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THE

A P P E A L

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OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

IN

PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, ETC.,

TO THEIR

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

ON BEHALF OF THE

COLOURED RACES.

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PHILADELPHIA :

FRIENDS' BOOK-STORE,

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THE APPEAL  
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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,  
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*At a Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, &c., held in Philadelphia by adjournments from the 19th to the 22d of the Fourth month, inclusive, 1858 —*

*An Appeal to the citizens of the United States on behalf of the Coloured Races having been prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings, it was read and united with, and directed to be signed by the Clerk on behalf of the Yearly Meeting, and an edition to be published sufficiently large for extensive distribution.*

*Extracted from the Minutes.*

WILLIAM EVANS,  
*Clerk to the Meeting this year.*

(2)

IN contemplating the present condition and future prospects of our beloved country, the conviction has been forcibly brought before us, that, whatever elements of outward prosperity and greatness a nation may possess, it is only by an observance of the obligations of morality and religion that its real interests and highest welfare can be promoted, and established upon a secure basis.

The sovereign Ruler of the Universe is a Being of perfect justice and beneficence, as well as of unlimited power. He controls the destiny of governments and of individuals, and can set up or pull down at his pleasure; and all the policy and strength of man is utterly incapable of resisting the course of his Almighty Providence.

It is one of the fixed laws of his moral government, attested by experience and by Holy Scripture, that wickedness and oppression are, sooner or later, followed by his just judgments. The annals of those that have preceded us furnish abundant evidence that national sins have ever incurred national calamities; and that a course of iniquity and violence, however prosperous for a time, has eventually terminated in disgrace and ruin. History abounds with instances of governments which have risen to a height of power and influence that seemed almost

( 3 )

irresistible; and arrogantly presuming on the strength of their position, and trusting to their skill and management, have sought to aggrandize themselves by encroaching upon the rights of others, until at length, in the righteous retribution of Him who has declared, "Vengeance is mine — I will repay" — the measure they have meted to others has been returned upon themselves, unlooked-for calamities have befallen, they have sunk into moral and political degradation, and their very existence has been blotted out from the earth.

The account of the Jews, as related in the Bible and confirmed by profane writers, shows that their happiness and prosperity, as well as their security from the aggressions of hostile nations, were in proportion to their obedience to the Divine law; continued violations of which brought upon them fearful calamities, and ended in the destruction of their government, and their dispersion, as a despoised people, among other nations.

If we turn to the history of Rome, Greece, or Babylon, as well as other kingdoms, ancient and modern, the same just retribution is written in characters too plain to be mistaken or controverted.

These fearful manifestations of Divine justice are designed as beacons to succeeding generations. The Most High changes not. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. His attributes are neither altered nor suspended to suit the varying schemes, or the fluctuating opinions of men or governments, but are ever acting, with perfect harmony and certainty, to bring about his purposes. Though he is forbearing and compassionate, and may wait long with the disobedient, ere he causes them to reap the reward of their doings, yet the Holy Scriptures assure us, that He will by no means clear the guilty, nor suffer the impenitently wicked to go unpunished. However improbable, in the day of outward prosperity, a reverse may appear; however it may seem to us, for a

time, that God regardeth not the iniquity of the oppressor, nor listeneth to the groaning of the down-trodden, it is unalterably certain that the day of recompense will sooner or later arrive.

Of his infinite mercy he allows to nations, as well as to individuals, a period in which they may repent of their iniquity — may cease to do evil and learn to do well, and thereby avert the awful consequences of their sins. But this day of mercy does not last forever. It is possible to disregard and outlive it; and of such a condition it is divinely declared, "Because I have called and ye refused — I have stretched out my hand and no man regarded; but ye have set at naught all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh: when your fear cometh as a desolation and your destruction as a whirlwind — and distress and anguish overtake." Such has been the course of the moral government of the Almighty in past ages, and both reason and revelation confirm the conclusion that such it will be for all time to come.

With these views deeply impressed on our minds, our attention has been directed to the course pursued by the people and government of these United States toward the coloured races. — It is not our purpose to speak particularly of the wrongs and cruelties practised upon the aboriginal inhabitants of our country. It will hardly be denied by any one acquainted with the subject, that a vast amount of injustice and other wickedness has been perpetrated in the intercourse of the whites with the Indians, for which a heavy load of responsibility rests upon the nation. These feeble and defenceless remnants of the tribes who once possessed the soil upon which we have grown rich, have strong claims on our sympathy and Christian liberality; and every principle of religion and humanity dictates, that in their weakness and destitution they should be treated with kindness and generosity.

Our present business is more especially with the condition of the descendants of Africa. We wish to approach the subject with that charity and forbearance which the gospel enjoins between man and his brother man. We disclaim all sectional views, — all party or political motives, and any undue interference with supposed rights of property and local regulations. It is, as we believe, under the constraining influence of that love which seeks the welfare of both masters and slaves, and desires the happiness and prosperity of our beloved country, that we make our earnest and solemn appeal on this momentous subject. That there are conscientious men, who treat their slaves with humanity, and see in part, and perhaps deplore, the evils of the system in which they are involved, we do not doubt, and we sympathize with them in their trials and difficulties respecting it. But it is equally certain that there are others whose course is the reverse of this. Our business, however, is not with individuals or with particular cases; it is with slavery as a legalized institution in some of the United States.

We are aware that difference of education, of position in life, and of associations, produces a powerful effect in moulding the sentiments of men, and that interest, in a greater or less degree, influences all, and modifies in their view the force even of the strongest arguments.

But there are certain great principles of moral right, revealed by the Holy Spirit in the heart, and laid down in the scriptures of Truth for the government of all, which no exercise of charity can suspend, no prejudice of education annul; nor can any combination of circumstances absolve us from the obligation to observe them. To these principles, in connexion with the subject before us, we wish calmly and kindly to invite the dispassionate attention of our readers.

At an early period, the Religious Society of Friends was constrained by a sense of Christian duty to clear itself of

the traffic in mankind. Under the enlightening influences of the Spirit of Truth they saw that it was totally irreconcilable with the precepts of Christ and his apostles; that the subjects of it were the victims of wars, fomented in Africa by the manstealer, for the love of gain; and that the sufferings they endured on the passage to America were repugnant to humanity.

Being faithful in this particular, they were soon led to consider the origin and nature of the servitude to which the stolen Africans and their descendants were reduced after being landed on our shores; and, testing it by the simple precepts of the gospel, they found it wholly at variance with them. Undeterred by pecuniary loss or other inconveniences, and patiently labouring in love to convince the judgments of those members who did not at once accord with these views, they eventually liberated all their negroes; so that for a long period there has not been a slave held as such by an acknowledged member of the Society. Having thus cleared themselves of these evils, and tasted the reward of doing justly, they were drawn in Christian love to plead with their fellow-citizens who yet held slaves, and to labour in a meek and gentle spirit, to bring others to that sense of mercy and of justice, to which the Lord in his goodness had brought them. Hence, they have often felt it their duty to open their mouths for the dumb, and to plead the cause of those who have few or none to help them.

The people of these United States profess to be Christians — to believe in the gospel of Christ, and to acknowledge and receive the Holy Scriptures as a law given from heaven. In this precious volume we are taught that God is the Creator of all men — that He made of one blood all the families of the earth; and that He is the gracious and beneficent Father of them all. That all are partakers of the same fallen nature; all have sinned and come short of the glory of God; all have need of the

pardon and forgiveness which are offered to us, in and through our Lord Jesus Christ, and that all must render an account of their deeds at his judgment seat. The gospel is declared to be glad tidings of great joy which shall be to *all* people. That boundless love and mercy in which the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world embraces the whole human race without respect of persons. Jesus Christ died for all; and the grace of God which bringeth salvation has appeared unto all men without distinction of nation, tongue, colour or country.

Whatever other differences may exist, these common mercies and common characteristics surely constitute all men brethren — children of one universal Parent — objects of the same love and mercy — and participants of His bounty, to which we owe all we possess, and from which are derived all the advantages which one enjoys over another. Every principle of religion and morality, every feeling of gratitude, added to the sense of common dependence upon the same Father, binds us to the exercise of kindness, of sympathy, and of love, towards all our fellow-creatures.

Among the countless multitudes of immortal beings who people his earth, there is not one so poor, so weak, or so despised, as to be beneath his regard and care. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice: and if the Omnipotent One condescends to behold the falling even of the least of his animal creation, how much more will He not overlook the sufferings or the wrongs of a being created in his own image and for a purpose of his own glory. "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." None are so powerful that He cannot punish them — none so high as to be beyond the reach of his righteous judgments.

There is no precept more frequently and earnestly en-

joined in the New Testament, than that of loving one another. The first and great commandment is to love God with the whole heart; and the second is like unto it, viz.: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Our Saviour makes it the test of being his: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Again: "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour — therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law" — and if any man say he loves God, and doth not love his brother, he is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

The gospel rule goes even further than this. Its requisitions are not complied with by merely loving our neighbour, and those who do not oppose our interest or our pleasure. The Christian Lawgiver says: "Love your enemies — do good to them that hate you — bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven."

Let any man candidly and deliberately consider these texts, and then seriously ask himself, Am I loving my neighbour as I love myself, by holding him, and his posterity after him, in involuntary servitude — compelling them to labour all their lives for my benefit, with no other remuneration but shelter and a scanty pittance of food and clothing? Is this working no ill to my neighbour? Am I fulfilling the divine law of love, and acting under its benign and heavenly influence, by thus holding in perpetual and unconditional bondage, with all its degrading and corrupting accompaniments, my brother and my sister — children of the same Almighty Father, created in his image, and, equally with myself, the objects of his merciful regard, and of that salvation which was purchased for them and for me by the same Saviour's blood?

Is there a man living who could appear before his Maker and answer these questions in the affirmative?

