

## COLONIZATION.

[Compiled, chiefly, from recent publications.]

### ORIGIN OF AMERICAN COLONIZATION.

As early as 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed a plan for colonizing the free colored people of the United States in some of the western vacant lands. But the project proved abortive.

In 1787, Dr. Thornton, of Washington, formed a scheme for establishing a colony on the western coast of Africa, and published an address to the people of color in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him. This project also failed.

On the 31st December, 1800, the following passed the House of Delegates, of Virginia, in *secret session* :

“*Resolved*, That the governor [James Monroe] be requested to correspond with the President of the United States [Thomas Jefferson] on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this state, whither persons obnoxious to the laws, or *dangerous to the peace of society*, may be removed.”

President Jefferson in his reply, seemed to think the West Indies, especially St. Domingo,

a more eligible place, for the removal of the free people of color, than any part of this continent; and remarked, "Africa would offer a last and undoubted resort, if *all others, more desirable, should fail us.*"

On the 16th January, 1802, resolutions passed both branches of the Virginia legislature, requesting the governor to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, "to which free negroes or mulattoes, and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, *may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum;*" and, "to request of the President of the United States, in procuring the lands, to prefer the continent of Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America."

The General Assembly of Virginia, January 22, 1805, passed a resolution instructing their senators, and requesting their representatives, in congress, to "exert their best efforts, for the purpose of obtaining, from the General Government, a competent portion of territory, in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of color, as have been, or shall be emancipated in Virginia, or *may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety.*" Governor Page, in communicating the resolution to the senators and representatives, says, "from the nature of the delicate business contemplated

in the resolution, you will see the propriety of its being considered confidential."—Af. Rep. vol. 8, p. 97 to 106.

In 1816, the subject was again brought forward in the legislature of Virginia, and a resolution was adopted, requesting the Executive to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or *at some other place*.

After laboring in vain for sixteen years, the project was abandoned by the legislature of Virginia, and a meeting was called in Washington, 21st December, 1816, Hon. H. CLAY presiding, for the purpose of forming a Colonization Society. It has been stated, that every one who spoke at its formation was a slaveholder! In the memorial of the managers of the Society to congress, soon after the organization, it is stated, "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 the most competent to discern, and to promote them."

Such was the origin of this notorious Society! Yet the public have often been told that it originated with a few pious individuals, and with a view to the temporal and spiritual good of the colored people in America and Africa!!

In the African Repository, Vol. i, No. i, it is stated that the Colonization Society owes its existence principally to the Rev. ROBERT FINLEY,

of New Jersey. It is said he began in 1816 to disclose to his friends and to the public, the scheme which he had been, for some time, meditating, and which he prosecuted, "until principally through his instrumentality, the Colonization Society was formed at Washington, in December, 1816." In a letter from Mr. Finley, dated 14th February, 1815, he says, "Could they (the free blacks) be sent back to Africa, a threefold benefit would arise. *We should be cleared of them*—we should send to Africa a population partly civilized and Christianized, for its benefit. And our blacks, themselves, would be put in a better situation."

On the other hand, General CHARLES FENTON MERCER, a Virginian slaveholder, claims the honor of being the founder of the colony of Liberia. "At a public dinner given last week (Af. Rep. Vol. ix, No. ix, p. 265) to Gen. C. F. Mercer, at Charleston, Virginia, the seventh regular toast was the following: 'Our friend and guest, CHARLES F. MERCER—The founder of the Colony of Liberia,'" &c. General Mercer made a speech on the occasion. He said, "with respect to the first of them (the colonization scheme,) I can truly say, that the intelligence broke in upon me, like a ray of light through the profoundest gloom, and by a mere accident which occurred *in the spring of 1816*; that upon two several occasions, very early in the present century, the General Assembly of Virginia had

invited the aid of the United States to obtain a territory, beyond their limits, wherein to colonize certain portions of our colored population. For the evidence of these facts, then new to me, I was referred to the clerk of the senate, by the friend who revealed them, and in the private records of that body, I found them verified.

