonization Society," professing by its Constitution to be "Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society," and that the object to which its views shall be exclusively directed, is the colonization on the coast of Africa, *with their own consent*, of the free people of colour of the United States, has by memorial addressed to this General Assembly, requested the expression of an opinion whether their views deserve the National support, and with the National funds, to such extent as the wisdom of Congress shall deem prudent. And in the said memorial, has set forth that the system of colonizing the free people of colour on the coast of Africa, has already been commenced by the "American Colonization Society," and that experiments have proved the plans adopted, to be no longer doubtful of success, if suitable National encouragement be given; and whereas, it satisfactorily appears to this Legislature, that the memorialists are engaged in endeavoring to execute one of the grandest schemes of philanthropy that can be presented to the American People, that it is no less than the cause of humanity, suffering humanity—the redemption of an ignorant and much injured race of men, from a degradation worse than servitude and chains, and plac-

ing them in that country on that luxuriant soil, and in that genial climate pointed to by the finger of Heaven as their natural inheritance.

And it further appears to this Legislature, that the object of this Society is two fold : for, while it immediately and ostensibly directs its energies to the melioration of the condition of the free people of colour, it relieves our country from an unprofitable burden, and which, if much longer submitted to, may record upon our history the dreadful cries of vengeance that but a few years since were registered in characters of blood at St. Domingo. Therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met* That it is requisite for our prosperity, and what is of more important concern, essential to our safety, that measures should be taken for the removal from this country of the free negroes and free mulattoes.

*Resolved*, That this General Assembly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and consider that these objects deserve public support, and that they ought to be fostered and encouraged by the National Government and with the National funds.

*Resolved*, That the Senators of this State in Congress, with the Representative from this State, be requested to approve and promote in the Councils of the Nation, measures for removing from this country to Africa, the free coloured people who may be willing to emigrate.

*Resolved*, That the Speaker of the two Houses be requested officially to sign these resolutions, and forward a copy to each of our Senators and a copy to our Representative in Congress.

*Resolutions of the General Assembly of Kentucky—Jan. 16, 1827.*

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the American Colonization Society, have had that subject under consideration, and now report :

That, upon due consideration of the said memorial, and from all other information which your committee has obtained, touching that subject, they are fully satisfied that no jealousies ought to exist on the part of this or any other slave-holding State, respecting the objects of this Society, or the effects of its labors.

Your committee are further well assured that the benevolent and humane purposes of the Society, and the political effects of those purposes, are worthy the highest consideration of all philanthropists and statesmen in the Union, whether they be citizens of slave-holding or non-slave-holding States. It is believed by your committee, that the memorial itself is well calculated to present the subject in a proper point of view, and to interest the public mind in the laudable objects of that Society ; they therefore refer to the same as a part of this report. Your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions :

*Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky,* That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an Asylum on the coast of Africa, for the free people of colour of the United States: and that the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State, be and they are hereby requested, to use their efforts to facilitate the removal of such free persons of colour as may desire to emigrate from the United States to the Colony of Africa, and to ensure to them the protection and patronage of the General Government, so far as shall be deemed consistent with the safety and interest of the United States.

*Resolved,* That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

*Adopted by New Jersey—1825.*

*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 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 the burdens of removing it.*

*By Ohio—1824.*

A resolution 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 21; 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.”

*By Connecticut—1824.*

*Resolved.* That the existence of slavery in the United States is a great national evil, and that the People and the States ought to participate in the burdens and the duties of removing it, by all just and prudent measures which may be adopted *with a due regard to their inter-al peace and mutual harmony;* and that a system of colonization, under the patronage of the General Government, may reasonably be deemed conducive to so desirable an object.

Similar resolutions are believed to have been adopted by the States of Rhode Island and Illinois.

The following resolution was submitted to the Senate of the United States, by Mr. King, of New York, February 18th, 1825 :

“*Resolved*, That, as 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 or 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 people 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.”

The following by Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, March 2, 1825 :

“*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 routes across the mountains, and the probable cost of a road and military post, 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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No. 6.

*From the (Geo.) Missionary.*

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At a called session of the Jackson County Auxiliary Colonization Society, held on the 2d day of April, 1825, the following preamble and resolutions were offered and unanimously adopted :

Whereas, it is obvious that the present is an age of *great* and successful experiment and enterprise, all having the melioration of the condition of the human family in view ; and whereas, we do believe that the American Colonization Society may be justly ranked with the greatest means employed at this time, with a view to the accomplishment of those events which are indispensable as a prelude to that happy day (and which cannot be distant,) when violence and oppression shall be driven from the world, and the knowledge of God shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea :

*Therefore, be it Resolved*, That this Society, impelled by the foregoing considerations and convictions, and in anticipation of final success, renew to each other the solemn pledge of fidelity and perseverance in aiding to the utmost of their means the *great* and laudable enterprise of the Parent Society.

*Resolved.* That this Society, in anticipating the approaching Fourth of July next, see much to excite their love and gratitude to God, and they trust in a just proportion their love to their fellow creatures of every caste: it is therefore recommended that that day be set apart as the *Day* that ushers in the first and great American Jubilee; and that, so far as the members of this Society are concerned, or their influence extends, to loose the bands of labor on that day, and that a committee, consisting of Wm. Pentecost, Hugh Montgomery, David Boring, Hosea Camp, and Joseph Hampton, be, and they are hereby, appointed and requested to open a correspondence with such persons as they may deem most friendly to the institution, with a view to solicit donations in behalf and for the use of the Parent Society, and to call their attention to the expediency of forming Auxiliaries; and that they also avail themselves of the advantages of that auspicious day, in soliciting donations for the use of what we do not scruple to call one of the greatest enterprises.

*Resolved.* That it is the opinion of this Society, that the cause in which the American Colonization Society is engaged, is *National*, and therefore requires and merits *National* aid; they consequently look with anxious anticipation to the National and State Governments, for their efficient co-operation, and to Auxiliaries and individuals for more liberal contributions.

*Resolved.* That the Treasurer of this Society transmit to Richard Smith, Esq. Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, all the money in his hands, except so much as may be necessarily retained for incidental expenses, and report to the Society at the next meeting.

*Resolved.* That the proceedings of this day be transmitted to the editors of *The Missionary* for publication.

*Resolved.* That the Society now adjourn to the first Saturday in September next.

A true copy from the minutes:

W. PENTECOST, *Secretary p. t.*

*Address of the Synod of Tennessee to the Society for the Colonization of the free People of Colour in the United States.*

To the Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, Esq. PRESIDENT, &c.

RESPECTED SIR: Through you the Synod of Tennessee embrace with lively pleasure an early opportunity of congratulating the society formed at the Capital of our nation, and consisting of so many of our distinguished statesmen and fellow citizens, for the colonization of the free people of colour among us, who may accede to their plan. We congratulate you on the noble and important object for which you are associated, on the providential signs of our times which signally favor your efforts, and on the wide spread and growing impression upon the public mind, that your success is connected with the best interests, not only of the people of colour, but of our country and

mankind. If it is important that legal equality should accompany liberty, that Africa should receive the Gospel, and that the evils of the slave trade should be overruled for her final enjoyment of the blessings of civilization and knowledge, liberty, and religion, then it is important that your design should be encouraged. We wish you, therefore, to know, that within our bounds the public sentiment appears clearly and decidedly in your favor, and that the more vigorously and perseveringly you combine and extend your exertions on the plan you have adopted, the more you are likely to be crowned with the approbation of the people, as well as with the higher rewards of doing good. As ministers and disciples of him who proclaims light to them that sit in darkness, peace to a jarring world, liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, we anticipate the glorious day, when men shall know the Lord, from the least unto the greatest, in all lands; when every one shall sit under his own vine and under his own fig tree, having none to molest or to make him afraid; when the rod of the oppressor and the tears of the oppressed shall be known no more; but all men shall do unto others as they would be done unto in similar circumstances. This glorious change in the state of the world we expect will be brought about by the instrumentality of men under the blessing of God. While, then, the heralds of salvation go forth in the name and strength of their Divine Master to preach the Gospel to every creature, we ardently wish that your exertions and the best influence of all philanthropists may be united, to meliorate the condition of human society, and especially of its most degraded classes, till liberty, religion, and happiness, shall be the enjoyment of the whole family of man.

*Nashville Church, Oct. 3, 1817.*

A true copy from the Records of the Synod of Tennessee.

CHARLES COFFIN, *Stated Clerk.*

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*Extract from the Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, holden in Petersburg, on the 13th May, 1819.*

“*Resolved*, That this Convention highly approve of the objects of the American Colonization Society, and that a committee be appointed to transmit to the President of the Society, a copy of this resolution, and to assure him of the good wishes and prayers of the committee in behalf of the benevolent exertions of the Society.

“*Resolved*, That the Rev. Wm. H. Wilmer, Robert Page, Esq., and Mr. Needham Washington, be the committee for that purpose.”

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*In Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.*

*Resolved*, That the institution of the Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, on the coast of Africa, meets with the cordial approbation of this Convention: and that it be earnestly

recommended to all the members of this church, to give to the said Society their countenance and support.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Hon. Bushrod Washington, the President, and to the members of the Board of Managers, for their zealous and persevering exertions in furtherance of the benevolent object of the Society.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President and Secretary of the Society.

Test, H. I. DAVIS, *Secretary*.

*Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.*

The objects and plans of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, having been stated to the General Assembly, and the same having been considered and discussed, the Assembly resolved, that in their opinion the plan of the Society is benevolent in its design, and, if properly supported, and judiciously and vigorously prosecuted, calculated to be extensively useful to this country and to Africa.

The situation of the people of colour has frequently attracted the attention of this Assembly. In the distinctive and indelible marks of their colour, and the prejudices of the people, an insuperable obstacle has been placed to the execution of any plan for elevating their character, and placing them on a footing with their brethren of the same common family. In restoring them to the land of their fathers, the Assembly hope the way may be opened, not only for the accomplishment of that object, but for introducing civilization and the gospel to the benighted nations of Africa. From the information and statements received, the Assembly believes, that the proposed Colony in Africa may be made a powerful auxiliary in the efforts which are making to abolish the iniquitous traffic in slaves, carried on in Africa, and happily calculated to lay the foundation for a gradual emancipation of slaves in our country, in a legal and constitutional manner; and without violating the rights, or injuring the feelings of our Southern brethren.

With these views, the Assembly feel it a duty earnestly to recommend the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, to the patronage and attention of the churches under their care, and to benevolent individuals throughout the Union.

A true extract from the minutes of the General Assembly of the Protestant Church.

Attest, I. E. LATTA, *Permanent Clerk*.

*Session of the Assembly, May 31st, 1819.*



*The following Resolution was adopted by the same, in 1826.*

The Assembly having witnessed with high gratification the progress of the American Colonization Society in a great work of humanity and religion, and believing that the temporal prosperity and moral interests of an extensive section of our country, of a numerous, degraded, and miserable class of men in the midst of us, and of the vast continent of Africa, now uncivilized, and unchristian, are intimately connected with the success of this institution: Therefore,

*Resolved.* That this Assembly recommend to the churches under their care to patronize the objects of the American Colonization Society; and particularly that they take up collections in aid of its funds on the 4th of July next, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day, and whenever such course may be thought expedient, to give them assistance in such a manner as may be most conducive to the interests of the general cause.

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*Address from the Presbytery of North Carolina.*

HILLSBOROUGH, April 18, 1818.

SIR: The Presbytery of Orange, in the State of North Carolina, learn with sincere and peculiar satisfaction, that a plan for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, has now ceased to be merely a subject of anxious wish to the hearts of the humane, and the charity of the Christian. We rejoice in the institution of a society, in which, permit us, Sir, to say that your selection to the Presidency is calculated to excite a general confidence. To Him who has ruled in this auspicious event, we would render our thanks, that the society has already commenced its operations, and is now with a well-directed energy, advancing in their execution. It has long been the firm opinion of many in this part of our country, that nothing more was necessary to success, in colonizing vast numbers of free people of colour, than a common understanding among its friends, with a well digested method, distinctly pointed out, and evidently practicable without injury to the community. When the feeling and patriotic bosom has breathed the ardent wish, that our country might be redeemed from the complicated evils which have been incorporated with society, it was to such a plan only as it was the object of your institution to patronize and effect, that the intelligent mind could look for the consolation of hope. Colonization was necessary; but how were the wisdom and efficacy to be combined, which were essential to its accomplishment? It was necessary, not only that cautious prudence should be satisfied, but even reluctant selfishness must, if possible, be left without a plausible plea for opposition, from apprehensions of public danger, untoward circumstances, or untimely failure. We think, that in the Constitution and proceedings of the Colonization Society, we see all that we could wish. We might indeed desire to witness and experience ourselves, a speedy and com-

plete termination to the moral disease which mingles and circulates its vitiating influence through the whole of our social State; but with prayerful resignation we would submit to the will of our Heavenly Father, and be fervently grateful to Him for the prospect with which he permits our longing eyes to be cheered. As a pledge of ardor which animates this Presbytery in the cause which engages the society, we are directed to inform you, that to a resolution appointing a committee to give expression to their feelings, they have annexed another, "That it be earnestly recommended by this body to each of its members, to employ his influence and personal exertions for promoting the establishment of societies auxiliary to the principal Colonization Society."

Our prayers, Sir, are ever with you and with the society, that God, in whose hands the hearts of men are as the rivers of water, to turn them whithersoever he will, may plentifully infuse into your minds, and into the hearts of the people, a spirit of union and strength to accomplish the great object of your benevolent institution, for the sake of our Great Redeemer.

Signed by the committee,

FREDERICK NASH,  
WM. M'PHEETON,  
JOSEPH CALDWELL.

Hon. BUSHROB WASHINGTON.