We believe not. The contradiction is too great, too manifest, not to carry conviction into every heart.

Take another precept. Our Lord Jesus Christ says: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also even so unto them." Would the holder and worker of slaves like to exchange his own lot for their hard and continuous toil—their scanty food and clothing, and often comfortless shelter; their degraded condition; the ignorance, literary and religious, in which he keeps them; the severe whippings they frequently receive; the separation from wife and children, and of these from each other; and the privation of liberty and the pursuit and enjoyment of happiness in his own way? Would he voluntarily exchange places with his negroes, and put his soul in their soul's stead? We need not pause for a reply.

Were their lots so exchanged, can he appeal to the Searcher of hearts, and deliberately say that he now treats his slaves as he would wish to be treated, were he in their place? Here is a close test, a comprehensive criterion. But, if Christ be true—if, as He declares, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away"—is it not the true standard by which to try the case? Do we flatter ourselves that the strictness of the rule will be relaxed to accommodate us, because we are masters? Let us remember that God is no respecter of persons. His law is the same for high and low, and we cannot elude its force. "He that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin," and "the wages of sin is death."

If we duly appreciate the rich blessings of the gospel of Christ; the value of that message which He delivered to the world, and of the salvation which He offers for its acceptance; the influence of his love will prompt us, under the guidance of the Divine light, to spread the knowledge of them among our fellow-men, and to invite all to embrace these glorious privileges. Could we then

be instrumental in keeping any in ignorance of any part of the means provided for making known that message and those blessings? Could we purposely deprive them of the privilege and comfort of reading the Holy Scriptures, which were written by inspiration of God, for their and our learning, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works; and are able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus?

American slavery systematically and by law prohibits teaching the slave to read; and thus, in great measure, cuts off millions of our fellow-beings from the opportunity of deriving from the Scriptures the consolations, the warnings, the reproofs and instruction they contain. Must not that compassionate Being who provided these invaluable records for the use of black as well as white, view with just displeasure the wilful withholding from his children of the advantages He thus designed for them; and do not those incur a fearful load of responsibility who support the institution which is the instrument of so great a wrong?

Slavery exposes females to the uncontrolled and irresponsible power of licentious men, in whose hands they are helpless. Let any man who has daughters growing up around him, bound to him by the tenderest ties of parental and filial love, seriously contemplate this monstrous evil, and then say whether a system that produces, tolerates, and even protects such a state of things, is not a curse to the earth.

The divine command respecting the ordinance of marriage is, "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." Slavery tells the master he may sunder man and wife whenever he pleases—may sell them far away from each other; and, if he keep either, compel that one to marry again, and thus violate another of the divine laws.

The children of a slave, dear to him perhaps as his own flesh, and for whose welfare and happiness he may be anxiously solicitous, can be torn from him at the pleasure of an arbitrary master, sold to distant and, to him, unknown parts, perhaps to a hard-hearted driver, who extorts from his victims by the lash the utmost amount of toil of which their enfeebled and lacerated limbs are capable; and the bereaved parent has scarcely the poor satisfaction of pouring his complaint into some sympathizing bosom, or of learning by hearsay the future lot of his child.

The coloured man has his social affections, his domestic ties. There may be, and doubtless there are, differences among them, as among white men, in these respects; but facts prove that the race possess those tender emotions in no inconsiderable degree. What anguish must wring the heart of a fond parent whose children are hopelessly and helplessly doomed to such outrages, and to whose violated natural rights and moral feelings even the forms of law give no adequate protection or redress! O! that, as men, as Christians, as well-wishers of our common country, we could be brought fully to appreciate, and to feel, the magnitude, the enormity, of these evils; and, putting ourselves into the position of the poor negroes, could sympathize with them as our fellow-creatures — as husbands and wives, as fathers and mothers, as brothers and sisters.

Slavery entrusts the master with despotic power over the person, the time, the will, of the negro. He may inflict cruel and torturing punishment, just so as he does not take his life or wantonly maim him — he may deprive him of all that makes existence pleasant, and he has no redress — none to remedy his wrongs or to listen to his complaint.

Man is created a free agent. The divine law by which he is to be governed is written in his heart by the Spirit of Truth and in the Holy Scriptures. Good and evil are

set before him with their inevitable consequences of happiness or misery, and he is called to choose the good and refuse the evil, but with liberty to make his election. The institution of slavery interferes with this liberty, and makes the will of the master absolute over the actions of the slave, and paramount to the law of God. The master may, and in many instances does, compel the slave to do things which the divine law forbids, and to leave unperformed duties which it commands, and thus exalts his own authority above that of the Almighty himself. Let us seriously ponder this in all the vastness of its consequences for time and for eternity, and say whether a system which thus sets one man above his Maker, while it degrades another so far below the condition in which the Creator placed him, is not at variance with the whole scope of Christianity, and deeply injurious to both master and slave!

Is it any wonder that the moral sense of other civilized nations turns with disgust and abhorrence from an institution fraught with these evils, and which inflicts on its victims such grievous wrongs? We would affectionately and earnestly entreat our fellow-citizens everywhere to contemplate them — to give up their minds to the deliberate consideration of the hardships and the privations of the negro, and to let their sympathies flow unrestrained for his degraded and oppressed condition.

We believe those who do so will not fail to see that Christianity and Slavery are irreconcilable—that the meek, loving, self-sacrificing spirit of the Redeemer of men, who declared that we ought to love one another as He loved us, which was even to laying down his life for our sakes, is totally adverse to the wrongs and cruelties of the system, and that there is cause to apprehend it will eventually bring upon our beloved country the measure of His just retribution who declared, “Shall I not visit for these things? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?”

How deeply, then, is it to be lamented that so many amongst us view with indifference and unconcern this alarming subject; while others, from pecuniary or political motives, cling to the system, and are seeking to extend its area, and thus widen and augment the evil which threatens to overthrow the peace and prosperity of the nation, and even the government itself.

We turn with Christian interest and sympathy to the condition of the free black people within the jurisdiction of our government.

They labor under many and great disabilities, for which no better reason can be assigned than that there is power to impose them; and they have to contend against unjust prejudices, continually operating to their disadvantage, and repressing their efforts for improvement. That many of them possess but little thrift, and are not very strict in their observance of the moral law, will not be denied. But when we consider the ignorance and degradation into which their ancestors and themselves were forced by the whites, and in which they have generally been kept, what other result could reasonably have been anticipated? Under the same neglect and pernicious treatment, would not the whites have exhibited equal degradation? and is it just to hold the negro answerable for the consequences of our own want of care to imbue his mind with right principles and train him to correct practices?

Does not a part at least of the responsibility rest upon their more favored white brethren for a failure to perform what seems no less than a Christian duty? While thousands of dollars are annually expended, and many persons are devoting their lives in endeavoring to improve the condition of nations afar off, how few are found willing to give their time or means to instructing and elevating the thousands of free colored people who live in our midst, and how very little is actually done to meliorate their

social, civil, or moral condition, and to raise them from the depressed state into which they have been driven. It is cheering to see that, with proper culture and encouragement, many of them exhibit a capacity for improvement, and an energy and perseverance in attaining it, which are highly creditable. There are not a few instances in which they have reached a considerable degree of intellectual development; have made commendable progress in literature and science, and by a course of industry, honesty, and sobriety, have attained a comfortable competency and established a good reputation as worthy and useful citizens. We lament to see, nevertheless, that the unchristian prejudice against colour is still operating most unjustly against them; that in several of the States severe laws are proposed or enacted, the object of which is still further to rob them of their rights as citizens, and even to deprive them of a home in the land of their birth. Laws so oppressive, and unjust in their nature, we apprehend are an offence against the Most High, and clearly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our republican constitution; and we feel bound to protest against them.

The great ends of good government are to afford protection to the weak, security to the defenceless, an asylum to the oppressed, and to promote the welfare and happiness of all the governed. Such were the objects in view with the founders of our Republic. But how widely different is the course of oppression and disfranchisement pursued, by many of their professed admirers, towards the free people of colour. Justice loudly demands for them the full enjoyment of their natural and civil rights; and Christian benevolence prompts the exercise of sympathy and kindness in their difficulties and privations, and the adoption of proper means to repair the disadvantages and injuries which the whites have entailed upon them.

If we think their presence amongst us is inconvenient and injurious — if we view them as a race not congenial with our own, and as foreign to our soil and social institutions, let us bear in mind that they did not voluntarily intrude themselves among us; that our ancestors dragged them here, against their will, to advance selfish interests; and, since that period, millions of them have labored and suffered to increase the wealth and minister to the ease and enjoyment of the white man; and that, if birth within our borders, if toil and tears, the waste of sinew and muscle, and of life itself, in long and unrewarded labor, can purchase a valid title to home and country, the coloured man can claim them here with the most equitable right.

It was by a traffic outraging all the natural and civil rights of man, reeking with the perpetration of crimes and cruelties among the darkest that blot the history of human kind, that slavery was introduced into our country. The unhallowed commerce was found to be profitable; and there were those degraded enough to pursue it from sordid love of gold, regardless of all the miseries it inflicted. Slavery is at once the nurse and the nourishment of the Slave trade. Wherever it exists, there is a market for its victims; and where there is a remunerating demand, there will be a supply, despite of laws and of morals. The system has, therefore, not only its own evils to condemn it, but the not less atrocious wickedness and barbarity which are connected with the traffic it creates and supports.

We are persuaded that it is not necessary to enter upon any argument to prove the iniquity of the African Slave trade. It is an evil so terrible, attended in every successive stage of its progress by such complicated guilt and misery, by consequences so afflicting to humanity, and so repugnant to every precept of morality, that the government of the United States, in common with nearly every

other which professes the Christian religion, has branded it as infamous, and affixed the severest penalties to a participation in it. Of all nations, our own was the first to prohibit the traffic, to affix to it the stigma of piracy, and to award to its perpetrators the awful penalty of death.