“It was then too near the close of the session of the legislature to attempt immediate action on the subject; but in a few weeks after this, I concerted with FRANCIS S. KEY, of Georgetown, and ELIAS B. CALDWELL, of Washington, District of Columbia, a plan for doing so; and bound to no concealment, myself, though the facts which had been disclosed to me, were from the secret journals of the senate, *I made them publicly known*, in several states, as well as through our own, on my way to the North, during the ensuing summer, receiving, everywhere, promises of pecuniary aid, and of active co-operation, provided, as I announced it to be my intention, I renewed a similar proposition at the next session of our General Assembly.

“Accordingly, in December, 1816, prior to the organization of the American Colonization Society, but with a view to its approaching formation,” General Mercer presented to the House of Delegates, in Virginia, a resolution asking the aid of the General Government “to procure in Africa, *or elsewhere*, beyond the limits of the United States, a territory in which to colonize

our free people of color," &c. After the organization of the American Colonization Society, General Mercer states that he organized several Auxiliary Societies, made sundry addresses at Baltimore, and with the aid of Mr. Key and a Mr. Purviance, obtained near \$5,000 to defray the expenses of the first expedition to the coast of Africa.

#### OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY.

THE second article of the constitution is in the following language:—

“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.”

Such other place! It was not the good of Africa, then, that was contemplated by the founders of this Society. No! It (the Colonization Society) sprung, as we have seen, “from a deep solicitude for southern interests,” and by those “most competent to discern and to promote them.” That is, the object of the Society was to *protect domestic slavery* in the United States by removing free people of color out of the country. And the evangelizing of Africa was not thought of. The expatriated people of color were to be sent to Africa, or *elsewhere!*

James G. Birney, when an agent of the Colonization Society, stated publicly at New Orleans,

that the object of the Society was to render slave property more secure by sending from the country the free people of color whose residence here tended to disaffect the slaves. Other authorized agents of the Society have repeatedly stated the same thing *at the South*, though at the North a different language has been held. *Here* it has been stated, that the effect of the Society is to deliver the country from slavery.

Mr. Archer, of Virginia, at one of the annual meetings of the Society, in discussing the principles of the Society, said, "its design was to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment. This might be done effectually by an extension of the plan of the Society." And this statement went forth to the world uncontradicted, and with the sanction of the managers of the Society.

"By removing these people, (free blacks,) we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design they may conceive."—Address to a Colonization Society in Virginia.—*Af. Rep.*, vol. i, p. 176.

"Are they, (the free blacks,) **VIPERS**, sucking our blood? We will **HURL** them from us."—Address to the Lynchburgh Colonization Society. *Af. Rep.* vol. iii, p. 201.

Is it said these agents, and this distinguished friend of the Society, uttered their individual opinions only? Hear, then, the managers them-

selves. In the second Report, p. 9, they declare that the "colonization of the *free* people of color, will render the *slave who remains* in America, more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and consequently more *useful to his master.*"

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

##### 1st Objection.—OPPOSITION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

It is a remarkable fact, creditable to the judgment, sagacity, and forethought of the principal people of color in the United States, that at an early period, and unbiased by abolitionists or others, they saw the true character of the Colonization Society, and warned their people of its principles, designs, and results. It has been repeatedly stated, we know, that Mr. Garrison, and others, have influenced the colored population to this early and unflinching opposition to the Society. But the colored people denounced it before Mr. Garrison was twelve years old! In December, 1816, the Society was formed. In January, 1817, only one month after, the free people of color, at a public meeting, at Philadelphia, James Forten in the chair, passed several resolutions against the project of expatriating them to Africa, or some other place, and in August of the same year, published an appeal to the "humane and benevolent inhabitants" of the city of Penn, in which they said, "We humbly, respectfully, and



ferverently entreat and beseech your disapprobation of the plan of colonization now offered by the "American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States."

The people of color not only deemed the Society hostile to their welfare, but also detrimental to the slave. In their Appeal they say, "let not a purpose be assisted which will stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery in the United States, and which may defeat it altogether; which proffers to those who do not ask for them, what it calls *benefits*, but which they consider *injuries*, and which must insure to the multitudes whose prayers can only reach you through us, *misery, sufferings, and perpetual slavery.*"

Such have been the sentiments of the great body of the free people of color, ever since the formation of the Colonization Society to the present time. Many intelligent colored men have visited Liberia, and returned. The intelligence they have brought has been circulated among their people, and has confirmed their dislike to a Society, the principle of which they so instinctively comprehended at its first announcement. The memorable examination of THOMAS C. BROWN, at Chatham Street Chapel, New York, will not be forgotten, nor the testimony since given by Governor PINNEY, corroborating Mr. Brown's statements. [See an account of the conversation between Governor Pinney and WILLIAM GOODSELL in the "Friend of Man."]

