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BIOGRAPHY

OF THE

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REV. ROBERT FINLEY, D. D.,

OF BASKING RIDGE, N. J.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

WITH AN

ACCOUNT OF HIS AGENCY AS THE AUTHOR

OF

The American Colonization Society;

ALSO

A SKETCH OF THE SLAVE TRADE;

A VIEW OF OUR NATIONAL POLICY AND THAT OF GREAT BRITAIN TOWARDS
LIBERIA AND AFRICA.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

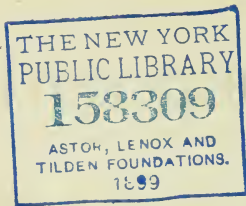
BY

REV. ISAAC V. BROWN, A. M.

PHILADELPHIA:

JOHN W. MOORE, 195 CHESTNUT STREET.

1857.



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HENRY E. ASHPAD, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER,
George Street above Eleventh.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

AN intelligent gentleman, in the congregation of Basking Ridge, many years ago, while contemplating his beloved pastor, in the midst of his ministerial labors and successes, made the following declaration: "Were I ambitious, I would rather be *Robert Finley* than Cæsar or Bonaparte.

And truly his character was so exalted and pure, his life so conspicuous and useful—his transactions so judicious and important, and his name so dear, that forming, in this transitory world, a memorial of his excellence, is an act, not less of justice to him, than of kindness to ourselves. Few men have recently appeared on the stage of life, more truly and deeply devoted to the interests of Christ's kingdom and the good of mankind; few men have been so early in life, so prominently and so indefatigably engaged in enterprises of benevolence and piety; few men have performed so many labors in the church, and enjoyed so great a harvest of success in the divine service, as Dr. Finley. There are therefore but *few*, whose claims upon the church and upon the world, for posthumous regard, are so clear and so strong as his, and there have re-

cently been few whose lives and characters are so well calculated to instruct, to animate and profit others.

It was under the influence of such sentiments respecting Dr. Finley, that the resolution, to attempt preparing a biographical view of his character and life, was first formed. The narrow limits, then contemplated, have been insensibly and unavoidably surpassed:—that which was originally expected to make a pamphlet, or, at most, a small 12 mo. has been necessarily enlarged and put in the form of an *octavo*. In the course of the narrative, the names of several deceased ministers of the gospel rose into view, who are still remembered with interest by some, and who deserve the tribute of recollection and respect which is here paid to them.

Dr. Finley was so earnestly devoted to the business of education in all its degrees and relations, that in order to illustrate fully his views and transactions in regard to that subject, as well as others, it was thought expedient to introduce in the form of notes at the close of the volume several essays or discussions, on topics incidentally connected with the narrative.*

With regard to the manner in which the work has been executed, the writer would observe that he is fully sensible of the correctness and force of the remark:—

“Difficile est proprie communia dicere.”

Nevertheless he has dared to disregard an injunction of the same high classic authority:—

“Sæpe stylum vertas iterum, quæ digna legi sint Scripturus.”

Having enjoyed neither much leisure, nor good health, during the period in which the manuscript, of the following

* These notes are omitted in the present edition.

memoirs &c. was prepared, he has not pleased himself, and cannot therefore, expect very extensively to please others.—His great object has been to draw a true character, rather than a handsome portrait—to make an honest and useful, rather than a splendid volume—to place correctly before our view that high,

“*Exemplar vitæ morumque,*”

which this deceased *man of God* uniformly exhibited while among us—and thus, to render to the Heavenly Father a deserving and lasting tribute of praise for the signal manifestations of his grace, which we behold in the life of his servant.

On the whole, if this volume shall be found to record events and to detail transactions conducive to the honor of God, to human improvement and Christian comfort ;—if it shall, in some small measure furnish materials to assist others, hereafter, in forming a connected and expanded view of the church of Christ, and of divine beneficence and grace to men ;—if, by exhibiting the ardent and unwearied exertions of this distinguished and excellent servant of the Lord, it shall be instrumental in strengthening the resolutions and exciting the zeal of survivors, to follow him in his pious and benevolent career, to repair the loss which is sustained by his lamented removal, to preserve from failure and carry to perfection the plans of benevolence from the prosecution of which he was suddenly withdrawn, the end of this publication will be accomplished. And to make it productive of these happy results, may the divine benediction rest upon it!

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J., January 7, 1819.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

The first Edition of the Biography of the late Rev. Robert Finley, D. D., of Basking Ridge, New Jersey, and afterwards of Athens, Georgia, having been disposed of, and requests frequently presented since, for copies of the work, the author, now proposes, to meet the demand in the following sheets. Since the first issue circumstances have so greatly changed, as to require some modification, in the work.

So much has been said and written on the subject of the origin of the American Colonization Society, frequently presenting obscure and conflicting statements, that additional light seems to be demanded. The writer, having, from the beginning, known familiarly and fully as a witness and participant, the facts and details which gave rise to the Society,—feels it to be due to himself—to his deceased friend, Dr. Finley—to their native State, New Jersey—to the Colonization Society, now existing—and to the public at large—to furnish a more minute account of the preliminary steps observed in bringing forward and ushering into being, this Society for the colonization of the free colored people of these United States, on the coast of Africa.

The Society having grown into an institution of great magnitude, so as to afford an interesting promise of a decided and growing influence in promoting the great and benevolent object for which it was established—we cannot doubt that the feeble monument, here erected to perpetuate the name and character of the prime leader and agent in this highly benevolent organization, will be held dear by multitudes now living and by many more, who will soon succeed them on the stage of life.

Most of what was added to the first edition of this work, at its close, supposed to possess considerable interest at that time, is now omitted, or transferred to other volumes, chiefly to preserve this, from undue extension—instead of which an Appendix, is now added, containing interesting intelligence, respecting the African Coast and the Colony of Liberia.

ISAAC V. BROWN.

TRENTON, March, 1856.

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BIOGRAPHY

OF THE

REV. ROBERT FINLEY, D. D.

CHAPTER I.

VIEW OF JAMES FINLEY, FATHER OF ROBERT—ROBERT'S BIRTH AND EARLY EDUCATION—ENTERS COLLEGE—SUCCESS THERE—FIRST SERIOUS IMPRESSIONS—GRADUATES—COMMENCES TEACHING—HIS SUCCESS—INVITATION TO MARYLAND—ASSUMES CHARGE OF AN ACADEMY AT ALLENTOWN, N. J.—MAKES A PROFESSION OF RELIGION—INVITED TO TEACH IN CHARLESTON, S. C.—EXTRACTS FROM HIS DIARY THERE.

MR. JAMES FINLEY, father of the subject of this narrative, was born in Glasgow, Scotland, A. D. 1737. Before he reached his eighteenth year, religion took a powerful hold of his mind. It pleased God, early to lay him low, and to hold him long under deep convictions and apprehensions, in a state of suspense and anxiety, so awful as nearly to break the power of his reason and the vigor of his frame. At the set time, God revealed himself in mercy to this convinced and mourning sinner, inspiring hope and gladness, where guilt and horror had lately reigned. Through life, he often spoke of the sore conflicts he

then endured, and declared his full belief, that, though painful for the present, they had been good and salutary, working out to him, more abundantly, *the peaceable fruits of righteousness*.

Mr. Finley was trained to the business of a yarn merchant, in his native city. In the prosecution of this employment, he supplied himself with materials, by attending the fairs of the surrounding country, where the commodities in which he dealt, were exhibited for sale in great abundance and variety. On account of his superior ability and fidelity in his profession, he was promoted to the office of superintendent, and discharged the duties of inspector of the yarn factories in Glasgow and its vicinity.

He became, very early, acquainted with the Rev. John Witherspoon, who was then an eminent minister of the Gospel, exercising his pastoral functions in the town of Paisley, about six miles distant from Glasgow. So warm was his regard for Mr. Witherspoon, that he frequently left the church, to which he was attached, in his native city, and walked to Paisley, on Sabbath days, to attend the ministrations of his admired friend. His attachment to him became unusually sincere and strong. He admired him as a preacher of the Gospel: he rejoiced at his efforts to restore pure Presbyterian government in the Church of Scotland: he sympathized with him in the struggles and persecutions he encountered in his attempts thus to set aside the corrupt and oppressive system of *patronage*, which had been imposed upon the people.

Dr. Witherspoon warmly reciprocated the respect and affection of his pious and excellent friend. After accepting the Presidency of Princeton College, and emigrating to America, A. D. 1763, he invited him to come over and settle in the same place. Mr. Finley yielded to this solicitation, and with his wife, whose maiden name was Angres, landed at New York in 1769. At Princeton, the intercourse and familiarity commenced in Scotland, were renewed, and continued till terminated by the death of the illustrious President, A. D. 1794. In this village, Mr. Finley pursued with diligence and respectability the mechanical occupation of weaving, for which his employment in Scotland seemed, in some measure, to qualify him. Here, also, he occupied for many years, the office of ruling elder in the Presbyterian church. He was an eminently pious and exemplary Christian. His faculties of mind, naturally strong and active, had been long and earnestly employed on the noblest subjects. His memory, strongly retentive, was richly stored with a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and of human life; and his zeal and engagedness in religion being uncommonly lively and uniform, he was truly an instructing and interesting companion, and a highly useful and valuable member of society. Many wise and good men sought his company and frequented his house to be edified by his intelligent and pious conversation, and to be animated in ways of piety, by his fervent prayers and glowing zeal.

During the struggles of the American Colonies for liberty and independence, Mr. Finley manifested that

he had, indeed, adopted this as his country. He was a warm and decided advocate and supporter of the American Revolution. He was employed as clothier to a brigade of American troops, and held this office while the English were in possession of Princeton. He continued at home during this period, and had constant intercourse with several British officers who quartered in his house, without incurring the charge of indifference to the cause of the colonies, on the one hand, or making himself peculiarly obnoxious to the enemy, on the other. He suffered much in his temporal interests, in the result of this agency, by receiving almost the whole of his compensation, for revolutionary services which he had rendered, and private moneys which he had expended, in the currency of the provinces, when it had sunk to almost nothing. This was peculiarly afflicting to him, inasmuch as by misfortunes in his native country, his pecuniary circumstances had become much reduced and his prospects of reinstatement very dubious.

While residing at Princeton, Mr. Finley corresponded for many years with David Dale, Esq.,* the

* The following sketch of this distinguished and excellent man is taken from the *Assembly's Missionary Magazine* for the year 1806, page 341 :

“Died at Glasgow, on the 17th current, in the 68th year of his age, David Dale, Esq., of Rosebank, late one of the magistrates of that city. The character of this good man comprehended in it so many points of excellence, that only an imperfect outline of it can here be given. He had not enjoyed the advantage of a polished or liberal education; but this want was compensated by a large share of natural sagacity and sound sense, by an accurate and dis-

honorable Bailiff of the district he had inhabited in Scotland. Epistolary intercourse with that distinguished and excellent man, was continued after Mr. Finley's decease, by his son Robert. It is a subject of deep regret that the letters of this correspondence, very valuable and interesting on many accounts, cannot be obtained.

Mr. Finley visited Dr. Witherspoon frequently and affectionately towards the close of his life, and accumulating knowledge of human character, and by a modest and dignified simplicity of manner, which secured to him universal respect and attention. A zealous promoter of general industry and of the manufactures of his country, his schemes of business were extensive and liberal, conducted with singular prudence and perseverance, and, by the blessing of God, were crowned with such abundant success, as served to advance his rank in society and to furnish him with the means of that diffusive benevolence which rendered his life a public blessing, and shed a lustre on his character that has been but too rarely exemplified. Impelled by the powerful influence of that truth which he firmly believed and zealously taught, constrained by the love, and animated by the example of his blessed Master, his ear was never shut to the cry of distress. His private charities were boundless, and every public institution which had for its object the alleviation or prevention of human misery, in this world or the world to come, received from him the most liberal support and encouragement. For, while the leading object of his life was the diffusion of the light of truth in the earth, he gladly embraced every opportunity of becoming, like the patriarchs of old, 'eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame,' and of causing 'the widow's heart to sing for joy.' In private life, his conduct, actuated by the same principles, was equally exemplary; for he was a kind parent, a generous friend, a wise and faithful counsellor, 'a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate.' And now, having thus occupied his talents, he hath 'entered into the joy of his Lord. Mark the perfect and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.' "

tended him with peculiar kindness and faithfulness as a friend, in his last sickness. Soon after the death of Dr. Witherspoon, he resolved to spend the residue of his days in the society of his sons, Robert and Alexander, and accordingly moved to Basking Ridge, the place of their abode. His age; his infirmity, his circumstances altogether had become such as to require filial attention and kindness. And here, while this patriarchal friend of God received the respect and veneration of all around him, he enjoyed the most affectionate and faithful attention of his sons, residing near him, and especially of his son Robert, whose circumstances enabled him to indulge all his filial fondness, by providing for his beloved and declining parent every thing necessary for his ease and comfort.

At Basking Ridge, Mr. Finley was elected a member of session, and faithfully discharged the duties of ruling elder in that congregation. His personal appearance, his established reputation, his considerable knowledge, his ardent piety and unblemished deportment, all contributed to render him a peculiarly suitable person to fill that station. He was tall, erect and slender—his features were strong and prominent—his head was whitened with years—his whole aspect was peculiarly grave, dignified and solemn. These circumstances, associated with uncommon intelligence of mind and sanctity of character, gave great respectability and interest to his frequent performances in the religious societies uniformly held, and in the occasional meetings of the congregation, in the

absence of their pastor, where he generally assisted. His prayers, on these occasions, were remarkable for comprehensiveness, for weighty matter, and for profound devotion.

When death appeared to be drawing near, he contemplated his dissolution with great calmness and satisfaction. On being asked, when apparently near his close, how he felt, he replied, "Just as I wish to feel!" When almost exhausted, he intimated a desire that all his relatives, in the vicinity, should be assembled around his bed, that he might take a last view of the only objects on earth which he considered dear to him, and commit them to God. And after being gently raised up by his son Robert, he cast his eyes complacently round upon the interesting group, and raising them towards heaven, feebly whispered "It is done," and sweetly expired, in the seventy-second year of his age, in the full and joyful hope of a glorious immortality through Jesus Christ.

Such men are the salt of the earth! the light of the world! How happy to be a Christian! How inestimable the privilege and blessing of being descended from such a parent!

ROBERT FINLEY was born at Princeton, New Jersey, A. D. 1772. He was very early instructed in the elements of the English language, and in his eighth year commenced the study of the Latin, in his native village. The salutary effects of early parental instruction and care were soon discoverable in him. For a youth of his age, he was uncommonly grave and judicious in his deportment. After passing, in a

short period, through the hands of a number of teachers, it was happily ordered that he should here become a pupil of Mr. Ashbel Green, the same gentlemen who was afterwards President of the College of New Jersey. At this period, Mr. Green was a student in college, and the studies of his class not being sufficient to occupy the whole of his attention, by the advice of Dr. Witherspoon, he spent half his time in teaching the grammar school, which was then under the doctor's superintendence. While this arrangement contributed to increase the classical accuracy and general respectability of the youthful instructor, it had a tendency, no less happy, to advance the interesting pupil in his academic course, and to lay the foundation of that pre-eminence, in this important department of literature, to which he rose in after life. He was observed by his teacher to be a youth, considering his age, of much more than ordinary stability of character, closeness of application, and penetration of mind. He was not satisfied, at this early period, with devoting the usual hours to study, but frequently, in leisure seasons, he waited on his teacher, in his private apartment, to obtain from him, more fully, the explanations and aids which he found necessary, to enable him successfully to prosecute his prescribed daily course.

In the eleventh year of his age, he was admitted into the college as a member of the freshman class. Mr. Green having, at the commencement preceding, received his first degree in the liberal arts, and having been subsequently elected tutor in college, here again

found with pleasure, placed under his personal instruction and management, the lad who had the year before been his pupil in the grammar school. In the sophomore class, during the year following, the same relation subsisted between this respectable teacher and promising scholar. The means and opportunities thus enjoyed by Mr. Finley, to become thoroughly acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages, which were the principal subjects of study in the two lower classes of college, were as good as could have been desired. And experience has abundantly proved, that he was an apt and successful student, making such improvement, as to reflect honor on his principal instructor, and to secure the reputation of eminence in this branch of science.

About the time of his entering the junior class in college, he gave evidence that God had visited him in mercy, and impressed his mind deeply with a sense of the importance of religion. It was even hoped by his fond and anxious friends, that he had experienced a gracious change, and passed from death unto life. Modest and distrustful, he did not view his spiritual state in so favorable and satisfactory a light as others did, with whom he conversed on this interesting subject. He halted, and continued in painful suspense for a considerable time; but God, having begun this good work, carried it on unto perfection.

Although the mathematical, philosophical, and belles lettres studies, with which the junior and senior classes are chiefly occupied, were somewhat above the years and capacity of our young student, yet he ap-

peared through the whole of his collegiate course, respectable for scholarship, as well as deportment: and he was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, by the trustees of the college at Princeton, in his sixteenth year.

Having thus early finished the course of his education, a question of great importance was now to be decided; how he should be employed. Dr. Witherspoon, the friend of the father, was also the friend and adviser of the son. During the first winter after leaving college, Mr. Finley was employed, under the superintendence of the venerable president, as teacher of the grammar school. Here he began to manifest that peculiar talent for the government and instruction of youth, which he afterwards exercised and displayed, in several stations, in a manner so highly reputable to himself and useful to the public.

A considerable number of the pupils, farther advanced in years than the teacher, were irregular and insubordinate in their temper and manners. Mr. Finley proceeded with energy to introduce order and establish discipline in the institution. The elder portion of the youth manifested a refractory temper, resisted his regulations, and, on being urged to comply, broke out into open rebellion, in hopes of intimidating the youthful instructor, and constraining him to connive at their idle and disorderly habits. He maintained his authority with dignity and firmness, suspended the refractory, and referred their case to Dr. Witherspoon, under whose superintendence he acted, and under whose guardianship most of the young men

were placed. Dr. Witherspoon, being informed of these circumstances, visited the school; investigated the whole matter; pronounced his full and decided approbation of the measures and conduct of Mr. Finley; established the influence of his young friend, by the whole weight of his own dignity and authority; compelled the disorderly to make suitable acknowledgments, and to return submissively to their studies, under the very system against which they had revolted.

After some time spent in this employment,* Mr. Finley was invited to take charge of a respectable seminary in the State of Maryland. With a view of complying with this invitation, he visited that State; but Providence frowned upon this arrangement. Just as he reached the place of destination, the academy was destroyed by fire, and his prospect of employment and usefulness there, entirely blasted. He returned immediately to his native place, and accepted an invitation to teach the academy at Allentown, New Jersey. The Presbyterian congregation existing there, was then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Joseph Clark, through whose instrumentality Mr. Finley was obtained to teach the academy.