Yet how humiliating, how afflicting is the fact, that there is the clearest evidence, not only remote but recent, and almost continually forcing itself upon public notice, that American capital and American citizens are now actively engaged in carrying it on; and that vessels built and equipped in the United States, sent out from our ports, and in which our merchants have a direct or collateral interest, are constantly employed in its prosecution.

Whatever information the United States government may have received from its official agents respecting the complicity of American citizens in the traffic, several years have elapsed since it has published anything material, touching the subject. It is a fact, that the flag of the nation which makes a greater boast of liberty than any other, is most frequently employed for the protection of this illicit commerce; and yet scarcely any public notice is taken of it by those in authority. In a despatch forwarded to the Secretary of State, in 1844, by Henry A. Wise, then Minister of the United States at the court of Brazil, where he had abundant opportunity of becoming acquainted with the details of the Slave trade, and the manner in which our citizens made themselves parties to it, he speaks of numerous American vessels being engaged in it, and shows that the immunity from detection and punishment, furnished by the flag of the United States, is the grand security of the traffic. Information of the same character, accompanied with authentic cases of the employment of American vessels and crews in the business, and of instances of shocking excesses committed by them, was transmitted as recently as 1850, by David Todd, who

succeeded Henry A. Wise. He entreated that our government would interpose its authority to prevent more effectually the use of its flag for this nefarious purpose, and of the vessels and capital of our citizens, in buying and transporting the kidnapped sons and daughters of Africa.\*

The official documents furnished to the British government by its officers on the coast of Africa and in Cuba, up to the year 1857, prove, in the most conclusive manner, that the state of things depicted by H. A. Wise and D. Todd still continues; and that American vessels and capital are as deeply implicated in the trade as ever. It would swell this Appeal too much to recite the numerous cases given, and we shall confine ourselves to one or two, which may be taken as examples of the whole.

In a despatch from George Jackson and Edmund Gabriel, English Commissioners at Loanda, Africa, dated "March 28th, 1854," addressed to Lord Clarendon, they state: "The United States Brig Perry came into this harbor two days ago, and we have received from Lieutenant Page [one of her officers] the following confirmation of the intelligence contained in our despatch of the 17th inst., viz. :—

"On the 10th inst., about noon, the Perry being abreast of Congo, descried a vessel a long distance out at sea standing in for the land. Lieutenant Page immediately ran up the blue ensign, on seeing which the stranger hoisted American colours. Lieutenant Page then determined not to have the appearance of giving chase, but by the help of his night glass he never lost sight of the vessel, and manœuvred with so much tact, that, when morning broke, he found himself within a few miles of her. He immediately sent his boats in pursuit, and eventually captured her; her captain declaring that he would not allow any but an American boat to board her; but seeing they were officers of the United States Navy, he at once

\* See Appendix, A.

acknowledged that he was making for the land, to ship a cargo of slaves, from 600 to 800, who were looking out for him. His slave-deck, water, and provisions, were all on board. She proved to be a brig, the Glamorgan, of two hundred tons, from New York, chartered by a Portuguese, now a resident in that city. The Glamorgan sailed from New York on the 6th of October, 1853, and landed her cargo in January, partly in the Congo, and partly at Ambriz (Africa). The master of her was a native of Bremen, but a naturalized American. The mate was either an American or an Englishman by birth, believed to be the latter.

"The Glamorgan had been several times visited by Her Majesty's cruisers, and then, as at the moment of her capture, her papers, Lieutenant Page declares, were perfectly regular. If she had not been deceived by the manœuvres of the Perry, she might have escaped with the greatest ease, her sailing qualities being far superior to those of that brig, or probably of any cruiser on the coast."

In a letter from B. Campbell, British Consul at Lagos, Africa, dated "January 6th, 1856," to Lord Clarendon, it is stated that the English ship-of-war "Hecate" chased a suspicious brigantine in the Bight of Benin, which, not being able to escape, ran ashore, and proved to be a slaver named "Chatsworth," of New York.

In another letter, dated "Feb. 1st, 1856," the consul says, "I regret to have to report to your lordship that there is an active renewal of the slave trade at Whydah and the neighbouring ports. — —, of New York, has two vessels under the American flag, the barque 'Hermitage' and schooner 'David Mitchell,' hovering about the slave ports. The latter, I am well informed, will take away slaves, if an opportunity offers."

In a letter from J. G. C. L. Newnham, English consul at Monrovia, dated "September 10th, 1855," is the fol-

lowing, viz., "On the 19th of last month (August) came to anchor, in this port of entry, an American vessel of suspicious appearance, the 'Alexander Mitchell,' from New York, whose owner has been engaged in the slave trade."

In another letter, dated "December 3, 1855," he says, "I have learnt that the Alexander Mitchell, the vessel I made mention of to you in my despatch of September 10th, 1855, has recently shipped 500 slaves, a little below Cape Palmas."

In a letter from the English consul at Rio Janeiro to Lord Clarendon, dated "February 8th, 1856," he states that the "Mary E. Smith," of Boston, was seized by the Brazilian war-schooner "Olinda," off the port of St. Matheos, in Brazil, where the captain was endeavouring to land his cargo. She had about 380 slaves on board. He says, "At the time the Mary E. Smith was seized by the Brazilians she had the United States ensign flying, and her American papers were found to be in order. Her captain and part of her crew are Americans, and part Portuguese."

Consul Morgan, of Bahia, says, "I never heard of, or saw, a more distressing case of slave trading than the 'Mary E. Smith' has offered. With a capacity of only 122 tons, 500 human beings were crammed into her on the coast of Africa, of whom 133 had died previous to her capture, and subsequently, until her arrival in this port, 67 expired from exhaustion, consequent on starvation and disease, their bodies being eaten into by vermin. Of the remainder landed, 76 have been buried; and of the survivors, 109 are in the hospital, suffering from the disease contracted on board. Such is the deplorable result of this inhuman traffic."

"I regret to add that, from the investigations made on board by the chief of police, *four more* vessels, purchased in the United States, and belonging to the same associa-

tion, are expected, with Africans. The first expected is the 'Mary Stuart.'"

Subsequent investigation proved, by the testimony of witnesses under qualification, that the vessels spoken of belonged to a company formed for prosecuting the African slave trade, some of which, sailing from ports of the United States, were afterwards captured.

In an official despatch from Jose Maria Da Silva Paranhos, Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated "Rio Janeiro, February 22d, 1856," alluding to the legal testimony recently taken in the case of the captured slaver "Mary E. Smith," he says, "It appears unquestionable that the African slave-traders have established a basis for their criminal speculations and operations to the Havana and Brazil, in ports of the United States; and that there are agents in Angola and other places in Africa commissioned to load and dispatch the cargoes destined for those places."

We might quote from the Parliamentary Reports the names of numerous other vessels evidently engaged in the slave trade, and overhauled on the coast of Africa within the last four years, which displayed the United States flag, and thus escaped search and capture, to pursue the infamous traffic.\*

Joseph T. Crawford, Acting Commissary Judge at Havana, Island of Cuba, in a despatch to Lord Clarendon, dated "January 14, 1856," says—

"The slave trade, during the past year, has been carried on with more than its ordinary activity. No less than 6408 (Africans) have been introduced during the last twelve months, and are held here in slavery."

"I have no reason for thinking that the expeditions to the coast of Africa, during 1855, have proceeded from Cuba, as formerly. This has, in great measure, been rendered unnecessary by the facilities the slave traders find

\* See Appendix, B.

in fitting out their vessels in the United States, where the craft employed are to be met with cheap and suitable, as well as their fittings and stores much more reasonable in price than here in Cuba; added to which, they are subjected to less observation, and run less risk of detection, — the masters and crews being easily found to proceed under the direction of an agent or supercargo, usually an experienced slave trader; their cargoes being ready (on the coast of Africa), waiting their appearance at the given point of embarkation — they arrive there under the American flag, take on board their miserable cargo, and are off so very quickly from the coast, that they are seldom fallen in with by the cruisers; or, if they were, they would be found like the 'Grey Eagle' [formerly of Philadelphia] without papers of any kind, should there be evidence on board of their slave-trading character."

In a despatch from the same officer, dated "January 31st, 1857," he furnishes an account of the number of slaves *known* to have been landed in Cuba, from the coast of Africa, during 1856, which is 5478; to which one-third is added, as a very low estimate of the number smuggled in, without detection or knowledge; making a total of 7304 for the year.

He says, "the list proves that the slave trade continues to be carried on, not only extensively, but almost with impunity; since, of so large a number known to have been landed, only fifty-four have been captured."

The views and facts we have here stated, are fully confirmed by John M. Clayton, Senator from the Slave State of Delaware, in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, in the spring of 1854, in which he sets forth the extensive participation of American vessels in the trade.\*

Further evidence of this is also furnished by two of the public newspapers published in New York city, one in

\* See Appendix, C.

Baltimore, and another published in Washington, D. C. In one of these, dated 7mo, 14, 1856, a list is given of twenty-one American vessels engaged in the slave trade, eighteen of which had sailed out of the port of New York within three years previous.\*

It is not from New York only that these vessels are sent out. There is evidence that the ports of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, as well as other places in the United States, are used for this nefarious purpose, and that its vast profit, the business it creates, the employment it gives to numerous mechanics and laborers, with the large and even exorbitant prices which are paid to all concerned, partly with a view to secure secrecy, are silently but steadily operating to undermine the virtuous feelings of many in the community, and to lessen the abhorrence which should justly be excited by a trade that inflicts upon our fellow-creatures wrongs so monstrous, and sufferings of so dreadful a character.