*President of the American Colonization Society.*

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*Extract from the minutes of the Presbytery of Fayetteville. N. C.*

Thirteenth Session of the Presbytery of Fayetteville,  
Truza Church, Monday, 4th October, 1819.

*Resolved*, That this Presbytery do heartily approve of the object proposed by the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States; and that they do sincerely wish and fervently pray, that the said Society may meet with the most abundant and speedy success.

*Ordered*, That an attested copy of the above resolution, be transmitted to the President of the said Society.

Truly extracted from the 151st page of the minutes of the Presbytery.

COLIN McIVER, *Stated Clerk.*

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*Resolutions of the General Association of Massachusetts.*

WESTHAMPTON, Sept. 9th, 1819.

ELIAS B. CALDWELL, Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

SIR: At a meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, at Pittsfield, June 23d, 1819.

"The Association *resolved*, That this Association entertain sentiments of high respect for the Society organized for the colonization of free

blacks; that they most earnestly wish success to its noble and interesting objects; that they assure the directors of their co-operation, and beg them to persevere in the good work so favorably commenced.

.. *Voiced*. That a copy of this vote be transmitted to the Secretary of the Society."

Certified and transmitted with sentiments of respect, by, sir, yours,  
&c.

**ENOCH HALE,**

*Secretary General Association Mass. Proper.*

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*Resolution of the Synod of Virginia.*

PRINCE EDWARD, November 18th, 1819.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in Winchester, on the 25d October, 1819, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, and an order passed, that a copy should be transmitted to you, as President of the American Colonization Society.

"Whereas the Synod of Virginia are informed of the existence, in our country, of an association of intelligent and patriotic citizens, under the title of the American Colonization Society the object of which is to send out to Africa such free persons of colour as may be willing to go: and whereas there is reason to hope that this enterprise, if conducted with proper discretion, will produce the happiest effects, particularly in aiding to communicate the glad tidings of the gospel to an interesting quarter of the globe; and to meliorate the condition of a degraded portion of our population: while it promises the means of alleviating evils which our own country has reason to deplore:

*Resolved, unanimously*. That the Synod of Virginia recommend, and they do hereby cordially recommend, to all the members of the churches and congregations under their care, to aid the design of the said Society according to opportunity and ability, by their countenance, their contributions, and their prayers to Almighty God for its success."

**BENJ. H. RICE,** *Moderator.*

A true copy:

**MATTHEW STILES,** *Stated Clerk.*

**HON. BUSHROD WASHINGTON,**

*President of the American Colonization Society.*

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*Resolution of the Methodist Conference of Virginia and North Carolina;*

OXFORD, N. C. Feb. 28th, 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.

**JOHN EARLY,** *Secretary.*

**APPROBATORY RESOLUTION.**

*Resolution of the Methodist Baltimore Annual Conference.*

At the Conference of the Methodist Church, lately held in Baltimore, the following Resolution was passed, and communicated to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, by its Secretary:

*Resolved by the Baltimore Annual Conference, in Conference assembled.* That we highly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society; and that we will use all prudent means to promote its success, by taking up collections in aid of its funds, on the Sabbath preceding or succeeding the 4th of July, in all places where it is practicable.

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In the year 1825, the Legislature of Virginia adopted a Resolution appropriating five hundred dollars to the American Colonization Society; and in 1826 it appropriated eight hundred dollars to the same object.

**MARYLAND APPROPRIATION.**

*Maryland, Set:*

At a session of the General Assembly of Maryland, begun and held at the city of Annapolis on the last Monday of December, being the twenty fifth day of the said month, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, and ended the thirteenth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven—His Excellency JOSEPH KENT, Esquire, Governor; amongst others, the following law was enacted, to wit:

*An Act making appropriation for the benefit of the American Colonization Society.*

Whereas the people and Government of this State have witnessed, with deep interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society to promote and carry into effect the great and laudable objects of their association; and whereas this Legislature do most highly approve of the scheme of African Colonization, set on foot by said Society, and believe it to be the only one which can promise practical benefit to the country, or to that class of the community which it is intended to relieve: therefore,

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland.* That the Treasurer of the Western Shore be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the order of the Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, for the use of said Society, the sum of one thousand dollars, out of any unappropriated moneys which shall be in the Treasury at the time of the passage of this act: *Provided.* That the Treasurer of the said Shore shall be satisfied, that the said sum will be expended for the benefit of free people of colour, who have been

actual residents of this State for twelve months previous to the time of their embarkation.

**Sec. 2.** *And be it enacted*, That the said Treasurer is hereby authorized to pay to the order of the Treasurer of the Society aforesaid, the sum of one thousand dollars, for the use of said Society, in the month of January, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-eight; and the like sum, at the same time, in each successive year thereafter: *Provided*, That, after the present year, no payment shall be made under the authority of this act, unless the officers of said Society shall present satisfactory proof to the said Treasurer of the Western Shore, that the whole of the appropriation of the preceding year, or such parts thereof as may have been expended, has been applied towards the colonization, on the coast of Africa, of free people of colour, who had been actual residents of this State for twelve months preceding the time of their embarkation: *And provided further*, That the appropriation shall be extended to the applicants for colonization from each of the counties, and the city of Baltimore, in the ratio of applications.

*By the House of Delegates, March 13th, 1827.*

This engrossed bill, the original of which passed this House on the 10th day of February, 1827, was this day read and assented to.

By order:

GIDEON PEARCE, *Clerk.*

*By the Senate, March 13th, 1827.*

This engrossed bill, the original of which passed the Senate on the 8th day of March, 1827, was this day read and assented to.

By order:

WILLIAM KILTY, *Clerk.*

JOSEPH KENT.

[THE GREAT SEAL OF MARYLAND.]

*Maryland, Sec:*

I hereby certify, that the foregoing is a full and true copy, taken from the original engrossed bill deposited in and belonging to the office of the Court of Appeals for the Western Shore of said State.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed the seal of the said Court of Appeals, this eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

[L. S.]

TH. HARRIS, *Clk. Ct. of Apps.*

While these testimonies of public favor have been supplied, in America, to the cause of colonization, other nations have not been inattentive to the interests which it is calculated to promote, not only in Africa but elsewhere. Both policy and humanity prompted the an-

nexed communication from the French Government to the American Society, through one of its members.

LEGATION DE FRANCE AUX ETATS-UNIS.

Washington, 2 Mars, 1821.

**MONSIEUR :** Le Roi mon Maître a vu avec une bien douce satisfaction qu'il s'était formé aux Etats-Unis une société dont le but était d'améliorer insensiblement, dès lors sans essais dangereux, le sort d'une classe d'hommes trop longtems étrangers aux soins et à la pitié de leurs semblables.

Animée du désir de seconder autrement que par des vœux, un aussi noble dessein. Sa Majesté a daigné m'autoriser à jeter les bases d'une colonisation qui, si elle peut réussir, ne saurait manquer d'être unjour un grand bienfait de plus pour la civilisation et l'humanité.

L'entreprise généreuse à laquelle vous n'avez cessé de prendre, monsieur, la part la plus active, ne me parait pas pouvoir être un obstacle à celle qui occupe mon Gouvernement, l'amour du bien ne fait jamais maître de collision, et les cœurs tels que le votre desirent qu'il s'opère par toutes les voies qu'il plaît à la Providence d'indiquer.

Quoique je ne sois point dans l'intention de donner, au moins quant à présent, de la publicité au projet dont j'ai l'honneur de vous entretenir, Jevais, monsieur, entrer dans tous les details propres à vous faire juger non-seulement de l'œuvre, mais de l'intention.

On ne manquera pas de dire peut être, que l'entreprise de mon Gouvernement sera connue, que c'est de sa part qu'une bonne action intéressée. La France pourra trouver par la suite un avantage réel à l'exécution de ce plan ; mais l'humanité y gagnera plus que la France, et c'est elle qu'on a entendu principalement servir d'une part, quand on a proposé, de l'autre quand on a bien voulu agréer le projet.

Voici, monsieur, ce dont il s'agit :

La France est disposée à coloniser, dans l'une des parties de la Guyane qui lui appartient des cultivateurs libres de couleur, et elle désire principalement les recevoir des Etats-Unis si rien ne contrarie ce dessein.

Il m'est bien prouvé, monsieur, que la république ne demande pas mieux, que de favoriser l'éloignement de la population libre de couleur ; c'est donc avec une extrême confiance que je viens solliciter, pour un projet qui concorde si bien avec l'intérêt et le desir de l'Union, votre assistance personnelle et celle de l'honorable Société qui a bien voulu agréer depuis plusieurs années mes offres de service et me considérer, pour ainsi dire, comme l'un de ses Membres-Société à laquelle je suis sûr, au moins, d'appartenir toujours par les sentimens qui m'animent et le besoin que j'ai de sympathiser avec elle. Plusieurs motifs me font désirer le concours de cette association bienfaisante : elle peut m'applaudir beaucoup de difficultés, elle peut surtout par son intervention officieuse concourir puissamment à dissiper les craintes que pourraient concevoir des hommes naturellement déshans et trop souvent autorisés à l'être. Ce ne sont point de nouveaux Esclaves que le Roi des Francais cherche à introduire dans l'une de ses plus importantes Colonies. Son âme généreuse sait trop bien compatir aux

malheurs inévitables et que le tems seul peut graduellement adoucir, pour avoir pu concevoir la pensée d'affermir un état de choses que la religion et l'humanité condamnent, et dont les Enfants de St. Louis chercheront à accélérer le terme par tous les moyens que l'équité et la prudence pourront leur suggérer.

Les colons qu'il s'agit d'établir à la Guyane Française y seront libres et y jouiront de toute la protection accordée aux sujets du Roi.

Voilà, monsieur, ce qui peut d'abord leur être garanti, et à cet égard j'aime à croire qu'on arrivera très-facilement à les convaincre quand ils auront appris, de leurs plus zélés protecteurs, sous quel Gouvernement paternel on leur offre de vivre.

Pour procéder sûrement, je voudrais pouvoir commencer le plutôt possible par l'importation à la Guyane de quelques familles valides aux quelles j'adjoinrais volontiers un ou deux hommes de couleur libres dont la mission serait de leur par eux-mêmes l'établissement et de revenir aux États-Unis pour déterminer des expéditions subséquentes.

Où donnerait aux émigrants le passage aux frais du Roi, un terrain par famille, et sur ce terrain, une case provisoire. On y ajouterait des vivres pour 6 ou 9 mois et même un an. La propriété foncière serait acquise aux concessionnaires après la mise en valeur des deux tiers du terrain, et sous l'obligation d'y entretenir constamment, outre des cultures de coton, de café, de tabac, d'indigo, de cacao, de vanille ou d'arbres à épicerie, des plantations de vivres indigènes, dans une proportion déterminée. Chaque enfant mâle qui viendrait à se marier, obtiendrait aussi un lot de terre sous les mêmes clauses.

D'autres avantages pourront être accordés à ces familles de cultivateurs. Rien ne sera négligé, quant aux secours sanitaires, et surtout pour que'en tous tems, la religion, cette première source de bonheur et de prospérité, préside au développement de leur civilisation et de leur industrie.

Toutes les conditions seront libellées d'une manière précise, et je consentirai volontiers à faire revenir, dans la première année, aux frais du Gouvernement, ceux des premiers émigrants que se croiraient déçus dans leur attente.

Vous voyez, monsieur, par cet exposé, qu'il s'agit de former un établissement utile à l'humanité. J'ose donc vous prier de vouloir bien me donner votre opinion et sur l'ensemble du projet et sur les moyens les plus sûrs de le faire réussir.

Il m'importerait aussi beaucoup d'être mis par vous en rapport avec vos amis de Philadelphie et autres villes de l'Union : mais il sera tems de nous occuper de ce soin quand vous aurez bien voulu me faire connaître ce que vous pensez de l'entreprise et jusqu'à quel point elle pourra être favorisée et par le Gouvernement Fédéral et par les sociétés qui s'occupent avec constance, dans les divers États de l'Union, de l'amélioration du sort des hommes de couleur.

Veillez agréer, monsieur, l'assurance des sentimens de considération et d'attachement avec les quels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur.

HYDE DE NEUVILLE.

[TRANSLATION.]

## LEGATION OF FRANCE IN THE UNITED STATES,

*Washington, 2d March, 1821.*

SIR : The King, my master, has heard, with great satisfaction, that a society has been formed in the United States, whose object is, gradually, and therefore without dangerous experiments, to improve the condition of a class of individuals who have been, for too long a time, strangers to the care and sympathy of mankind.

His majesty, actuated by a desire to aid, by more effectual means than mere good wishes, a project so deserving of encouragement, has been pleased to authorize me, to lay the foundation of a scheme of colonization, which, if successful, cannot fail to become, at a future day, a real blessing to civilization and humanity.

The generous undertaking, which you have unceasingly labored to promote, by the most active endeavors, does not appear to me, to form an obstacle to that proposed by my Government. The true desire of doing good, can never breed collision; and hearts such as yours, are always desirous that it should be effected by all the means pointed out by Providence.

Although it is not my intention, at least at this time, to give publicity to the project which I have the honor to communicate to you, I will yet enter into such details, as will enable you to appreciate, not only the deed itself, but the intention also.

As soon as the undertaking of my Government shall have become publicly known, there may, perhaps, not be wanting those who will say, that it is, on its part, but an interested act. It is true that France may, in future, derive some real benefit from the execution of the plan; but humanity will be still more benefitted than France; and when the project has been proposed on one hand, and accepted on the other, it will be seen that the object in view was the cause of humanity.

This, Sir, is the project in question:

France agrees to the colonization, in that part of Guyane which belongs to her, of free coloured agriculturists; and wishes to receive them chiefly from the United States, in case nothing should exist to oppose this intention.