2d Objection.—*The Society has made itself an auxiliary in the expulsion of the people of color.*

R. J. Breckenridge, at the annual meeting of the Colonization Society, in 1834, stated, with reference to some of the emigrants, that they “were COERCED as truly as if it had been done with a CART-WHIP.”

Mr. Brodnax, in the Virginia legislature, said, “it is idle to talk about not resorting to force. Every body must look to the introduction of FORCE of some kind or other.”

The legislature of Maryland appropriated \$200,000 in aid of the Maryland Colonization Society, and the “Baltimore Chronicle,” alluding to the acts of the state, avows that “the intention of these laws was, and their effect must be, to EXPEL the free people of color from the state.”

Louis Sheridan, a colored native of North Carolina; a man of good education, and considerable property, was in New York two or three years since. He was asked his opinion of the Colonization Society. “It is,” said he, “the greatest delusion that ever was practised upon the American people.” He said, in addition, that he had formerly been a preacher of the gospel, but the state enacted a law that no free man of color should preach. He then went into mercantile pursuits, and while absent from the state to purchase goods, his house was entered, and the keys of his drawers and desks were broken in search of abolition publications. “And now,

if I am not back in ninety days," said he, "my real estate will be forfeited to the state." Lately it has been boastingly stated in the colonization newspapers, that Mr. Sheridan was about to emigrate to Liberia. Oppression will drive him there.

3d Objection.--*The Colonization Society colonizes slaves.*

The object to which the attention of the Society is to be *exclusively* devoted, (as stated in the article of the constitution already quoted), is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing the free people of color, with their consent. Here three things are stated,

1. "Free people of color" only are to be colonized.

2. They are to be colonized "with their consent."

3. The attention of the Society is to be "exclusively" devoted to these objects.

Now see how the Society has disregarded its own constitution. A large part of the persons transported to Africa, since the Society was organized, have been *slaves*. They have been manumitted on condition that they would leave this, their native country, and go to the coast of Africa. They have been sent as *slaves*, carried across the Atlantic as *slaves*, and landed on the shores of Africa as *slaves*. This may surprise some readers. But a distinguished colonizationist was asked, what would be the fate of the

emigrants, if by stress of weather a ship bound to Liberia should be obliged to put back to the United States, after having performed half or two thirds of the passage, "They would be re-manded into slavery," said he. "How then can they be called *free people of color*?" The Society, he it remembered, cannot, by its constitution, remove any but free people of color, and that with their own consent. "It violates its constitution then, the moment it carries away a slave. Every slave that goes, goes as a slave or a freeman. If as a slave, it is not as a free colored person that he goes. If as a freeman, he is free only on condition that he goes to Africa, and he goes therefore, not as a freeman with his own consent, but at best, as a freeman with a *slave's* consent."

Again, the alternative is presented to the slave of expatriation, or perpetual slavery. He chooses the former. Is this *with his consent*? Emancipate the slave, then offer him the choice of living in his native country, or seeking an exile in Africa. If, under these circumstances, he elects to be colonized, he goes with his own consent; but not otherwise.

4th Objection.—*The Society not hostile to slavery.*

We have a right to judge of the principles and character of a Society, by those of the men elected to preside over and manage its concerns. Of the whole number of officers of this Society, nearly three-fourths are slaveholders, or interest-

ed in slave property; and not one of them has emancipated any of his slaves, even to be sent to Liberia!

Judge WASHINGTON, the first president of the Society, offered a large reward for a runaway female slave, to any person who would secure her by putting her into any jail within the United States. While in that office, he also sold fifty four of his slaves at Mount Vernon for the southern market, leaving his wife and two daughters, parents and children, unassisted to starve. And with this fact known to the public, he was still elected president of the Society from year to year, to the day of his death, eight whole years; and at his death Mr. Curley pronounced his eulogy, and said he was a man that had always been actuated by the noblest feelings.\*

The second president, CHARLES CARROLL, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, owned nearly one thousand slaves, and never emancipated one! JAMES MADISON, the third president, bequeathed to the society \$1000, and to his heirs, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MORE; HENRY CLAY, the fourth president, early declared that he had no intention of sending his slaves to Africa, and yet he has accepted of the office of president of the Society the best salary ever paid by any association, and an estate separate from the society.