The evils produced by it in Africa are incalculably great and wide-spread. The peaceful pursuits of agriculture and manufactures are suspended. Wars are fomented by the slave-traders, and money, fire-arms, and rum liberally supplied to the petty chiefs in exchange for the poor victims, stolen away while at their work, or captured in war. The course of a party on a slave-hunt is a scene of desolation and carnage. Villages of peaceful natives, industriously pursuing their ordinary avocations, are suddenly surrounded and surprised by an armed horde of ruffians; their houses fired, their grain-fields destroyed, their cattle driven away, the aged and the infants slaughtered, and the young and middle aged of both sexes seized and bound. Their hands being secured, they are fastened by the neck to a pole of sufficient length to receive eight or ten of them, and thus are driven for many miles at the point of the bayonet or spear, with cruel

\* See Appendix, D.

flogging if sullen or obstinate, until they reach the seaside, there to be transferred to the pestilential hold of the slave ship. Barth, a recent traveller in Africa, gives an affecting picture of one of these raids which he witnessed; and his story is only a confirmation of numerous recitals from other reliable travellers.

Where the slave-trade is carried on, there is no security for life, for property, for wife, or children. Prompted by cupidity for the articles which the white man offers in barter for negroes, the untutored African becomes savage and treacherous, and watches the favourable moment for springing by stealth upon his prey, or for betraying him to the slave-dealer. Accusations of crimes, totally unfounded, are invented, and conviction procured, that the petty chiefs may profit by the sale of the innocent victim; the midnight ruffian prowls around the dwelling of the unsuspecting, that he may seize and carry off some unguarded individual; and in some instances, the ties of affection and blood become so entirely dissevered, that these deeds of deceit and violence are practised upon the nearest kindred. David Livingston, another modern traveller, who has penetrated further into Africa, and obtained a more accurate knowledge of the manners and customs of her inhabitants than almost any other, gives abundant proof of the peaceful, confiding, and kind character of the natives, where the slave-trade has not extended its barbarizing and degrading influences; and states distinctly, that when they got within its area, the whole bearing and conduct of the people was altered for the worse.

Nor are the slave-ship and the passage to the land of cruel and unrequited toil less destructive of life, or less deplorable in their accompaniments. With hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, jammed into a space so contracted, that each one has less room than he would occupy in his coffin, without clothing, with no means for cleanliness, with little light or ventilation; unable to turn or

to change position at pleasure, with an atmosphere so pestiferous, and a stench so sickening, that the stoutest and most hardy seamen revolt at it; miserably and very insufficiently fed, and wholly at the will of merciless and abandoned men; what can be conceived more wretched and pitiable than the helpless condition of the poor voyaging negro! Is it any wonder that disease in its most appalling and disgusting forms bursts forth with violence, and that death sweeps hundreds of the sufferers beyond the reach of their tormentors. The mortality is frightful. In the case of the Mary E. Smith, already alluded to, two hundred and seventy-six out of about five hundred died, and one hundred and nine others were sick in the hospital. The average mortality among the slaves carried from Africa to Cuba and Brazil is found to be from one-fourth to one-third of all that are shipped.\*

What a deplorable picture do these statements present of a traffic carried on in this enlightened day, by a professedly Christian people, and which is attempted to be justified on the absurd and revolting plea that it is bringing the negroes within the influence of Christianity and civilization, and thus conferring a benefit upon them. Might not the slave respond to this, as one of a working gang did to a white man who was recommending to him the religion of the Saviour of men: "If Christ commands you to treat us thus, then Christ is a cruel tyrant."

The researches of the above named, as well as other travellers, have disclosed a vast extent of fertile country in the interior of Africa, adapted to the growth of cotton, sugar, maize, palm oil, and all the products which require the genial warmth of a tropical climate. To develop these, demands only capital and well-directed industry, with a peaceful and secure enjoyment of the fruits of labor. In those parts adjacent to, or on, the coast, where the inhuman traffic in flesh had been checked, agriculture and

\* See Appendix, E, No. 3.

commerce were beginning to flourish, and the material for peaceful and lawful commerce was rapidly increasing. From official documents it appears that the exports from the port of Lagos, in Guinea, during the year 1856, amounted in value to one hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight pounds, or about eight hundred thousand dollars; and from the other ports in the Bight of Benin, to six hundred and eighty-three thousand five hundred pounds, or more than three millions of dollars; making a total of eight hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-eight pounds, or nearly four millions of dollars; and almost the whole of this large trade has sprung up within the comparatively short space of twenty years. The cultivation of cotton in the district of Yoruba and the adjoining country, during the same period, is estimated at seven millions two hundred thousand pounds.\* The trade of the colonies founded under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, is a further proof of the commercial benefits which would result from the entire abolition of the Slave trade.

B. Campbell, English Consul at Lagos, in a Report to the government, dated "January 5th, 1857," says: "The rapid development of the legitimate commercial resources of this part of Africa demonstrates the enormous wrong done by the Slave trade, in staying, for so many years, the natural resources of the country, and tearing away its inhabitants by violence and fraud, to cultivate, under the pressure of the lash, in foreign lands, those very productions which the climate and soil of his own country are equally capable of producing, by that natural incentive to labour, the prospect of reaping and enjoying its fruits."

Every year furnishes additional evidence that Africa, treated with generous and Christian humanity, encouraged and aided by the superior skill and knowledge of

\* Parliamentary Reports, Class B, 1856-7, p. 34.

the white man, would yield a large contribution to the wealth and comforts of the civilized world, and furnish a vast amount of useful products for legal and profitable commerce; while the intercourse of the whites, conducted upon Christian principles, and showing forth the attractive light of a consistent and virtuous example in life and conversation, could scarcely fail, under the Divine blessing, to prepare the way for embracing the religion which produced such excellent fruits.

It is afflicting to find that the hopes entertained of an effectual check being given to the Slave trade, and that Africa would thus gradually recover from the evils produced by it, are likely to be blighted by its further revival, under the pretext of obtaining free labourers for some of the West India Islands; a scheme sanctioned by one of the European governments, the prosecution of which has already produced very disastrous results. The pretence of hiring the Africans to go voluntarily is a mere guise, and cannot conceal, what it practically results in, the coercive abduction of the negroes to a life of unremunerated labour; while, at the same time, the authority given to the government agents to procure them, acts as a protection and immunity to the regular slave trader, and will thus multiply, to a fearful degree, the rapine, bloodshed and destruction which have heretofore devastated the seaboard sections of Africa.\*

In our own country, too, the high price of sugar, cotton, and other slave products, has so much enhanced the cost of negroes, that, actuated by the thirst for wealth, men are to be found, even among our enlightened population, who have the hardihood to advocate the re-opening of the Slave trade to our ports. It is a startling fact, and one which ought to arouse every sincere well-wisher of his country to a sense of the peril which is threatening, that the Governors of three of the States of this Union

\* See Appendix, E.

have officially called the attention of the Legislatures to the propriety of such a course, and that it is strongly urged in several of the public newspapers. It is both mortifying and alarming that such is the case; and while it must degrade us in the eyes of the civilized world, it awakens just apprehensions that our situation is fast ripening for some calamity, the natural result of this open disregard of the Divine law. May we all be awakened to a just estimate of our responsibility, and of the obligation which rests on us to exert ourselves to avert from the reputation of our beloved country the foul blot which threatens it.

The evils attendant on the traffic, which words are inadequate to depict, are not of recent origin, nor dependent on its legal prohibition. They existed, to an enormous extent, during the period in which the trade was sanctioned and regulated by law; and it was their monstrous character that led to its interdiction. If a day of such fearful moral declension ever arrives as that it shall again be legalized, it cannot be doubted but the same cruelties and wrongs would still attend its prosecution.

Beside the foreign traffic, slavery originates and sustains another, little less odious, and abhorrent to the tenderest feelings of human nature: we allude to the Slave trade between the different States. The rearing of slaves for the market thus created, appears, in some cases, to be made a business. Man, the noblest work of his Creator, bearing his image, made but a little lower than the angels, and animated by an immortal soul, is put on a level with the beasts that perish; bought and sold in the shambles like cattle, driven from place to place to obtain a better market, and every feeling of tenderness and affection which stirs within his bosom disregarded and set at nought. Husbands and wives, parents and children, often of tender age and needing a mother's care, brothers and sisters, all are ruthlessly torn apart, regardless of groans and tears, and sold far away from

each other, never again to meet on earth. Local attachments of birth-place and home, and of scenes of childhood's joys and sorrows, are unscrupulously sundered, and the helpless victim is sent to find a new home among strangers, of whose temper and conduct he can know nothing, and to the behests of whose arbitrary will and passions, however merciless and tyrannical, he has often no alternative but abject submission or cruel stripes, perhaps torture even unto death.

Is there a Christian heart but must be stirred to its inmost recesses, on behalf of a fellow-being consigned to so hard and forlorn a lot? Who that places his son or his daughter, his wife or mother, in such a situation, but would feel his bosom heave with unutterable anguish! And yet, it is the lot of thousands of our fellow-creatures, the sad reality which they have to experience almost every year; and we cannot doubt but their sighs and groans, though disregarded by man, reach the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth, who declares himself to be the refuge of the poor, the refuge of the needy in his distress. May we not expect that, as he heard the groaning of the Israelites under their hard task-masters in Egypt, and delivered them by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, so he will hasten the day when he will deal with this nation according to his immutable justice, for the cruelties and oppression inflicted on the descendants of Africa.

When the wrongs and sufferings attendant on the system of slavery are set before us, they seem so vast and distressing, that there is a disposition in some persons to turn from them with aversion. They do not like to have their equanimity disturbed, or their sympathies excited, by such recitals; and looking at the extent of its area, the deep hold it has obtained in our land, fortified by the love of money and of ease, so natural to the unregenerate heart, they consider slavery as an evil which they cannot help, and for which there is no feasible remedy, and suffer

it speedily to pass out of their thoughts. How different was the course of the patriarch who says: "I delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless, and him that had none to help him." "I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out." "Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble."