I have acquired the conviction, that the commonwealth has nothing more at heart, than to promote the removal of her free coloured population: it is, therefore, with full confidence that I now solicit, in behalf of a project, according so well with the desire and interest of the Union, your personal assistance, and that of the honorable society, which has been pleased, for several years past, to receive my offers of services, and, I may say, to consider me as one of its members. To this society, I am sure, I will always remain attached by the sentiments which now actuate me, and by the desire I feel of sympathizing with it. Various motives impel me to wish for the co-operation of this benevolent association. It has it in its power to remove many difficulties which stand in my way; and, above all, to quiet the fears which might be entertained by men naturally mistrustful, and too often justified in being so. The King of *the Franks* has no desire to intro-



duce new slaves into one of his most valuable colonies. His generous soul knows too well how to feel for unavoidable miseries which time alone can gradually alleviate, to entertain for a moment the idea of maintaining a state of things, which religion and humanity condemn; and to which the children of St. Louis will seek to put an end, by all the means suggested by prudence and justice.

The Colonists proposed to be settled in French Guyane, will be free, and will enjoy all the protection guaranteed to the subjects of the King.

This, Sir, is the first thing which will be guaranteed to them; and of this they will, I hope, be easily convinced, when they shall have known, from their most zealous protectors, the character of the Government to whose care it is proposed to commit them.

In order to proceed with more safety, I would like to begin by introducing, as soon as possible, into Guyane a few healthy families, to whom I would willingly add one or two coloured men, whose duty would be to acquire a personal knowledge of the character of the settlement, and return to the United States, to facilitate subsequent expeditions.

The emigrants would be transported at the expense of the King; a tract of land granted to each family, and on each tract a temporary dwelling would be erected. To these would be added provisions for six, nine, and even twelve months. The fee simple of the land would vest in the grantees as soon as two-thirds of the tract should have been cleared, under the condition of their raising thereon, a stated proportion of indigenous provisions, independently of the cultivation of cotton, coffee, tobacco, indigo, cocoa, vanilla, and spices. Every male child would, on marrying, obtain also, a tract of land upon the same conditions.

Other advantages will be granted to these families of agriculturists. Nothing will be neglected as respects medical assistance; and, above all, to cause religion, this primary source of prosperity and happiness, to preside over their progress in industry and civilization.

All the conditions will be stipulated in a precise manner; and I will willingly engage to bring back, during the first year, at the expense of the Government, such of the first emigrants as would think that their expectations had been deceived.

This statement will enable you, Sir, to discover that the object is to form an establishment useful to humanity. I therefore take the liberty to ask your opinion, as well on the general intent of the plan, as on the surest means to promote its execution.

It would also be gratifying to me, to be enabled by you to communicate with your friends in Philadelphia, and in the other cities of the Union; but it will be time to give our attention to this, when you shall have imparted to me your views of the project, and informed me how far it may be assisted by the Federal Government, and by those societies which are now engaged, throughout the Union, in devising the means of improving the condition of the People of Colour.

Be pleased to accept the assurance of the sentiments of consideration and attachment with which I have the honor to be your most obedient, humble servant.

HYDE DE NEUVILLE.

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No. 7.

*Tenth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.*

Ten years have now elapsed, since a few individuals assembled in this city, and deliberately formed themselves into an Institution for the purpose of establishing a Colony of the Free People of Colour of the United States on the coast of Africa.

An enterprise of such a nature, so vast in conception, various in its relations, and remote in its consequences and its benefits, was seen to be involved in uncertainty because relying for its full execution upon the aid of those whose approbation could not reasonably be expected, until created by other evidences of its utility, than those which the scheme, as merely theoretic presented to the public mind.

But should the means be contributed for demonstrating, experimentally, the utility of the plans of the Society, so far as the actual establishment of a Colony on the African coast could be regarded as such demonstration, still it was manifest that on the delicate but momentous question of the probable effects of this Colony upon the condition and interests of the great mass of our coloured population, two opinions would be adopted, entirely contradictory, and both, therefore, widely varying from the real purposes and hopes of the Institution.

The want of satisfactory information concerning the soil, climate, and natives of Africa, and the methods most expedient to be adopted for the acquisition of territory, and the very general aversion of the free people of colour to a design, which all of them could feel to be hazardous, but which few could comprehend; increasing, as it necessarily must, the indifference of those of our citizens who are governed rather by sympathy than reflection; constituted obstacles truly formidable, but which it was impossible to avoid.

It may not perhaps be irrelevant to the present occasion, to consider, for a moment, by what motives and arguments the founders of this Society were enabled to sustain themselves in their earliest efforts for a cause, embarrassed by difficulties so numerous and immense, and so destitute of attraction to the eye of an ordinary observer.

There was a moral grandeur in the design itself, which rendered the bare possibility of its accomplishment a motive sufficient to justify every possible exertion. It presented itself in relations infinitely important to those whom it would remove from our shores; was seen connected with the domestic happiness, social order, political strength, and all the higher interests of our country, and seemed to offer the

only hope of rescuing Africa from the invaders of her rights, and the murderers of her children, and of imparting to her tribes, whose sable aspect is but the shadow of a darker mind, the pure and undying light of our religion.

In the operations of the Society, it was obvious that the principal difficulties must be encountered at the outset. That a few enlightened citizens might be induced to furnish the means for exploring the coast of Africa, there was reason to hope; and a favorable report from those delegated for this purpose, could not fail to secure aid for the emigration of such intelligent and energetic adventurers as have never been found wanting to enterprises of the most arduous and dangerous character. Every practical movement of the Society would draw the public attention to its plans, and, if successful, exhibit evidence of their utility which no development of a theory, however plausible, could produce. Accounts from Africa would be perused by all, by the fanciful and inquisitive for the novelty of their statements, by the thoughtful and pious to learn the character of its inhabitants, and the best methods of instructing them in the principles of our faith. Thus reflection would be excited, and the objects of the Society become better understood; a knowledge of their nature would secure belief in their importance; the spirit of charity would advance with the progress of conviction; truth and time would soften down prejudice; and, through the agency of the press, unremitting efforts and fervent prayer—the thoughts which dwelt at first in the breasts of a few, might finally enlist the sympathies and command the powers of the nation.

Animated by such considerations, the original managers of this Society resolved to proceed, and the history of their operations, for the last ten years, as detailed in their Annual Reports, will show the sobriety of their purposes, and the reasonableness of their hopes.

The facts connected with the efforts of the Society during the last year, and now to be presented to this meeting, will add, the Managers trust, no little weight to the accumulated evidence heretofore adduced, of the practicableness and expediency of the scheme in which they are engaged.

It was stated by the Managers in their last report, that the liberality of their friends had enabled them to despatch for the Colony the brig *Vine*, with thirty-four emigrants, a missionary, and printer, accompanied by the Rev. Horace Sessions, an Agent of the Society, who proposed to return in the same vessel; and that the Indian Chief was about to depart from Norfolk with a much larger number of passengers. The first of these vessels sailed from Boston on the fourth of January, and arrived at Liberia on the seventh February; the last left Norfolk on the 15th of February, and completed her passage on the 2<sup>d</sup> of March.

A printing press, with all its necessary appendages, many valuable books, and other articles of equal importance, were shipped on board the *Vine* by the citizens of Boston, who evinced still farther their liberality, by assuming the whole expense of the printing establishment for the first year. Eighteen of the emigrants by this vessel

were, just before their departure, at their own request, organized into a church, and the impressive exercises of the occasion, upon which thousands attended with heartfelt interest, deepened the concern for the prosperity of the expedition. But the counsels of Heaven are too mysterious for human scrutiny, and the Almighty was pleased to visit this little company with a mortality unprecedented in the history of the Colony. Scarcely had the Managers seen announced in the first sheet ever issued from the Colonial press, the arrival of the *Vine*, before they received the mournful tidings of the decease of the Rev. Horace Sessions, Mr. Charles L. Force, the printer, and twelve of the emigrants, with whom others must now be reckoned, including the missionary, the Rev. Calvin Holton, making in all nearly half the whole number of those who embarked from New England. But the attention of the meeting is not left to dwell on this melancholy statement.

The *Indian Chief* conveyed to Africa one hundred and fifty-four persons, of which one hundred and thirty-nine were from the State of North Carolina. Not an individual of the latter number suffered materially from sickness, while some who left Norfolk in bad health, derived, ultimately, benefit from the change of climate. All felt more or less severely the symptoms of fever, ague, and prostration of strength, which the system must necessarily experience, on a transition from a temperate to a tropical climate; but they soon recovered their vigour, and proceeded to the erection of buildings, and the clearing of their lands.

As both these expeditions sailed from the United States in the Winter, the striking contrast in their subsequent condition is doubtless owing, in great measure, to the wide difference in the change experienced by the two companies of emigrants: a difference which must be estimated by comparing the less constitutional liability to tropical disease, and the lesser influence of the season affecting those from the South, with the greater liability, and the more powerful influence of the season to which those from the North were exposed. It has been very justly remarked by the Colonial Agent, that as it would be rash for our friends in North Carolina to conclude that no emigrant from that State will hereafter suffer from the African climate, so it would be equally wide from sober calculation for the citizens of New England to determine, from a single experiment, that every similar movement would be attended with a like calamity.

The health of the colonists (those who arrived in the *Vine* excepted) has been well nigh universal and uninterrupted, and no less animated and robust than that which they enjoyed in America. Among the passengers in the *Indian Chief*, the symptoms of disease were, in many instances, only sufficiently developed to show their specific character, and, in nearly every case, yielded readily to the power of medicine. Many of the children and youth exhibit as much activity and muscular strength as the natives themselves; and "the adults who have resided for some years in the Colony, seem to acquire for the climate a peculiar predilection." The natives of the coast are remarkable for their vigorous and well proportioned frames, which

are seldom broken or debilitated by disease. Probably no race of men enjoy health more uniformly, or in greater perfection. It is a fact also well ascertained, and peculiarly encouraging in reference to the African climate, that the country gradually rises from the seaboard into the interior, and that between these two regions, there exists a difference both in temperature and elevation nearly resembling what is found in our own Southern States.

The system of Government established with the full consent of the colonists in the Autumn of 1824, and which the Managers had the happiness to represent in their last report, as having thus far fulfilled all the purposes of its institution, has continued its operations during the year without the least irregularity, and with undiminished success. The republican principle is introduced as far as is consistent with the youthful and unformed character of the settlement, and in the election of their officers the colonists have evinced such integrity and judgment as afford promise of early preparation for all the duties of self-government. "The civil prerogatives and government of the Colony, and the body of the laws by which they are sustained," says the Colonial Agent, "are the pride of all. I am happy in the persuasion I have, that I hold the balance of the laws in the midst of a people, with whom the first perceptible inclination of the sacred scale determines, authoritatively, their sentiments and their conduct. There are individual exceptions, but these remarks extend to the body of the settlers."

The moral and religious character of the Colony exerts a powerful influence on its social and civil condition. That piety which had guided most of the early emigrants to Liberia, even before they left this country, to respectability and usefulness among their associates, prepared them, in laying the foundations of a Colony, to act with a degree of wisdom and energy which no earthly motives could inspire. Humble, and for the most part unlettered men; born and bred in circumstances the most unfavorable to mental culture; unsustained by the hope of renown, and unfamiliar with the history of great achievements and heroic virtues, theirs was nevertheless a spirit unmoved by dangers or by sufferings, which misfortunes could not darken, nor death dismay. They left America, and felt that it was forever: they landed in Africa, possibly to find a home, but certainly a grave. Strange would it have been had the religion of every individual of these early settlers proved genuine; but immensely changed as have been their circumstances, and severely tried their faith, most have preserved untarnished the honors of their profession, and to the purity of their morals and the consistency of their conduct, is in a great measure to be attributed the social order and general prosperity of the Colony of Liberia. Their example has proved most salutary; and while subsequent emigrants have found themselves awed and restrained, by their regularity, seriousness, and devotion, the poor natives have given their confidence and acknowledged the excellence of practical Christianity. "It deserves record," says Mr. Ashmun, "that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment

ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government." Examples of intemperance, profaneness, or licentiousness, are extremely rare; and vice, wherever it exists, is obliged to seek concealment from the public eye. The Sabbath is universally respected; Sunday schools, both for the children of the Colony and for the natives, are established; all classes attend regularly upon the worship of God; some charitable associations have been formed for the benefit of the heathen; and though it must not be concealed, that the deep concern on the subject of religion, which resulted, towards the conclusion of the year 1825, in the public profession of Christianity by about fifty Colonists, has in a measure subsided, and some few cases of delinquency since occurred; and though there are faults growing out of the early condition and habits of the settlers which require amendment; yet the Managers have reason to believe that there is a vast and increasing preponderance on the side of correct principle and virtuous practice. One gratifying instance has occurred in which two Methodist Societies, long separated, have been induced by juster views, unanimately to unite in the same discipline and worship. On *this* subject the Managers will only add, that the moral interests of the Colony have been most essentially promoted by the eminent piety and labors of its ministers.

The agriculture of the Colony has received less attention than its importance demands. This is to be attributed to the fact, that the labor of the settlers has been applied to objects conducing more immediately to their subsistence and comfort. They have been too much occupied in the construction of houses and public buildings, and in conducting a profitable traffic with the natives, to leave much time to make permanent improvements on their plantations. The best methods of cultivation appear to be imperfectly understood, and the lands which were early cleared on the cape, are inferior to those more recently surveyed and allotted to emigrants on the St. Paul's. Crops which exhibited the fairest promise until near the time of harvest, have been severely injured by the various and numerous animals and insects which inhabit the neighboring forests. "The cultivation of a larger number of contiguous farms will tend to preserve them all from depredations," and these destroyers can hardly retain their "accustomed haunts" another season.