Mr. Finley's mind had been very seriously exercised upon the subject of religion, already, more than two years. His impressions increased with his growing age and maturity. During the time now spent in Allentown, his pious exercises and inquiries were brought, by Divine Grace, to a happy result. The serious public discourses and pious conversation of Mr.

Clark, were peculiarly blessed to his spiritual interest and comfort, so that now, in his seventeenth year, he entered into covenant with God, made a profession of his faith, and was admitted to commune with the church, in the Lord's Supper.

While in this situation, he was solicited to undertake the business of instruction in the city of Charleston, South Carolina. Although he was young and inexperienced, the contemplated place of employment remote, the station conspicuous, and the labors arduous, yet he yielded to the request, and ventured himself into the society and service of strangers, trusting in the protection and care of his Almighty Friend. Here he was kindly received and entertained. His services at Charleston were highly acceptable to the public and honorable to himself. The acquaintances which he formed with families of distinction, and the attachments he conciliated during his residence in that city, were useful to him through life; and, probably, opened the way for his receiving, a few years before his death, a call to undertake the pastoral service, there, with a provision corresponding with the wealth and liberality of the southern people. He enjoyed the society and kind attentions of several highly accomplished, pious and excellent families, who were heard to speak of his visits and conversation in terms of high approbation and satisfaction. The amiable, intelligent and heavenly-minded consort* of the Rev. Dr. Keith, of that city, took a deep interest in Mr.

* Mrs. Keith was a daughter of the venerable Dr. James Sproat, of the city of Philadelphia.

Finley, invited him very frequently and affectionately to her house, enjoyed much of his company, and bore a strong and pleasing testimony in favor of his good sense, great prudence, and humble piety, at this early period.

A few extracts from a very brief diary, which he kept while teaching in the city of Charleston, unquestionably for his own exclusive use, will serve to confirm the estimate of his piety, made by his friends around him, and to illustrate further, his religious character at this time :

“November 28th, 1791.—As I began school this morning in Charleston, after praising God for preserving mercy, I prayed for divine assistance in my whole duty ; for the spirit of grace and supplication ; for repentance and reformation : in the evening, for a blessing on the Church, and my Princeton friends in particular ; to be preserved from the corrupt notions and fashions of the world ; and to live altogether to the glory of God, in humility and godly sincerity.

“30th.—Rose between six and seven, thanked God for preserving mercy, prayed for the presence of the Lord through the day, for much of his love —after breakfast, for his direction in the business of the day —at noon, for the influences of the Holy Spirit, and for the church—for the same at night ; prayed for preparation for the table of the Lord ; for a blessing on the church, and the pardon of sin ; for protection ; for faith and humility ; for the prosperity of Zion, that I might live as a Christian.

“December 1st.—I got up after six and blessed

God for his mercy in preserving me through the night; prayed to be guided by the Holy Spirit; for help to discharge the duties of the day as becomes a Christian: in the evening again I prayed for a blessing at the church and on the church; for my absent friends; that the Lord would forgive my sins and show me them forgiven, that I might praise him.

“9th.—This morning I returned thanks for the mercy of the night past; prayed for much of the presence of God through the day. After breakfast, prayed for wisdom from above to direct me in all things. At noon, in the evening and at night, prayed that as I had resolved, if it should please the Lord, I would engage in the ministry, I might not be drawn from it by the world; prayed for pardon and acceptance through the blood of Jesus; for the scholars, that they might be restrained from sin; for boldness in the cause of Christ; did at no time forget my absent friends and the interest of Zion.

“Jan. 1, 1792.—Being the beginning of the year, I confessed my sins and prayed for pardon. In the morning was very unconcerned, but blessed be God my heart was somewhat warmed; renewed engagements to be for the Lord. Pride struggling much in my heart about dress, I resolved to add nothing to it of superfluities, as powder, ruffles, nor to be running after the fashions, till the desire of them should arise from love to God—and if I dine out on the Sabbath,* I attend the worship of God. So help, oh! Lord.

* Dining out at all on the Sabbath day, may be thought inconsistent with religious duty, and in general, doubtless is so. But to form

“2d.—I rose about seven this morning, returned thanks for the mercy of the night past, prayed for the divine presence through the day, prayed six times to be cleansed from my sins, for all my friends that we might all grow in grace and be comforted by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

“3d.—This morning felt in a good frame of mind, but it did not continue—the world got possession; wrote a letter to my brother and sister on the subject of religion.

“4th.—This day I paid a visit to Mrs. Tennent, with whom I had some pleasant religious conversation; returned thanks for the mercy of the Lord in this respect.

“5th.—This day had very much reason to complain of the absence of every holy affection, and that the world had taken so much possession of my whole soul; prayed to be delivered from all this and to have my heart renewed and every heavenly grace implanted. Amen, O Lord.

“February 2d.—I prayed much to be prepared

a just estimate of this resolution, it must be considered that Mr. Finley had no family, whose good order might be interrupted by his absence, and that the families where he dined were probably of a religious character, and the conversation with such friends would be at once pleasing and profitable: and that he here made it a fixed point that this social intercourse should not prevent his attendance on divine worship in the after part of the day. Probably, longer experience and more reflection, would and may have changed the resolution into this—I will not dine out on the Sabbath unless called to it, in the course of Divine Providence, by some peculiar and evident necessity or duty.

for the celebration of the supper of the Lord, to have my sins forgiven and a comfortable assurance of my interest in Christ Jesus. But in the evening, through attachment to company, I very much neglected the time of prayer.

“3d.—Prayed to have my heart prepared for every duty; but still there was much folly in me, and I got no comfort from the word of God. May the Lord have mercy on me!

“4th.—I prayed this day much for the Holy Spirit of God to direct me, and to prepare me to sit at his table; visited Mr. Hollingshead, and blessed be God, in conversation, enjoyed much satisfaction about religion; confessed my sins, unbelief, dislike to duty, wandering thoughts, hardness of heart, want of love to God, sinful passions, neglect of the Scriptures; plead for pardon through Jesus; laid my wants and necessities before the Lord, and prayed to have them supplied from his fullness.

“5th.—This day I sat to commemorate the dying love of Jesus at his table; confessed my sins, and I trust had them forgiven, and had my heart somewhat inflamed with divine love, and felt desirous for the glory of God. Took comfort from Hebrews, ‘For ye are not come to Mount Sinai,’ &c. The Lord was very merciful to me, and blessed be his name forever. Amen.

“August 20, 1792.—I was somewhat earnest in prayer to-day, for the destruction of sin and for the quickening of languishing graces; yet in the evening indulged lively and too many loose thoughts mingled

with pious desires. Oh Lord, transform me into thine image.

“23d.—I went to society, and being there put to prayer, I was at a loss till the Lord gave me words, and he gave me just as I had need.

“25th.—I attended upon religious duties with much pleasure to-day, and I hope with some profit.

“26.—I spent this Sabbath with much satisfaction, and in earnest prayer for my soul and for the kingdom of Zion: yet there was some folly mixed withal. O Lord, I am vile.

“27th.—I felt grateful to-day for mercies, but through much of it, religion was dull. Oh Lord, if not for thy mercy I am undone forever.

“September 21st.—I spent this morning in reading and a form of prayer, but my mind was full of the world; yet I trust I was a little strengthened by the morning sermon. The afternoon, however, would condemn me, had I never lived another. I was truly dreadfully stupid, unconcerned, and hard hearted. Nothing but free grace can save me.

“22d, 23d, 24th.—These three days were much like all the rest of my life, full of sin and great iniquity; the spirit truly warring against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, and the latter with but too much success.

“26th.—This day was to me much more pleasant than yesterday. There were many seasons in which my soul cried out for God; but my heart was full of anxiety and tossings, with respect to the world and my returning home. It pleased the Lord to bring

Mr. S—— to see me a few minutes, that my heart might be stirred.”

The preceding extracts from several successive months of Mr. Finley's diary, during the time spent at Charleston, manifest a deep, humble, and uniform sense of sin and guilt; a constant and vigilant attention to his inmost thoughts and exercises of mind; a disposition to deny himself, and to resist the fashions and the allurements of the world; a thorough persuasion of entire dependence upon God for all good things, and ardent desires after his communion and likeness; a spirit and habit of prayer and supplication for personal sanctification, and for the prosperity of religion in the world. The whole is expressed in that simple manner which was natural to him.

CHAPTER II.

RETURNS TO NEW JERSEY—COMMENCES THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY—
IS MADE TUTOR IN PRINCETON COLLEGE—NOTES OF HIS DIARY
THERE—LICENSURE TO PREACH—ORDINATION AT BASKING RIDGE
—HIS MARRIAGE—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF HIS SCHOOL—IMME-
DIATE BENEFIT OF HIS MINISTRY—AN AWAKENING EXPERIENCED—
MR. FINLEY'S ACCOUNT OF THIS GREAT WORK—HIS GREAT EFFORTS.

HAVING resolved to devote himself to the service of God in the ministry of his Son, he became very desirous now of placing himself in a situation where he could more successfully prosecute the studies preparatory to that sacred office. For this purpose, in the autumn of 1792, he relinquished his lucrative and laborious station in Charleston; returned to his native place; resumed the instruction of the grammar school at Princeton; and commenced the study of theology under the superintendence of the venerable President* of Nassau Hall. His age and maturity, his classical accuracy and general improvement, had now become such that he advanced with uncommon facility and advantage in the course pre-

* It was a happy circumstance in the order of Providence, that he was enabled to enjoy the instructions of Dr. Witherspoon, a philosopher and divine, probably, inferior to no man, in regard to accurate, profound, and extensive views, on every subject of theology and ecclesiastical history, of civil government and human rights.

scribed by his judicious and distinguished theological instructor.

Mr. Finley's peculiar capacity for the government and instruction of youth, having been rendered strikingly manifest, he was very soon transferred, with universal approbation, from the grammar school, to the office of tutor in college. This promotion was effected through the united influence of Dr. Wither-
spoon, president of the college, and of the Rev. Dr. Samuel S. Smith,* vice-president, upon whom the chief management of the institution had devolved, in consequence of the advanced age and growing infirmities of his illustrious father-in-law. In the capacity of tutor, Mr. Finley continued some time, laboriously discharging the duties of that office, and closely applying himself to the several subjects and exercises assigned him, as a student of theology. In this arduous and responsible station, his vigilance and fidelity rendered him both popular and successful.

Through the whole of this period, the realities of religion appear to have exercised a powerful influence over his feelings and views. That the reader may judge of the state of his mind, a few extracts from his diary, which was continued at this time, will here be inserted. The record does not ascertain the

* Mr. Finley was frequently heard to speak, with peculiar satisfaction, of the important advantages he derived in the latter part of his term of study, from the instruction and attention of Dr. Smith, who was then fast approaching the decline of his usefulness and splendor.

particular year in which it was written, but exhibits satisfactory internal evidence, that it was made while he was tutor in college.

“September 1st.—This day was another Sabbath. It pleased God that I heard a sermon, from Psalm xc. 12—‘Teach me so to number my days,’ &c., which was the means of warming my affections, and raising my desires after God. I felt my misery, that I am so chained down, and so easily engaged in in every vanity and folly.

“2d.—I was engaged in hard study; wrote part of a sermon, during which time my heart was warmed and engaged. Prayer seemed pleasant, and I frequently sent ejaculations; conversed a while with Mr. H——, and said to him what I could——

“3d.—Was very much engaged in study, and also my mind was pleased in religious exercises, though I have it too much to lament, that I cannot love the Lord more, and serve him with a more animated zeal.

“4th.—Thought early of God and religion this morning, even at rising. Studied hard, and with success, until breakfast; shortly after, was shocked with a report that a young acquaintance, F. Stone, was hurried untimely to the tomb, by a contagious disease;* which ought to have made me tremble; at

* This contagious disease was the yellow fever, which appeared in Philadelphia, for the first time, after a long interval, in August, 1793. In the course of about three months, in that year, this dreadful disease swept off nearly five thousand of the inhabitants of that city, was generally considered as extremely infectious, and spread the utmost alarm over the continent. In this year occurred the case to which Mr. Finley refers in his diary. Mr. F. Stone, a

length, however, it set me to prayer, that my evidences might be brightened for eternity, and I prepared to go, if called.

“5th.—I pray often and earnestly to-day, that I might have my evidences brightened for eternity. A few of us met and united in prayer, that the destroying angel might be stopped, and the plague arrested in its course, and that it might be well with me.

“6th, 8th.—My mind was much taken up with my prospects, these days. I thought it probable I should die immediately, and prayed earnestly that my views might be made clear for eternity.

“9th.—I was still anxious, lest I should be infected with this fatal disease, and I prayed earnestly that I might be prepared for death, whenever it should appear.

“10th, 11th.—I was by no means so much engaged these days, either in study or religion, being exceedingly hindered in my room by company. On Wednesday, however, I had a very serious and profitable conversation with Mr. C. S——, and on the 11th, with Mr. R. Russell, upon the necessity of keeping close to our duty, wherever we may be, and discovering to each other the fallacy of our excuses, and the unreasonableness of our neglect, as it arises from want of resolution or from coldness.

young gentleman from the South, who had been in the college, having been engaged in the study of the law in Philadelphia, during the prevalence of the fever, came on to Princeton, was taken ill, and soon died. The disease was then considered as a sort of plague, and several of the students had had intercourse with Mr. Stone in his illness, without being aware of the nature of his disease at the time.

“12th.—This day was not a profitable day to me ; my mind was too much impressed with some of the affairs of life, so that I forgot our meeting on Thursday evening.

“13th.—Was a pleasant day to me ; my mind was in a calm and heavenly state ; all seemed to be peace and harmony, and prayer was much my delight.

——“ There was but little variation in the state of my mind ; and though I prayed earnestly at the times of prayer, yet my mind through the day was either engaged about the world, or possessed with a languor, and too much stupidity. In the evening I retired with my friend, Mr. Russell, to the wood, where, however, I did not enjoy much of the presence of God, as I fear.

——“ My mind was anxiously engaged in the lawful pursuits of the world, which, however, became unlawful by excessive application, so that my mind seemed to forget that I was made for immortality. The cares of office engrossed much attention in the night.

——“ It was a good day for me, and I was enabled to rejoice ; the sermon was blessed to me, in the evening, and at society in college, I had engagedness of mind, and was enabled in some measure to forget the world, and desire to live unto the glory of God alone.

“19th.—My mind was still engaged in religion, though not so much as yesterday. I was perplexed and troubled about my business in the college.

“20th.—Was convicted to-day of calling on God only, or chiefly, when surrounded with trouble. My soul began to groan to return to its rest, but could do

nothing more than groan ; could get no clearer views of the evil of sin, of the holiness of God, or of my own need of salvation. Felt a grievous loss, and knew it was the presence of the Lord, but could not find my way to him again.

——“ My heart was pained this morning, for the absence of Him alone who can comfort the soul : I was often engaged in prayer, but seemed not to feel ; but in the afternoon, in conversation, my heart grew warm, and I enjoyed myself considerably.

——“ This day being the Sabbath, I prayed that God would manifest himself unto his people ; that his power in converting souls might be felt : prayed particularly for those who had in any measure been awakened at Princeton lately ; that they might be brought on in the heavenly road. At sermon my thoughts were too much wandering. Prayed in the evening for the rising generation ; read an account of great conversions in New England, by which my heart was somewhat warmed. Blessed be the Lord.”

On the 16th day of September, A. D. 1794, and in the twenty-fourth year of his age, Mr. Finley was licensed to preach the Gospel, by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, under whose care he had prosecuted and completed his trial studies. He entered the ministry at a suitable age, and commenced public life with some peculiar advantages. The business of teaching, to which he devoted so considerable a portion of time, after leaving college, was followed, immediately, by many important benefits, and produced results very useful to him through his whole life. His

knowledge of human nature was by these means greatly enlarged; his acquaintance with prominent characters and human life considerably extended; his scholarship improved and illustrated; his vigor of mind and habits of application strengthened; a practical talent was thus early acquired; and his whole character was in a considerable degree formed and established.

Mr. Finley spent a few months after licensure, in preaching to the congregations within the bounds of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and especially to those destitute of pastors. At the stated meeting of Presbytery, in April, 1795, the vacant congregation of Basking Ridge, which had shared his visits and services, through the preceding winter, presented a call for his pastoral labors, and urgently solicited him to undertake the work of the ministry among them. The call being found in due form, was put into the hands of Mr. Finley, who declared his acceptance of it. According to previous appointment, the Presbytery met at Basking Ridge on the 16th day of June, 1795, and on the following day, solemnly ordained him to the work of the Gospel ministry by prayer and the imposition of hands, and installed him pastor of that congregation. The ordination sermon was preached by the Rev. James F. Armstrong, the Rev. Gilbert T. Snowden presided in the *laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*; and a solemn and impressive charge to the newly ordained pastor and to the congregation assembled, was delivered by the Rev. Joseph Clark.

The congregation at Basking Ridge, embracing a

district of country about ten miles square, and quite thickly populated, presented a field for ministerial labors, extensive and arduous. But the pastor* whom they had chosen was adapted, in a peculiar manner, to their circumstances and character; and the event proved that he was sent to them in "the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel." The congregation having been vacant for a considerable number of years, in consequence of unhappy dissensions which existed in its bosom, had experienced a great dearth of the word and ordinances of God, and become weary of their destitute and afflicted condition. This, together with a recollection, still lively in the minds of many, of the advantages formerly enjoyed, under the ministry of the pious and venerable Mr. Kennedy, filled the hearts of the intelligent and reflecting people with great desire to enjoy again the stated means of grace. And considering the painful disagreement, and utter unsuccessfulness which had attended some former attempts to realize this great Christian privilege, it was esteemed a propitious circumstance, and a token of

* The following anecdote, which has been obligingly furnished, relates to a subject of great importance, and appears calculated to be useful. For some time after Mr. Finley's settlement at Basking Ridge, he boarded with one of the members of the session of this church, who was a very serious and judicious man. "Mr. Finley arose very early one morning, saddled his horse, and was just starting to attend some appointment, when the elder asked him if he was going before morning prayers. Mr. Finley said he believed so. The elder replied, he might stand in need of them before night. The reproof was seasonable. Mr. Finley returned and went to prayer, and often said, the admonition came sensibly home to him, and had an operating influence on his life."

Divine approbation, that great unanimity and satisfaction prevailed among this numerous people in the choice of a pastor which had now been made. His manner of preaching from the beginning was peculiarly plain and edifying, and in a considerable degree dignified and earnest.

He commenced his ministry and continued in the practice of writing his sermons, until unexpected and frequent calls to preach and to perform pastoral service, compelled him gradually to dispense with this labor and at length to relinquish the use of written discourses altogether. The congregation manifested peculiar respect and attention to the character and ministry of their pastor; and his labors were very soon followed by a visible improvement in the state of the church and in the manners of the people.