Moreover, slavery is an evil which sooner or later must be met. It is forcing itself upon us; and we are all more or less involved in its fearful consequences. If we give up our hearts to meet it in a Christian spirit, and, in the Divine fear and counsel, to do what may be our duty in respect to it with meekness and love, not only may we be made useful in enlightening and convincing the minds of others, and in lessening the amount of human misery; but as there is an honest desire to put an end to it; it may, and we cannot doubt but it will, please the Lord to open a way for its removal which we do not now see, and to give us wisdom and strength to effect this most desirable result.

Is there not reason to fear that a moral declension has come over the public sentiment in some parts of our country as respects slavery and its complicated evils? That the introduction of the subject into the political arena as one of the elements of party strife; the erroneous opinions with which opposition to it has sometimes been associated; the intemperate expressions or the imprudent actions of some, claiming to be abolitionists; and the loud and unjust denunciations of the motives of those who have sought to remove or restrict the system; have induced some who wish well to the cause of universal freedom to waver in their opinions or to relax their efforts? There is an apathy evinced, an unwillingness to make an open and honest avowal even of what conscience may approve, in condemning the system, and giving it its just character, which did not exist half a century ago; and

which are unfavourable indications as regards Christian integrity and a firm and unflinching opposition to wrong.

This is a dangerous state to fall into: for if we disregard the still small voice of Truth and the dictates of conscience; or from motives of self-interest, love of popularity or the fear of man, shrink from a proper avowal of our opinions on a subject so momentous, our moral perceptions will be likely to become blunted, we may gradually view with indifference things which once raised feelings of abhorrence, or perhaps become reconciled to them; and losing our sensibility to what is right, may be left blindly to follow evil.

Every man, however humble his sphere, has some influence over others, for the use of which he is accountable. It is his duty and his highest interest to employ that influence in the promotion of virtue and piety—and if he neglect so to use it, he is wasting a talent entrusted to him by his Maker. It is impossible to stand neuter: our influence is always operating in the direction of good or that of evil. The thought is a serious one; and it ought to incite to watchfulness and prayer, that under Divine guidance and by His aid, we may fearlessly and earnestly advocate the right and resist the wrong.

We deplore the existence of the evils against which we have here appealed to our fellow-citizens. We deeply lament that they deface the fair fame of our beloved country, and throw a dark shade over those principles of just liberty, security of person and property, and equity to all, which were proclaimed as the basis of our excellent government. We believe liberty is the right of every individual of the coloured race, and the full enjoyment of all his civil and social immunities. Justice demands these, and cannot, we apprehend, be satisfied with anything less.

What a mortifying spectacle do we present to the na-

tions of the earth, of a people making the highest profession and the greatest boast of universal liberty, and yet cherishing in its bosom an institution founded in fraud and maintained by violence—solemnly avowing as self-evident truths, that “all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” and yet, with these words sounding from our legislative halls every year, depriving more than three millions of our fellow creatures of liberty, of the pursuit of happiness, and of all that renders life most dear.

In vain would it be to appeal to the despotic governments of the earth on behalf of their oppressed and down-trodden subjects, while we maintain among ourselves a tyranny so cruel, so subversive of justice and humanity, as to be paralleled only in the dark ages of barbarism.

The Divine blessing, and the merciful extension of His preserving and protecting Power, are the only security for governments or for individuals. If these are withdrawn, all the strength and skill of man cannot prevent the approach of ruin and decay. In the revolution of events, we often see that the wrong-doing of men and governments—the schemes they had contrived in fraud and executed by outrage, with the expectation of promoting their advantage, so far from accomplishing the ends they anticipated, have proved their own punishment. Such was the declaration of the Most High against His revolted and degenerate people formerly. “Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backsliding shall reprove thee; know therefore, and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts.”

It requires little foresight to perceive, in the train of events passing before us, that the pertinacious adherence

to the system of slavery threatens to bring its own correction and reproof upon our country at no very distant day. Can we reasonably hope for the continuance of the Divine blessing, if we wilfully persist in refusing to obey the precepts of our holy Lawgiver, to love our neighbour as ourselves, and to do to him as we would be done by; “to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke?”

We fervently desire that it may please the Lord Almighty, in the riches of His love and mercy, to bring the hearts of the rulers and the people, in every part of our beloved country, to feel the miseries and the wrongs of the coloured races among us; to extend to them that sympathy and kindness which the benign religion of the Gospel inculcates; to make his law of universal righteousness the rule of action towards them, and to all men; that so his blessing may more abundantly rest upon us; that violence may no more be heard in our land, nor wasting and destruction come within its borders, but that the kingdom of the dear Son of God may be established and extended; and, under his blessed government, every heart and all our actions may continually breathe the Divine anthem, “Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, and good will to men.”

Signed on behalf and by direction of the Meeting aforesaid,

WILLIAM EVANS,  
*Clerk this year.*

## APPENDIX.

## A.

SINCE the Appeal was prepared, the official despatch from which the following is taken has been obtained:—

Robert T. Schenck, Minister from the United States at the court of Brazil, in a letter to Secretary Webster, dated "Rio Janeiro, April 26th, 1852," says: "I desire to call your particular attention to the subject of the slave trade between Brazil and the coast of Africa. This infamous and inhuman traffic, thanks principally, I must say, to the vigilance of the British cruisers, and the disposition manifested and measures taken by the Ministers of State . . . in this government, has seemed for a year or more to be nearly, if not altogether stopped. But there are many indications of its revival, and I grieve to have to inform you that . . . no flag is more likely to be prostituted to the vile purpose of protecting those engaged in the business than our own."

"A reaction has evidently taken place. . . . I am sorry to say that . . . nothing seems to occur to these miscreants who would commerce in human flesh, more likely to serve their purposes, than the use, or rather abuse, of the American flag. It alone gives privilege and immunity from visitation and search, when on the high seas, against all pursuers but the commissioned naval police of our country."

"Within the last two weeks, two American fast-sailing brigs have been fitted out and sailed from this port, cleared and freighted for the coast of Africa. There is every reason to believe, from the quality and assortment of goods taken by them, and from other suspicious facts, that their object was to trade for slaves."

In a communication from the same officer to Secretary Everett, dated "Rio Janeiro, Feb. 5th, 1853," he says: "I mentioned . . . that two American brigs had left this port under suspicious circumstances, intending no doubt to make slave voyages, although, under existing laws, neither the Consul of the United States, nor I, had any power to detain them, or means to intercept and defeat their nefarious purpose. I was not mistaken. Those apprehensions have been realized.

"One of the vessels, by the accidents of navigation on the African

coast, was prevented from getting her human cargo afloat, and has returned to the United States. The other, 'the Camargo,' American, I think from Portland, Maine, with American flag, captain, and crew, arrived on this coast again a few weeks ago, with five hundred blacks on board, whom she succeeded, by concert with persons on shore, in running in and landing at Brauchy, a little unfrequented port. . . . To avoid pursuit and detection, the brig was then burnt to the water's edge, and the hull scuttled and sunk—her captain, named Gordon, and his sailors scattering through the country and escaping."

In a newspaper inclosed in the despatch, called the "Corrieo Mercantil," issued at Rio, and dated the last day of 1852, the editor, speaking of the above landing of slaves, says: "We are informed that this violation of law was perpetrated under the American flag." "We say, with regret, that it was the flag of the United States which covered this act of piracy, sustained by citizens of that great nation, who, disobeying the orders of their government, and violating the laws of their country, do not blush to soil the glorious flag of their nation only with a view to the vile profits of this accursed traffic in Africans.

"If the government of the American Union does not resolve to vindicate still more closely the honour of its flag—if its diplomatic agents, and those of its navy, have not their powers enlarged, or are not provided with means for prosecuting those who, against the laws of their own country, violate the laws of nations, the slave trade will receive new animation, and the American flag, which has assisted so much in the civilization of the world, . . . will lose both in dignity and glory. It is confidently stated that other speculations like that of which we treat will also be protected by the American flag."

## B.

The following is an extract from a letter dated from the "British cruiser Sappho, off Loando, September 29th, 1857." It reveals a shocking incident in the prosecution of the slave trade:—

"On the morning of the 18th inst., in a thick mist, with rain, we closed with a schooner. While boarding her, the weather cleared, and a large ship was seen close to the land. Directly our boats returned, we made all sail in chase, the ship making all sail to avoid us, and the chase became very exciting. The captain said we were gaining, and so they must have thought on board the ship, as he tacked in shore and we after him; then he bore away, running along the edge of the surf, and by help of his large sails was drawing ahead.

"By this time we were sure he was one of the large American slave ships, and we feared he would escape if he got sea-room, so the captain took a boat well manned and armed, and pulled to windward to cut him off, and he would be obliged to tack off shore. Another boat was

sent to leeward, the master, the only officer on board, being left in charge. The ship was not more than a mile and a half distant, close to the surf. Seeing the trap laid for him, and that he could not escape, he ran his ship ashore. We anchored in four fathoms; the master took the whale boats close to the ship, and was soon joined by the other boats.

"The ship was rolling in the breakers, with all her sails flapping about, and appeared to be full of slaves; the master and crew had abandoned her with their boats, leaving the American colors flying. Then we all beheld a dreadful scene; the slaves forced their way from below, jumped overboard, and soon disappeared in the rollers. It was terrible to see them. Our officers and men, regardless of their own lives, pulled through the surf to the leeward of the ship, but her heavy lurching for some time prevented their boarding. When they succeeded, the scene was horrifying; the slaves still forcing their way up from the slave decks with loud yells, running to and fro, and continuing to throw themselves overboard.