It will not, the Board trust, be concluded that, because more might have been done for the agricultural interests of the Colony, what has been effected is inconsiderable. Two hundred and twenty-four plantations, of from five to ten acres each, were, in June last, occupied by the settlers, and most of them are believed to be at present under cultivation. One hundred and fourteen of these are on Cape Montserado, thirty-three on Stockton creek, (denominated the Halfway Farms, because nearly equi distant from Monrovia and Caldwell, the St. Paul's settlement,) and seventy-seven at the confluence of Stockton creek with the St. Paul's.

The St. Paul's Territory includes the Halfway Farms, and is represented as a beautiful tract of country, comparatively open, well

watered and fertile, and still further recommended as having been, for ages, selected by the natives, on account of its productiveness, for their rice and cassada plantations. The agricultural habits of the present occupants of this tract, concur with the advantages of their situation, in affording promise of success to their exertions. "Nothing," says the Colonial Agent, "but circumstances of the most extraordinary nature, can prevent them from making their way directly to respectability and abundance."

Oxen were trained to labor in the Colony in 1825, and it was then expected that the plough would be introduced in the course of another year. Although commerce has thus far taken the lead of agriculture, yet the excellence of the soil, the small amount of labor required for its cultivation, and the value and abundance of its products, cannot fail, finally, to render the latter the more cherished, as it is, certainly, the more important interest of the Colony.

The trade of Liberia has increased with a rapidity almost unexampled, and while it has supplied the colonists not only with the necessaries, but with the conveniences and comforts of life, the good faith with which it has been conducted, has conciliated the friendship of the natives, and acquired the confidence of foreigners.

The regulations of the Colony allowing no credits, except by written permission, and requiring the barter to be carried on through factories established for the purpose, has increased the profits of the traffic, and prevented numerous evils which must have attended upon a more unrestricted license.

Between the 1st of January and the 15th of July, 1826, no less than fifteen vessels touched at Monrovia and purchased the produce of the country, to the amount, according to the best probable estimate, of \$43,980, African value. The exporters of this produce realize, on the sale of the goods given in barter for it, a profit of \$21,990, and on the freight, of \$8,786, making a total profit of \$30,786.

A gentleman in Portland has commenced a regular trade with the Colony, and for his last cargo landed in Liberia amounting to \$8,000, he received payment in the course of ten days. The advantages of this trade to the Colony, are manifest from the high price of labor, (that of mechanics being two dollars per day, and that of common laborers from 75 cents to \$1 25 cents,) and from the easy and comfortable circumstances of the settlers. "An interesting family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing an abundant table, is not known; and an individual, of whatever age or sex, without an ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, it is believed, be found." "Every family," says Mr. Ashmun, "and nearly every single adult person in the Colony, has the means of employing from one to four native laborers, at an expense of from four to six dollars the month; and several of the settlers, when called upon in consequence of sudden emergencies of the public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 500 to 600 dollars each."

The Managers are happy to state, that the efforts of the Colonial Agent to enlarge the TERRITORY of Liberia, and particularly to bring

under the government of the Colony a more extended line of coast have been judicious and energetic, and in nearly every instance resulted in complete success. From Cape Mount to Tradetown, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, the Colonial government has acquired partial jurisdiction. Four of the most important stations on this tract, including Montserado, belong to the Society, either by actual purchase, or by a deed of perpetual lease; and such negotiations have been entered upon with the chiefs of the country, as amount to a preclusion of all Europeans from any possessions within these limits. The fine Territory of the St. Paul's now occupied by settlers, was described in the last annual report of the Society.

The territory of Young Sesters, recently ceded to the Society, is ninety miles South of Montserado, in the midst of a very productive rice country, affording also large quantities of palm oil, camwood, and ivory. The tract granted to the Colony includes the bed of the Sesters river, and all the land on each side, to the distance of half a league, and extending longitudinally from the river's mouth to its source. In compliance with the terms of the contract, the Chief of the country has constructed a commodious store house, and put a number of laborers sufficient for the cultivation of a rice plantation of forty acres, under the direction of a respectable colonist, who takes charge of the establishment.

The right of use and occupancy has also been obtained to a region of country on the South branch of the St. John's river, North nine miles from Young Sesters, and the trading factory established there, under the superintendence of a family from Monrovia, has already proved a valuable source of income to the Colony. Rice is also here to be cultivated, and the Chief who cedes the territory agrees to furnish the labor.

The upright and exemplary conduct of the individual at the head of this establishment, has powerfully impressed the natives with the superiority of civilized and Christian men, and with the importance of inviting them to settle in their country; and consequently, the offer made by the Colonial Agent, for the purchase of Factory Island, has been accepted by its proprietor. This Island is in the river St. John's, four miles from its mouth, from five to six miles in length, and one third of a mile in breadth, and is among the most beautiful and fertile spots in Africa. A few families are about to take up their residence upon it, and prepare for founding a settlement, "which cannot fail," says Mr. Ashmun, "in a few years, to be second to no other in the Colony, except Monrovia."

Negotiations are also in progress with the Chiefs of Cape Mount, which, if successful, will secure to the Colony the whole trade of that station, estimated at \$50,000 per annum, and may ultimately lead to its annexation to the territories of Liberia. "The whole country between Cape Mount and Trade Town," observes Mr. Ashmun, "is rich in soil and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the sea-board, the traveller, every where, at



the distance of a very few miles. enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfailing water, and covered with a verdure which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found every where to yield, in both respects, to the interior."

Much progress has been made the last year, in the construction of public buildings and works of defence, though, with adequate supplies of lumber, more might doubtless have been accomplished. Two handsome churches, erected solely by the colonists, now adorn the village of Monrovia. Fort Stockton has been rebuilt in a style of strength and beauty. A receptacle capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty emigrants, is completed. The new Agency House, Market House, Lancasterian School, and Town House, in Monrovia, were, some months since, far advanced, and the finishing strokes were about to be given to the Government House on the St Paul's. The wing of the old Agency House has been handsomely fitted up for the Colonial Library, which now consist, of 1200 volumes, systematically arranged in glazed cases with appropriate hangings. All the books are substantially covered, and accurately labelled; and files of more than ten newspapers, more or less complete, are preserved. The library is fitted up so as to answer the purpose of a reading room, and it is intended to make it a museum of all the natural curiosities of Africa, which can be procured."

No efforts have been spared to place the Colony in a state of adequate defence, and while it is regarded as perfectly secure from the native forces, it is hoped and believed that it may sustain itself against any piratical assaults. "The establishment has fifteen large carriage guns and three small pivot guns, all fit for service." Fort Stockton overlooks the whole town of Monrovia, and a strong double battery is now building on the height of Thompson Town, near the extremity of the Cape, which it is thought will afford protection to vessels anchoring in the roadstead. The militia of the Colony consists of two corps appropriately uniformed, one of Artillery of about fifty men, the other of Infantry of forty men, and on various occasions have they proved themselves deficient neither in discipline or courage.

It is impossible for the Managers to express the regret excited by the reflection that the system of education in the Colony, second as it is to no one of its interests, is extremely defective, and that the best endeavors to improve it have, for the present, been arrested by the ordinations of an all wise but mysterious Providence. Several primary schools continue in operation, but the ability of the teachers is only equal to the communication of the mere rudiments of knowledge. The plan of instruction commenced by the Rev. Mr. Holton, promised incalculable benefits, but his sudden and lamented decease has shaded the prospect which seemed so fairly opening, for the intellectual improvement of the Colony. It is hoped that men of colour may be

found. qualified to act in the capacity of teachers, and thus prevent the recurrence of so sad a disappointment. Regarding this subject as one of vital interest, the Managers will not fail to give to it the most sedulous and unremitting attention.

It is a fact, which cannot fail to awaken in this meeting the deepest concern, that the records of the Colony afford abundant and unequivocal evidence of the undiminished extent and atrocity of the African Slave Trade. From eight to ten, and even fifteen vessels have been engaged at the same time in this odious traffic, almost within reach of the guns of Liberia; and as late as July, 1825, there were "existing contracts for eight hundred slaves, to be furnished in the short space of four months," within eight miles of Monrovia. Four hundred of these were to be purchased for two American slavers. A boat belonging to a Frenchman, having on board twenty-six slaves, all in irons, was, in September, 1825, upset in the mouth of the St. Paul's, and twenty of their number perished. This is one of the lesser scenes of tragedy, says the Colonial Agent, which are daily acting in this wretched country. But the crimes of these lawless invaders of human liberty are not confined to their acknowledged profession; they defy the laws of all civilized nations, and engage in every species of piracy.

The crew of a Spanish schooner recently boarded and robbed an English brig, lying at anchor off Cape Montserado, the captain of the latter being at the time in Monrovia. The aid of the Colonial Agent was invoked for the punishment of the offence, who felt himself obliged, from regard to his own safety, not to leave unnoticed so flagrant a violation of the law of nations. The offer of a number of the Colonial militia, to proceed immediately to take possession of the factory built by the master of the piratical vessel, a few miles from Monrovia, was accepted, and the expedition resulted in the capture of fourteen slaves, and the entire destruction of the establishment. A few of the poor Africans thus relieved from their manacles, ignorant of the language of the settlement, and unable to appreciate the motives which led to their capture, and the benevolence which was still operating for their benefit, fled from the Colony, and were soon after taken by the natives, and sold to a Frenchman who was then employed in purchasing slaves on the St. Paul's. When their situation was made known, the Colonial Agent demanded that they should immediately be delivered over to the authorities of the Colony. A peremptory refusal having been made to this demand, it was judged necessary to attempt their recovery by force, which was speedily effected, and possession at the same time obtained of the whole number of slaves at the factory, amounting in all to ninety-nine.

About the same time, two or three others of these recaptured Africans, who had escaped from the Colony, were conveyed by the natives to a factory at Trade Town, a slave mart, one hundred miles South of Cape Montserado, and the most notorious one existing between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone.

An effort to recover these individuals, peaceably, proved entirely

unsuccessful. It was known also, that one of the three vessels then waiting for their complement of slaves at Trade Town, had committed various piratical acts since her arrival on the coast. Justified, therefore, as was believed, by those principles of right which ought to govern all human actions, the Agent, attended with thirty two volunteers from the Colony, assisted by the Colombian armed schooner *Jacinta*. Captain Chase, immediately embarked for Trade Town, detained the two vessels, (the third having been previously captured by a French brig of war) effected a landing, seized fifty-three slaves, and reduced all the stores and buildings of the factory to ashes.

These bold and energetic measures have done much towards the exclusion of the Slave Trade from this part of Africa, and have indeed banished it entirely (at least for the present) from the whole district of country between Cape Mount and Trade Town. But the Managers cannot hope that a traffic so long established, so gainful, so extensive, and which enlists in its support so many of the deep and malignant vices of the heart, will be exterminated, without more decided and combined measures, than have ever yet been adopted by the Powers of the Christian World.

The influence of the Colony with the natives is great and increasing, and resulting, as it does, principally, from the integrity and kindness manifested towards them by the Colonial Government in all its transactions, may be expected to be permanent. They begin to feel the superior advantages of civilized life, and to secure, through the settlement, by lawful trade, those articles which were formerly acquired only by the sale of their brethren. "No man of the least consideration in the country," says Mr. Ashmun, "will desist from his importunities until one, at least, of his sons is fixed in some settler's family. We have their confidence and friendship, and these built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other."

Here the Managers pause, to pay a mournful and affectionate tribute of respect to the memory of the dead. The Rev. Horace Sessions, the Rev. Calvin Holton, and Mr. Charles L. Force; the two former Agents of the Society, and the latter employed as printer for the African Colony, have been called from the field of toil on which they had but just commenced exertions most honorable to themselves, and useful to the Society, to the invisible and eternal world. Mr. Sessions superintended the embarkation of the emigrants by the *Vine*, and accompanied them to Liberia, in the hope of acquiring information which might enable him more successfully to prosecute an Agency for the Society in the United States. Mr. Holton had devoted himself, with a martyr's spirit, to Africa, and his instructions and missionary labors in the Colony, promised greatly to advance its literary, moral, and religious interests. But the will of Heaven has removed them, and to that will it becomes us to bow, in humble confidence, that He who prepared them for usefulness in life will not leave to perish the influence of their example.

The events which have occurred in the United States during the

year, favorable to this Institution, are too numerous to be given in detail, and too important to be left unnoticed. They have been such as must confirm the faith of the wavering, strengthen the confidence of the irresolute, and stimulate the decided friends of our cause to higher and nobler exertions.

The number of subscribers to the African Repository and Colonial Journal, has very much increased, and it is circulated at present in nearly every State of the Union.

The Managers have heard with pleasure that an institution denominated the Kosciusko school, has been founded in New Jersey, and that one of its prominent objects is to qualify young men of colour for usefulness in Liberia. The name of Kosciusko is associated with this school, in honor of that illustrious individual, who, on his final departure from America, intrusted to Mr. Jefferson a fund to be applied by him to the purchase and education of African slaves, which fund is, on certain conditions, to be appropriated to the benefit of this Seminary, which will long stand, we trust, a monument of the charity of that noble foreigner, whose valor and services, in the cause of freedom and humanity, are revered throughout our country and the civilized world.

The free people of colour are becoming more generally and decidedly favorable to the views of the Society, and many of the best informed and most industrious, have resolved upon an early removal to Liberia. In Baltimore they have recently, in a memorial to the whites, implored the means of emigration, and expressed their full conviction of the benevolence and wisdom of the plans of the Society.

The Clergy of nearly all denominations have taken occasion, on the Anniversary of our National Independence, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day, to explain to their congregations our design, and solicit contributions in its behalf; the amount of which has, it is believed, exceeded any similar collections in former years.