In May, 1798, Mr. Finley was united in marriage to Miss Esther Caldwell, a daughter of the Rev. James Caldwell,* who was for twenty years the zealous and beloved pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

Soon after Mr. Finley's settlement at Basking Ridge, he was induced to undertake the instruction of a small number of boys, some of whom were to be prepared for business, the greater part for college. Thus was laid the foundation of a school, which became permanent, and which for popularity, usefulness and real excellence during twenty years, it is believed, has been surpassed by no classical seminary on this

* For a biographical view of this highly respectable minister of the Gospel, and his tragical end, see the close of the volume.

continent. In the commencement of this business, Mr. Finley contemplated principally giving agreeable and useful employment to that portion of his time which he could spare from more sacred duties and the gratification of a few respectable individuals,* at whose request it was undertaken, without embracing in his view the extent to which it was carried or the length of time which it was continued. His small company of pupils, consisting of about ten, were taught at first for some time, in a part of his own dwelling house. After the room thus occupied became too small, a convenient building was erected by the neighborhood for the accommodation of the growing number of scholars, and after a few years, when the increased collection of students demanded still more room, a capacious and sightly edifice was built, in part at his own private expense, but principally by means of liberal contributions from a number of intelligent, wealthy and public-spirited gentlemen, residing in the city of New York.

Several circumstances conduced to the success of this institution. It was put in operation at a time when grammar schools were less numerous in the State of New Jersey than at present. Mr. Finley admitted a considerable number of the youth into his

* The most conspicuous of these gentlemen were Dr. George Logan, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, who committed to Mr. Finley, at first two sons, afterwards a third; Col. John Bayard, of New Brunswick, who placed a grandson under his care; Hon. Henry Southard, Mr. Alexander Kirkpatrick, Mr. Lindsly, and a few others, members of his congregation, who increased the number and importance of the school by adding to it, each a son.

own family, near his person, and under his constant observation. From Mr. Kennedy's having superintended a similar institution, in the same place, the people had become sensible of the advantages of such an establishment to the neighborhood, and disposed to encourage the seminary, and to facilitate all its operations. The situation was esteemed healthful, and the terms of accommodation were made reasonable. In addition to these circumstances, Mr. Finley's thorough experience and established reputation, as a teacher and disciplinarian, strongly attracted the public attention and confidence. The impression which he had recently made in Charleston, South Carolina, while teaching there, induced many wealthy and respectable citizens in that region to entrust their children to his able instruction and faithful guardianship.

From Virginia and Maryland, gentlemen of distinction furnished him with many agreeable and promising students. But in general, during its last years his school was composed of boys from the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and from his native State. The aggregate of scholars in this institution was often very great, for years in succession. The number of its pupils, originally restricted to twenty-five, sometimes exceeded forty. So far did the applications for admission surpass the capacity for accommodation, that the institution might justly have been denominated a "select school."

Mr. Finley superintended the institution with great fidelity, and personally inspected with vigilance all

its ordinary operations from its first establishment till his removal* from Basking Ridge.

It was his practice, for many years, to spend some hours, generally in the morning of every day, in the academy, directing the studies of the youth and assisting the tutor in all his labors. Being himself accomplished as a scholar, energetic in all his movements, possessing a peculiar talent to forward boys rapidly in their course of improvement, and his assistants being generally selected with great care, and promptly and assiduously taught to enter into his views and to follow his example, the plan of education pursued was calculated to make sound classical scholars, and to implant in the pupils' minds, principles and habits of subordination and good morals.

On account of the acknowledged pre-eminence of his capacity for government, very untractable and turbulent youth were at times committed to his care,

* The labors of his extensive pastoral charge; his disposition for quiet uninterrupted study; his agricultural predilection, and especially the trouble and anxiety to himself and family, arising from so much attention to the school—from the necessary responsibility to the public for its success, from participating in its daily instruction and care—and from boarding a considerable number of the scholars, made him ardently wish at one period to withdraw from that charge. Accordingly, by his invitation and request, the management of the seminary was transferred to Mr. David English, a gentleman of amiable manners and fine scholarship, who, for a few years, conducted the affairs of the institution in a very reputable manner. After Mr. English retired from this laborious occupation and returned to Georgetown, where he had before resided, the whole weight of the academic establishment devolved again on Mr. Finley.

for the purpose of reformation as well as of instruction. This frequently afforded an opportunity, and created a necessity for the exertion of all his masterly powers. The insidious and artful could not escape his deep, persevering, and irresistible scrutinies. The most hidden disorders and crimes, he would, by some means* detect and bring to light, often to the astonishment of the perpetrators.

Nudavit, cœcumque domûs scelus omne, retexit.

His disposition and manners towards the studious and amiable, were kind, condescending, and affectionate beyond expression. He would sometimes

* In one instance considerable mischief had been committed, at night, in the vicinity of the village. A small house had been stoned, some of its glass broken, and its inhabitants very much frightened. No charge was alleged against any particular individual. It was not even perfectly certain, that a student of the academy had been concerned in the transaction. Mr. Finley, however, when informed of the circumstances, determined to ascertain who had perpetrated the deed. In a silent, and unobserved manner, and with much address, he made all possible search and continued his investigation for several days. No evidence, direct or circumstantial, that would criminate any one, could he collect. Yet he thought he knew the characters of the citizens and of his students so well that he could tell who had done the mischief, and he resolved on this ground to pursue the following course. In the afternoon of a subsequent day he attended in the academy, and towards the close of the business of the day, passing near the boy he suspected, he stooped down and whispered in his ear—"If you go to-night and repair the damages done to that house the other evening, making proper acknowledgments to the people who live in it, nothing further will be done in the business." The fellow was perfectly amazed, made no reply, but as soon as the school was dismissed, performed what was demanded, and the affair was settled.

enter into free and familiar conversation with them, on various common topics. In his walking excursions over his farm and through the contiguous parts of the congregation, he would invite some one or more of the youth, at leisure seasons, to accompany him. On the way, he sometimes exercised the accompanying pupil, by proposing English sentences to be Latinized, or false Latin to be rectified. This kind of treatment was very useful to the scholar, and it attached him exceedingly to his teacher. But the idle, the insubordinate, and the vicious, he treated with rigor, sometimes amounting to real harshness and severity; according to the good old Persian and classical system—*Κλαύμασι μὲν γε καὶ πατερες υἱοῦς σωφροσυνην μηχανῶνται καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισιν ἀγαθά μαθηματα.*

His aspect was naturally stern and commanding; and he could assume a countenance, voice, and manner truly terrific. He often presented himself to the indolent and refractory, with a dark and menacing contour—*νυκτι εἰοικώς*. It was his uniform determination to accomplish what he attempted in regard to every youth committed to him, to make him a scholar and a good boy if practicable, in the most easy and agreeable manner, peaceably if possible, energetically if necessary.*

The general system of discipline he pursued, was enforced among the whole mass of the pupils with

* After a considerable exercise of discipline among the boys in the academy, at a certain time, Mr. Finley humorously observed to a friend—"They *will* find out after all that I wont quite *kill* them."

great uniformity and impartiality. No scholar was exempted from his regular duties, or permitted to pass without the just punishment of his offences, from foolish favoritism or low policy, nor were any punished through caprice or passion. The government was not sometimes relaxed into injurious indulgence, and sometimes screwed up into ill-judged strictness, but conducted with a firm and steady hand. This impartiality and uniformity did not, however, prevent his employing a variety of methods to effect his purposes with the same or different individuals, at the same time, or at various periods. On the contrary, in answer to the question, "What ways do you make use of in your school?" he once replied, "All ways, sir." By this reply he intended, no doubt, that he employed all the variety of methods which reflection suggested, or experience pointed out, and which his judgment approved, to spur on the indolent, check the presuming and subdue the refractory, to interest the dull, animate the desponding and encourage the timid, to awaken emulation, to cherish right dispositions and confirm good habits. He made use of great exertion and care to impart to his pupils correct ideas and impressions of morals and religion, and to render them judicious and orderly in their manners and deportment. A determination to bestow particular attention on this branch of education, was manifested by him at an early period in the progress of his seminary. During the last ten years of its operation, more especially, he reduced his views and regulations on this subject to perfect system, and uniformly as-

signed to the scholars at the close of the week, a religious exercise to occupy their attention on the Sabbath, and to be exhibited on the evening of the Lord's Day, or at the opening of school the next Monday morning. The nature and extent of this religious study, varied with the age, improvement and capacity of the pupil. Some were required to learn the catechism, but the greater part recited on prescribed portions of the Word of God.* At the same time,

* The facility, propriety and advantage with which the Bible may be introduced into academies and boarding-schools, both male and female, as a Sunday study to be recited Sabbath evenings or Monday mornings, are so obvious, that teachers, superintendents and trustees of all institutions of this kind, ought, without delay, to make this a fundamental regulation and indispensable observance. The youth who assemble in these seminaries are those, in general, who are destined to fill high and influential stations in society, who, from their education, rank and employment, are likely to have a material agency in forming the opinions and regulating the manners of others, and of establishing, in a considerable degree, the general character of society. The plan commonly pursued in such institutions, of assigning, on Saturday, only the usual lesson for Monday morning, leaves the pupil at entire discretion, with regard to the subject which is to occupy his thoughts on the Sabbath, excepting only the short period to be spent at church. With far the greater part of youth, this is a certain and immense sacrifice of precious and sacred time. Taking into view the extent of the period usually spent in acquiring the elements of an education in any literary establishment, one lesson each week, on some chapters of the Bible, could not fail to secure to every scholar, of ordinary capacity and application, a most valuable acquaintance with biblical history and evangelic truth in general. What a vastly important addition is this to the instructions usually communicated in private and public seminaries! When we consider, also, the moral improvement which ordinarily accompanies or proceeds from

Mr. Finley watched and observed, as far as possible, the private conduct of his boys, and frequently took opportunities to counsel and direct such of them as appeared to him, not deserving of censure, but in need of paternal caution and advice in regard to their moral deportment.

On the whole, this institution was highly respectable, and very extensively useful. A considerable number of men from several States in the Union, who received the elements of their education in its bosom, are pursuing professional occupations, and filling distinguished stations in society, promising increasing honor to this seminary and to the name of its founder, reputation to themselves, and usefulness to their country.

Important benefits began immediately to result from Mr. Finley's ministerial labors at Basking Ridge. Old divisions and animosities disappeared, and the people became of one heart and one mind. Habits of attending closely and seriously on the public and stated means of grace, were revived. The congregation began to improve in Gospel knowledge and discipline. Through the divine blessing, pleasing additions were made to the church, from year to year. A general amelioration was visible in the whole as the acquirement of sound Christian knowledge, how interesting does this subject become!—how great and manifest the probable advantage of pursuing this course!—how pleasing the reflection to a conscientious, faithful teacher, that while he is imparting to his pupils the elements of human science, he is furnishing them with the means of becoming, through the blessing of God, *wise to salvation*.

pect of society. And a way appeared to have been prepared, through the superintending care and gracious influence of God, for that peculiar and joyful visitation of power and mercy "from the presence of the Lord," which was experienced there in the eighth year of Mr. Finley's ministry; producing most precious and lasting effects among that people, and lively emotions of pleasure, through the church in general, in every part of our country.

But although the foundation was undoubtedly thus laid for the important event which soon followed, there was nothing discoverable in the state of the congregation, immediately previous, that pointed out its near and glorious advent. A powerful and happy awakening and revival had been experienced, a short time preceding, in the congregation of Morristown, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. afterwards Dr. James Richards, without being attended with a simultaneous excitement in the adjacent congregations or surrounding country. Indeed, notwithstanding the external attention and order which had been exhibited, and the salutary influence of the stated administration of the divine ordinances which had been witnessed there, it was manifest that the life and power of true piety were but little felt, and that religion, in its essence and spirit, was at a low ebb. Coldness and indifference appeared to have pervaded the church in general, throughout the whole State. In this district, however, one auspicious symptom appeared: while the church slumbered, her pastors were awake.

An association had been recently formed, more especially by the ministers of those congregations now embraced by the Presbytery of Jersey,* the object of which was to perform preaching tours through their respective congregations, in succession, by two or more ministers in company. This evangelizing system had been pursued for a number of weeks, and a considerable impression made, through the Divine blessing, on a neighboring congregation, when Mr. Finley, by invitation, participated in these *labors of love*, and was touched with a holy spark from heaven, which soon animated and enkindled a great proportion of the people of his charge.

A brief representation of this *revival*,† which took place during the year 1803, was sent, by Mr. Finley, to the Committee of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, chairman of said committee, and by them published in the General Assembly's "Missionary Magazine," vol. 1st, page 553. As the communication here referred to gives a cor-

* This ecclesiastical body was originally called the Presbytery of New York. In October, 1809, that part of it which lay in the city of New York and its vicinity, was set off by an act of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, and constituted a new Presbytery, with the name of the Presbytery of New York. The remaining part, situated in the State of New Jersey, was permitted to retain the records, and to proceed as usual, under the new appellation of the *Presbytery of Jersey*.

† The term *revival* is here used according to its ordinary acceptation, to signify an extensive out-pouring of the Divine Spirit, and a powerful awakening among sinners.

rect, unadorned and solemn account of this important event in the Church of Christ, and as this magazine is not generally possessed through the country, it appears highly proper that this authentic and interesting detail should be inserted here at full length.

“Extracts from a Letter received from the Rev. Robert Finley, at Basking Ridge, New Jersey, Dec. 23d, 1804.

“When the present year commenced, it found us in a profound sleep, with regard to our everlasting concerns. All was still, nor was there a voice heard. The valley of the son of Hinnom was full of dry bones. Yet the day of deliverance was at hand, and at this midnight the cry was preparing, “the bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.” The clergy of the Presbytery of New York, had now for a month or two been engaged in preaching from church to church, after the example of the Lord’s disciples, who were sent out two by two. A serious attention to religion had also been excited in one of the adjoining churches. In the month of February I was invited by the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, pastor of the church at Mendham, to meet the brethren who were to visit his people about that time. I complied, and saw a large assembly eagerly bent on hearing the word of life. I saw no extraordinary appearances, and in my own soul felt no inward refreshings. I then learnt what I have felt much more sensibly since, “that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth,” but “that every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of Lights.” Being invited to unite in the

exertions that were making by the clergy, in favor of religion, I gladly accepted, and met for the first time with the brethren, on the first Tuesday of February. The assembly to which they preached was neither large nor solemn. But while making an address on the expostulation of Jesus, "why stand ye here all the day idle," there was imparted to my soul a sensation and a view which I hope was worth the world. I knew not what it was, and hardly what it meant. It was a dark night, but it seemed like the beginning of the light of heaven. The returning day brought my heart again to the same subject. I felt like one who had been bewildered, and was just awakening to the hope of deliverance from the maze. Towards evening my feelings came to a point, and I began to think of the afflicted captives by the streams of Babylon. Their mighty attachment to the beloved city was understood, and its fallen walls were mourned over. The remainder of the week was spent in eager lookings for the Sabbath. When the Sabbath arrived, the day was stormy and tempestuous, so that new discouragements were excited. There had been many fine days and crowded assemblies, when there was no heart to speak, no agonizing desire to awaken and rescue men. And now, when the desire was intense, and the resolution superior to all fear of man, the people were kept at home. It was of Him whose counsels may not be challenged. Only about twenty persons attended the church. Of these about one-third were professors, and of the remainder there was not one who was not laid under solemn conviction of

sin. It now brings to my remembrance the army of Gideon, which was reduced before it could gain the victory. The subject of discourse was that day, "the night is far spent, the day is at hand." How literally true did the Lord now make it thus to be with regard to us. A good portion of the few of that day are now in union with the church, and none of them have turned back to folly as yet. O that the gracious Lord would prevent the curse of Chorazin and Bethsaida from coming upon them! The vibration of the stroke upon these few hearts, was more widely felt than could have been expected. On the evening following, there were about forty young persons assembled for their improvement in music. Their teacher did not attend; and, under the awe of the preceding day, a few of them desired a discourse. It was given them from the words, "what is thy request?" It appeared to be from the Lord, that the teacher did not come. Several persons were this evening awakened to a consideration of their ways; and when they were dismissed, it was delightful to observe that they went away with remarkable decorum and solemn silence. It seemed as if every heart had received a portion, the nature of which was yet to be opened up. It was natural and agreeable to duty to keep these things to myself and ponder them well, to see if the Lord was in very deed in them. Nearly the whole who were present on that occasion, are now members of the church.

"On Tuesday of this week, the Rev. Messrs. Kollock and Thompson, in their circuit, visited my church

for the first time: and they appeared to be sent in the fullness of the blessing of the gospel. The people attended generally, and seemed as if they were in expectation that something of an interesting nature would take place. It has since been seen that impressions before made, were much deepened, and that various persons were newly awakened from their long sleep. The Lord had now prepared his means for producing a great and sudden sensibility, on the subjects of the soul and eternity. A few persons from Mendham, who were seriously seeking for eternal life, continued during Tuesday night in this vicinity, and next morning came to converse with the ministers at my house. As they approached, whoever beheld them, seemed to look upon them as persons that had received a call to prepare to meet their God. I was asked whether I would be willing to meet with a few that evening: being much indisposed, I declined. Notice notwithstanding was given of a meeting, and when, contrary to my expectation, I attended, judge of my joy and wonder, when I saw a large assembly in solemn and weeping silence. Wherever I turned my eyes, I observed anxiety and tears. The difficulty of beginning an address was only equalled by the difficulty of leaving off. A perfect silence was diffused throughout, till we were separating, when two young persons who were particular for their intimacy, met each other from different parts of the house, and seeing their mutual situation, fell into each other's arms, with a momentary emotion, which was widely felt. It was now evident to all that there was much

room for hope and prayer. We therefore appointed to meet on Friday of the next week, at the academy. You may suppose, sir, that the Sabbath was looked for with an ardent desire. It was one of the most stormy days I ever saw. Notwithstanding this, we had a considerable assembly, who resembled Mr. Bunyan's pilgrim, when putting his hands on his ears, he began to run, and cry "Life! life! eternal life!" In company with brother Richards, I took a preaching tour this week, (second week of February) and left my people until Friday morning. I had a most pleasant tour, though it was the severest weather we had this winter. In my absence, the almost instantaneous death of one of my most respectable people, greatly increased the number and depth of the convictions. A large assembly collected at his funeral, and the very silence that reigned, (for there was no service) seemed to be blessed by God to the furtherance of the work. The evening of the day on which I returned, was our first regular meeting for prayer. The report had by this time spread through the congregation that there was a serious awakening in the neighborhood of the church; so that notwithstanding the darkness of the night and badness of travelling, there was a large assembly. A discourse was preached without any thing remarkable, except a very fixed attention. When the general round of exercises was gone through, it was made known that any who wished might depart, but that a few words would be addressed to those who were supposed to be awakened by the Holy Spirit. No one departed. An address was

then made, as above mentioned. When the awakened being summoned "to come out and separate," there was, in the twinkling of an eye, a suppressed cry from, it is supposed, not less than fifty persons. That I may be understood, I mean by a suppressed cry, a cry resembling that which weeping children utter, when they are forbidden to weep aloud. I leave you, my dear friend, to conceive the sensations that must have been awakened, in a case like this, in the bosom of a minister. Absorbed and lost in wonder, joy and praise, we forgot the time, and passed the hour generally prescribed by prudence. The first thought of passing time presented us with the hour of eleven. This is a solitary instance; and whether under these circumstances, it can be excused or not, I cannot tell. But of this I am certain; it was a night to be remembered among a thousand. It might be counted upon as certain, that in the space of twelve days, from the first Sabbath till now, one hundred persons were brought under deep convictions.