\* A writer in the New-York Observer, of April 8, 1837, states that on tracing a square of land to be

The colonization of free people, or slaves, whom their masters are willing to set free, tends to promote slavery or strengthen it. It quells the desire of liberty in the slave. It relieves the consciences of masters, who begin to feel their guilt. How natural, and yet how remarkable it is, that slaveholders in view of death are much more disposed to emancipate their slaves on the soil, than to expatriate them to Africa. Like JOHN RANDOLPH, the word REMORSE afflicts them, and they do not like to die as slaveholders.

5th Objection.—*It induces the free blacks, sanctions and strengthens the existing prejudice against them, discourages and opposes their elevation in this country, and countenances oppression to induce emigration.*

“Why do you wish to send our free people of color to Africa?” asked a friend of man. Because they never can rise here, was the reply. “Why not rise here?” Because they are a degraded race. “Why are they so?” They are ignorant and vicious. “Why are they so?” Because they are black. “But blacks rise in other countries.” They never will here. “Why?”

Gurley, at a recent meeting of “the State Colonization Society of Virginia,” he was “disappointed and chagrined” at reading the following sentiment.—“We seek to confer benefits on two races of men, to *relieve* one country, and regenerate another.” Here they are “nuisances;” expatriated to *Africa*, they become “missionaries.”—But observe, “Men who cross the sea change their climate, not their disposition.”

Our prejudices are too strong. "Aye, that is the difficulty;" but this prejudice is voluntary, cruel, unchristian, peculiar to this country, displeasing to God. The Colonization Society *strengthens* this prejudice, for it proceeds upon the supposition that it is involuntary and invincible, so that the blacks *cannot* rise here. Fifty years ago, Dr. Belknap spoke of the prejudice against people of color as a prejudice of "the vulgar." How is it now?

"Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves."—Af. Rep. II, 328.

"An anomalous race of beings, the most debased upon earth."—Af. Rep. III, 230.

6th Objection.—*In its publications it apologizes for slavery—justifies the sin of slaveholding—and "cries peace" to all who perpetrate it.*

"We hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED."—*Speech of James S. Green, Esquire.*

"*Policy, and even the voice of humanity, forbade the progress of manumission; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardor of our desires.*"—Af. Rep. vol. iv, p. 268.

7th Objection.—*It tends to fortify the system of slavery, by making it EASIER, SAFER, more reputable, and MORE PROFITABLE for masters to hold slaves; and it URGES this tendency as a claim upon the patronage of slaveholders.*

“The execution of this scheme would augment, instead of diminishing, the value of property left behind.”—*Af. Rep.* vol. i, p. 227.

8th Objection.—*It condemns immediate emancipation, and emancipation in any way which permits the emancipated to remain in this country.*

“Emancipation, with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic, is but an act of dreamy madness.”—*Speech of Mr. Custis, 13th Annual Report.*

“We would say, liberate them ONLY on condition of their going to Africa or Hayti.”—*Af. Rep.* III, 26.

9th Objection.—*It denounces and vilifies all who advocate immediate emancipation.*

“It (the Society) is nowise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a few fanatics in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.”—*Af. Rep.* III, 197.

“Come, ye abolitionists, away with your wild enthusiasm, your misguided philanthropy.”—*Af. Rep.* VII, 100.

10th Objection.—*It opposes the instruction of slaves.*

“It is the business of the free (their safety requires it) to keep the slaves in ignorance.”—*N. Y. State Colonization Society's proceedings, 2d anniversary.*

11th Objection.—*It lowers the tone of public sentiment upon the subject of slavery—weakens*



the abhorrence of its abominations—and blunts public sympathy.

“The slaveholder, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and public action can flow on without doing violence to *his rights*.”—*14th Report, pp. 12 and 13.*

12th Objection.—*It holds one language at the South, and another at the North.*

“It (the Society) has no intention to open the door to universal liberty.”—*Af. Rep. III, 197.*

“It has no wish to interfere with the delicate and important subject of slavery.”—*Af. Rep. XII.*

“The Colonization Society has hitherto been generally looked upon as the instrument which was to rid our North American continent of the entire black race.”—*R. J. Breckenridge, 1834.*

13th Objection.—*Colonization is an impossible remedy.*

It would not cost much less than two hundred millions of dollars to carry the colored population across the ocean, allowing them to be taken off at the rate of *one hundred thousand annually*, or 500 shiploads of 200 each, for *fifty years!* Then, how shall they be taken care of on the other side? and who will supply their places on the plantations at the South?