The brig Doris is now preparing to sail to Liberia, with a considerable number of emigrants, most of whom are from North Carolina.

The reports of the Agents employed by the Society in different sections of the country, are of the most encouraging character, and prove that a deep rapid, and extensive change, favorable to the interests of this Institution, is taking place in the public mind. More than twenty Auxiliary Societies have been formed in the course of the year. Among these is the *Colonization Society of the State of Pennsylvania*, which, from its situation, (Philadelphia,) the energy with which it has commenced operation, and the liberality which has thus early been evinced in its support, may be expected to act very effectively in aid of our cause.

The Managers are peculiarly gratified to know, that the citizens of the Western States begin highly to appreciate the objects of the Society, and that they are almost unanimously disposed to countenance and sustain them. They have this day received intelligence of the

organization of a State Society in Ohio, under circumstances so cheering, as to justify the prediction that it will prove among the most important Auxiliaries in the Union.

In conclusion, may not the Managers be permitted to express the hope that this work, so auspiciously commenced, but for the completion of which private charity must prove inadequate, appealing, as it does, equally to our duty and interest—to the Christian who recognizes in man, wherever he is found, an heir of immortality—to the statesman, who would build up his country's glory on her justice and magnanimity—may be regarded as strictly national, worthy of the most earnest attention and liberal patronage of the Legislatures of the several States, and of the Federal Government.

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No. 8.

*Report of the Committee of the House of Representatives.—April 18, 1818.*

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the “President and Board of Managers of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States,” have, according to order, had the same under their attentive consideration.

Referring to the memorial itself, and to the report of the committee on the slave trade, to the 14th Congress, your committee beg leave to add, that a new interest has been recently imparted to the benevolent enterprise of the memorialists, by the prospect of a speedy termination of that odious traffic, which has been so long the crime of Europe, the scourge of Africa, and the affliction and disgrace of America. Spain and Portugal have at length concurred in that just and humane policy of the United States, which Great Britain was the first to imitate, and which, by her liberal and unremitting zeal, she has successfully extended throughout the civilized world.

So far as the civilization of Africa, the victim of this inhuman traffic, is embraced among the views of the memorialists, the removal of this formidable impediment to their success, is calculated to elevate the hopes of the philanthropist, and to secure to their enterprise a larger share of public confidence.

America cannot but sympathize in the wish to redeem from ignorance, barbarism, and superstition, a continent of vast extent, spread out beneath every climate, embracing every variety of soil, and inhabited by a much injured and degraded portion of the human race.

But your committee have no hesitation in acknowledging that they derive a yet stronger incentive to recommend this enterprise to the countenance and favor of the House from considerations peculiar to the United States. These were presented to the last Congress by the report to which your committee have referred, and they deem it un-

necessary. therefore, to press them upon the attention of the House. They cannot, however, forbear to remark, that time is unceasingly aggravating all those domestic evils, for which the memorialists propose the only competent remedy, and that the most auspicious circumstances conspire at present to promote its successful application.

Europe, after passing through a war of unprecedented extent and calamity, enjoys a repose which she has rarely known, and which, for the honor of humanity, it may be hoped she will be disposed to signalize by some act of distinguished generosity. She will not, surely, be content with a mere forbearance of further injustice, but seek to repair the wrongs which she has inflicted upon an unhappy race of men.

The people of the United States have retired from the same conflict, to enjoy a prosperity which has never been surpassed in the history of the world. Respected abroad, they possess abundance, tranquillity, and happiness, at home.

A survey of such blessings, naturally inspire a sentiment, the existence of which is illustrated not only by the formation of the society from which this memorial proceeds, a society embracing individuals of every religious and political denomination, and inhabitants of every State in this wide spread Union, but by the almost unanimous proceedings of the Legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, either recommending or countenancing the same benevolent object.

It cannot be supposed that the liberal and enlightened policy which dictated the resolutions and acts of those particular States, is confined to themselves alone. Their neighbors, alike circumstanced, actuated by the same interests and feelings, will be conducted to the same conclusion, in relation to questions not only of vital importance to them, but, in their remote bearing, of scarcely less moment to the stability and prosperity of the Union.

The Auxiliary Colonization Societies which are daily springing up in other quarters of the United States, evince that, if the feelings which animate them were local in their origin, they required only to be manifested in order to awaken the sympathy and to secure the co-operation of the rest of America, in the attainment of their common object.

Your committee would not thus favorably regard the prayer of the memorialists, if it sought to impair, in the slightest degree, the rights of private property, or the yet more sacred rights of personal liberty, secured to every description of freemen in the United States.

The resolution of the Legislature of Virginia, the subsequent acts and declarations, as well as the high character of the memorialists themselves, added to the most obvious interest of the States who have recently sanctioned the purpose, or recognized the existence of the American Colonization Society, exclude the remotest apprehension of such injustice or inhumanity.

The memorialists propose to attain the noblest end which benevolence can conceive, by temperate and practicable means.

As preliminary to their success, and, in anticipation of the acts of

the Government: they have, at considerable expense, sent out agents to explore the coast of Africa, and to select a seat for their contemplated colony. Those agents were instructed first to visit Europe. Their reception in England, and the intelligence which had been received from them down to the period of their late embarkation for Africa, were as favorable as could have been anticipated, to the success of their mission.

This success, however, cannot be complete, until the object of the memorialists shall have received the sanction, and their efforts the aid of the Federal Government.

If their memorial does not furnish sufficient ground for the interposition of the National Legislature, in their behalf, it appears to your committee, that the resolution of Virginia, which they beg leave to subjoin to this report,\* subsequently sustained by a similar resolution of Maryland and Tennessee, unquestionably do so.

Whether a treaty for the territory of the proposed colony is to be opened with the native tribes of Africa, or with the European Governments which claim certain portions of the shores of that continent, it is by the authority of the United States, alone, that such negotiation can be effected.

The several States having, by their adoption of the Federal Constitution, surrendered the power of negotiation to the General Government, have an undoubted right to claim the exercise of that sovereign authority for their benefit, whenever it can be exerted consistently with welfare of the United States.

Your committee cannot forbear to add another, to them a very solemn consideration, as an inducement for the exercise of this authority in the manner proposed by the General Assembly of Virginia. The act of Congress which interdicts the African slave trade, and subjects the citizens of the United States, who engage in its prosecution, to merited punishment, has left the unfortunate beings, whom the violations of this law are daily casting upon the American shore, to the separate provisions of the respective States within whose jurisdiction they may chance to be found.

To say nothing of the abstract propriety of transferring such an authority over the persons and liberty of these foreigners from the national to the State Legislatures, entertaining no apprehension that Congress will be rendered thereby necessary to any act of cruelty or inhumanity; it must be yet apparent, that the individual States have a right to require the aid now sought to be obtained from the General Government, in order to enable themselves to discharge the trust reposed in them, without a violation of their local policy, or injustice to those unfortunate Africans, placed at their disposal by the laws of the United States.

Your committee were instructed by two other resolutions of the House, to inquire into the expediency of making more effectual provision by law, for preventing the participation of the citizens of the United States in the African slave trade, and of correcting certain

\* See pages, No. 24, 25, 40, 41.

abuses which are practised in the internal commerce of the United States. Both these objects have been accomplished by bills which subsequently originated in the other branch of the National Legislature, and which came down to the House of Representatives under circumstances which ensured to them an earlier decision than would have followed a report from your committee. They beg leave, however, to remark that the beneficial effect to be expected from any improvement of the pre-existing laws in relation to the former species of traffic, which commences its enterprises against humanity upon a foreign and remote coast, and matures it upon that of America, in such a manner as to elude detection by ordinary vigilance, must depend on the efforts of another branch of the Government.

It does not become your committee to do more in relation to this branch of the inquiry charged upon them, than to intimate their opinion that no act of legislation whatever would be so likely to put down this iniquitous traffic as the multiplication of the revenue cutters, upon the American shores most frequented by the vessels engaged in it, and the employment of such part of the navy as would be best adapted to such service, in occasional visits to the African coast, at the season when it is frequented by the same description of vessels.

Your committee therefore ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the second and third resolutions, to which they have referred, and beg leave to recommend to the House, in relation to the first, the adoption of the following resolution:

*Resolved.* That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby requested to take such measures as he may deem proper, to ascertain whether a suitable territory can be procured on the coast of Africa, for colonizing such of the free people of colour of the United States as may be willing to avail themselves of such an asylum, and to enter into such negotiation with the native tribes of Africa, or with one or more of the Governments of Europe, as may be necessary to obtain such territory, and to secure to the contemplated colony every advantage which he may deem essential to its future independence and prosperity.

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*Report of the Committee to whom was referred, at the commencement of the present session of Congress so much of the President's message as relates to the Slave Trade. (1820.)*

The Committee on the Slave Trade, to whom was referred the Memorial of the President and Board of Managers of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, have, according to order, had under consideration the several subjects therein embraced, and report:

That the American Society was instituted in the city of Washington, on the 23<sup>th</sup> of December, 1816, for the benevolent purpose of affording to the free people of colour of the United States the means of establishing one or more independent colonies on the Western coast



of Africa. After ascertaining, by a mission to that continent, and other preliminary inquiries, that their object is practicable, the Society request of the Congress of the United States a charter of incorporation, and such other legislative aid as their enterprise may be thought to merit and require.

The memorialists anticipate from its success, consequences the most beneficial to the free people of colour themselves; to the several States in which they at present reside; and to that continent which is to be the seat of their future establishment. Passing by the foundation of these anticipations, which will be seen in the annual reports of the Society, and their former memorials, the attention of the committee has been particularly drawn to the connexion which the memorialists have traced between their purpose and the policy of the recent act of Congress, for the more effectual abolition of the African slave trade.

Experience has demonstrated that this detestable traffic can be nowhere so successfully assailed as on the coast upon which it originates. Not only does the collection and embarkation of its unnatural cargoes consume more time than their subsequent distribution and sale in the market for which they are destined; but the African coast, frequented by the slave ships, is indented with so few commodious or accessible harbors, that, notwithstanding its great extent, it could be guarded by the vigilance of a few active cruisers. If to these be added colonies of civilized blacks, planted in commanding situations along that coast, no slave ship could possibly escape detection; and thus the security, as well as the enhanced profit which now cherish this illicit trade, would be effectually counteracted. Such colonies, by diffusing a taste for legitimate commerce among the native tribes of that fruitful continent, would gradually destroy among them, also, the only incentive of a traffic which has hitherto rendered all African labor insecure, and spread desolation over one of the most beautiful regions of the globe. The colonies, and the armed vessels employed in watching the African coast, while they co-operated alike in the cause of humanity, would afford to each other mutual succour.

There is a single consideration, however, added to the preceding view of this subject, which appears to your committee, of itself conclusive of the tendency of the views of the memorialists to further the operation of the act of 3d of March, 1819. That act not only revokes the authority antecedently given to the several State and Territorial governments, to dispose, as they pleased, of those Africans who might be liberated by the tribunals of the United States; but authorizes and requires the President to restore them to their native country. The unavoidable consequence of this just and humane provision, is, to require some preparation to be made for their temporary succour, on being relanded upon the African shore. And no preparation can prove so congenial to its own object, or so economical as regards the government charged with this charitable duty, as that which would be found in a colony of the free people of colour of the United States. Sustained by the recommendations of numerous societies in every part of the United States, and the approving voice of the legislative as-

semblies of several States, without inquiring into any other tendency of the object of the memorialists. your committee do not hesitate to pronounce it deserving of the countenance and support of the General Government. The extent to which these shall be carried is a question not so easily determined.

The memorialists do not ask the Government to assume the jurisdiction of the Territory, or to become, in any degree whatever, responsible for the future safety or tranquillity of the contemplated colony. They have prudently thought that its external peace and security would be most effectually guarded, by an appeal, in its behalf, to the philanthropy of the civilized world; and to that sentiment of retributive justice, with which all christendom is at present animated towards a much injured continent.

Of the constitutional power of the General Government to grant the limited aid contemplated by the accompanying bills and resolutions, your committee presume there can exist no shadow of doubt; and they leave it to a period of greater national prosperity to determine, how far the authority of Congress, the resources of the National Government, and the welfare and happiness of the United States, will warrant, or require its extension.

Your committee are solemnly enjoined, by the peculiar object of their trust, and invited by the suggestions of the memorialists, to inquire into the defects of the existing laws against the African slave trade. So long as it is in the power of the United States to provide additional restraints upon this odious traffic, they cannot be withheld, consistently with the justice and honor of the nation.

Congress have heretofore marked, with decided reprobation, the authors and abettors of this iniquitous commerce, in every form which it assumes; from the inception of its unrighteous purpose in America, through all the subsequent stages of its progress, to its final consummation: the outward voyage, the cruel seizure, and forcible abduction of the unfortunate African from his native home, and the fraudulent transfer of the property thus acquired. It may, however, be questioned, if a proper discrimination of their relative guilt has entered into the measure of punishment annexed to these criminal acts.

Your committee cannot perceive wherein the offence of kidnapping an unoffending inhabitant of a foreign country: of chaining him down for a series of days, weeks, and months, amidst the dying and the dead, to the pestilential hold of a slave ship: of consigning him, if he chance to live out the voyage, to perpetual slavery, in a remote and unknown land, differs in malignity from piracy, or why a milder punishment should follow the one than the other crime.