"On the next Sabbath, each neighborhood was desired to institute societies for prayer; and four or five of them were attended each week with preaching.

"On the third week of February, there was nothing remarkable till Friday evening, in a distant part of the congregation, where there was weeping and lamentation which threatened disorder. It was occasioned by the accidental collection of a number of those most affected into one corner of the house. By advice it was immediately reduced to silence. This was a time of amazement to many hard and wicked

persons, and it then seemed as if they would all bow with one accord. But while men slept, an enemy was permitted to sow tares, and for a season the heavenly plant was choked. In other distant parts of the congregation there did not promise any thing of a harvest for some time. It might have been two months, which brings us to the month of May, before the work appeared in a powerful and general manner, in the southern part of the congregation. It then appeared to seize on nearly every heart. About this time I saw the only bodily affection (as it is called) that ever came under my observation. It was a case of a young woman who might be classed with the Gallios in religion. During the greater part of the discourse, she appeared utterly unconcerned. Towards the close, her countenance changed and fell visibly, and in a moment. She began to pant like one asthmatic, shed for a minute a flood of tears, and when these were stayed, the panting increased, and she seemed to approach to suffocation. Her hands were cold and considerably convulsed. Without the least confusion she was removed into another room, where she was nearly alone, and where she could hear, for she was unwilling to be taken from the house. I have been more particular on this last point, because it is probable some misrepresentations have been made. About midsummer, a similar solemnity began to appear in the western part of the congregation; and also in that part where it was mentioned the tares were sown, there was a precious and most acceptable reviving. In every quarter had there now been a

truly heavenly shower, excepting in the east. There were droppings indeed as from the skirts of a majestic cloud, which lightened on some few of the most darkened and malignant, and a sure hope enlightened and sweetened their souls.

“When we were almost in despair of this portion of our dear people, about the month of November we were animated with a delightful prospect. On a certain evening very dark and rainy, not more than forty persons attended. But so far as information has been obtained, there scarcely was an individual who was not greatly affected, either with joy or anxiety. Some very hardened persons wept bitterly, and some very young persons were tenderly moved. The renewal of something like this has been very refreshing in the same place since that time, from which we are looking with humble hope for a little harvest. It had often seemed to me almost the sole cause of a minister’s grief, that men could not be made to awake. But now, when there were so many excited to a serious consideration, there was an anxiety called up in my mind which had been unknown before. While the immortal soul stood hesitating between life and death, and there was a jeopardy every hour, lest temptation should prevail, or death close all opportunity, you may well suppose they were viewed with an earnest eye. Every human excitement was put before the heart; but experience gave evidence that conversion was no less a work of God than conviction. There were none who were made to taste very speedily of the joy of their Lord. In about five or six weeks,

however, there were some who began to hope that the Lord had graciously revealed himself to them. But these soon lost their hope, and were plunged more deeply than ever into sorrow, and overwhelmed more than before, with a sense of their sin and helplessness. Those who continued longer before obtaining faith and hope in the mercy of God, appeared more steady from the beginning of their joy. Yet the former did, for the most part, recover again and stand more firmly than at first. In the course of four months we received into the communion of the church, with mixed joy and fear, sixty-four persons. Others continued a longer or a shorter period, as it pleased Him who is the truth and the life. I was happy beyond expression, when constantly mingling with the people, to find here and there springing up new plants of our heavenly Father's planting.

“In the month of October the church again opened her joyful bosom and admitted fifty-six more to its communion. In the manner of conviction there was but little variety. The general grief was sin, and particularly the sin of forgetting God. The Lord brought to their remembrance his own expostulation, “If I be a father, where is mine honor?”—Grief for this sin seemed to be augmented from finding that by nature their hearts loved idols: they were still inclined to follow them. Thus were they taught, we hope, that conversion was necessary, and that it must come from God. The Lord was very gracious in this, that though the conviction was very sharp with many, yet I have met with no instance that bordered on despair.

When the Lord had said, "thou hast destroyed thyself," he seemed to add, "but in me is thy help found." As the manner of conviction bore a strong affinity in nearly all; so their manner of expressing their hopes of acceptance with God, had a very great uniformity. There were a very few who in the hour of deliverance, felt such a remarkable animation of the pleasing and dutiful dispositions of the heart, that they seemed to rest too much on the change of their feelings and less on the great atonement. And there was one and only one instance, of a person whose experience was of the visionary kind. While the greater part were humbled through a sense of their fallen and helpless state, and looked to Him who was lifted up to take away the sins of the world; it was truly refreshing, and even establishing to the seeking soul, to hear with what clearness some, who had been utterly ignorant of religion, now spoke of Christ, as the wisdom and power of God to every one that believeth. I have seen no instance of raptures, but have seen a great many solid comforts, which were truly delightful to behold.

"I have already given some intimation of the number who were affected with a solemn view of the interests of the soul. It has been mentioned that a hundred and twenty had been added to the communion of the Church. About forty others have expressed a belief that they are builded upon the Rock of Ages. In addition to these a large number were awakened to some serious concern; in all, probably not less three hundred persons of all ages, sexes, and

descriptions. We had reason to hope that an aged man, after he had lived considerably above eighty years, was received into the divine favor in the last month of his life. And what perhaps may be mentioned properly in this place, near the close of the work, there were four persons awakened on one Sabbath, each nearly seventy years of age. The seriousness among little children was also very extensive, and though no encouragement whatever was given to do so, it was admirable to hear them telling of the light of the Scriptures; and of their fear to go to sleep lest they should lose their delightful views of heavenly things. The number of new convictions is now but very small; but that of those who heretofore had been roused to consideration and are from time to time led to the waters of healing, is comfortably great. Blessed be God, as yet we have had nothing to lament as to the unbecoming walk of any. We have now a goodly flock, but already it begins to scatter. Nearly a dozen have removed; one or two have died—so that in a few years we shall stand in the same need as ever of a summer and a harvest. Oh! if the Lord may look on us and keep us as the apple of his eye, and be ever ready to renew the happy year, which in free and rich grace is now given to us!

“Thus, sir, I have traced a few of those events which have taken place among us, and if the relation shall be any satisfaction to you, it will be a pleasure to one, who is happy to say how respectfully and affectionately he is yours.

“ROBERT FINLEY.”

In this memorable and precious season, the refreshing influences of the Holy Spirit, were experienced, first in the pastor's own heart. But the set time, to favor this portion of Zion, had come, and the quickening impulse soon became very powerful and very extensive. Through the whole of this gracious dispensation to that church, the pastor manifested a degree of excitement, fervor, and joy, which fully corresponded with the most powerful and lively operations of divine grace, displayed around him. He gave himself wholly up to God, in this great work, as an instrument to increase its efficacy and to magnify its glory. All the powers of his nature were roused to action, and engaged in his Master's and in his peoples' service. He allowed himself time scarcely sufficient for necessary refreshment. He visited, he preached, he taught, he warned, he prayed daily from house to house with affectionate importunity and flowing tears. He flew with rapidity to every quarter of his extensive congregation, laboring by day and by night to awaken the thoughtless and unmoved out of their perilous and afflicting sleep. In his public discourses, he spake with a degree of earnestness and vehemence truly astonishing, almost more than human. His great zeal and corresponding efforts within his own congregation, where the same earnestness abounded, created no emotions but those of sober admiration, deep concern, and profound satisfaction. In his occasional ministrations, in neighboring congregations where the professors of religion remained formal and luke-

warm, and where the people in general felt very little interest in these eternal concerns, his zeal appeared to some immoderate and his manner extravagant. In their cold and lifeless state they could not enter into his views, nor keep pace with his feelings. Hence some accounted his unusual warmth and extraordinary exertions enthusiastic. In this they exposed their own *Laodicean* temper and excited his tender pity.

The "view" with which he was visited in the commencement of this revival, and the renewed impulse which he now received from above, in his gospel ministry, produced in him effects the most permanent and happy. They seemed to animate, direct, and characterize all his subsequent life, in public and in private. It became manifest that the high tone of religious feeling and uncommon ardor in exertion, for which Mr. Finley was remarkable, perhaps somewhat singular, especially during this work of grace among his people, did not spring from a transient excitement of the passions, but were produced by a clear and lasting discovery of the vast and eternal obligations and interests here involved, accompanied by a rational and sincere regard for the divine glory, and an ardent desire for the salvation of souls. This *visitation* of mercy produced an addition to the communion of the church at Basking Ridge, of one hundred and thirty-two members.

The success with which God was pleased thus early to crown his ministrations, contributed in a great degree to place him in a conspicuous light before the public, and to establish his reputation in

the church as an able, faithful, and successful minister of the New Testament. The world judged correctly, that they, whom God so signally honors, in making them the favored instruments of doing so much good to others, deserve peculiar reverence and honor from men.

After this season had subsided, and new instances of awakening and conversion became comparatively rare, many precious fruits of the revival continued to be experienced among that people. In the ensuing year, thirty souls were added to the church, who for the most part were considered as gleanings of the preceding harvest. The pastor devoted himself, with great diligence and perseverance, to the interests of his flock. Praying societies, which had been instituted while the excitement continued, and conducted without his presence and aid, he now fostered as nurseries of piety, and as the hope of the church. He watched over new professors, and especially the young converts, with parental vigilance and fidelity. The poor, the unfortunate, and the afflicted of Christ's family shared his peculiar sympathy and kindness. He took great pains to search out and become particularly acquainted with those who were in dependent circumstances, exposed to difficulties, inconveniently situated for attending on the public worship of God, and surrounded by corrupt and dangerous society. To them he extended the best and speediest relief in his power. In several instances he incurred considerable expense in procuring, in the condition of such, the changes and ameliorations which he thought necessary.

CHAPTER III.

MR. FINLEY'S EXERTIONS TO RETAIN THE BIBLE AS A SCHOOL BOOK—
IS ELECTED A TRUSTEE OF PRINCETON COLLEGE—A NEW EXCITEMENT IN HIS PARISH—APPOINTED TO PREACH THE MISSIONARY SERMON BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—APPOINTED AS A DELEGATE TO THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONNECTICUT—A VERY INTERESTING SCENE AT BASKING RIDGE—MR. FINLEY LABORS IN SUSSEX COUNTY AND OTHER PLACES—HE AND REV. GEO. S. WOODHULL ORIGINATE THE BIBLE CLASS SYSTEM IN CHURCHES—DOINGS OF PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD—GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN REGARD TO IT—HE INTRODUCES IT INTO HIS PARISH—DIVINE BLESSING FOLLOWS—YOUTH AWAKENED.

ABOUT this period, prejudice against using the Bible as a school book, began to manifest itself, and to prevail in some parts of this country. Many of the ignorant and unprincipled teachers, who were then in numerous instances employed, especially in country places,* entertained and propagated this unhappy delusion.

* The teacher employed at that time in the village of Basking Ridge, was strongly opposed to introducing the Bible as a school book. When Mr. Finley called to recommend the measure, he found him obstinate on the subject, disposed to argue, cavil and resist. After making some gentle attempts to induce his compliance, without perceiving a disposition to yield, Mr. Finley addressed him in substance as follows: "Sir, my mind is made up on the subject; you know my wish; I have no objection to you as a teacher on any other ground; but if you don't comply immediately on this point, prepare your accounts, and collect your money; for you sha'nt be here a week." That *argument* had the desired effect at once.

Mr. Finley exerted all his zeal and influence to retain the Bible, and to introduce it to daily use, in all the schools of the surrounding country. Under a deep persuasion, that children and youth cannot become too early and familiarly acquainted with the word of God, he devoted himself to this interesting object, till he saw it completely attained. He paid considerable attention also, to the characters and qualifications of the teachers employed in the schools of his congregation, and endeavored to impress the minds of the people with a sense of the necessity and importance of exercising prudent care and caution, in engaging instructors for their children.

During several succeeding years, the congregation enjoyed no extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit, but rather exhibited an interesting state of peace, order, and gradual improvement in divine knowledge and grace. Small additions were uniformly made to the church, of such as gave evidence of a gracious change, and entertained a hope of salvation, through faith in Christ. The elders of the church, hand in hand with their pastor, as the records of their transactions evince, exercised the utmost watchfulness and care over the flock, admonishing, exhorting, reproofing, with all gentleness and long suffering. Considering the great increase in the number of professing Christians, that had been recently made, instances of backsliding and apostacy were unusually rare in that church.

In the year 1806, Mr. Finley was elected a member of the Board of Trustees of the College of New

Jersey. This was considered by the public as a very honorable testimony of his growing respectability and merit. Liberal and public spirited in all his views and operations, a friend and patron of science and general improvement, and warmly attached and devoted to the interests of this college, as his *alma mater*, the fountain at which he had imbibed the streams of knowledge and of religion; he discharged the duties of this responsible station with the utmost constancy and faithfulness, till his removal from New Jersey.

In the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eight, his ministerial labors at Basking Ridge were attended again with more than ordinary effect. The congregation in general were excited to more diligent and serious attention to the preaching of God's word and administration of his ordinances, than had been witnessed for several former years. The increase of attention among sinners was so considerable, and the divine influence communicated to Christians so manifest, as to warrant the distinguishing appellation of a revival of religion; and this era ought to be viewed as much more than ordinarily interesting and prosperous, in the annals of that church. For, in the course of this year, about twenty persons were added to the communion, on professing their faith in Christ; and the numerous body of Christians, composing the church, were greatly animated and comforted in the divine life.

In the year eighteen hundred and nine, Mr. Finley was selected to preach the missionary sermon during

the meeting of the General Assembly, in the city of Philadelphia. This service he performed with credit to himself, and satisfaction to the audience. He received the thanks of the Assembly, for the zealous effort he had made to promote the missionary cause. His modesty induced him to decline furnishing a copy of this discourse for publication, notwithstanding this practice had been observed, with very few deviations, for many preceding years.

In the same year he was appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in connection with the Rev. Messrs. John B. Romeyn and Edward D. Griffin, "to attend the next meeting of the General Association of Connecticut." As a member of this respectable delegation, Mr. Finley discharged his duty faithfully and acceptably. His interview with the Eastern brethren whom he met in that association, gave him great satisfaction; and the travel to Connecticut was greatly serviceable to his health, at that time somewhat impaired.

The year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, which was the seventeenth year of Mr. Finley's ministry, presented another very interesting and blessed scene in the congregation at Basking Ridge. It pleased God at this time, to repeat his gracious visit to that people, and to grant a precious and renewed manifestation of his presence, and exercise of his power and mercy on the hearts of a considerable number, of all ages and characters. The devout and heavenly minded pastor, shared sweetly and copiously the divine influences, shed

down at this period, upon that portion of Zion. His soul was enkindled afresh in his Master's service; and his powers were stirred up and engaged, to improve the propitious season which seemed to be opening again upon the people of his charge. Trained by a former dispensation of the King of Zion, to the glorious service of conducting a triumph of grace, among the guilty and rebellious sons of men, and called, as he humbly hoped, at this time, to a similar work, on a more extended scale, he came forward as a good soldier of the Captain of salvation, and devoted all his skill, strength and ardor to the cause. But Paul may plant and Apollos water, it is God who giveth the increase. This visit of the Heavenly Father, appeared from the result, to have been designed, in a considerable degree, for the improvement and consolation of his own dear people, the subjects of his former works of grace. They needed quickening and encouragement in the Christian course, and the hearts of many that doubted and feared, were animated and established in the faith and hope of the gospel; some that were broken and contrite, that languished and fainted, were *revived* and invigorated; some that hungered and thirsted, were abundantly satisfied and filled with gladness, in this time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. While the professing people of God were deeply humbled, excited to fervent supplication, and brought solemnly to search and try their own hearts, and renewedly to accept the Saviour and enter the gospel refuge; many trembling sinners were found, anxiously "inquiring what

they should do to be saved." Meetings for prayer and pious conversation, were frequent and crowded. Many solemn and weeping assemblies, by day and at night, with fixed attention and deathlike silence, heard the awakening and cheering messages of truth and mercy, from the lips of their beloved and evangelic pastor. The number of souls gathered in to Christ at this time, was small,* compared with the fruits of a former revival, and with the desires and hopes entertained on this occasion, and considering how extensively solemn convictions appeared to prevail through the congregation in the progress of this gracious work.

While Mr. Finley was thus laboring ardently and successfully for the promotion of true religion within his own congregational charge, the interests and prosperity of the Church in general lay near his heart. His local situation rendered it more convenient for him than it was for any other principal member of the presbytery of New Brunswick to visit that portion of the church, under the care of this presbytery, in the county of Sussex, now embraced by the presbytery of Newton,† in which several important congregations were wholly vacant, and others painfully agitated with dissentions and animosities. Animated

* About thirty-five.