"All attempts to pacify them were useless; force was necessary to drive them below until preparations could be made for their safety. We were told by one of the slaves who could speak Portuguese, that they were told the English would cut all their throats. As soon as the boat could be attended to, the cutter was backed under the stern and a rope thrown her; then three of the slaves were permitted up at a time, and lowered into the boat, the whale boat conveying them through the rollers to the large boat, and so on to the Sappho. This continued until eight P. M. The surf increased, and it was impossible to save more that night. One hundred and eighty were rescued. The master was left with a guard on board. It was an anxious and sleepless night for all, as death was rapidly decreasing the number of the poor negroes, who, starving and naked, died from utter misery — men, women, boys and girls, [almost] two hundred on board the Sappho — and, as they ceased to breathe, we were obliged to throw them overboard. Poor negroes! . . . Fortunately, we had plenty of rice from the schooner captured, which we fed them with, and placed them as best we could under cover of sails. As food and warmth restored them, in various ways they signified their sense of [our] kindness.

"There was one poor creature with an infant at her breast, naked, cold and exhausted, apparently dying; a little wine was given her, then some rice, which she forced from her own to her baby's mouth. A sheet was given to cover her; she wrapped her baby in it, and pressed it to her heart with that look of maternal love which God has given to the dark as well as to the pale-faced race. On board the schooner, the master and guard were with the remaining negroes in a perilous state; the former passed the night in the fore-castle and bowsprit, drenched by the spray of the heavy rollers.

"At dawn, on the 19th, the wind and surf had increased; the ship had driven closer to the beach; numbers of armed people were collected; a signal for assistance was made; the captain went with all the

boats manned and armed, when the natives on the beach, led on by white men, apparently the crew of the ship, commenced firing, with the intention of preventing the rescue of any more negroes. This continued an hour before we could clear the beach. On again boarding the wreck, she was found breaking up, with her hold full of water. On the tide receding, her hull was nearly dry, and there was no time to spare. The large boats were stationed to keep the beach clear with their guns; the cutter was anchored at the back of the surf, and, by watching the rollers, they succeeded in throwing her a rope, when the negroes were lowered and hauled through the surf, and conveyed as before to the Sappho, two hundred more being rescued; then the wreck was set fire to, and our people withdrawn.

"We were in such a state, with three hundred and eighty negroes crowding our decks; the stench was putrefying, and it was impossible to work the ship. In this state the second day closed upon us. We were forty miles from Shark's Point; the captain resolved to go in his boat and ask for assistance. They pulled all night in the heavy rain, and at daylight, on the 20th, fortunately met the Vesuvius, Commodore Wise, with whom the captain returned. Commodore Wise took the negroes on board the Vesuvius, to be sent to Sierra Leone in the Alector prize.

"I have given you the history of one of the many American ships employed in the slave trade; six, I think, have been taken. We seized the Panchita thirty miles up the coast, and sent her to New York; we do not know whether the American government will condemn her."

## C.

In offering a resolution to the Senate of the United States, inquiring into the expediency of adopting measures to prevent the use of the American flag for protecting persons engaged in the African Slave Trade, John M. Clayton, Senator from the State of Delaware, said: —

"Since the year 1852, the Slave Trade has fearfully increased in the Island of Cuba. Thousands of African negroes have been brought from the coast of Africa during the last sixteen months, and smuggled into this island, and the fact has attracted the attention of good men throughout the civilized world. No portion of this Union is believed to be more decidedly opposed to this inhuman traffic than the southern portion of it, where, although men are deeply interested in the preservation of their own peculiar institution, the abhorrence of these outrages on humanity by the African Slave Trade exists as strongly as it does in any other portion of the world, and I think I am fully justified in saying that the men of the South will go as far in putting down this inhuman traffic in human flesh as any others. Southern honour stands pledged to that effect, and the brightest jewel in the chaplet of the South is her honour.

We are all, then, equally interested to inquire what has been the cause of the recent extraordinary success of the Slave Trade in the Island of Cuba? It is with regret that I am compelled to admit the fact that a great majority of these slaves have been imported from the coasts of Africa in vessels of American build, and that these vessels, navigated by crews of American sailors, and commanded by American captains, have participated in that trade to an alarming extent, and in a manner which I will now proceed to explain:

"The owner of an American ship, desiring to sell her for a slaver, sends her with a cargo to Havana. She arrives there with the understanding that she is to be sold and employed in the Slave Trade. Some wealthy individual or joint stock company, tempted by the prospect of enormous profits, advances money enough to purchase the vessel, and fit her out for an adventure to the coast of Africa. By the laws of the United States it is necessary for her new owner to procure for her a new register upon her return to this country, and within three days after she has arrived at a port here. She is generally purchased in the name of the captain who sails with her to Havana, and who undertakes with his employers to navigate her under the American flag, and with an American crew, to some port on the African coast at or south of Elephant Bay, for enormous profits, proportioned to the risk he incurs, but seldom falling short of five thousand or six thousand dollars. It was not the original intention that she should return to the United States, but her commander, on his arrival at Havana, deposits her papers with the American Consul, and obtains, in lieu of them, for the vessel, a Consular certificate, called a Consular sea-letter. With such a certificate, or, as it is said, sometimes with the original sea-letter, with which he sailed from the United States, the captain embarks with the very crew with which he sailed from the United States, under the American flag, bound for Gallinas, or Cabinda, or some other port on the coast of Africa where slaves can be best procured. He takes with him another captain and another crew as passengers, to cover his design, composed generally of Portuguese or Spaniards, with the addition, perhaps, of a few American or English desperadoes, and his cargo is generally composed of farina, beans, casks of water, and agudente, sweetmeats, and boards seemingly cast without care on the top of the water-casks, but, in reality, all fitted and prepared to make a slave-deck to stow away the slaves on their return from Africa to the Island of Cuba, for which purpose this slave-deck, it is said, can be constructed by the crew in less than an hour.

"On the voyage from Havana to the coast of Africa, if overhauled by an English cruiser, he points to his American flag and shows his American papers; and when he arrives at his port of destination, in pursuance of a previous arrangement between those concerned in the Trade at Cuba and their agents on the coast of Africa, the American colours are lowered, the American captain and the American crew leave the vessel and go on shore, or on board another vessel waiting there to bring them back to Cuba, and the new captain and crew, who sailed in the slaver as passengers, then take charge of the vessel. If an English or

American cruiser be in sight, they receive timely information by signals from the land, and thus avoiding capture, the vessel lays to within sight of the barracoons, or slave-pens, without taking in sails, but merely lowering her topsails, until her human freight is, by the immense barges or boats prepared for the purpose on shore, put on board the vessel. Thus, frequently, 900 or 1000 slaves are shipped aboard a vessel, and she is off on her return voyage to Cuba, eluding all pursuit, in less than one hour after she entered the port. Such an adventure is commonly achieved in the night, but it is also sometimes performed in broad daylight. I remember that, while engaged professionally in the trial of an indictment in the Circuit Court of the United States, for such a violation of the Acts of Congress, a sailor, and a very intelligent witness, swore that he had frequently seen a vessel run into the harbour of Cabinda, send down her topsails on the caps, and clear out, with 900 slaves on board, in half an hour.

"Before I leave the subject of the resolution, it may be well to remark that American ships are always sought for in Havana for the Slave Trade, and command a higher price when purchased or chartered to be used as slavers than the vessels of any other nation. Hence it is that our countrymen are more deeply implicated as participating in this traffic than either Englishmen or Frenchmen. We have acquired a degree of skill in the construction of ships unequalled by any other nation.

"It is not merely the superiority of the American vessel, but the superior character of the American captains for skill, intrepidity, and daring in these hazardous enterprises, that causes them to be employed at higher prices than could be obtained by others."

## D.

*Extract from the "New York Herald" of 7th month, 14, 1856.*

THE SLAVE TRADE. — FITTING OUT VESSELS IN THE PORT OF NEW YORK. — Mr. Secretary Marcy has laid before the Senate a report in answer to a resolution in reference to the fitting out of vessels in the ports of the United States, for the purpose of being engaged in the Slave Trade. The Secretary gave the names of six vessels sailing out of the port of New York; but we are enabled to supply, from authentic sources, the names of twenty-one vessels, eighteen of which have left this port within the last three years. There are many others which are well known to have embarked on slaving expeditions, as is admitted by a letter from Mr. Marcy to Mr. McKeon, in August, 1854; but as they have not returned, they are supposed to have been destroyed at sea. It appears that the usual practice is to equip vessels in this port for the apparent purposes of legitimate trade, but which carry a sufficient quantity of planks to erect slave-decks, a large number of water-casks and rice, and other articles of food for a cargo of negroes. Having traded between the slave ports on the coast of Africa [and Cuba], the

captain and crew abandon their ship and set fire to her, in order to destroy all traces of her unlawful engagement.

We have laws on the statute books prohibiting the Traffic in Slaves, or the fitting out of vessels for the purpose. The following are the sections of the Act:—

“No citizen, or other person, shall, for himself or others, either as master, factor, or owner, build, fit, equip, load, or otherwise prepare any vessel in any place within the United States, for the purpose of procuring any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, from any foreign country, to be transported to any place whatsoever, to be held, sold, or otherwise disposed of as a slave, or to be held to service or labour: and such vessel so built, fitted out, equipped, laden, or otherwise prepared for such purpose, her tackle, apparel, furniture and lading shall be forfeited, one moiety to the United States, and the other to the use of the prosecutor, and such vessel may be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any court of the United States having competent jurisdiction.

“Every person so building, fitting out, equipping, loading, or otherwise preparing or sending away, or causing any such act to be done, with intent to employ such vessel in such trade, or who shall in any wise be aiding or abetting therein, shall, on conviction, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars, nor less than one thousand dollars, one moiety to the United States and the other to the prosecutor, and shall be imprisoned for a term not exceeding seven nor less than three years.”