On the other hand, the purchase of the unfortunate African, after his enlargement from the floating dungeon which wafts him to the foreign market, however criminal in itself, and yet more in its tendency to encourage this abominable traffic, yields in atrocity to the violent seizure of his person, his sudden and unprepared separation from his family, his kindred, his friends, and his country followed by all the horrors of the middle passage. Are there not united in this

offence, all that is most iniquitous in theft, most daring in robbery, and cruel in murder? Its consequences to the victim, if he survives; to the country which receives him; and to that from which he is torn; are alike disastrous. If the internal wars of Africa, and their desolating effect, may be imputed to the slave trade, and that the greater part of them must, cannot now be questioned, this crime, considered in its remote, as well as its proximate consequences, is the very darkest in the whole catalogue of human iniquities; and its authors should be considered as *hostes humani generis*.

In proposing to the House of Representatives, to make such part of this offence as occurs upon the ocean, piracy, your committee are animated, not by the desire of manifesting to the world the horror with which it is viewed by the American people; but, by the confident expectation of promoting, by this example its more certain punishment by all nations, and its absolute and final extinction.

May it not be believed, that when the whole civilized world shall have denounced the slave trade as piracy, it will become as unfrequent as any other species of that offence against the law of nations? Is it unreasonable to suppose that negotiation will, with greater facility, introduce into that law such a provision as is here proposed, when it shall have been already incorporated in the separate code of each State?

The maritime Powers of the Christian world have, at length, concurred in pronouncing sentence of condemnation against the traffic. The United States, having led the way in forming this decree, owe it to themselves not to *follow* the rest of mankind in promoting its vigorous execution.

If it should be objected, that the legislation of Congress would be partial, and its benefit, for a time at least, local, it may be replied, that the constitutional power of the Government has already been exercised in defining the crime of piracy, in accordance with similar analogies, to that which the committee have sought to trace between this general offence against the peace of nations, and the slave trade.

In many of the foreign treaties, as well as in the laws of the United States, examples are to be found, of piracies, which are not cognizable, as such, by the tribunals of all nations. Such is the unavoidable consequence of any exercise of the authority of Congress, to define and punish this crime. The definition and the punishment can bind the United States alone.

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*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 traffic 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 3d. 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 traffic. 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 favor 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 traffic, could have been more effectually used for the interest and honor 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 rumors 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 ves-

sel 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 traffic, 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 traffic, 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 honorable 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 traffic, 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 ensure 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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*The following resolution accompanied the report of a committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, February 9, 1821:*

*“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.”*

## No. 9.

*Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.*

Some doubt being entertained respecting the true intent and meaning of the act of the last session, entitled "An act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade," as to the duties of the agents, to be appointed on the coast of Africa. I think it proper to state the interpretation which has been given of the act, and the measures adopted to carry it into effect. that Congress may, should it be deemed advisable, amend the same, before further proceeding is had under it.

The obligation to instruct the commanders of all our armed vessels to seize and bring into port all ships or vessels of the United States, wheresoever found, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, in violation of former acts for the suppression of the slave trade, being imperative. was executed without delay. No seizures have yet been made. but, as they were contemplated by the law, and might be presumed, it seemed proper to make the necessary regulations applicable to such seizures for carrying the several provisions of the act into effect.

It is enjoined on the Executive to cause all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, who may be taken under the act, to be removed to Africa. It is the obvious import of the law, that none of the persons thus taken should remain within the United States; and no place other than the coast of Africa being designated, their removal, or delivery, whether carried from the United States or landed immediately from the vessels in which they were taken, was supposed to be confined to that coast. No settlement or station being specified, the whole coast was thought to be left open for the selection of a proper place, at which the persons, thus taken, should be delivered. The Executive is authorized to appoint one or more agents, residing there, to receive such persons; and one hundred thousand dollars are appropriated for the general purposes of the law.

On due consideration of the several sections of the act, and of its humane policy, it was supposed to be the intention of Congress, that all the persons above described, who might be taken under it, and landed in Africa, should be aided in their return to their former homes, or in their establishment at, or near the place where landed. Some shelter or food would be necessary for them there, as soon as landed, let their subsequent disposition be what it might. Should they be landed without such provision having been previously made, they might perish. It was supposed, by the authority given to the Executive, to appoint agents residing on that coast, that they should provide such shelter and food, and perform the other beneficent and charitable offices contemplated by the act. The coast of Africa having been little explored, and no persons residing there, who pos-

sessed the requisite qualifications to entitle them to the trust, being known to the Executive, to none such could it be committed. It was believed that citizens only, who would go hence, well instructed in the views of their Government, and zealous to give them effect, would be competent to these duties, and that it was not the intention of the law to preclude their appointment. It was obvious that the longer these persons should be detained in the United States in the hands of the Marshals, the greater would be the expense, and that for the same term would the main purpose of the law be suspended. It seemed, therefore, to be incumbent on me to make the necessary arrangements, for carrying this act into effect in Africa, in time to meet the delivery of any persons who might be taken by the public vessels, and landed there under it.

On this view of the policy and sanctions of the law, it has been decided to send a public ship to the coast of Africa, with two such agents, who will take with them tools, and other implements, necessary for the purposes above mentioned. To each of these agents a small salary has been allowed; fifteen hundred dollars to the principal, and twelve hundred to the other. All our public agents on the coast of Africa receive salaries for their services, and it was understood that none of our citizens possessing the necessary qualifications, would accept these trusts, by which they would be confined to parts the least frequented and civilized, without a reasonable compensation. Such allowance, therefore, seemed to be indispensable to the execution of the act. It is intended, also, to subject a portion of the sum appropriated, to the order of the principal agent, for the special objects above stated, amounting, in the whole, including the salaries of the agents for one year, to rather less than one third of the appropriation. Special instructions will be given to these agents, defining, in precise terms, their duties, in regard to the persons thus delivered to them; the disbursement of the money by the principal agent; and his accountability for the same. They will also have power to select the most suitable place, on the coast of Africa, at which all persons who may be taken under this act, shall be delivered to them, with an express injunction to exercise no power founded on the principle of colonization, or other power than that of performing the benevolent offices above recited, by the permission and sanction of the existing Government under which they may establish themselves. Orders will be given to the commander of the public ship in which they will sail, to cruise along the coast, to give the more complete effect to the principal object of the act.

JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1819.



*Extract from the Second Annual Report of the Colonization Society.*

“The memorial presented to the House of Representatives, in behalf of the American Colonization Society, at the 2d session of the 14th Congress, gave rise to a favorable report from the Select Committee to which it was referred. Having been submitted to the House at an advanced period of that session, which terminated, of necessity, on the fourth of March, the report remained unacted on, amidst the mass of unfinished business. Upon its renewal, at the last session of the present Congress, the memorial was retained, by the committee to which it was referred, in expectation of important intelligence from the missionaries of the Society, then on the African coast. The committee, however, concurred in a favorable report, which was presented to the House of Representatives towards the close of the session. In consequence of the adoption of a rule which gives to the unfinished business of that session a priority to any arising after the first week of the present, a decision upon the report may be confidently expected in the course of this month.

One of the grounds assumed by the select committee, in support of the object of the memorial, 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 first of January, 1808, they followed the example of the several States, in imposing heavy penalties upon the authors of this inhuman traffic. 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 labor.” The act subjects not only the American vessel, employed in violating the law, 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 a fine not less than *one* nor exceeding *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 vir-*

*tue 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 labor thereof, who may be imported or brought within the United States or territories thereof, in violation of the 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, will shew 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, and their proceeds paid into the State Treasury!

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 heard, with deep regret, of the execution of the second section of this act, in the course of the past year, 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 of 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 exertion 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. It is an act "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 on that instrument which it does not merit.

But if the Legislature of Georgia 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, it becomes the Government of the United States, which created the evil, to provide for it an adequate remedy. None can be found, short of a restitution of those injured people, to the country from which they have been iniquitously torn, nor can such restitution be so effectually accomplished in any other mode, as by their colonization upon the Western coast of Africa, in conjunction with the free people of colour of the United States, who may voluntarily seek the same asylum. In the distribution of free colonies along the coast of Africa frequented by the slave ships, and the employment of a suitable naval force to guard its peace, the Managers believe that the most efficient, if not the only adequate remedy, will be provided for enforcing the existing laws of the United States against the African slave trade.

The act of Congress of 1807, to which the Managers have already referred, expressly empowers the President of the United States, *shall he deem it expedient, to instruct and direct the commanders of the public armed vessels, to seize and bring into any port of the United States, all ships or vessels thereof, whenever contravening the provisions of the act; and subjects the vessels to condemnation, as prizes taken from an enemy in open war, and their commanders to exemplary punishment.* All that it remains in the power of Congress to superadd, is the labor of colonization.

The Managers, sensibly impressed with the inefficacy of the present laws against this abominable traffic, and firmly persuaded that its entire abolition is essential to the success of the leading objects of the Society, offer no apology for having dwelt so long upon this branch of their report, nor for having enlarged its appendix, by the admission of several documents, that manifest the extent to which this cruel and iniquitous trade is still pursued by citizens of the United States.

If so many of the best interests, not only of these United States, but of mankind in general, are to be promoted by the colonization of Africa, may not the hope be confidently indulged, that the wisdom and patriotism of the General Government will countenance the hitherto imperfect efforts of the American Society?"

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No. 10.

*The subjoined extract from the Third Annual Report of the Colonization Society explains the policy of that Institution at the period of its formation, and precludes the necessity of a more enlarged comment upon its views, by the Committee.*

“It ought not to be expected; it does not accord with the course of an inscrutable Providence, that a purpose of such enlarged benevolence as that which actuates the American Society, however prudently pursued, shall be accomplished without difficulty and labor.

The friends of humanity, in every age, have encountered opposition from those, even, whom they most intended to serve. The sneers of malignity, and the scoffs of insolence and pride, assailed the immaculate Author of Christianity, at the awful and affecting moment in which he expiated, by a cruel and ignominious death, the sins of his enemies. Let not his remote and humble followers expect to find a path of duty without an obstacle to be surmounted, or a single impediment to be removed. Even the temporal rewards of virtue are not attainable without patience and self-denial. Those hopes which are elevated to a higher prize, should be fortified against corresponding trials. To despair of ultimate success in a cause, which patriotism, benevolence, and piety, recommend, is to distrust the justice or the omnipotence of Heaven.

The Managers are led to these reflections, by some of the obstructions which they have met in the past year. They have been encountered where they were least to have been expected, and have been maintained with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause.

That the accomplishment of all that they hope, should be regarded as doubtful, or even impracticable, has excited neither indignation nor surprise. Of the success of any plan for the melioration of the condition of society, men will think as differently as they will feel, in relation to its purpose. And the charge of enthusiasm may be expected and should be meekly borne, by all who promise to themselves, or to the world, any great and substantial good, out of the ordinary course of human experience. But those who intend well, deserve, at least, to have their motives candidly appreciated; and they have, especially, a right to expect that their *acts* and *declarations*, if not charitably interpreted, will be truly reported.

Not only have authorities, with respect to the climate, health, soil, and population, of Africa, the seat of the contemplated colony, been cited against the spirit and earnest recommendations of the very authors, themselves, from whom they have been borrowed; but a single sentence from a speech of one of the members of the American Society, has been quoted, in order to fix the charge of selfishness upon the institution, against the whole tenor of the speech of the member himself, of the accompanying address of the President, and report of the Managers, and the direct and obvious tendency of every act of the Society.

The Managers assert no claim for themselves, or their constituents, to superior humanity. They neither ask, nor desire for the object of their institution, or the particular means, which may be devised for its attainment, exemption from public criticism. They exult, with the nation at large, in that spirit of free and rational inquiry, which constitutes the best security for the liberty and happiness of any people. In this spirit, they beg leave, before they close their report, to notice some of the objections which have been made to the colonization of Africa in the mode contemplated by the American Society.

It is believed that a comprehensive answer to most if not all of

them. would be furnished by simply repeating *what it is*, that the Society propose to do.

They propose. then, in the language of the Virginia resolution, to procure a suitable Territory on the coast of Africa, for such of the free people of colour as may choose to avail themselves of this asylum; and for such slaves as their proprietors may please to emancipate; and they purpose, moreover, to furnish the means of transporting the emigrants to Africa; or to enlarge the means which they may, themselves, provide.

They do *not*, therefore, *intend*, and *they have not the inclination*, if they possessed the power, to *constrain* the departure of any free man of colour, from America, or to *coerce any proprietor to emancipate his slaves*.

So far is this scheme from being impracticable, that one, resembling it in all respects, was accomplished by a private society in England, more than thirty years ago. In despite of every representation to the contrary, the colony of Sierra Leone, boasts, at this moment, a greater degree of prosperity than distinguished any one of the British Colonies. now the United States of America, at the same period, after its first plantation. The population of Sierra Leone; its commerce and navigation; its churches, schools, and charitable institutions; its towns and hamlets; its edifices, public and private; surpass those of any one of these States, at any time, within twenty-five years, from its first settlement. In a few months, most certainly within the present year, the practicability of founding a similar colony, with much better and more abundant materials, will be tested by actual experiment. The free persons of colour of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Petersburg, and Charleston, who are preparing to remove to Africa, will yield, in moral character, to no population of the same complexion, which they may leave behind. Had the Society competent funds, there are similar materials already offered to the Managers for a much larger colony.

In this early success of the object of the Society, there is an unanswerable reply to the argument founded on the supposed unwillingness of the free people of colour to quit America.