† The district of the church, here referred to, was set off from the presbytery of New Brunswick, and erected into a distinct presbytery bearing the name of the "Presbytery of Newton," by an act of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, at their last meeting in October eighteen hundred and seventeen.

by zeal for the general interests of Zion, and excited by a sincere concern for the destitute state of this region, in the Church, he frequently visited it—sometimes spontaneously, oftener at the invitation of some vacant congregation, or request of some contending parties—most frequently by the appointment of the presbytery, who were always pleased to avail themselves of his services, especially on important occasions. His capacity for managing difficult and critical business was remarkable and well known. He was an acute discerner of the ends and springs of action, in every character; he possessed an uncommon share of judgment and prudence; he was calm and dispassionate, in a very high degree; he was fair, frank, and honest in his address; he was firm and immovable in his adherence to justice and fairness on every subject; he was meek and submissive, patient and persevering; and he was a peculiar lover of peace and harmony.* Added to this, he had a more ac-

* In the course of these visits, Mr. Finley had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of a brother clergyman, of some standing in the Church. The offended person had manifested his displeasure for some time very decidedly and openly, so as to attract public notice, when an opportunity was unexpectedly afforded Mr. Finley to manifest one of the most excellent dispositions of his heart. The presbytery of New Brunswick had just adjourned and were about separating, when some circumstance drew the clergyman referred to, into a room where Mr. Finley and two or three other persons were sitting. Mr. Finley immediately rose from his seat, addressed the gentleman in a friendly manner, and proceeded calmly to inquire into the cause of the coolness and neglect which he had for some time manifested towards him. The gentleman making no reply, and showing a disposition to withdraw, Mr. Fin-

curate personal knowledge of the churches there than any other man of his standing in the presbytery. Hence he was selected in many instances as the most suitable character to go to that region of the Church, to supply vacant congregations, to administer the ordinances of the Gospel, and to heal divisions among them. He promptly complied, in every instance, when his circumstances and engagements at home would at all permit. Nay, he acted on the principle, that personal and domestic sacrifices must be made for the sake of discharging faithfully public duty. He cheerfully rendered his services and ardently exerted all his influence, to accomplish the purposes for which he was sent in these successive tours. He had considerable influence and agency in organizing and bringing into the Presbyterian connection, several important and growing congrega-

ley pressed him still farther in the following words:—"Sir, I am a friend of peace. I feel that there is a peculiar impropriety in our living in this manner—it must not be so. If I have injured you, tell me wherein, and I will make you any acknowledgment or reparation in my power this moment, and take pleasure in doing it." The gentleman hesitated, appeared sour and unyielding—Mr. Finley proceeded: "Well, sir, I can do no more than this," laying his hand upon his naked breast, "I solemnly declare that I am unconscious of having ever designedly or inadvertently done you an injury; but if you will only be reconciled and give me your hand in friendship, I will get down upon my knees and ask your pardon." The gentleman made no reply, turned about, and left the room. Mr. Finley some time after observed, that subsequently to the above occurrence, he had frequently attempted to court and conciliate this gentleman, but that all his advances and efforts had met with a similar repulse.

tions. And on the whole, he performed many arduous and successful services for the churches in Sussex, the benefits of which will long be felt and remembered by those congregations.

While Mr. Finley was so unremittingly engaged in endeavoring to promote religion in his own charge, and so zealously devoted to the interests of some portions of the Church which lay within the reach of his own personal ministrations, he was also deeply occupied in devising and maturing schemes of the most extensive importance and utility. One ecclesiastical measure in which he had a principal agency, is too important not to be particularly noticed in these memoirs. I mean the system for instructing youth in the knowledge of the Bible, by classes. The plan originated* in the presbytery of New Brunswick, at the semi-annual meeting, in October, 1815.

* Justice requires it to be distinctly stated that the idea of making this method of instructing youth general through the Church, and of taking presbyterial order on the subject, was first suggested by the Rev. George S. Woodhull, of Cranbury, New Jersey. A few individual pastors, in the Presbyterian Church, it has been ascertained on inquiry, had previously made some attempts, in their respective congregations, to introduce this mode of instruction, but, it is believed, without any view to its becoming an established system in the Presbyterian Church. This happy thought first occurred to Mr. Woodhull, and as soon as suggested, was seized with avidity by Mr. Finley. These gentlemen, *par nobile fratrum*, acted in concert as far as was practicable, in the whole of this business. The following extract from the minutes of the meeting of presbytery, October 1815, which was printed, distributed through the churches, and laid before Synod, to be the basis of their proceeding on the subject, was reported to presby-

In the Synod of New York and New Jersey, October 1815, Mr. Finley appeared in conjunction with his amiable and excellent associate in this business, to

tery by these gentlemen jointly as a committee, but was written by the last-named gentleman :

“The committee who were appointed fully to consider and report on the resolution passed by the presbytery, recommending to the ministers with pastoral charges, to form classes of young people in their congregations, for studying and reciting on the Bible, brought in the following report, which was read and adopted, viz. :

“The present is an age in which great exertions are making for the advancement of the Redeemer’s kingdom in the world. Although for more than twenty years the civilized world has been shaken to its centre, by long-continued and sanguinary wars, yet the people of God in Europe and America, have not ceased to send missionaries to the heathen, and the word of life to the destitute and poor. No plan, however, as your committee believe, has yet been formed by any ecclesiastical body, for the *express* purpose of instructing the young in the history, the doctrines, and practical truths of the Bible. Such a plan, if carried into complete and general execution, we believe would, with the blessing of God, be attended with the happiest effects. The young people would have their attention directed to the most important truths; it would lead the way, by easy stages, to almost daily conversations on religious subjects; it would furnish the minds of the young with such a fund of knowledge as might prevent their becoming victims of enthusiasm and error. It would be advantageous to ministers themselves; it would excite their zeal, and the zeal of their people, and with the blessing of God and the aids of the Spirit, may be instrumental, in conjunction with other means, of hastening the time when the knowledge of God and his word shall cover the earth, as the waters do the sea.

“With regard to the details of the plan of instruction, your committee are of opinion that in general, each minister of a congregation must be guided by circumstances, and by his own judgment. Your committee, however, propose the following :

recommend and support their favorite plan. The outline presented in the preceding extract from the minutes of the presbytery of New Brunswick was favorably received by the Synod. A resolution was passed approving the plan, accepting the report of

“1. Wherever a class sufficiently numerous in any part of the congregation is formed, at the first meeting, the minister shall deliver a lecture on five chapters, or such other portion of the Bible as he may think proper from the Old or New Testament at his discretion, holding up to view the principal truths contained in those chapters, and explaining the difficult passages they may contain. At the next meeting the class shall be examined on these chapters, and another lecture then given on other chapters of the Bible; this to be continued weekly, or as often as may be convenient, and to be accompanied with prayer and singing.

“2. If it should be practicable to carry into effect the above plan, the minister may deliver lectures on the Bible on the Sabbath-day, and examine the young people upon them, as often as he may think proper.

“Your committee offer the following resolutions—

“*Resolved*, That this report be signed by the Moderator and Clerk, and that fifty copies thereof be printed, and one copy sent to every congregation under the care of the presbytery. And that the stated Clerk forward one copy to the Committee of Overtures of the Synod of New York and New Jersey at their next meeting, with a view of bringing this subject before that body, that they may take such order thereon as they may see proper.

“*Resolved*, That—[this blank was afterwards filled by the presbytery with the names of Messrs. Finley and Woodhull]—be a committee to superintend the printing and distribution of this report.”

Although the Church and public are indebted in a great degree to the first suggester of this scheme for its past and promising usefulness, Mr. Finley is to be considered as having been highly instrumental in maturing the system, securing its adoption, and carrying it into practical effect.

the committee on the subject,* and directing it to be laid before the next General Assembly, with a view that the proposed system might be approved and

* The following extract from the minutes of Synod, will present a view of their proceedings in relation to this business, viz:

The committee of overtures reported that they had overtured a plan for instructing the youth by forming classes in the several congregations for studying and reciting the Bible.

A committee is appointed to consider and report, &c.

“The committee to whom was referred the overture on forming classes of young people for studying and reciting the Bible, made the following report which was adopted, viz:

“This is a subject, which in the opinion of your committee, claims an early and careful attention of the Synod. While the whole Christian world concurs in presenting to the destitute and uninstructed, the Bible without note or comment, as containing the pure and complete word of life, let us not fail to present it, distinctly under the same correct and important character, to our own children and youth, and induce them by every engaging means to study it as such, lest the commonness of the Bible among us, connected with any apparent neglect of it, or preference of other sources of instruction, should have influence, to diminish their respect for the sacred volume. To awaken the spirit of inquiry, and engage the attention of the understanding in perusing the scriptures, is an object of the first importance in the religious education of youth. To prevent or correct habits of careless reading, is essential to their progress in knowledge. And to present distinctly to their view, the Bible as the pure and complete fountain of religious knowledge is indispensable in a faithful care of their education. Your Committee therefore beg leave to suggest the propriety of earnestly recommending to the ministers and sessions under the care of this Synod, to pay special attention to this subject, and provide without delay, for the stated instruction of their children and youth, in distinct portions of the sacred scriptures, in the way of particular study and recitation, upon such plan, and under such arrangements, as each minister and session may think expedient; always taking care, however, that this shall

adopted for general use, through the Presbyterian Church.

At the meeting of the General Assembly, in May, 1816, this important subject was introduced to the attention of that venerable body, through the stated clerk of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, who, by the instructions of Synod, laid before the Committee of Overtures, an attested copy of their proceedings relative to this interesting matter.

At that meeting of the General Assembly, Mr. Finley appeared, to explain and advocate this over-tured measure, and to render it, if practicable, a grand characteristic feature of our ecclesiastical system, by obtaining for it the approbation and adoption of the supreme judicatory in the Presbyterian Church. His highest hopes were realized. The proposed measure speedily obtained the sanction of universal suffrage in the General Assembly, and was recommended* to all the Presbyteries and congrega-

not come in the place of learning the catechisms of our church, with the scripture proofs annexed, but be added to it, and make a leading feature in the course of religious education. Resolved, that an attested copy of the above report be transmitted by the stated clerk, to the committee of overtures of the next General Assembly."

* The decision of the General Assembly on this subject, contained in their printed extracts for the year 1816, is in the following words:

"The committee to which was referred the overture from the Synod of New York and New Jersey, on forming classes for young people, for studying and reciting the Bible, reported, and their report being read and amended, was adopted, and is as follows, viz:—

tions of the Presbyterian Church, to be adopted and observed.

Mr. Finley was so fully persuaded of the impor-

“That they consider this subject of great importance, and deserving the attention and earnest recommendation of the Assembly; therefore,

“*Resolved*, 1st. That it is recommended earnestly to the ministers and sessions which are in connection with the General Assembly, to pay a special attention to this subject, and provide without delay, for the stated instruction of the children and youth in the Sacred Scriptures, within their respective congregations.

Resolved, 2d. That, although the particular manner of instruction and recitation in the congregations, ought to be left to the discretion of their ministers and sessions, respectively, yet as some degree of uniformity is desirable, in a business of so much magnitude, it is recommended, as the most effectual means of promoting the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, that, in all our churches, classes be formed of the youth, to recite the Scriptures in regular order; that the recitations, if convenient, be as often as once a week, and from two to five chapters appointed for each recitation; that the youth may be examined on:

“1st. The history of the world, but more especially of the Church of God, and of the heathen nations, who were God’s agents in accomplishing his purposes towards his Church.

“2d. Persons noted for their piety or ungodliness, and the effects of their example in promoting or injuring the best interests of mankind.

“3d. Doctrine and precepts, or ‘what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man.’

“4th. Positive ordinances, or the direction which God has given as to the way in which he is to be worshipped acceptably.

“5th. The particular features of character of which the Spirit of God has given notice, both in wicked and good persons; in the last particularly regarding those who were types of Christ, and in what the typical resemblance consisted.

“6th. The gradual increase, from time to time, of information concerning the doctrines contained in the Scriptures; noting the

tance and excellence of such a system of pious instruction, and so fully determined to try its practical

admirable adaptation of every new revelation of doctrine, to the increased maturity of the church. The nature of God's law; its immutability, as constituting an everlasting rule of right and wrong; the full and perfect illustration of its precepts, given by Christ.

"7th. The change which God has made from time to time in positive ordinances, together with the reasons of that change. The difference between the moral law and those laws which are positive.

"8th. The illustrations of the divine perfections, in the history, biography, doctrines and precepts, together with the positive ordinances of the Scriptures.

"9th. The practical lessons to regulate our conduct in the various relations of life.

"On all these particulars, the meaning of the words used in Scripture must be ascertained, that thus we may understand what we read.

"*Resolved*, 3d. That the Presbyteries under the care of the Assembly, be directed to take order on this subject; and they are hereby informed, that this is not to come in the place of learning the Catechisms of our Church, but to be added to it, as an important branch of religious education."

In the report of the late General Assembly for 1855, we find a notice of this measure, which originated as stated above:

"Permit us, brethren, to direct your view to Sabbath-school and *Bible class instruction*, not with design of dictating as to the manner in which this shall be attended to, but for the two-fold purpose, first, of pressing upon pastors and sessions, not to allow their congregations, under what disadvantages soever they may seem to labor, to remain without these institutions, so long sanctioned by our Church and so signally blessed to the gathering of the youth into the communion of Christ; and, secondly, to encourage such as are already engaged in these good works and labors of love, to review the past, and to contemplate the present, which we are permitted to see, that they may *not be weary in well doing, for in due season they shall reap.*"

utility, whatever should be the result of the contemplated applications to the judicatories of the church, that immediately after he had digested the plan in his own mind, he commenced a course of Biblical instruction among the youth of his own congregation. This first effort was made at Basking Ridge, in the spring of 1815, and about two months preceding the meeting of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, at which the overture to the Synod was prepared. Mr. Finley had the unspeakable satisfaction to see the Lord smiling upon his favorite plan of instruction, and the divine benediction descending upon its incipient operations, in a very remarkable manner.

The prospects of this congregation, as to spiritual increase and comfort, were now again greatly brightened by an extraordinary communication from the Father of Lights and Mercies. It pleased the King of Zion to bow his heavens, come down, and renew his operations there, in a very special and effectual manner.

The youth residing principally about the village, who had been formed into a class for the purpose of prosecuting the Bible study, and who had, for some months previous, given careful and diligent attention to the course of instruction prescribed, were the first that felt this heavenly impulse. And the circumstances of the case were such as to produce a full belief that the Bible study, so recently introduced, had been very extensively, if not exclusively instrumental,* in producing this unexpected and most ani-

* In a report by Dr. Green, President of the College of New Jersey, on the subject of the revival of religion which took place in

mating excitement. The evidences of this gracious work, were first exhibited in a prayer meeting, which had been instituted some time previous, and observed on Sabbath mornings before the hour of divine service. This society, after having appeared to diminish in number, and to decline in zeal, was observed to increase suddenly, so much, that a larger room than that usually occupied became necessary. It was at one of these Sabbath morning meetings that the presence and power of the Lord were very clearly manifested. Nearly the whole school, a large number of young persons belonging to the vicinity, and a promiscuous assemblage, of all ages and circumstances, were present. The Spirit of the Lord descended upon them as a rushing mighty wind, and filled the house with his presence. A considerable number of those present, who had been till then careless were filled with deep convictions of sin, and concern for salvation. A solemn impression was made on many minds, and a seriousness very unusual was spread over the whole assembly. During this interesting scene, Mr. Finley was absent from home, and without the least thought of what was taking place there. On his return, after a short absence, and receiving information of what had occurred, mingled

that institution, 1815, the study of the Holy Scriptures is assigned as one of its chief "instrumental causes." See this report, &c., published by B. B. Hopkins, Philadelphia, 1815. To the same instrumental cause, in a very great degree, are to be attributed, several powerful and extensive awakenings recently experienced in the Presbyterian Church in the State of New Jersey, in the State of New York, and in other districts of our country, where the system proposed by the General Assembly has been introduced.

emotions of wonder, joy and praise, almost overwhelmed his spirit. His first interview with some trembling, anxious youth, belonging to his school, who came to him for direction and relief, was extremely affecting. His tender sensibilities were so much excited that he was at first unable to speak.

The spirit of this man of God became now again deeply stirred within him, and he was enabled to make another great and effectual effort for the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom, among that people.

A season of deep conviction and anxious inquiry among sinners now ensued. This work of grace progressed in a silent and hidden manner. It spread gradually and almost imperceptibly, in every direction, from the region of the church where it commenced, to the extremities of the congregation. The impressions, which were most powerful and alarming, seemed to produce, in general, no audible out-cry, nor any very striking and visible emotion; but multitudes of careless sinners were filled with solemn concern, and the people of God were deeply affected and moved by the quickening influences sent down from on high. While the awakening was extending, with a steady and uniform pace in every direction, Mr. Finley endeavored to lead its way and aid its progress, by abundant and unwearied labors. He preached from house to house, in season and out of season, with a vehemence, a frequency and a perseverance, truly astonishing, almost incredible. His discourses were usually long, powerful and alarming. His voice, his words and his manner, sometimes, like

lightning, seemed to strike the guilty to the floor: sometimes his public addresses were of the most tender, pathetic and melting kind. In the course of this out-pouring of the Divine Spirit, he preached in a few instances four times a day; not unfrequently nine times a week; and for months together, on an average, once in twenty-four hours. His whole heart and spirit seemed to be concentrated and absorbed in this great business. He appeared verily to lose sight of himself, of his academic engagements, of his domestic concerns, of his personal ease, and of every interest but the everlasting interests of perishing sinners, and the glory of God. He visited from family to family with the familiarity and affection of a friend and father. He advised, instructed and entreated the thoughtless and secure in sin, with prayers to God and many tears, to seek the Saviour. He performed these duties with an importunity and solemnity of mind, fully convincing every beholder that he felt his awful responsibility; watching for souls and treating with sinners on the subject of their eternal welfare, as an ambassador of the great God.

The following interesting letter, from a young gentleman residing at Basking Ridge during this revival, to a respectable lady who had requested information on this subject, is introduced, and will be read with pleasure:

“ Basking Ridge, 30th Sept., 1815.

“RESPECTED MADAM:—

“I now comply with your request, made through Mr. G. You may justly accuse me of negligence, in

omitting thus long to write. When I saw Mr. G. the work was in its first stages, and I thought proper to delay a few weeks, that I might be enabled to give you a more satisfactory statement.

“The blessed work of the out-pouring of the Spirit of God, which has at length spread through different parts of this congregation, first commenced in our academy. In the latter part of the month of June, Mr. Finley preached a sermon addressed particularly to the youth. Although, perhaps, a more than ordinary attention was observed on that day, yet two weeks elapsed before it was known that any were seriously awakened, when it was discovered that two young men of our school were deeply impressed with a sense of divine things. Impressions on the hearts of others, as was afterwards discovered, were gradually increasing, who did not for several days subsequent to this manifest it; until one of the young men who had been disposed to speak lightly of the work, and scoff at the idea that his school-fellows were becoming religious, was, while at his lodgings, suddenly arrested with an awful apprehension of the danger of his state, while out of Christ. This had considerable effect with those who had taken part with him in his folly. Thus the number of the subjects of the work was increasing, until it became so powerful, that we were induced to hope for a time, that almost the whole school was pressing into the kingdom of our Saviour. The greater part of the school, which consists of about forty-five, were in a greater or less degree awakened. What a blessed prospect was then

before us! How pleasing to see children of tender age, laying aside their childish sports, and to hear them inquiring for their Saviour! Compassionate Redeemer! thou canst out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, perfect praise!

“We lament that impressions have worn off with many. But blessed be the name of the Most High, that about nine of their number have obtained a comfortable hope that they been made the subjects of regenerating grace. We have strong confidence to hope in God, that the seed sown in the hearts of many others will yet spring up, and bear the fruit of eternal life. Oh, Divine Spirit! perfect thy work in the hearts of those where thou hast commenced it; begin it where it is not yet begun; and bring them all into the fold of Christ.