14th Objection.—*The example of the colonists has been injurious to good morals.*

Prejudice has been encouraged at Liberia:

The colonists have treated the natives in other respects as the whites treat colored people in the United States. Rev. J. B. Pinney, a missionary, and since governor of the colony, says, in a letter dated Monrovia, Feb. 20, 1833, "nothing has been done for the natives, hitherto, by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants." "The same distinction that exists in America between colors exists there, owing to difference in mode of dress and other causes: "A colonist of any dye would, if at all respectable, think himself degraded by marrying a native. The natives are in fact *menials*."

Rev. Gov. Ashmun gained great "glory" by a battle he fought with the natives. It was stated, in the report of this bloody conflict, that "every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh." And it has even been asserted that the missionaries of the cross will never be able to extend the Christian religion unless it be done under the military protection of the colony!

The RUM and POWDER TRADE have been extensively prosecuted by the colonists under the auspices of the Colonization Society. We extract from the eleventh report the following terms of a contract: "The American Colonization Society shall have the right, in consideration of 500 bars of tobacco, 3 barrels of rum, 5 casks of powder, 10 guns, &c., to enter into possession of the tract," &c. The Sesters

Territory was perpetually leased to the Colonization Society in 1825, "in consideration of one hogshhead of tobacco, one puncheon of rum," &c., to be paid, if we rightly remember, annually.

In the "Liberia Herald," March 22, 1832, was advertised by C. M. Waring and F. Taylor, "500 kegs of powder, 500 muskets, 150 cutlasses, 10 bags shot, 10 puncheons rum, 2 puncheons brandy," &c. In the same newspaper of September 7, 1832, C. M. Waring advertises "60 doz. spear-pointed knives, 10,000 musket flints, 1,197 gallons of rum, 350 kegs of powder, 140 muskets," &c. C. M. Waring, be it remembered, was at the time a preacher of the gospel!

J. B. Russwurm, editor of the Liberia Herald, in a letter dated Nov. 18, 1829, says, "tobacco, RUM, pipes, cloth, iron pots, POWDER, and SHOT, are considered the *currency* of the country. Nothing can be done without *rum* in trade with the natives." Mr. Ashmun declared that *rum* was indispensable in trading with the natives. Mr. Gurley, in the African Repository, January, 1831, says, "in the judgment of the most worthy colonists, the native traders would *entirely abandon the colony*, were ardent spirits entirely excluded from its commerce."

Is it said these things were done a long time ago, viz., in 1829 and in 1832; and in that *remote period*, more than half the people in this country were in the daily use of ardent spirit? To this we reply. If the laws governing the people of this country eight or five years since,

had been framed by a Board styling themselves benevolent or religious, and the chief magistrate had been appointed by this Board, it would have been marvellous indeed if they had permitted the traffic in ardent spirit, spear-pointed knives, and powder.

The colony at Liberia has been and is under the control of the Colonization Society, more than the missionary stations are under the control of the Board of Foreign Missions. They could have suppressed the sale of rum, had they been so inclined. We take pleasure in saying that recently measures have been taken to prevent the sale of this poison by persons immediately connected with the Society; and it is to be hoped that the traffic will be totally abolished, as it might have been years ago, if the managers of the Colonization Society had so willed.

15th Objection.—*The influence of the colonies upon religion is highly injurious.*

It is stated in the *MISSIONARY HERALD*, June, 1834, that Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, in selecting a site for a mission settlement near Cape Palmas, chose to be half a mile distant from the colony, and say it was “from apprehension that the colony might embarrass our future efforts for the improvement of the natives,” and “we took all the pains we could to impress the mind of the king and his people with the fact, that the mission is to be entirely distinct from the colony, and will be identified with the interests of the natives.”