Some of the authors of this objection have first *persuaded them not to emigrate*, and then pronounced that they *will not*. Their prediction and their argument have both failed. And how could it be otherwise! Does not America, every day, present the spectacle of Europeans, who have forever abandoned the natal soil of themselves, and their progenitors? Such are their numbers, that humanity has interposed to prevent their crowding, to fatal excess, the ships which transport them. And can it be believed that the descendants of Africa will not return to the home of their fathers, when it shall have been prepared for their reception, and they are assured of its enjoyment in peace, freedom, and happiness? Do not the most intelligent of their friends recommend to them colonization, some where, as essential to their moral and intellectual improvement; and, if any where, what country so fit as Africa? Is there, on the habitable

globe, a soil more fertile, productions either richer, or more varied, a climate better adapted to the constitution of the black man, than that which God hath given him? The fierce sun which scorches the complexion and withers the strength of the white man, preserves to the children of Africa the inheritance of their fathers. That such is the current of their own opinions when their natural feelings have not been warped by misrepresentations of the climate, soil, and population of that devoted country, let the following facts attest:

Of the whole number of free blacks in Nova Scotia, amounting to very near twelve hundred, to whom the humane Clarkson addressed himself in 1792, but four or five individuals refused to embark with him for Sierra Leone. Almost all those in London yielded, about the same period, to this natural bias.

It is but a few years since Capt. Paul Cuffe carried thirty-eight from Boston to Sierra Leone, chiefly at his own expense; and in a letter, written after this voyage, he declares, that he could have obtained the consent of the greater part of the free people of colour in that city and its vicinity, to remove to Africa. And let it not be forgotten that, of those whom he actually carried, there was not one disposed to return with him to America. Nor should it cease to be remembered, that this generous and enlightened African, in the last moments, as through the last years of his useful and meritorious life, recommended colonization in Africa to his degraded countrymen here. To this authority, should be added many others, but especially, that of Kizell, the guide and friend of the missionaries Mills and Burgess, who, like Capt. Cuffe, knew America, as well as, and Africa much better, than any of the opponents of the plan of colonization.

Some of the free blacks in America who have been consulted on this subject, have, it is true, not consented to the choice of country, made for them, by the Society; but, in the various cities on the coast, they have agitated for many years some scheme of emigration. A few have removed to St. Domingo; and such was the desire of a number of those in the town of Providence in Rhode Island, some years since, to change their abode, that they subscribed a sum of money and deputed one of their own body to visit the coast of Africa, in search of a Territory suited to their purpose. Their wishes were defeated by the dishonesty of their agent.

The free people of colour on the banks of the Wabash, who have already encountered the hardships of settling and clearing a wilderness, have repeatedly expressed a similar desire.

And if this disposition to exchange America for Africa, exists in those States, wherein there are very few, if any slaves, what should it be, where emancipation is often a curse rather than a blessing? Where the more reflecting among the people of colour, themselves, and the white inhabitants in their neighborhood, however afflicted by the spectacle of hereditary slavery, acknowledge that they are every day, more and more convinced that it is impossible to advance the happiness of the slave, by emancipation? How unhappy is that condition, which, midway between servitude and freedom, knows

neither the restraints of vice, nor the incentives of virtue! And can those who regard themselves as the peculiar friends of the free people of colour in America, wish them to remain in this degraded, this abject state? No! even they begin to look out for a country, in which this unfortunate race may rise in the scale of existence to the level of the white man, and they think that they have found it in the late French Colony of St. Domingo.

Very far, indeed, are the Managers of this Society from dissuading any of the free people of colour to accept the asylum generously offered to them by the Emperor of Hayti. But, independent of any reference whatever to the future conversion and civilization of Africa, is not the impediment of a foreign language, which the colonists must acquire before they can understand their new laws; of a religion to which they are strangers; of a government which savours, at least, of military despotism, sufficient to turn the scale in favor of Africa, to which the colonists would, in time, impart their own manners, religion, laws, and language? However disposed to cherish good will and respect for all other nations, an American, whether bond or free, would probably prefer an American to a French foundation, for his civil and political institutions.

The general sentiment, then, of the free people of colour in the United States, will probably settle down in favor of Africa, as the seat of their contemplated colony. The American Society have made this choice for them, after much inquiry and reflection; and it is not probable that any objection will hereafter be made to this selection, if the colony, about to be planted, shall thrive in its infancy. On this subject, however, expectations too sanguine should not be indulged; nor temporary delays and disappointments produce despair. The beginnings of all nations, not lost in fable, have been inconsiderable, and their first progress tardy and laborious. The success of that which the American Society hope to found, will be secured from misfortune and accident, as far as human precaution can provide. Its prosperity will rest, at last, on that overruling Providence which guides the destiny of man.

It has been urged, and this objection seems to comprise the very pith and marrow of all the arguments against the colonization of Africa, on the principles of the American Society, that the colony will not be able to *receive* and *subsist*, nor the Society to *transport thither*, *all the free people* of colour of the United States.

The authors of this objection have not denied that a flourishing colony may be established on the African coast; and some of them have asserted that the present population of the United States have sprung from a comparatively very small number of emigrants. And if an empire, resembling in extent and prosperity, these United States, can be founded on the Western coast of Africa, with means so inconsiderable, and, therefore, so attainable, who would have the inhumanity to refuse his co-operation in a work so glorious!

It must be perceived, therefore, that this objection applies to the *earnest hopes*, rather than to the *express purpose* of the American

Society. But, as it is believed, that the objection, itself, is susceptible of complete refutation, it is proper to examine the basis on which it rests.

It will be readily conceded that no colony, nor any number of colonies can afford to receive, in any one year, a greater number of emigrants, than the annual surplus product of their soil, aided by importation, will sustain; and, consequently, that, unless a number of *free people of colour*, exceeding in amount, the annual increase of that description of persons in America, can be annually provided for in Africa, the whole of that population cannot be there accommodated.

The same principle and deduction apply with the same force to any plan of colonizing *all the people of colour*, bond and free. Their application shall be considered in both respects. For, although, it is believed, and is, indeed, too obvious to require proof, that the colonization of the free people of colour alone would not only tend to civilize Africa; to abolish the slave trade; and greatly to advance their own happiness; but to promote that also, of the other classes of society, the proprietors and their slaves, yet the hope of the gradual and utter abolition of slavery, in a manner consistent with the rights, interests, and happiness of society, ought never to be abandoned.

The calculations upon this subject have proceeded on an estimate of the annual increase of the free people of colour of the United States, at five thousand souls; and of the slaves at little more than thirty-five thousand; making a total of forty thousand.

Now, so far as this estimate relates to the *free* people of colour, it must afford an ample refutation of the conclusion deduced from it, to refer to the fact, that there has been scarcely a State admitted into the American Union, the population of which has not been annually augmented for several years prior to its admission, and has not subsequently continued to be augmented, annually, by a greater emigration than of five thousand persons.

The State of Ohio, which boasts, at present, a militia more numerous than that of the ancient and populous State of Massachusetts; and probably contains, therefore, a population little, if at all, short of six hundred thousand souls, comprehended, in the year 1790, along with the whole North and Southwestern Territories of the United States, less than 37,000: ten years afterwards, when its census was blended with that of Michigan and Illinois, little more than 45,000; and by the enumeration of 1810, 230,760. Allowing the Territories of Illinois and Michigan, which contained in 1810, 17,000, to have doubled their population, in the ten years next preceding, Ohio possessed in 1800, 36,500 souls; and supposing that number to have been doubled, by their natural increase alone, in the last twenty years, and the population of that State to be now 600,000, as computed above; she has then been indebted, in twenty years, to emigration and its natural increase, for 527,000 of her present numbers; so that the annual augmentation of the population of Ohio for that period, exclusive of the natural increase of her original stock in 1800, has not fallen short of twenty-six thousand; all of whom have



been sustained by the annual surplus produce of the labor of that State, assisted but little, if at all, by importation from the neighboring States and Territories, and reduced considerably, of late years, by exportation.\*

Two such colonies, therefore, planted on a soil and beneath a climate resembling that of Ohio, would provide not only for the natural augmentation of their first stock, after it had reached twenty-three thousand souls, but for an annual addition of 53,000 to their number; thus exceeding in the aggregate more than twelve thousand persons, the total annual increase of the coloured population of the United States.

But on the soil and under the sun of Africa, which bring to maturity two crops of corn or rice in the same year, where no Winter devours the autumnal harvest, but genial warmth and perpetual verdure gladden the whole year, the same labor would yield a double product, and more than a triple surplus.

It is, too, for the first year only, that this surplus would be required by the new mouths. The new hands would, in every succeeding season, not only provide for themselves, but swell the annual surplus destined for other colonists, or for exportation.

And if, for the first year, there were no surplus, the mere food for five, or for forty thousand people would be—what? Less than the surplus produce of a neighbouring county of Maryland or Virginia.

Bread, it is true, although sufficient for human sustenance, does not comprise, in itself, a supply of all human wants. For the rest, however, for clothes and shelter, no comparison can be made between their necessary cost in a climate in which the thermometer ever ranges within twenty-five degrees *below* the greatest Summer heat of America, and one wherein for many months of the year, it rarely rises so high *above* the freezing point, and for half that period it is generally sunk below it.

Tropical Africa is known, at present, chiefly from its Western coast, depopulated and wasted by the slave-trade. The imperfect accounts of its interior, promise to the civilization which shall hereafter explore it, a milder climate and increased fertility.

It remains to be determined whether the Colonization Society can provide for such a number, or they can provide for themselves, the means of transportation.

And here, as on that branch of this inquiry which has been just disposed of, it should ever be borne in mind, as an antidote to every effort to impair the hopes of the philanthropist, that, short of complete success, there is much substantial good to be attained.

He cannot stand acquitted at the bar of his own conscience, who pleads, as an excuse for total inaction, that he could have accomplished but a part of what he desired.

\* It is certain, also, that for the last three years, Ohio has furnished many emigrants to Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri.

If the seeds of civilization shall be strewed along the coast of Africa, and protected from the blighting influence of the slave trade; if the chief impediment to gradual emancipation in America shall be removed; if where slavery may continue to exist, the fidelity of the slave and the affection of the master shall be both augmented; if the free people of colour shall be permitted to enter on the career of moral and intellectual improvement in the land of their fathers under the guarantee of political independence; if all, or any considerable part of these blessings can be attained, by opening the door of Africa to the return of her liberated children, it will be no reproach to the Colonization Society that they have not civilized an entire continent, or disenthralled a nation.

It is, indeed, most probable, that the American Society, unassisted by the resources of the individual States, or of the Union, may be incapable of rendering such aid to the emigration of the people of colour, as would provide for colonizing their annual increase. But that the resources of the United States would prove incompetent to that purpose, is utterly denied, and can be most easily disproved. For what would be the expense of transporting 5,000 persons, the supposed annual increase of the free people of colour alone; or, 40,000, the estimated increase of both BOND and FREE? Computing the present population of the United States at ten millions, and allowing fifty dollars for the transportation of each colonist, there would be required for the latter, a poll tax of but two and a half cents, and for both, one of twenty-five cents on all the people of these States.

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 entire stock of the heaviest calamity that oppresses this nation. A renewal of the internal taxes of 1815, would not only provide the means of exporting the annual increase of the whole colored population of the U. States, but leave an equal sum to purchase that part of this number, to the exportation of which, the consent of the proprietor could not be obtained.

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 nett proceeds would, in less than a century, purchase and colonize in Africa, every person of colour within the United States.

This period is, indeed, remote; but eternity admits not of distribution into time. In the existence of nations a century is but a day.

The preceding calculations are founded on the improbable supposition, that no colonist would contribute anything whatever, to defray the expense of his own removal. Let those who indulge the most unfavorable anticipations of the expense of colonizing, in Africa, the free people of colour of the United States, behold the condition and number of those emigrants who are daily poured upon the American continent from every part of Europe; whom poverty and wretchedness drive from the home of their fathers; and whom no

friendly counsel cheers, no friendly hand assists at their port of embarkation, in their uncomfortable voyage across the Atlantic, or their toilsome journey to a remote settlement in a strange land. Who heard before they embarked, every possible misrepresentation of the country which they sought to reach; and encountered, in the Government which they were about to leave, every discouragement, which oppression can oppose to the love of freedom and the desire of happiness. And yet, whose lot in Europe was preferable to that of the slave in America; and, in many respects, to that of the contemned, and therefore debased free negro. Count the number of those emigrants who entered the ports of North America in the past year only. Upwards of twelve thousand are said to have landed at the single port of Quebec; and the total number who have reached Canada, Nova Scotia, and the United States, cannot fall far short, if at all, of forty thousand. Many of them, in order to pay their passage, entered into obligations of service to be performed after their arrival in America; and thus sold their freedom for a few years, in order to perpetuate it to themselves and to their posterity.

They have come, it is true, in commercial ships, and some of them have paid less for their passage, than the cost, at which it is ascertained that any number of free people of colour can be carried to Africa, in ships fitted for passage only.\* But will not the time arrive when Africa will have her commerce too? 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 traffic shall have been utterly exterminated; when the African labourer can toil secure from the treachery of his neighbor, 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 at length become their protectors, friends, and allies.

New forms of government, modelled after those which constitute the pride and boast of America; will attest the extent of their obligations to their former masters; and myriads of freemen, while they course the margin of the Gambia, the Senegal, the Congo, and the Niger, will sing, in the language which records the Constitution, laws, and history of America, hymns of praise to the common Parent of man.

A revolution so beneficent, so extended, and so glorious, requires,

\* Two or three guineas have been frequently accepted for a passage from Great Britain to America, where the emigrant has found his own stores.

to effect it, the concert and the resources of a nation. The people of America have the power to secure its success against the uncertainty of accident. They are summoned to the performance of this duty by the most urgent incentives of interest, the most awful appeals of justice, and the tenderest claims of humanity. Its final accomplishment will be a triumph over superstition, ignorance, and vice, worthy of a people destined, it may be fondly hoped, to surpass all other nations in the arts of civilized life.

The Colonization Society is about to lay the corner stone of this edifice. Whether it shall rise to strength and grandeur, it is for the Government and People of America, under the overruling Providence of Heaven, to decide."

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*Extracts from the Nineteenth Report of the Directors of the British African Institution, published in 1825.*

"Sierra Leone may be considered with reference both to its internal condition, and to its effects upon the neighbouring natives.