With the immense traffic that is set on foot in our very midst, we would ask what has been done to check it? Turning to the records of the United States Courts, we find that from 1845 to 1854, there were but five cases of the violation of this law of which judicial notice has been taken, and they were thus disposed of:—Mansfield and Driscoll forfeited their recognizances of 5000 dollars each; Captain Theodore Canot was held to answer in 1847, but nothing has ever been done in his case since; Captain Jefferson turned State's evidence; and in the case of Captain D. Mathew a *nolle prosequi* was entered.

Since 1854 there have been thirty-two persons indicted, and thirteen tried, of whom one was convicted and twelve acquitted; the indictments against the other nineteen are so recent that they have not yet been tried. Captain James Smith, of the brig “*Julia Moulton*,” was convicted of commanding that vessel and conveying a cargo of slaves on the coast of Africa—the penalty would have been death; but a new trial was granted, and the Government subsequently consented to a plea of guilty to a minor offence, and he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. R. E. Lascala was tried on a charge of fitting out the slaver “*Horatio*,” and acquitted; Manuel Echeveria, fitting out the “*Mary Jane Peck*,” acquitted; E. Valentine, fitting out the “*Julia Moulton*,” acquitted; Gaspard M. de Cunha and eight of the crew of the “*Falmouth*,” acquitted. There are still pending charges against Bazilio de Cunha Reis, of the firm of Figanieri, Reis & Co., for fitting out the “*Aleva*,” Henrico

de Costa, Joseph P. de Cunha, Patricio de Castro, and thirteen of the crew of the “*Braman*,” and two other parties not yet arrested.

The following vessels, with the exception of the “*Lawrens*,” the “*Butterfly*,” and the “*Catherine*,” sailed out of the port of New York within the past three years; these three schooners were fitted out some few years before that period:—

CLASS.	NAME.	FATE.
Barque.....	Millaudon.....	Destroyed at sea.
Brig.....	Glamorgan.....	Captured. Condemned at Boston.
Ditto.....	Silenus.....	Ditto. Destroyed on the coast.
Barque.....	Laurens.....	Ditto. Condemned at New York.
Schooner.....	Mary Jane Peck.....	Ditto by the British. Ditto at Sierra Leone.
Ditto.....	Mary E. Smith.....	Ditto by the Brazilians.
Ditto.....	Butterfly.....	Ditto. Condemned in New York.
Ditto.....	Catherine.....	Ditto. Ditto.
Ditto.....	Advance.....	Ditto. Condemned at Norfolk.
Ditto.....	Julia Moulton.....	Destroyed at sea.
Ditto.....	Julia Mystic.....	Ditto.
Barque.....	Jasper.....	Capt'd. Acquitted because of defect in libel.
Ditto.....	Chancellor.....	Ditto. Not yet decided.
Ditto.....	Martha.....	Ditto. Condemned in New York.
Schooner.....	Falmouth.....	Ditto. Ditto.
Ditto.....	Horatio.....	Destroyed at sea.
Ditto.....	Lady Suffolk.....	Captured, and since in the Mexican service.
Barque.....	Republic.....	Destroyed at sea.
Schooner.....	Altiva.....	Ditto.
Ditto.....	N. H. Gambrell.....	Captured. Condemned in New York.
Ditto.....	Braman.....	Ditto, and in process of adjudication.

Thus we see that though vessels have been captured and condemned, there has been but one man convicted of the offence against the statute. Why such a proportion of acquittals? If the legal construction of those laws permits the encouragement of the Slave Trade, the sooner the Act of Congress is amended the better.

*Extract from the “National Intelligencer,” published in the City of Washington.*

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE IN NEW YORK CITY.—According to the “*Journal of Commerce*,” the United States Deputy Marshall says:—

This business was never prosecuted with greater energy than at present. The occasional interposition of the legal authorities exercises no apparent influence for its suppression. It is seldom that one or more vessels cannot be designated at the wharves respecting which there is evidence that she is either in or has been concerned in the Traffic; and within the last nine months three alleged slave cases of the character referred to have been before our Courts, resulting in one instance in confiscation.

The manner of conducting this trade has undergone some change within a few months which it is well to observe. Parties in Cuba desirous of fitting out a slaver have no difficulty in procuring agents in this city, through certain commercial houses, to negotiate for the charter of such a craft as may be deemed suitable for an African voyage.

They come here with the requisite amount of funds, and effect a charter, with a proviso that the vessel may be purchased, if desired, when she arrives at her destination. Through the potent influence of said funds it becomes the interest of all concerned, even to the sailmaker, caulker, shipwright, and joiner, to say no more about the matter than is necessary; and, as regards the cargo, Judge Betts has ruled that its character, as ordinarily made up, can afford no evidence justifying the vessel's detention.

The vessel, therefore, departs with the United States flag at her peak, and a proper person on board provided with blank papers, the powers of attorney, &c.; so that, if an arrangement can be effected for procuring a cargo of negroes, the vessel is sold at a large profit, and her late owners in New York are no longer responsible for her proceedings. Her flag will protect her from interference by foreign cruisers, and our own are not so numerous but they can commonly be avoided. The vessel is then run to Cuba, the cargo discharged, and the vessel burnt. Humanity has been outraged, but a princely fortune has been acquired.

The question is renewed with still more earnestness, "Can the fitting out of slavers here be prevented?" There are officers in the employ of the government noted for their sagacity and long experience in connection with this subject, who answer that it can, by so amending the law relating to the shipment of crews that vessels engaged in the African trade shall take none but Americans. The journal thinks this would stop the crime, as Portuguese men are the sailors.

[The "Baltimore American" of 11th month, 28th, 1856, contains an article holding forth similar sentiments and statements as the above.]

## E.

The following extracts will serve to illustrate the nature and effects of the scheme for procuring free labour from Africa, viz.:—

## No. 1.

"The operations of the French Government to obtain supplies of labour from the west coast of Africa, commenced in the early part of the present year; not, however, in the mischievous form which they subsequently assumed. The earlier intentions of that Government were to obtain, if it were possible, emigrants in a state as nearly approaching to freedom as is ever enjoyed by labourers on that coast. For that purpose a screw steamer, called the Phoenix, was chartered and despatched, not by any contractors, nor under any commercial arrangement with mercantile houses, but by the French Government itself. This vessel hoisted the pennant of France, and all her proceedings were directed by responsible Government agents. She did not make for the old slave trading-ports and rivers of the coast, where legitimate commerce was gradually extirpating and rooting out the detestable traffic in human beings, but visited the European settlements and factories scattered so usefully

along it, as also the American republic of Liberia and the Kroo country, where native labour, though not absolutely free, is at all events freer than at any other part where European authority is not established.

"Resorting to those parts of the African coast where they were in some measure under the observation of European officials, the agents employed did not openly attempt to purchase the negroes from the chiefs or the old slave-dealers, but they offered a premium to all who could be persuaded to come aboard and accompany them. They thus succeeded in obtaining about three hundred, who, without understanding the nature of the contract made with them, or the full character of that part of it they were to perform, remained on board, as the vessel coasted along the country. But when in the prosecution of her voyage, the vessel called at Fernando Po, a large number, beginning to suspect that they were deceived, jumped overboard, and escaped to the shore. The plan, in this shape, was a failure, and it became evident that if Africans were to be obtained for transportation, it must be by some other means.

"The scheme was consequently abandoned, and a contract was entered into by the imperial government with M. Regis, of Marseilles, for the transference by him of ten thousand Africans to Martinique and Guadaloupe, in consideration of twenty pounds a-head for each African. Of the selection of M. Regis for the execution of such a contract, even had it been of a guarded, and cautious, and protective kind, we will say no more than that, in the opinion of the well-informed writer of the letters before us, it was, notwithstanding that gentleman's experience of African commerce, in all respects a most unfortunate one. It was, however, especially unfortunate in this, that M. Regis had a mercantile establishment at Whydah, the port whence the slave trade was carried on by the King of Dahomey and those connected with him, and whence the dreadful commerce had extended itself to the other ports in the Bight of Benin.

"At Whydah, it was at once decided this French enterprise of buying slaves for exportation to the West Indies should be chiefly carried on. No sooner did news of this resolution to carry on there a slave trade under the French flag, and protected by all the authority of the French empire, transpire at Whydah, than, as we have said, the old European slave-dealers at once abandoned lawful commerce, and, encouraged by this determination, revived on their own account the slave trade with Cuba, where the price of slaves, owing to the enormously increasing value of sugar, had greatly risen. Their operations, and the expectations of French demand, brought down on the Bight a whole host, to use Consul Campbell's expressive language, of bearded, unwashed Spaniards, Portuguese, and Americans; roused, as we have seen, the chiefs of Abeokuta and the interior to slave-hunting and kidnapping, and at once, as the correspondence before us repeats over and over again, seriously diminished the quantity of produce collected for exportation. American slave-ship after American slave-ship appeared in the Bight, and it was announced that M. Regis had chartered four large steamers for his share in the traffic. This announcement aroused the attention

of Consul Campbell, as yet in ignorance of the contract, but his suspicions were lulled by an assurance that the vessels so chartered were intended for the postal service of the French government. The statement soon proved utterly untrue, for in a few weeks after it was made, a large steamer, called the *Stella*, appeared off Whydah, with orders to purchase and embark twelve hundred negroes for the French Indian colonies.

"The effect of this demand for a single ship, with the prospect of three other similar arrivals, convulsed the whole Bight of Benin. The chiefs and all their subjects deserted legitimate trade, and English merchants, entangled with a large amount of property unpaid for in the interior, were only too happy to be able to contract their operations and ship their property as fast as possible.