“This blessed work, which for some time was confined to the academy, has at length spread into various parts of the congregation. It is still, we hope, gradually extending. About thirty persons, including those of the school, have hopefully been converted to the Saviour. Nearly seventy others are supposed to be in a greater or less degree awakened. Mr. Finley labors with unwearied diligence. We have praying societies every evening in the week, many of which Mr. Finley attends. This week, besides the regular services of the Sabbath, he has preached seven times. Last evening we had a very interesting meeting. God, by his Spirit, appeared to be sensibly near.

“What cause of rejoicing to the friends of the

Redeemer's kingdom in this place, for this gracious visitation from the presence of the Lord. This is a highly favored people. Madam, unite your prayers with ours, for the still greater effusions of the spirit of grace. Yea, blessed Saviour, ride forth in the majesty of thy gospel, and let this be a rich harvest of the precious fruits of eternal life, a glorious ingathering of precious souls to thyself!"

CHAPTER IV.

MR. FINLEY'S TOURS THROUGH HIS LARGE PARISH—HIS HEALTH BECOMES IMPAIRED FROM EXCESSIVE LABORS—ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY AND PROGRESSIVE THOUGHTS, PLANS, AND DOINGS PREPARATORY TO THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY—NOTICE OF THE AFRICAN SYNODICAL SCHOOL—MR. FINLEY'S LETTER TO JOHN P. MUMFORD, ESQ.—HIS JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON.

DURING this season of revival, which continued about eight months, Mr. Finley formed and executed a resolution to visit personally, as minister of the Gospel, not only the households belonging strictly to his extensive charge; but the great number of families living in the mountainous and barren out-skirts of his congregation, more particularly on the northwest and southwest borders. This brought upon him, in a cold and inclement season, a great increase of labor and hardships, which he endured cheerfully. To the prosecution of this enterprise of benevolence, he devoted those seasons which he could redeem from the pressure of services and cares nearer home. Thus he endeavored to hunt out the poor and ignorant in their retired dwelling places, to rouse them to a sense of sin and danger, and to convey to their houses and hearts the glad tidings of pardon and salvation, through the blood of Christ. On these tours of compassion, he spent in the whole, at different times,

about two months, during the winter of 1815–16. Sometimes he set out on foot, and travelled onward for three or four days, instructing* and praying in the families that successively fell in his way. Wherever he could assemble a sufficient number, even a small group, he spent some time in preaching and talking to them on the momentous concerns of eternity.†

* In one of Mr. Finley's visits to a remote part of his congregation, he called at a habitation where the head of the family was absent. He soon entered into conversation with the mistress of the house, whom he found at home. She appeared to be highly pleased with having an opportunity of conversing on religious subjects; and with much apparent warmth and zeal, expressed the most sincere love to God, and the greatest desire to be devoted to him. After the conversation ended, Mr. Finley called to him one of her children, who was in the house, and asked him some of those questions which are generally very familiar to children who have been religiously educated—such as, who made you? of what were you made? who is the Redeemer of men? He found that the child was unable to answer any question of this kind, and had received no instruction from his parents in the first principles of religion. He then turned to the woman, and in a tone of indignation, addressed her: "Woman, is this your love to God? How is it possible that you love God, when you neglect to teach your children anything about him?" &c. He continued his observations until she became much affected, and to appearance deeply impressed.

† It was often difficult to provide agreeable accommodations for the people that attended; and the business of preparing seats, in some instances, fell principally upon himself. Once in particular, rather than expose the audience to the inconvenience and fatigue of standing to receive his instructions, after the people began to assemble, he took down the loose boards which composed the second floor of the house, and made seats of them on chairs and benches, with his own hands, for the accommodation of the assembling multitude.

In the course of these missionary excursions, he found more than fifty families totally destitute of the sacred Scriptures. Some of these families he supplied immediately from the small stock of Bibles, Testaments, and Tracts he usually took with him on these journeys; and to the others, he took measures as soon as possible to furnish the word of life.* These *labors of love*, which he accomplished with no inconsiderable exposure and fatigue, afforded his own heart much satisfaction, and he had reason to believe, were productive of extensive benefit to many individuals and families.

While his expanded benevolence and zeal embraced the poor and miserable in the extreme limits, and even beyond the confines of his immediate charge, he was inflamed with the most warm desires, and employed, as far as possible, the most vigorous efforts† to

* Mr. Finley was in the practice of giving Bibles, occasionally at his own expense, to the poor whom he discovered to be destitute, before the Bible societies of this State commenced their operations. A pastor of a congregation contiguous to that of Basking Ridge, on visiting some families in low circumstances living near the limits of these respective congregations, offered a poor German a Bible, supposing him to have none; to which the German replied, "You and Finley makes me *one very good man*, or gives me *one very hot hell*; for Finley gives me a Bible many years ago."

† Mr. Finley's exertions were necessarily moderated towards spring, on account of the exhausted and reduced state of his health. The following extract from a letter to a very respectable friend in the city of New York, received since writing the above, will support and illustrate this remark and other parts of the preceding statement:

Basking Ridge, February 14, 1816.

"DEAR SIR:—

"Our past intercourse, which I found oftentimes so satisfactory,

carry on the work of grace, which continued in some measure to progress, in the interior of his congregation, till the ensuing spring. Of the impressions which had been experienced, those among the youth

often occurs to my remembrance, and excites a wish that circumstances could admit me to keep up the same intercourse we once enjoyed. But, so it is, that the business of each day and its cares are sufficient, and often more than sufficient for itself, and though the spirit is willing, it seems impossible to do what would be desirable to my old friends.

“It was a matter of regret that when A—— was here, he gave me so little of his company. Oh! could we but love our Saviour as we ought, we should soon have our place, where no distance would ever separate us from our friends.

“The *revival* of religion in this place languishes and declines, owing in the way of means to my being unable to pursue the work with much vigor. The great fatigues through which I went during the summer and fall, in the end affected my nervous system greatly and weakened my strength, *in the way*. Still I preach about three times a week, besides the Sabbath, and my number of hearers is great. New awakenings have not lately occurred, but some of those who have been long awakened, are from time to time brought into the city of refuge. The Lord grant me a little more strength of body and mind to go on and try to serve Him the remnant of an unprofitable life. In my late attempts to serve God, it appears to me there has been less of self than on some former occasions. The little acquaintance I have had with revivals of religion, and the great experience I have had with spiritual pride, induced me to make *the observations* which you noticed last fall in the Synod, relative to passing *public encomiums* on the female praying societies. Concerning these societies, I never had but one opinion, and that was in their favor; but one desire, the Lord increase their number and their spirit of prayer.

“We all send our love to Mrs. ——; my daughters remember yours affectionately, and with great respect and esteem,

“I am, dear sir, yours,

“ROBERT FINLEY.”

were found in general to be most deep and permanent. And the individuals who received comfort from God, in their spiritual concerns, and in due season obtained admission to the communion of his church, as the fruits of this merciful visitation, amounting in the whole to about fifty-five, were chiefly in the morning of life. Of these a considerable number were students in the academy. Some, who at first made light of this sacred work, became subjects of divine influence, and very early gave evidence of a gracious change. So general and so strong were the spiritual impulse and fervor, in this institution, that a prayer meeting was established and observed regularly with great seriousness, among the members of the school themselves. Several young men of good talents, became hopefully pious, during this day of divine power, and are contemplating the ministry of the gospel, as the end of their studies and the desire of their hearts.

In the spring of 1816, the congregation returned to its ordinary state, which afforded to Mr. Finley a season of comparative repose, very imperiously called for by the impaired state of his health. The ordinary labors he prescribed for himself, and faithfully discharged without intermission, having been very extensive, and the seasons of excitement and revival, in which he had made extraordinary exertion, having been quite numerous, it was to be expected, notwithstanding the uncommon strength and vitality of his frame, that the vigor of his constitution and animation of his spirit would feel the effect. At several periods, previous to his last great effort in the service

of God, the stability of his health appeared to be considerably shaken, so that relaxation from labor, and invigoration by travelling, became necessary ; but his parochial and domestic ties would not permit him to make excursions so extensive and efficacious, as the condition of his nerves demanded.

The joy he experienced at this period at seeing the church open her bosom to receive to a participation in her privileges and hopes, more than fifty returning prodigals who presented themselves together in the aisle to devote themselves to the Lord, did not repair the ravages of intense exertion, severe exposures, sleepless nights, and incessant anxieties, encountered through the preceding winter. Probably, at this period the foundation of that disease was laid, which prematurely terminated his course of usefulness and honor in the church below. His nervous system presented evidences of great debility and disorder. Still he gave nature very little opportunity to recover her wasted energy, either by a suspension of labor or a resort to efficient restoratives. He generally increased his exertions when at home, to compensate for his short occasional absences for the benefit of his health.

About this period Mr. Finley began to disclose to his friends the outlines of the noble and benevolent scheme, in behalf of the free people of color in the United States, which his capacious and philanthropic mind had been for years meditating. His early thoughts on this subject, it is believed, were never fully known by any person but the writer, and

were never fully disclosed at all, by himself or another, in any written document, except so far as contained in the first edition of the *Memoir of Finley*, published in A. D. 1819. The author being at that time in an impaired state of health, and fully occupied, could not find leisure for some explanatory remarks on the subject of this colonization enterprise, which are here considered appropriate. Indeed, in the infant state of the society, he did not think it necessary to expand the brief view then presented.

Dr. Finley's sympathy for the colored race, arose out of his native dislike to slavery, and fixed antipathy to all the phases of it he had ever seen. These impressions he evidently derived, in some measure, from his venerable father, who imported them with him from Scotland, where, it is well known, such feelings existed in great power, and exist still. These impressions, moreover, acquired increased strength from the influence of Dr. Witherspoon, who was by no means reserved in avowing his anti-slavery sentiments before the young men of the college, who frequently held debates before him, as president of the institution, involving these questions, which were then rife in every society, and generally absorbing to the public mind.*

The visit of Mr. Finley, after he left college, to Charleston, South Carolina, lent no inconsiderable aid in confirming his opinions and feelings in opposition to negro slavery. Multitudes of colored peo-

* The subject of manumission began to occupy public attention, in conversation, as early as 1795. Dr. Witherspoon died in 1799.

ple of both sexes and of all ages and conditions were constantly passing before his eyes, in a stage of improvement and civilization very greatly in arrears to that they now exhibit in that city. These views did not diminish his sensibilities in favor of the colored race.

On returning to his native state, and living for many years in constant familiarity with the institution of slavery, as it existed in most of the northern States, he dwelt upon the subject, and brought it up among his intelligent parishioners as an interesting topic for familiar and serious consideration. His attention to the colored people around him, in his own parish, at Basking Ridge, were assiduous and persevering, so that they loved him as a father, and frequented his ministrations from a considerable distance, in great numbers. Mr. Finley's heart teemed with benevolent emotions from his youth. That he might be useful was the governing desire and aim of his whole life. He was not satisfied with small daily acts of benevolence, though he abounded in them whenever an opportunity was presented. But his supreme object was to bring forward some great and benevolent scheme, of an elevated and extensive nature, that would make a deep impression—set a noble example—assume a national character—contribute largely to mitigate the sufferings of some aggrieved portion of the human family, and augment the general mass of individual and public happiness. For this purpose he fixed his eye early upon the condition of the colored people in these United States, as pre-

senting a suitable sphere for the exercise of his profound and ruling passion. All his observation and knowledge of the colored race, gave stability and power to his convictions and desires on this subject.

The writer of these pages was then in comparative youth, but having previously resided in Mr. Finley's family for some years, as a pupil in a course of preparation for college, was early admitted to a free and familiar participation in these interesting conversations—a participation which he embraced more readily, and enjoyed more fully, from the fact that he found from the beginning that his feelings and views, in all essentials, corresponded with those of his excellent and honored friend. This subject of conversation and state of feeling having originated as detailed above, were spoken of but seldom for some time, and then the whole scheme of benevolence, when presented, seemed to be like stating a vast problem—novel and indefinite in nature—difficult of solution, but promising important results. The writer was located in Lawrenceville in 1807, and soon became much engaged in professional labors, but his family relatives living in the vicinity of Mr. Finley, his attachment to him being very strong, and the judicatories of the church frequently meeting in those districts, an opportunity was afforded for keeping up this familiarity, and renewing those interviews upon the subject of some plan of benevolence of a public and decisive character connected with the African population. The kindred subject of manumission was, about the same period, and had been some time pre-

viously, kept before the public mind by the people and by the press. The Legislature of New Jersey, having discussed the subject year after year, passed an act ultimately securing universal emancipation in the State. Its cardinal feature consisted in placing all colored children born after 1804 in a state of apprenticeship and entitling them to freedom, the females at twenty-one years of age and males at twenty-five. This legal arrangement, completely and forever abolished slavery in the State of New Jersey.

The dormant project of colonization was revived and strengthened by that enactment. The whole enterprise received a favorable impulse; and although the subject was little thought of in general, yet the few who had conceived the idea at first, cherished it more warmly and felt fresh courage. The subject was seldom mentioned, but to deplore the state of the colored population at the South, and to improve public sentiment at the North.

About the year 1812 we had the satisfaction of discovering that there were quite a number of brethren in the Synod of New York and New Jersey who cherished feelings on this subject, in some points, analogous to our own. Among these may be named the Rev. Drs. James Richards and E. D. Griffin, then of Newark; Dr. John McDowell, of Elizabethtown; Rev. Barnabas King, of Rockaway; Rev. John Ford, of Parsippany; together with the Rev. Drs. John B. Romeyn, and Gardiner Spring, and others of New York. Several honorable laymen were enrolled in

this catalogue. Hon. Jos. C. Hornblower, John E. Caldwell, Esqr., Zachariah Lewis, and Col. John Neilson. These benevolent gentlemen, and others, had their attention directed to the work of establishing an *African school*, under the care of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, to educate and prepare young men of color to labor as missionaries on the African coast, or wherever they might be called. Such a seminary was instituted under the patronage of that Synod, after the organization of the Colonization Society, as the synodical records will show. It was located at Parsippany, under the care of the Rev. John Ford, of that place. A few respectable and promising candidates were brought forward by it, and commissioned for the work intended. Difficulties, however, of so serious and obstinate a nature, speedily occurred in the management of this school, that after a short experiment its founders and warm supporters became discouraged, and advised the Synod to discontinue it.

Through this period the subject of colonization was never made the theme of any popular discussion, and the writer cannot recollect that it was ever mentioned in any public meeting connected with African improvement. It reposed in the breasts of a few quietly, but was never forgotten. With them the great idea was gathering strength from the observation of passing events; years elapsed and at length opportunities were embraced at the semi-annual and *pro-nata* meetings of the Presbytery of New Bruns-

wick for holding interesting conferences on this subject, and others akin to it.

These were some of the elementary primary meetings which kept the colonization scheme alive, and nursed it into being. Here, it must be mentioned, that the Rev. George S. Woodhull, then of Cranberry, a man of remarkable coolness, and calmness of temperament, came into this incipient colonization enterprise with great zeal and devotion. He, too, was well known to the writer as an early and original opposer of slavery; quiet and unobtrusive, but firm and immutable in what he believed to be right. In colonization he was never prominent, but he never wavered till death removed him from all further participation in it. But Dr. Finley was the *Magnus Apollo* then—his name is now the polar star, and it will be, under God, the *pillar of cloud* for ever.

Some reasons, of a providential character, influenced in not calling a public meeting thus early to discuss this matter. So far as any judgment could be formed upon the subject, from some private confidential remarks, it was considered by most men so visionary a project, that no good could be expected from any public meeting, but perhaps some effects of a contrary nature. It was believed that the recent State action in New Jersey, which was recognized and appreciated in the periodicals and newspapers of our own and neighboring States, was exerting a very salutary influence wherever it became known.

Witnessing this happy and reasonable extension of influence, favorable to the cause of emancipation in

general, it was judged wise to wait, watch, and gently assist, the progress of public opinion, without attracting general observation. Every year exhibited evidence of advance in the good work of forming a healthful public sentiment, in regard to extending liberty and kindred benefits to the African race scattered widely abroad in these United States, and existing in great numbers in Africa. About the years 1814-'15, the period seemed to have arrived when a move might be safely made to disclose and carry out the thoughts which had been so long confined and laboring in our minds.

The great revival of 1815, at Basking Ridge, had recently come to a happy close, and left the people there in a quiet state; but the health of the preacher was very much shattered by excessive effort during many months past. A temporary suspension of his ministerial labors was absolutely necessary. Though resolute in spirit, he felt the need of this measure, and determined to devote the period of relaxation to the furtherance of the colonization cause. Hence Mr. Finley began to be less reserved on this interesting subject, which had very much engrossed his philanthropic mind for some years.

The following letter to Jno. P. Mumford, in New York, will exhibit, in some measure, the current of his thoughts, and the state of his mind, in relation to this matter; even in the midst of the revival, which was progressing through the winter of 1815-'16, and whose responsibilities and labors were so exceedingly engrossing and exhausting at the time of writing it.

*Basking Ridge, February 14, 1816.**

MR. JOHN P. MUMFORD,

Dear Sir:—The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patient sacrifice labor to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject the state of the *free blacks* has very much oppressed my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their color, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly ameliorated, while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a *colony* on some part of *Africa*, similar to the one at *Sierra Leone*, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support, till they were established? Ought not Congress to be petitioned to grant them a district in a good climate, say on the shores of the Pacific Ocean? Our fathers brought them here, and we are bound, if possible to repair the injuries inflicted by our fathers. Could they be sent back to Africa, a three-fold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them;—we should send to Africa

* This letter we find transcribed into Dr. Alexander's "History of African Colonization," on pages 77 and 78. There are two or three unaccountable errors in the transcript. First—It is dated February 15, 1815, one year too early. Second—It is addressed to John O. Mumford; whereas, it should be as appeared by the original in my possession. John P. Mumford,—dated February 14, 1816.

a population partially civilized and christianized for its benefit:—our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation. Think much on this subject—then please write to me when you have leisure.

I am, Dear Sir, Yours, &c.,

ROBERT FINLEY.