"Its internal prosperity will of course depend on its healthiness; on the progress made in the settlement of the liberated negroes, and in inducing them to adopt the restraints and habits of civilization; on the state of schools and religion; and on the successful prosecution of agriculture and commerce.

"The mortality of 1823 at Sierra Leone, though of a most distressing nature, has been much exaggerated. The fever which prevailed did not attack a black or coloured person; but out of a white population of 110, the deaths were 25. The accounts, during the last year, represent the colony as being very healthy. Serious injury, however, arises to its interests from the occasional prevalence of severe sickness; and in no respect more, than by the temporary interruption to which the advancement of education and religious instruction has been exposed in consequence of the death of their principal instructors, among whom the mortality was unusually great. The effect of these unexpected losses was, that, for a considerable period, both properly qualified schoolmasters and also chaplains had been wanting. But the Church Missionary Society, which has now taken off the hands of Government the burden of supplying to the colony the means of religious instruction, has been making great efforts to supply the requisite number of teachers; and their zeal, and that of their Missionaries, has only been rendered more remarkable and praiseworthy, by the difficulties with which they had to contend.

"The regular attendance on public worship consists of nearly the whole population of the colony, and the schools are attended by the whole of the young, and even by not a few of the adults; many of whom, however, think themselves too old to learn, or object, after the labor of the day, to spending an hour or two in school. The Missionaries who are engaged in the work of instruction occasional-

ly, lament the slow progress by which the human character, when once degraded, can be raised up to take its proper place in society. Yet this rate is usually so very gradual, even under the most favorable circumstances, that it is important, with a view to prevent unreasonable expectations and consequent disappointment, that the fact should be thoroughly understood and acknowledged. The means, however, are in active operation, which alone are proper and competent for promoting the great work of civilization.

“Sierra Leone contains about 18,000 inhabitants; of whom, about 12,000 consists entirely of liberated Africans, who for the most part occupy the parishes in the mountains: and nothing can be more gratifying than to know, that the almost impenetrable woods which were the haunts but lately of wild beasts, have been replaced by villages with comfortable habitations, and surrounded by tracts of ground under cultivation, and containing school-houses for both sexes. In one of these, it is reported that, out of 103 children, 64 can read the Scriptures; in others, that out of 1079 scholars, there are 710 persons who can read, and so on in different proportions. The churches erected among them, are said to have crowded congregations; one in Regent Town usually assembling a congregation of from 1200 to 2,000 souls.”

“The Missionaries have already more than they can adequately perform in their proper department. They have the superintendence of those schools, where the liberated slaves, coming from different countries and speaking different languages, may, upon their release, make the first beginning towards becoming really members of the same community, by acquiring a knowledge of English as a common tongue. The Church Missionary Society has undertaken the further task of seeking to fix the African language, and prepare elementary books, (which has already been done for the Susoos and the Bulloms) with the view of training native teachers, as the most efficient instruments for extending the Christian religion among the native tribes.

“In the Sherbro country, two private individuals, educated natives, have collected boys from various places on that part of the coast, and are giving them the rudiments of English education.”

“The timber trade, in which the natives in the river Sierra Leone have engaged (with an alacrity and perseverance which shew that their industry only wants an object and adequate security in order to develop itself,) in 1823, furnished 15,000 loads for the British market, and in the last year, a considerably larger supply. The freight alone on the shipments of last year, would probably amount to £100,000. The invoice value of the cargoes imported into the colony in 1823, was £121,442 18s. 11d.; the duty paid on them was £8,483, 3s. 11d. The exports consisted of ship-building timber, camwood, palm oil, elephant's teeth, gold dust, gum copal, bees wax, rice, and Malaguetta pepper. The gum trade has been increasing on the Gambia; and the value of the different articles independent of gum, as hides, bees' wax, gold, ivory, and timber, exported from the Gambia during the year, is stated at £125,000.”

*List of Vessels engaged in the Slave Trade. (or strongly suspected to be so.) as published in the Nineteenth Report of the Directors of the British African Institution, in 1825.*

N.B. Those marked (s) have been seized and sent in for adjudication, some of which have been condemned. Those marked (v) have been visited, and found to have Slaves actually on board, or to be fitted up for their reception.

| <i>Name and description of vessel.</i> | <i>Nation.</i> | <i>Name and description of vessel.</i> | <i>Nation.</i> |
|--|----------------|--|----------------|
| s Aviso, brig                          | Portuguese     | v Conde dos Arcos                      | Rio Janeiro    |
| v Alerta, brig                         | Spanish        | v Caccador                             | do             |
| Anfitrite, schr.                       | do             | v Cometa                               | do             |
| Attrevida, schr.                       | do             | v Conceicao de Passos                  | do             |
| Amable Claudine, schr.                 | Netherlands    | Correo de Ba Honda,                    | } Spanish      |
| s Arola, schr.                         | Portuguese     | schr.                                  |                |
| v Afra, smack                          | Brazils        | Clarita, schr.                         | do             |
| v Anguste, brig                        | French         | Constante, brig                        | do             |
| Alcile                                 | do             | Chirigota, schr.                       | do             |
| v Avilor,                              | Bahia          | s Diana, brigantine                    | Portuguese     |
| v Amizade dos Santos                   | Rio Janeiro    | Descamisda schr.                       | Spanish        |
| v Amelia                               | do             | v 9 De Janeiro                         | Rio Janeiro    |
| v Ab-ymo                               | do             | v 6 De Fevereiro                       | do             |
| v Amazonia                             | do             | v 4 D'Abri                             | do             |
| v Andorinha, smack,                    | Brazil         | v Desuniao                             | do             |
| v Adolphe, schr.                       | French         | v Donna Ann                            | do             |
| Amable Henriette, brig                 | do             | v Desengano                            | do             |
| Amable Socorro, schr.                  | Spanish        | v Diligence, brig                      | French         |
| Agile, brig                            | French         | Dorotea, schr.                         | Spanish        |
| v Adamastor                            | Rio Janeiro    | s El Vencedor, brig                    | Spanish        |
| s Bella Eliza, schr.                   | Brazil         | s El Romana, brig                      | Havana         |
| Bella Dolere-, schr.                   | Spanish        | s Espanola or Maria                    | } Spanish      |
| s Bom Caninho, brig                    | Portuguese     | Decamisida, schr.                      |                |
| s Bonn Finn, schr.                     | do             | s El Alerto, brig                      | Havana         |
| v Belizario, ship                      |                | v Estrella, schr.                      |                |
| v Bom Sucesso, smack                   | Brazil         | v Esperanza, brig                      | Portuguese     |
| v Bella Astrea, schr.                  |                | Especuladora, schr.                    | Spanish        |
| v Boa Hora                             | Rio Janeiro    | Escudefuego, brig                      | do             |
| v Bella Umiliana                       | do             | Esperanza, schr.                       | do             |
| v Boa Uniao                            | do             | s Flower of the Sea, schr.             |                |
| v Bom Jesus                            | do             | Feliciana, schr.                       | Spanish        |
| v Bella Americano                      | do             | s Flor del Mar, schr.                  |                |
| Biscayna, schr.                        | Spanish        | v Flor de Fé, smack                    | Brazils        |
| Barbarita, schr.                       | do             | v Florinda, schr.                      | do             |
| v Creole                               | Brazil         | v Felez Ventura, ship                  |                |
| v Conquistador, brig                   | Spanish        | s Fubiana, schr.                       | Spanish        |
| Chatica, schr.                         | do             | s Flora                                | Rio Janeiro    |
| Clara, schr.                           | do             | v Felicidade, brigantine               | Portuguese     |
| s Conchita, bark                       | do             | Gustava, brig                          | French         |
| v Creola                               | Brazil         | v Gertrudes, smack                     | Brazil         |
| v Commerciante                         |                | Galathee, schr.                        | French         |
| v Conceicao, schr.                     |                | General Winder, schr.                  | America        |
| v Courreur                             |                | Gaspar, brig                           | French         |
| s Conde de Villa Flor                  |                | v General Riego                        | Rio Janeiro    |
| s Cerqueira, brig                      | Portuguese     | v Gram Penedo                          | do             |
| v Caridade, schr.                      | do             | v Galiana                              | do             |
| v Carmillus, ship                      | Dutch          | Harriettee                             | French         |
| v Caipira de Macao,                    | } Brazil       | v Hironnelle, schr.                    | do             |
| smack                                  |                |  | v Henriqueta   |

| <i>Name and description of vessel.</i> | <i>Nation.</i> | <i>Name and description of vessel.</i> | <i>Nation.</i> |
|--|----------------|--|----------------|
| Indomable, schr.                       | Spanish        | s Nceves, schr.                        | Spanish        |
| Iris, schr.                            | do             | Neuva Francisca, schr.                 | do             |
| v Industria                            | Rio Janeiro    | Noticioso, brig                        | do             |
| v Imperio de Brazil                    | do             | Orestes, schr.                         | do             |
| Irene, schr.                           | French         | v Osdens Amigos                        | Portuguese     |
| s Icanam, schr.                        | Spanish        | v Ophee, ship                          | French         |
| Isabel, brig                           | do             | s Piccaninny Mena,                     |                |
| Jonquena, brig                         | Spanish        | schr. boat                             |                |
| Jaessa, schr.                          | do             | Paulita, schr.                         | Spanish        |
| Joaquina, schr.                        | do             | v Paquete de Rio, schr.                |                |
| s Joseph, schr.                        | do             | v Paquete de Bahia, brig               |                |
| v Jupiter, brig                        | Brazil         | v Pastora de Lima                      | Rio Janeiro    |
| v Josephine, brig                      | French         | v Poliphemo                            | do             |
| Josefa, schr.                          | Spanish        | v Principe Real                        | do             |
| La Henriette Aimée                     | French         | Paquete, schr.                         | Portuguese     |
| s Les Deux Sœurs, cutter               | do             | Pilades                                | Spanish        |
| v Le Louis, brig                       | do             | Princexatrella, schr.                  | Brazil         |
| La Espanola, schr.                     | Spanish        | s Relampago, schr.                     | Spanish        |
| s Les Deux Nantois, brig               | French         | s Rosalia, schr.                       | do             |
| v Liberale, schr.                      |                | v Regenerador                          | Rio Janeiro    |
| s La Louisa, schr.                     | French         | Rompriensen, brig                      | Swedish        |
| v La Sabine, ship                      | do             | Relampago, brig                        | Spanish        |
| v L'Aimable Henriette, brig            | do             | Segunda Gallega, schr.                 | Spanish        |
| v La Théonie, schr.                    | do             | Socorro, schr.                         | do             |
| La Rose, schr.                         |                | Serafina, schr.                        | do             |
| s Le Glanneur, brig                    | French         | San Jose, brig                         | do             |
| v Lys, brig                            | do             | v San Mansal Brazileiro, smk.          | Brazil         |
| v Lisboa                               |                | v S. Joze Diligente Vol-               |                |
| v Leopoldina                           | Rio Janeiro    | cano, brig.                            |                |
| v Lucrecia                             | do             | v Soleil, brig                         | French         |
| v Lisboa                               | do             | v Sabine                               | do             |
| v Ligeiro                              | do             | Sans Soucie, sloop.                    |                |
| v La Pauline                           | French         | v Santo Anto. Flor de Loanda           |                |
| v L'Hyppolite, schr.                   | do             | v Santa Rosa                           | Rio Janeiro    |
| v La Caroline, schr.                   | do             | v Santo Antonio                        | do             |
| L'Atalante, schr.                      | do             | v Senora Guia                          | do             |
| Louise, schr.                          | French         | v San José Diligente                   | do             |
| La Rose, brig                          | do             | v San Antonio Destimido                | do             |
| Liberal schr.                          | Spanish        | v San Rafael, schr.                    | Spanish        |
| Louisa, schr.                          | do             | s Two Brazilian Friends,               |                |
| v La Daphne, schr.                     | French         | brigantine                             | Portuguese     |
| Morgiana, brig                         | Spanish        | s Two Nations                          | French         |
| s Minerva, schr.                       | do             | Teresa, brig                           | Spanish        |
| v Maria de la Gloria, brig             | Portuguese     | Tranquilidad, schr.                    | do             |
| s Magico, brig                         | Spanish        | v Tamega, ship                         | Portuguese     |
| s Maria La Luz, schr.                  | do             | v Trintahum de Mayho, brig             |                |
| s Minerva, ship                        | Portuguese     | v Triunfo da Inveja, brig              |                |
| v Maria, schr.                         | do             | v Tippoo Saib, brig                    | French         |
| v Martiniquien, schr.                  | French         | v Tejo                                 | Rio Janeiro    |
| v Mercurio                             | Rio Janeiro    | v Trajano                              | do             |
| v Mercantil                            | do             | Urraca, ship                           | Spanish        |
| v Marquez do Pumbal                    | do             | Victoria, brig                         | Spanish        |
| s Maria Josefa, schr.                  | Spanish        | Vengador, brig                         | do             |
| Marie, schr.                           | French         | v Vencedor, brig                       | Portuguese     |
| Marie, brig                            | do             | v Viajante                             | Rio Janeiro    |
| Matilde, schr.                         | Spanish        | Victor, brig                           | French         |
| Medusa, schr.                          | do             | v Vecna, schr.                         | Spanish        |
| Nicanor, schr.                         | do             | Walter Farquhar.                       |                |
| v Ninfa Habanera schr.                 | do             | s Zee Bloem, schr.                     | Spanish        |
| v Nova Sorte                           |                | v Zefiro                               | Portuguese     |
| v Noao Despique                        | Rio Janeiro    | s Zephira, brig.                       |                |
| v Nympha de Brazil                     | do             | v Zuberio, brig                        | Brazil         |