"But it soon appeared that M. Regis, despite his large African experience, had entered into a very rash and hazardous speculation. For the twenty pounds a-head, which he was to receive, afforded him inadequate means to compete with the slave-dealers, who had the open and unrestricted market of Cuba to supply, in the prices they respectively offered for prime first class Africans. The French contractors proposed ten pounds a-head; their Spanish competitors instantly rose to eighteen and twenty pounds; and, outbidding the agents of the French government, they got the first class negroes for Cuba, while nothing but the old, the weak, the infirm, and the dilapidated Africans were left for Martinique and Guadaloupe.

"Most fortunately for the imperial government, the limitation of the price to be paid the French contractor in this most discreditable and very deplorable enterprise has, we learn, prevented the *Stella* obtaining her full complement of twelve hundred Africans in the Bight of Benin; and that ship had at the latest dates sailed with several hundreds on board for the river Gaboon; there, it is greatly to be feared, to complete the number she can convey to the West Indies. This failure at Whydah will, we say, be a most fortunate occurrence for the French government, if it only teaches them the commercial lesson that in a trade so wicked and lawless, and abominable as this traffic in Africans, no government or government contractors can compete with the remorseless and established slave-dealers, who buy in Africa to sell again in Cuba. And as, since the contract was formed, sugar has fallen twenty pounds a ton in value, let us earnestly hope that the miserable and mistaken inducement in which the contract no doubt originated, has disappeared, and that the contract itself will be at once terminated."

## No. 2.

The evidence of those best acquainted with the natives of Western Africa distinctly states that it is impossible to obtain one thousand *free* persons to emigrate on any terms, and that they cannot be procured in any other way than with the consent, after regular bargain and sale, of the native kings. From a letter from M. Fitzpatrick, who held an

English judicial position on the Gold Coast for six years, we cite a single paragraph:—

"The Africans are not a migratory people. If they were free to-morrow, and capable of understanding this contract for ten years' expatriation and servitude, they would much rather become slaves in their own country than enter into it. The Kroomen, though fond of earning money to take back to their own country after a short absence, and though tempted on board cruisers by pay amounting to from eight dollars to twelve dollars per month, with full rations or their money value—equal to seven dollars more per month, and employment on the element on which they are at home, will not enter into lengthened service; and to suppose that they would be induced, by a promise of twelve and a half francs per month, to go to a distant country for ten years, is absurd."

Similar testimony is given by M. Forster, for many years intimately and largely connected with the trade of Western Africa. He says:—

"If the slave trade is to be revived in this new form, it may just as well be revived in its old shape. The consequences will be quite as bad—nay, in some respects worse. A limited demand in the way proposed would bring more slaves from the interior than were wanted, and they would be starved in barracoons, while it would unsettle the minds of the people, and disturb and destroy legitimate trade as much as an unlimited traffic under the old system."

The following is extracted from a letter, dated "Robertsport, Liberia, Feb. 1st, 1858":—

"The Emperor [of France], it seems, is very anxious to have African labour in his West India provinces, and French ships have been sent to the coast of Liberia, with national officers on board, for native emigrants. However honest or rigid they may be disposed to conduct this system, it is impossible for them to guard against the abuses arising from it, and prevent its engendering the original slave trade. Domestic slavery is an ancient institution of the natives, from which we have nothing to fear, if no foreign influence tampers with their passions and rekindles the spirit of war to supply this demand for labour. All captives are reduced to slavery, and they, like philosophers, submit to their fate. I visited one of these ships, and, as I knew several of the natives, I conversed with them freely. They informed me that they were on board against their own will; that the chiefs would not send any of their free people away, but would readily furnish their slaves for sixteen dollars per head—the price formerly given by slavers; that they were brought to the vessel in fetters; that they were anxious to leave the vessel, and hoped that I would do what I could to secure that end. The chiefs are not particular about the name, and would just as soon have it known as the emigrant system as any other, so long as it opened a market for their captives. Our government has no objection to voluntary emigration; but, in justice to the unprotected, it has used its authority to prevent any deviation from this rule, which, in fact, neutralizes the whole system."

## No. 3.

We copy the following from the "London Morning Star," of March 8th, 1857:—

"On the 20th of November last, a small steamer of three hundred and eighty-three tons, and eighty horse power, constructed to sail with or without steam, fully armed and equipped for war, carrying a crew of thirty-two men, and displaying the French flag, might have been seen putting out from Loango, on the western coast of Africa, and creeping along shore towards Cabinda. Her name was the Stella. A small fleet of French men-of-war was awaiting her arrival at that port. It consisted of four vessels, namely, La Tourmente, La Canoniere, the corvette La Zelic, and La Jeanne d'Arc, the whole division being under the command of M. Prote, captain of the latter vessel. The Stella had lost its captain, by name Oddo, at Loango, where it seems he had taken one hundred and twenty-three Africans on board, and the command had therefore devolved on her first mate, a native of Brittany, named Bernard. He found no papers, no instructions, no plans, no manifest to guide his movements; but he knew that he had to go to Cabinda; that the Stella had been chartered by Messrs. Regis & Co., of Marseilles; that the object of her visit to the coast was to take in 'African immigrants;' that the Imperial government had sanctioned the transaction; and that all he had to do was to obtain a full cargo, and convey the people to Guadaloupe, one of the French West India colonies. He found the Stella short of coals, short of water, and short of provisions, and the small quantity on board of bad quality. The Breton, however, is proverbially determined and obstinate; and Captain Bernard reached Cabinda in the course of a few hours. On the 30th he took on board six hundred and nine 'immigrants,' all of them more or less sickly. On the 1st of December, the agent of the Imperial government, Commodore Prote, came on board, and entered into 'contracts for service' with the 'immigrants.' Immediately after, the Stella weighed anchor for Longuebonne, towing La Canoniere; the Commodore having given orders that the latter was to 'protect the embarkation of the complement' of the Stella's cargo. At Longuebonne, and on a signal being given—a signal preconcerted between those on board and those on shore—the government agent obtained and shipped eighty-seven more 'immigrants.' On the 4th of December the Stella left Longuebonne, having on board a cargo of nine hundred and fifty Africans, male and female, most of them sickly, and none older than twenty-five, but ranging from the ages of eighteen to twenty. The crew, as already stated, numbered thirty-two, making a grand total of nine hundred and eighty-two human beings on board a steamer of three hundred and eighty-three tons: though one account sets her at six hundred.

"Let our readers but bear in mind how much after-cabin passengers suffer from the great heat of the machinery on board even the largest

steamers, and they may form a faint idea of the torments these nine hundred and fifty wretched Africans, crammed into the hold of the Stella, must have endured. For thirty days the Stella—which might not inappropriately be named the 'Star of Misfortune'—pursued her weary way across the waste of waters, and nearly every alternate hour, during that ghastly voyage, the corpse of a human being was committed to the deep. On the 3d of January, of the present year, the Stella and her putrid cargo reached Basse-terre, Guadaloupe, and landed four hundred and ninety-seven males, and one hundred and fifty females—the miserable remnant of the nine hundred and fifty people kidnapped from their African homes. One-third had passed to rest. Asphyxia, dysentery, fever, and exhaustion from fatigue and want of food, had done their office.

"But all was not yet over. These six hundred and forty-seven wretched beings, the majority perfectly naked, a few of the females only being slightly covered, and none sufficiently so to save decency, were landed at Basse-terre, a remote point of the island of Guadaloupe. These were Captain Bernard's instructions from Commodore Prote, who appears to have been ignorant of a certain previous arrangement with the firm of Lahens, Collins & Co., of Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadaloupe, and of a local ordinance, signed Bonfils, which designated Pointe-a-Pitre as the only authorized port for the disembarkation of 'immigrants.' No arrangements had been made at Basse-terre for the reception of what our correspondents style 'the merchandise.' The place offered not the smallest accommodation. It was a mere quagmire, a mud-hole, and the poor unfortunates who had survived the horrors of the middle passage were now crowded together in a pen, puddling in mire and filth like cattle at a market. More than even this, the water of Basse-terre possesses chemical properties notoriously fatal to persons suffering from dysentery, and no other was obtainable. The place itself, too, was the most remote from Pointe-a-Pitre, in the immediate neighbourhood of which resided the planters to whom the 'immigrants' had been allotted. Consequently, the former had to convey their 'lots' across the island, in the condition in which they were, without loss of time, and in the best way they could. Some were driven over land, others were crowded on board of small coasters under the direction of the firm of MM. Monnerot & Fillet, of La Moule. Amongst these coasters was a small schooner called La Nouvelle Active, on board of which one hundred and five Africans were crowded—eighty-two in the hold, and twenty-three, for want of more room there, on deck. She left port at ten in the evening, but, in running down the creek called Le Canal des Saintes, she struck upon some rocks, the position of which was well known, and foundered. The eighty-two Africans in the hold were drowned. Only the twenty-three on deck escaped, with the crew. The local government at once prohibited the newspapers from publishing any account of this catastrophe, and the colony would have remained ignorant of it, had not the corpses of the victims been thrown upon the shore by the waves, to tell the ghastly tale to the terrified population.

“The original letters, from which we have derived the foregoing particulars, are in our possession. They are dated the 26th and 27th of January last, and are signed by several highly respectable and perfectly trustworthy inhabitants of the colony whence they are dated. The dreadful fact that, out of nine hundred and fifty Africans shipped from the West coast, only two hundred and twenty-one reached their ultimate destination on the French plantations, tells its own terrible tale. We would, however, further direct the attention of our readers to the nature of the transaction on the coast. The ‘contracts,’ as they are called, were entered into with the immigrants after they were safe on board the *Stella*; that is, were in the power of their owners. Previous arrangements had been made for obtaining them. They were packed together in the hold, not as passengers, but as slaves usually are. The majority were sickly, because the Spanish and Portuguese had outbidden the French speculators, and carried off the strong and the ‘likely.’ Can any doubt exist that, save in name, the expedition was literally a slave-trading one?”

THE END.