When the ensuing spring opened he became more extensively interested in this subject, more free in communicating his views of it, and more active in endeavoring, by conversation and correspondence, to engage in its favor, persons of talents, wealth and piety, in church and state. Through the following summer, in general, and especially in his occasional excursions from home, and interviews with his brethren in the ministry, this subject appeared to be uniformly uppermost in his thoughts, and was the chief topic of conversation. In his applications to individuals for advice and assistance, he met with very little direct opposition. The few gentlemen with whom he had intercourse, in relation to this object, approved the plan, so far as it was then understood; but, at the same time, a general impression prevailed, that the whole scheme, though benevolent and noble, was visionary and impracticable. At length the subject which he had deeply considered, and the opinions of his friends whom he had consulted, furnished so much encouragement, that he resolved to make a great effort to carry his benevolent views into effect. An important question was then to be decided: in what place and in what manner would it be best to commence active operations in pursuing the proposed

object? In contemplating this preliminary inquiry and making additional preparatory arrangements, he spent a considerable part of the fall of 1816. Towards the close of November, he became determined to test the popularity, and in some measure the practicability of the whole system, by introducing the subject to public notice, at the City of Washington.

Notwithstanding Dr. Finley's previous reflection and consultation with a few friends about home, he felt timid and somewhat doubtful as to the success of his plan. To obtain the opinion of some gentlemen of distinction, who had never participated in the deliberations above described, he called at Princeton on his way to Washington, about the 1st of December, 1816; and during the evening spent there, met a small company of gentlemen, invited by himself, that he might hear their sentiments on a subject he had every reason to believe entirely new to them. This was the meeting which Dr. Alexander describes, page 80 of his work, as "the first public meeting which ever took place to consider the subject of African colonization in this country." Having very recently, about three years before, come into New Jersey, and having been much absorbed in organizing the Theological Seminary during that short period, he had, of course, enjoyed very little opportunity to ascertain the private opinions of gentlemen living around some distance in the country, or learning the history of their transactions in past years, both before and after his settlement at Princeton, hence he would naturally come to that conclusion.

Of that meeting, it is observed by Dr. Alexander, page 80, "It was *called by Dr. Finley*. The meeting was small. But in the number of attendants, were most of the Professors of the College and of the Theological Seminary. It was apparent that the interest of those to whom *the scheme was made known*, was increased the longer they thought upon it."

Dr. Finley arrived at Washington very early in December. He immediately published his thoughts which follow. This document was viewed as evidence of a strong, benevolent and active mind, exploring a new and interesting subject; exhibiting its difficulties, advantages, and various points of interest, in so distinct, judicious and impressive a manner, that subsequent speakers and writers upon the subjects discussed, have added but few prominent ideas to those there presented. This paper excited much attention, and exerted considerable influence on the public mind. The subject of colonization, so far as Dr. Finley could discover, was almost entirely novel, and utterly unexpected at that time. He called upon the President of the United States, upon Hon. William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, upon the Hon. Henry Clay, and several other gentlemen of talents and prominence. Not one of them opposed his plan; most of them promised to attend a meeting on the subject, the time for which was announced. The Hon. H. Clay was prompt in his declarations, attentions and actions, in favor of the institution as soon as the subject was proposed, and continued his zeal for it till the close of his life.

CHAPTER V.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, IN CONGRESS HALL, DECEMBER 21ST, 1816—HENRY CLAY PRESIDED—HIS SPEECH—ADDRESS OF E. B. CALDWELL, AND OTHERS—RESOLUTIONS—ADJOURNED MEETING—CONSTITUTION ADOPTED—OFFICERS APPOINTED—DR. FINLEY'S HEALTH IMPROVED.

AT the first meeting in the Congressional Hall, on the 21st of December, the Hon. Henry Clay was called to the Chair. Before taking his seat, he addressed the meeting in the following terms, as reported in the *Intelligencer*, viz :

“He understood the object of the present meeting to be to consider the propriety and practicability of colonizing the *free people of color** in the United States, and of forming an association in relation to that object. That class of the mixed population of our country was peculiarly situated. They neither enjoyed the immunities of free men, nor were they subject to the incapacities of slaves, but partook in some degree of the qualities of both. From their

* We see here in the first step taken towards the organization of the Colonization Society, all interference with slaves and slavery is disavowed. This Society deals with freemen and freemen alone. It leaves the individual States, according to the Constitution, to manage their slaves and slavery system, in their own preferred way. And it leaves the rights and immunities of slave owners entirely untouched.

condition, and the unconquerable prejudices resulting from their color, they never could amalgamate with the free whites of this country. It was desirable, therefore, both as it respected them and the residue of the population of the country to draw them off. Various schemes of colonization had been thought of, and a part of our own continent it was thought by some might furnish a suitable establishment for them, but for his part he had a decided preference for some part of the coast of Africa. There, ample provision might be made for the colony itself, and it might be rendered instrumental to the introduction into that extensive quarter of the globe of the arts, civilization and Christianity. There was a peculiar, a moral fitness, in restoring them to the land of their fathers. And, if instead of the evils and sufferings which we have been the innocent cause of inflicting upon the inhabitants of Africa, we can transmit to her the blessings of our arts, our civilization, and our religion; may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate continent? We should derive much encouragement in the prosecution of the object which had assembled us together, by the success which had attended the colony at Sierra Leone. The establishment had commenced about twenty or twenty-five years ago, under the patronage of private individuals in Great Britain. The basis of the population of the colony consisted of the fugitive slaves of the Southern States during the Revolutionary war, who had first been carried to Nova Scotia, and who after-

wards, about the year 1792, upon their own application, almost en masse, had been transferred to the Western Coast of Africa. The colony after struggling with the most unheard of difficulties,—difficulties resulting from the ignorance, barbarity and prejudice of the natives, from the climate, (which were however found to be not at all insurmountable,) from wars, African as well as European, and such as are incidental to all new settlements, had made a gradual and steady progress until it has acquired a strength and stability which promises to crown the efforts of its founders with complete success. We have their experience before us, and can there be a nobler cause than that which while it proposes to rid our own country of a useless and pernicious, if not a dangerous portion of its population, contemplates the spreading of the arts of civilized life, and the possible redemption from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted portion of the globe?

“It was proper and necessary distinctly to state, that he understood it constituted no part of the object of this meeting to touch or agitate in the slightest degree a delicate question connected with another portion of the colored population of our country. It was not proposed to deliberate on, or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or that which was connected with the abolition of slavery. It was upon that condition alone, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the South and West whom he saw present, had attended, or could be expected to co-operate. It was upon that condition that he himself attended.

He would only further add, that he hoped in their deliberations they would be guided by that moderation, politeness and deference for the opinion of each other, which were essential to any useful result. But when he looked around and saw the respectable assemblage, and recollected the humane and benevolent purpose which had produced it, he felt it unnecessary to insist further on this topic."

Elias B. Caldwell, Esqr., Secretary of the Supreme Court of the United States, next addressed the meeting in substance as follows, viz :

"I feel peculiar embarrassment in obtruding myself upon the notice of so large and respectable a meeting, in which I find some of the most distinguished characters of our country. I ask your indulgence in offering to the consideration of the meeting, the resolution which I hold in my hand, and to a few explanatory observations. The objects of the meeting have been feelingly and correctly stated by the honorable chairman. The subject seems to be divided into 1st, the expediency—and 2dly the practicability of the proposed plan.

"The expediency of colonizing the free people of color in the United States, may be considered in reference to its influence on our civil institutions, on the morals and habits of the people, and on the future happiness of the free people of color. It has been a subject of unceasing regret, and anxious solicitude, among many of our best patriots, and wisest statesmen, from the first establishment of our independence, that this class of people should remain a monument of

reproach to those sacred principles of civil liberty which constitute the foundations of all our constitutions. We say in the Declaration of Independence 'that all men are created equal, and have certain unalienable rights.' Yet it is considered impossible, consistently with the safety of the State, and it is certainly impossible with the present feelings towards these people, that they can ever be placed upon this equality, or admitted to the enjoyment of these 'unalienable rights,' while they remain mixed with us. Some persons may declaim and call it prejudice. No matter! Prejudice is as powerful a motive, and will as certainly exclude them, as the soundest reason. Others may say they are free enough. If this is a matter of opinion, let them judge—if of reason, let it be decided by our repeated and solemn declarations, in all our public acts. This state of society unquestionably tends, in various ways, to injure the morals, and destroy the habits of industry among our people. This will be acknowledged by every person who has paid any attention to the subject, and it seems to be so generally admitted that it would promote the happiness and the interests of the people, to provide a place where these people might be settled by themselves, that it is unnecessary to dwell on this branch of the subject.

“As to the blacks, it is manifest that their interest and happiness would be promoted by collecting them together where they would enjoy equal rights and privileges with those around them. A state of degradation is necessarily a state of unhappiness. It de-

bases the mind, it damps the energies of the soul, and represses every vigorous effort towards moral or intellectual greatness. How can you expect from them anything great or noble, without the motives to stimulate, or the rewards to crown, great and noble achievements? It not only prevents their climbing the steep and rugged paths of fame, but it prevents the enjoyment of the true happiness of calm contentment, satisfied with enjoying but a part of what we possess, of using only a portion of what is in our power. Take away, however, the portion that is not used, and it immediately becomes the object of our fondest desires. The more you endeavor to improve the condition of these people, the more you cultivate their minds, (unless by religious instruction,) the more miserable you make them, in their present state. You give them a higher relish for those privileges, which they can never attain, and you turn what we intend for a blessing into a curse. No, if they must remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of degradation and ignorance. The more you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy. Surely, Americans ought to be the last people on earth to advocate such slavish doctrines; to cry peace and contentment to those who are deprived of the privileges of civil liberty. They who have so largely partaken of its blessings, who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be the foremost to extend it to others." Mr. Caldwell proceeds—

“I will consider the practicability of colonization

under three heads—the territory, the expense, and the probability of obtaining their consent.

1. The territory. Various plans have been mentioned by different persons. A situation within our own territory would certainly possess some considerable advantage. It would be more immediately under the eye and control of our own government. But there are some real and some apprehended evils to encounter. Many apprehend that they might hereafter join the Indians, or the nations bordering on our frontiers, in case of war, if they were placed so near us—that the colony would become the asylum of fugitives and runaway slaves. Added to these difficulties, there are inveterate prejudices against such a plan in so large a portion of the country, which it would be impossible to overcome or remove. Upon mature reflection, with all the light that has yet been shed upon the subject, I believe it will be found that Africa will be liable to the fewest objections. A territory might, no doubt, be procured there; the climate is best adapted to their constitution, and they could live cheaper. But, Mr. Chairman, I have a greater and nobler object in view in desiring them to be placed in Africa. It is the belief that through them civilization and the Christian religion would be introduced into that benighted quarter of the world. It is the hope of redeeming many millions from the lowest state of superstition and ignorance, and restoring them to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Great and powerful as are the other motives of this measure, (and I acknowledge them to be of

sufficient magnitude to attract the attention, and to call for the united efforts of this nation) in my opinion, and you will find it the opinion of a large class of the community, all other motives are small and trifling, compared with the hope of spreading among them the knowledge of the gospel. From the importance of this view of the subject, permit me to enlarge a little upon it. Whatever may be the difference of opinion among the different denominations of Christians, I believe they will all be found to unite in the belief, that the scriptures predict a time when the Gospel of Jesus Christ shall be spread over every part of the world—shall be acknowledged by every nation, and perhaps shall influence every heart. The opinion is, perhaps as general, that this glorious and happy day is near at hand. The great movements and mighty efforts in the moral and religious world seem to indicate some great design of Providence on the eve of accomplishment. The unexampled and astonishing success attending the numerous and various plans which have been devised, and which are in operation now in different parts of the world, and the union and harmony with which Christians of different denominations unite in promoting these plans, clearly indicate a divine hand in their direction. Nay, sir, the subject on which we are now deliberating has been brought to public view, nearly at the same time, in different parts of our country. In New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, and perhaps other places not known to me, the public attention seems to have been awakened, as from a slumber, to

this subject. The belief that I have mentioned leads Christians to look with anxious solicitude, and joyful hope, to every movement which they believe to be instrumental in accomplishing the great designs of Providence. They will receive your proposal with joy and support it with zeal; and, permit me to say, that it will be of no small consequence to gain the zealous support and co-operation of this portion of the community.

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

part of the glory and honor which cannot fail of attending the accomplishment of a work so great, so interesting, and which will tend so much to diffuse the blessings of civil liberty, and promote the happiness of man.

Among the objections which have been made, I must confess that I am most surprised at one which seems to be prevalent, to wit, that these people will be unwilling to be colonized. What, sir, are they not men? Will they not be actuated by the same motives of interest and ambition, which influence other men? or will they prefer remaining in a hopeless state of degradation for themselves and their children, to the prospect of the full enjoyment of their civil rights and a state of equality? What brought our ancestors to these shores? They had no friendly hand to lead them—no powerful arm to protect them. They left the land of their nativity, the sepulchres of their fathers, the comforts of civilized society, and all the endearments of friends, and relatives, and early associations—to traverse the ocean, to clear the forests, to encounter all the hardships of a new settlement, and to brave the dangers of the tomahawk and scalping-knife. How many were destroyed! Sometimes whole settlements cut off by disease and hunger, by the treachery and cruelty of the savages; yet were they not discouraged. What is it impels many Europeans daily to seek our shores, and to sell themselves—for the prime of their life—to defray the expenses of their passages? It is that ruling, imperious desire, planted in the breast of every man—

the desire of liberty, of standing upon an equality with his fellow-men. If we were to add to these motives, the offer of land, and to aid in the expense of emigration and of first settling—they cannot be so blind to their own interests, so devoid of every generous and noble feeling, as to hesitate about accepting the offer. It is not a matter of speculation and opinion only. It has been satisfactorily ascertained, that numbers will gladly accept of the invitation. And when once the colony is formed and flourishing, all other obstacles will be easily removed. It is for us to make the experiment and the offer; we shall then, and not till then, have discharged our duty. It is a plan in which all interests, all classes and descriptions of people may unite, in which all discord and feelings may be lost in those of humanity—in promoting “peace on earth and good will to men.”

This speaker having concluded, the Hon. John Randolph followed, and began by saying: “That it had been properly observed by the chairman, that there was nothing in the proposition submitted to consideration which, in the smallest degree, touched another very important and delicate question, which ought to be left as much out of view as possible. But it appeared to him, that it had not been sufficiently insisted on, with a view to obtain the cooperation of all the citizens of the United States—not only that this meeting does not, in any wise, affect the question of Negro slavery, but, as far as it goes, must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the United States over his slaves.

It appeared to him, that this aspect of the question had not been sufficiently presented to the public view. It was a notorious fact, that the existence of this mixed and intermediate population of free negroes was viewed by every slaveholder as one of the greatest sources of the insecurity and unprofitableness of slave property;—that they serve to excite in their fellow-beings a feeling of discontent, of repining at their situation, and they act as channels of communication, not only between different slaves, but between the slaves of different districts;—that they are the depositories of stolen goods, and the promoters of mischief. In a worldly point of view, then, without entering into the general question, and apart from those higher and nobler motives which had been presented to the meeting, the owners of slaves were interested in providing a retreat for this part of our population. There was no fear that this proposition would alarm them;—they had been accustomed to think seriously of the subject. There was a popular work on Agriculture, by John Taylor, of Caroline county, which was widely circulated, and much confided in, in Virginia. In that book, much read, because coming from a practical man, this description of people was pointed out as a great evil. If a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay, thousands of citizens, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant upon their possession.”

The Hon. Robert Wright, of Maryland, added a

few remarks, as follows: "That he could not withhold his approbation from a measure that had for its object, the melioration of the lot of any portion of the human race, particularly of the free people of color, whose degraded state robs them of the happiness of self-government, so dear to the American people. And," said he, "as I discover the most delicate regard to the rights of property, I shall with great pleasure lend my aid to restore this unfortunate people to the enjoyment of their liberty; but I fear gentlemen are too sanguine in their expectations—that they would be willing to abandon the land of their nativity, so dear to man. However, I have the disposition to give them that election, by furnishing all the means contemplated. But while we wish to promote the happiness of these free people of color, we ought to take care not to furnish the means of transporting out of the reach of the master his property."

These addresses being concluded, Elias B. Caldwell, Esqr., offered the following resolutions, to wit:

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

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

committee to present a respectful memorial to Congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as may be thought most advisable for procuring a territory in Africa, or elsewhere, suitable for the colonization of the free people of color.

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

On motion, the assembly adjourned to meet on the next Saturday, in the Hall of the House of Representatives.*

The committee appointed for the purpose, at the adjourned meeting on the following Saturday, reported the following constitution, which was unanimously adopted, viz. :

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called "The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States."

ARTICLE II. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan, for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other places as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this ob-

* Before the adjournment, it was, "On motion of Mr. Herbert, resolved unanimously, that the Rev. Robert Finley be requested to close the meeting with an address to the Throne of Grace."

ject, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

ARTICLE III. Every citizen of the United States, who shall subscribe these articles and be an annual contributor of one dollar to the funds of the Society, shall be a member. On paying a sum not less than thirty dollars, at one subscription, he shall be a member for life.

ARTICLE IV. The officers of this Society shall be, a President, thirteen Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Recorder—and a Board of Managers, composed of the above-named officers, and twelve other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, at their annual meeting on New Year's day, (except when that happens to be the Sabbath, and then the next day,) and continue to discharge their respective duties till others are appointed.

ARTICLE V. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers; and to call meetings of the Society and of the Board, when he thinks it necessary, or when requested by any three members of the Board.

ARTICLE VI. The Vice-Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge these duties in the absence of the President.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretary shall take minutes of the proceedings, prepare and publish notices, and discharge such other duties as the Board, or the Presi-

dent, or in his absence the Vice-President according to seniority, (when the Board is not sitting,) shall direct. And the Recorder shall record the proceedings and the names of the members, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ARTICLE VIII. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the Society, under such security as may be prescribed by the Board of Managers; keep the accounts, and exhibit a statement of receipts and expenditures, at every annual meeting; and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ARTICLE IX. The Board of Managers shall meet on the first Monday in January, the first Monday in April, the first Monday in July, and the first Monday in October, every year, and at such other times as the President may direct. They shall conduct the business of the Society, and take such measures for effecting its object as they shall think proper, or shall be directed at the meetings of the Society, and make an annual report of their proceedings. They shall also fill up all vacancies occurring during the year, and make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary; provided the same are not repugnant to this Constitution.

ARTICLE X. Every society which shall be formed in the United States to aid in the object of this association, and which shall co-operate with its funds for the purposes thereof, agreeably to the rules and regulations of this Society, shall be considered auxiliary thereto; and its officers shall be entitled to

attend and vote at all the meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers.

The Society being now constituted, by the unanimous adoption of these Articles, met on the first day of January, 1817, and elected the following officers:

President—Hon. Bushrod Washington.

Vice-Presidents—Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Hon. William Phillips, of Massachusetts; Col. Henry Rutgers, of New York; Hon. John E. Howard, Hon. Samuel Smith, and the Hon. John C. Herbert, of Maryland; John Taylor, Esqr., of Virginia; Gen. And. Jackson, of Tennessee; Robert Ralston and Richard Rush, Esqrs., of Pennsylvania; Gen. John Mason, of District of Columbia; Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey.