Joseph Horace Kimball, now on a mission from the American Anti-Slavery Society to the West Indies, writes from Antigua that he had a long conversation with Rev. William Satchell, who is stationed at Montserrat. He spent the five years previous to July, 1825, among the Caffres in Africa. "I inquired of Mr. S.," says Mr. K., "what he thought of uniting trading colonies with missionary stations. I shall long remember the 'holy indignation' of his look and voice when he replied. The sentences inclosed in parenthesis are his very words, which are too deeply impressed on my mind ever to be forgotten. ('You might as well think to ally THE BOTTOMLESS PIT WITH THE NEW JERUSALEM. It is mingling light and darkness. It is attempting to do the work of God through the aid and agency of Satan.')

"He says the commerce carried on with the natives is a system of deception and fraud. The conduct of the traders creates suspicion and jealousies against *all* white men, and obstacles almost insurmountable are thus thrown in the way of the missionary. His color is the same as that of the traders, his religion is of the same name, and his language is the same. The hearts of the natives are shut against him."

Mr. Clay said that every colonist is a missionary, not to preach merely, but to enforce the claims of religion by example. And yet, in regard to the free people of color, he, in the same speech, pronounced them the vilest of the whole

population—worse than the slaves. “What sort of Christianity,” asked C. C. Burleigh, “will such men introduce into Africa? . . . We cannot Christianize men into a better religion than we have got ourselves. Until, then, we see that the religion of the United States has put down the slave prisons in the city of Washington, and in Alexandria—until it has opened the prison doors of the captive in this land—has proclaimed liberty to all the inhabitants thereof, we cannot see that this same Christianity is going to abolish slavery in Africa.”

“Shall the Christianity of one continent make it the home of oppression, and yet make another continent the home of freedom? If we should convert the natives of Africa to our Christianity in the way proposed, why should they not *act* as we do? Why should our Christianity make them any better than it does us? . . . Why should we expect that Christians will be better made in Africa than in America? . . . The fact is, until this nation is brought back to primitive and pure Christianity, vain is the attempt to convert Africa to such a Christianity, by means of a slaveholding and slave-trading Christianity.”

“None desire the Christianizing of Africa more than do abolitionists. But they do not desire that the muddy waters of a corrupt Christianity should be poured over that continent.”

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Gov. J. B. Pinney's conversation with Wm. Geodell has already been alluded to. It occur-

red May 6, 1836, and was taken down at the time. After J. B. P. had stated that while at Liberia he had the fever *almost incessantly*, although the climate agreed better with him than *with almost any other person* who has visited it, the dialogue continued:

“W. G. What is there doing for the conversion of the natives in the vicinity of Liberia?”

“J. B. P. Nothing.”

“W. G. Is the war with King Joe Harris terminated?”

“J. B. P. Yes; he was glad to make peace on any terms.—(After a pause)—The war was a piece of boy’s play on the part of the colonists.”

“W. G. (After a pause, and doubting his meaning.)—A piece of boy’s play, did you say, sir? In what respect do you mean?”

“J. B. P. I mean that the war was provoked on the part of the colonists.”

“W. G. In what manner?”

“J. B. P. The burning of the native villages was the immediate cause.”

“W. G. I had heard something of that matter, sir; but I supposed it would be claimed by the colonists that this was in retaliation of some previous injuries from the natives.”

“J. B. P. In the previous controversy, I suppose the blame was about equal between the parties. It was a mere question about a little property. A piece of boy’s play. Five dollars would have settled the whole matter.”

“Mr. Pinney was of opinion that the slave

trade was, on the whole, impeded by the colony. Many slaves used to be shipped from that spot formerly.

“W. G. But what prevents their being shipped from other points of the coast?”

“J. B. P. The colony occupies the best anchorage grounds for an extent of two hundred miles. The colony likewise affords facilities for information to the British cruisers who hover round the coast.

“W. G. But does it not also furnish facilities for the slavers? Is not its commerce adapted to these purposes?”

“J. B. P. To some extent this may be true; but I think not to an extent equalling the checks it imposes on the traffic.

“W. G. From some quarter the slave-trade is still carried on with great activity. Some people think it equal to that of any former period.

“J. B. P. This must be from the coast of Guinea.

“W. G. Your colony, I suppose, exerts little or no influence for the suppression of the traffic there.

“J. B. P. None at all, sir.

“W. G. But the principal part of the traffic, I suppose, has always been from that coast?”

“J. B. P. Yes, sir.”