Secretary—E. B. Caldwell.

Recording Secretary—W. G. D. Worthington.

Treasurer—David English.

Measures were commenced immediately by the Society, for bringing this subject as speedily as possible before Congress, in a respectful *memorial*, requesting them to procure a territory in *Africa*, or *elsewhere*, suitable for the colonization of the free people of color.

This noble organization was then complete. It is one of which Americans may well be proud. The day which gave it birth, commenced a new era in the history of the abolition of African bondage,*

* Though designed to colonize only *free* people of color, it opened an easy and safe channel for emancipation to those masters (and there were many such) who desired to free their slaves.

degradation, and wretchedness, in the free republic of America. It opens a wide extended field for noble enterprise and ambition in the march of American benevolence. The man who conceived this beneficent plan, or in any considerable degree excited the impulse and directed the movements which resulted in the formation of the Society above referred to—let the system instituted prosper or perish—deserves to be placed with Clarkson and Wilberforce, with Howard and Thornton, among the distinguished lovers and benefactors of mankind. *Finley*, in the hand of God, is believed to have been that man.

It was regarded as an auspicious circumstance, in this business, and a source of much gratification, that the name of *Washington*—with which we are accustomed to associate everything wise and patriotic in council, magnanimous and beneficent in action—was placed at the head of this great Colonization Society.

Dr. Finley's journey to the seat of Government, and his continued exertions there for several successive weeks, proved very beneficial to his health;—and the complete success which crowned his efforts, gave so pleasing an excitement to his spirits, that he returned home in a state of mind and body much invigorated and improved.

CHAPTER VI.

ARRIVES AT PHILADELPHIA—OPERATIONS THERE—ESTABLISHES AN AUXILIARY IN TRENTON, NEW JERSEY—RECEIVED AN INVITATION AT WASHINGTON TO SETTLE THERE—DECLINED—CAPT. PAUL CUFFEE'S LETTER—LETTER OF E. B. CALDWELL AND OTHERS—COPY OF HIS THOUGHTS ON COLONIZATION AFTERWARDS PUBLISHED.

ON his return from Washington to Philadelphia, he was much grieved to find the people of color in that city filled with painful alarms and apprehensions, respecting the nature and object of the Colonization Society, so recently instituted at Washington. The suspicions and fears of these people had been excited in a very considerable degree, by means of mistaken or mischievous statements received among them, purporting to have been communicated from Washington, and representing in substance, that the Society established there was designed to remove the free people of color in a forcible manner from this country, without making provision for their support and comfort. Their prejudice thus inspired, had unhappily been strengthened by erroneous suggestions from certain persons residing in the city. This unhappy state of things Mr. Finley endeavored immediately to remedy, by his personal presence and influence.

The following representation of the measures he

adopted for that purpose, has been obligingly furnished by a gentleman who received the statement from himself, and of whose correctness there can be no reasonable doubt:—

“Dr. Finley had been on a visit to Washington. Having returned as far as Philadelphia, he there met the Rev. John Gloucester, and from conversation with him, found that there was a considerable perturbation in the minds of the people of color, produced by the proceedings at Washington relative to their colonization. This was immediately after public notice of this business had been taken at Washington. A meeting of the people of color had been called at Philadelphia, and a committee of twelve had been appointed by them, to take this subject into consideration. Dr. Finley requested an interview with this committee, and obtained it—eleven out of the twelve attending. He found that they were considerably alarmed at the proposed plan of colonization, and strongly prejudiced against it, suspecting that some purpose injurious to their class of people was hidden under it. He spent nearly an hour in conversing with them on that point, endeavoring to remove their fears and prejudices, pointing them to the character of the gentlemen who advocated the scheme, and showing the advantages which would probably result from it. At length they declared themselves fully satisfied as to this point, that the designs of the gentlemen who proposed and advocated the scheme were benevolent and good, and that the thing in itself was desirable for them.

“Having removed this difficulty, the next question was, Where will be a suitable place for colonization? On this point there was a division: some thought they should have a part of our back and uncultivated lands allowed them; others thought Africa would be the most suitable place. Two names in particular I recollect he mentioned as decided on this last point—John Foster and Richard Allen. J. F., he observed, was animated on the subject. He said their people would become a great nation: he pointed to Hayti, and declared it as his opinion that their people could not always be detained in their present bondage; he remarked on the peculiarly oppressive situation of his people in our land—observing that neither riches nor education could put them on a level with the whites, and the more wealthy and the better informed any of them became, the more wretched they were made; for they felt their degradation more acutely. *He* gave it as his decided opinion that Africa was the proper place for a colony. He observed to those present, that should they settle anywhere in the vicinity of the whites, their condition must become before many years as bad as it now is, since the white population is continually rolling back, and ere long they must be encompassed again with whites.

“R. A. spoke with warmth on some oppressions which they suffer from the whites, and spoke warmly in favor of colonization in Africa—declaring that were he young he would go himself. He spoke of the advantages of the colony of Sierra Leone, and highly of Paul Cuffee. He considered the present plan of

colonization as holding out great advantages for the blacks who are now young.

“The committee of whom I speak were of the most respectable class of blacks. So far as I recollect, this is the substance of what Dr. Finley told me. As far as I have gone, you may rely on *facts*.”

This communication is introduced chiefly to show with what steadfastness, solicitude, and indefatigable diligence Mr. Finley prosecuted this noble object. It may teach us also with what sentiments this benevolent system will probably be viewed by the more enlightened, moral, and respectable part of the people of color, in cool, dispassionate, and reflecting moments, when their suspicion and prejudice are in some measure removed by proper explanations of the nature and design, benefits and prospects of this society.

Mr. Finley arrived at home about the middle of January, 1817. The legislature of New Jersey were then in session, which usually attracts to the seat of government a considerable number of respectable individuals, besides the representatives from the several counties in the State. Deeply interested in the progress of the colonization scheme, and anxious to embrace every opportunity of prosecuting its interests, after a short repose at home, he visited Trenton, with a view to attempt the formation of a subordinate colonization society for the State of New Jersey.* On

* The following memorial which had been previously printed and circulated, will suggest to the reader another motive that influenced Mr. Finley in the visit here mentioned:—

his arrival at the seat of government, he found existing a spirit of indifference to this great object, bordering, in some instances, on hostility. After he had spent some time in endeavoring to remove these prejudices, and to conciliate those who appeared to be indifferent or disaffected, a public meeting was held in the State House, at which, notwithstanding the extreme inclemency of the weather, a number of the principal citizens of Trenton, many members of the legislature, and a considerable number of gentlemen of distinction from different parts of the State at-

“ To the Honorable the Legislature of New Jersey.

“The Memorial and Petition of the subscribers, inhabitants of New Jersey, showeth that they have viewed with great interest and concern the present condition and future prospects of the free people of color in this and our sister States. While the love of liberty, and the feelings of humanity have produced the emancipation of a great number of these people, and are gradually effecting the freedom of the rest; it is with much regret that your petitioners observe the degraded situation in which those who have been freed from slavery remain—and from a variety of considerations, will probably remain while they continue among the whites.

“To enable them to rise to that condition to which they are entitled by the laws of God and nature, it appears desirable, and even necessary, to separate them from their former masters, and place them in some favorable situation by themselves—*perhaps in Africa, the land of their fathers.* It is therefore respectfully requested of the legislature to instruct, by resolution or otherwise, the senators and representatives from the State of New Jersey, to lay before the Congress, at their next meeting, as a subject of consideration, the expediency of forming a colony on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, where such of the people of color as are now free, or may be hereafter set free, may with their own consent be removed: and your petitioners will, as in duty bound, ever pray.”

tended. The proposal for establishing a colonization society,* *auxiliary* to that formed at Washington, was agreed to ; a plan of a constitution for the same was prepared and adopted, and officers were appointed for the ensuing year.

The following extract from a letter, received by Mr. Finley from *Paul Cuffee*, will be read with interest :—

“ WESTPORT, *First month* (January) 8, 1817.

“ I received thy letter of the 5th ult. not in time to answer thee at Washington. I observed in the printed petition in thy letter, the great and laborious task *you are engaged in*, and my desires are that you may be guided by wisdom’s best means. I stand as it were in a low place, and am not able to see far. But, blessed be God, who hath created all things, and who is able to make use of instruments as best pleaseth Him, and may I be resigned to his holy will. The population of *Sierra Leone*, in 1811, was two thousand, and one thousand in the suburbs. Since that time they have not been numbered ;—but from 1811 to 1815, I think the colony has much improved. They are entitled to *every privilege of free-born citizens, and fill stations in their courts.*”

The society for colonizing the free people of color, established at Washington, December 1816, held its first anniversary, on Thursday the first of January,

* This society was neglected for some years—the minutes lost—afterwards revived at Princeton ; and is now in operation.

1818, in the chamber of the House of Representatives. The appropriate address with which the Hon. Bushrod Washington, president of the society, opened the meeting, presents the following valuable and pleasing intimations, with regard to the operations and prospects of the society :—

“ From every quarter of the United States, the aspirations of good men have been breathed to Heaven for the success of our future labors.

“ Among a small but opulent society of slaveholders in Virginia, a subscription has been raised by the zealous exertions of a few individuals, of such magnitude as to illustrate the extent of the funds which we may hope hereafter to command, and to induce a confident hope that our labors will be awarded by the willing contributions of a generous and enlightened people.

“ Other public spirited individuals have forborne to make similar efforts, until the success of our preparatory measures shall have been clearly ascertained.

“ The society have engaged two agents to explore the Western coasts of Africa, and to collect such information as may assist the government of the United States in selecting a suitable district on that continent for the proposed settlement. The performance of this preliminary duty has been confided to Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess, gentlemen possessing all the qualifications requisite for the important trust confided to them; and their report may reasonably be expected before the next annual meeting of the society.”

The following interesting paragraphs are extracted from the first annual report of the Board of Managers, read at the anniversary of the society :—

“ The first step of the Board of Managers was to present a memorial to Congress at their last session, which, with the report of the committee to whom it was referred, is now laid before the society. The nature and novelty of the subject, not less than the mass of business which engaged the deliberations of that body, did not permit them to pursue the report.

“ We are happy to state that auxiliary societies* have been formed in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Virginia, and Ohio; and the Board have received information of the intention of forming other societies in different parts of the country. The extension of these auxiliaries is of the first importance, as it is by their means the public mind must be enlightened on the great and important objects of the society; and it is through them, in some measure, the necessary funds must be drawn for its support.”

With regard to the objection founded on the “supposed repugnance of the colonists,” this report furnishes the following animated information.

“ The Managers have ascertained that there are numbers of the highest standing for intelligence and respectability among that class of people, who are warmly in favor of the plan, from a conviction that it will, if accomplished, powerfully co-operate in

* To this number might have been added the auxiliary society of New Jersey—which was the first ever formed, in the order of time, about the middle of January, 1817, at Trenton.

placing the situation of their brethren here and in Africa, in that scale of happiness and respectability among the nations of the earth, from which they have long been degraded.

“Offers of service have been received from many worthy and influential individuals of their own color, and from a number of families from different parts of the United States, to become the first settlers in the colony whenever a suitable situation shall be procured. The Managers can with confidence state their belief, that they would have no difficulty in procuring individuals among them worthy of trust and confidence, to explore the country if necessary, and to plant a colony of sufficient strength to secure its safety and prosperity. This being accomplished, there can be no difficulty in presenting its importance to their brethren, in such a manner, and with such unquestionable testimony, as must command their fullest confidence.”

The manner in which the death of Dr. Finley is noticed in the close of this report is particularly gratifying.

“The managers cannot pass the occasion without noticing the death of the Rev. Dr. Finley, one of the vice presidents, during the past year. The deep interest which he took in the success of the society, and the zeal he displayed in its formation, are well known to many present. In his last sickness, he was much gratified upon receiving information of the progress of the society, and of its prospects of success. It gave consolation to his last moments. When we view the

society in this early stage of its proceedings, as animating the hopes and cheering the prospects of the dying Christian who had been engaged in its service, when we view it as consecrated by the prayers of the pious, may we not be led with humble confidence to look to the good hand of an overruling Providence to guide its deliberations? May we not expect the benedictions of millions yet unborn shall bless its anniversary?"

At this anniversary the following important intelligence was communicated in a concise address by the eloquent and humane Mercer, of Virginia, to whose talents, influence, and liberality, this enterprise is encouraged to look with high expectation.

"Many thousand individuals, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained," said Mr. M., "from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity without manifest injury to their country.

"The rapid increase of the free people of color, by which their number was extended in the ten years preceding the last census of the United States from 15 to 30,000, if it has not endangered our peace, has impaired the value of all the private property in a large section of our country. Upon our low lands, said Mr. Mercer, it seems as if some malediction had been shed. The habitations of our fathers have sunk into ruins, the fields which they tilled have become a wilderness. Such is the table land between the valleys of our great rivers. Those newly grown, and

almost impenetrable, thickets, which have succeeded a wretched cultivation, shelter and conceal a banditti, consisting of this degraded, idle, and vicious population, who sally forth from their coverts, beneath the obscurity of night, and plunder the rich proprietors of the valleys. They infest the suburbs of the towns and cities, where they become the depositories of stolen goods, and, schooled by necessity, elude the vigilance of our defective police.

“The laws of Virginia now discourage, and very wisely perhaps, the emancipation of slaves. But the very policy on which they are founded, will afford every facility to emancipation, when the colonization of the slave will be the consequence of his liberation.”

In the course of Mr. Finley's visit at the seat of government he preached frequently, and the people who attended his ministrations in Washington, and its vicinity, became exceedingly pleased and interested in him as a minister of the Gospel. My very respectable correspondent in that city has communicated the following concise and satisfactory statement on that subject.

“During his stay there, Mr. Finley was much engaged in preaching and visiting. He preached in Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, several times, and to the very great acceptance of the people. I never saw a preacher in this District that gained more of the public affection in the short time he was among us. He received a unanimous call to the Presbyterian church in this city, and I believe

would have settled here, but for some previous engagements to Georgia which were urged upon him. The people were greatly disappointed upon hearing that he would not settle among us. Our congregation is small and poor, yet the salary was more than doubled to enable him to come. At a meeting of the committee of the church and the elders, of eight persons, five hundred dollars were subscribed, in addition to their usual subscriptions, to enable Mr. Finley to settle here.”

The following communications from highly respectable gentlemen residing in the District of Columbia, will give a comprehensive, judicious, and candid view, of his transactions during his visit at the *Seat of Government*.

“WASHINGTON, July 8th, 1818.

REV. ISAAC V. BROWN,

“*Dear Sir*: I owe you an apology for my long silence on a subject interesting to me as well as yourself.

“I have been continually under an intention of writing, but have been prevented from time to time, and am now unable to do more than to glance at a few circumstances.

“Mr. Finley arrived in Washington about the 1st of December, 1816. His journey was partly for the benefit of his health, and partly with the intent of visiting Georgia. But one leading design, and one that seemed to be most interesting to him, was the forwarding of the *colonization* plan. Shortly after he

arrived, he opened to me his views on the subject. I had been contemplating the same object from the preceding winter; I was, therefore, prepared to enter at once into his feelings. Immediately after this, he began seriously to make arrangements preparatory to a meeting of the citizens. He visited several Members of Congress, the President, the Heads of Departments, and others. He reviewed a piece, "Thoughts, &c.," which he had written previous to his coming here, which we published, *and which I send you*, with two other pamphlets relative to the same subject. His heart, during the whole of this time, was much engaged, and he said he would cheerfully give out of his limited means, five hundred dollars, to insure the success of the scheme. His conversation and zeal had a considerable influence in collecting people to the meeting, and in conciliating many who at first appeared opposed. He proposed a prayer meeting, for the success of the *meeting*, the evening previous to the day appointed for it, *which* was held, and in which he was earnestly engaged in prayer. The pamphlet accompanying this will give you some view of the subject.

"It will be impossible to form an opinion of what was done at that time, without having a view of the state of the public at the time of bringing forward the question for public consideration. A few persons had barely thought of the subject, but, in general, had hastily dismissed it as wholly impracticable. I believe the greater part of the persons at first assembled, were brought there from curiosity, or by the solicitation of their friends, viewing the scheme as too

chimerical for any rational being to undertake. A very great change was there produced, which has been gradually increasing from that time. *The organization of the society at that time* may be principally attributed to Mr. Finley's presence here, as it was greatly promoted by his zeal, his assiduity, and his knowledge of the subject; as his pamphlet shows that his thoughts had been much occupied with it."

E. B. CALDWELL.

"NOVEMBER 10th, 1818.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR:—

"You ask, sir, what agency Dr. Finley exerted in the formation of the Colonization Society within the District of Columbia? I answer, he was *the sole mover and promoter of it*, nor did he leave the District until *it was organized, and put into operation*. His last public act in the last public meeting, was to make, by the request of Mr. Herbert, then a member of Congress, one of the most solemn prayers for its success. When Mr. Finley came here *I was not acquainted with him*, but he soon developed his ideas to me upon the subject, which you may be sure met with my most decided approbation. He got introductions to the Heads of Departments, and to Mr. Madison himself, told them all what he thought upon the subject, the good he thought would result from it. Some laughed, others wondered, but he remained unshaken in his purpose, and told me once when we were walking together, 'I know this scheme is from God!'

"I must not conceal, however, that in the Virginia assembly, which met that fall, a motion was made to

colonize the free people of color upon the shores of the Pacific Ocean, somewhere near the mouth of the river ———; and I think Mr. Finley's doings here were known to that assembly.

“If this colony should ever be formed in Africa, great injustice will be done to Mr. Finley if, in the history of it, his name be not mentioned as the first mover, and if some town or district in the colony be not called *Finley*.”

These letters, from *eye witnesses* of Mr. Finley's indefatigable efforts, partakers in his counsels and exertions, place his conduct, on that important and interesting occasion, in a just and honorable point of view. Mr. Finley's “Thoughts on the colonization of free blacks,”* are an important and original *production*. The valuable information which it contains—the excellent spirit it breathes—and the traits of originality of matter and manner which it exhibits, render it highly deserving of an insertion in this narrative. Full of thought and of zeal, he brings you at once, without the formality of an introduction, to the main point of discussion. “What shall we do with the free people of color? What can we do for their happiness, consistently with our own, are questions often asked by the thinking mind. The desire to make them happy has often been felt, but the difficulty of devising and accomplishing an efficient plan, has hitherto appeared too great for humanity itself to accomplish. The mind shrunk back from the attempt.

* Referred to in Mr. Caldwell's letter preceding.

The time had not arrived. The servitude of the sons of Ham, *described* by Noah in the spirit of prophecy, concerning the future condition of his posterity, was not terminated. At present, as if by a divine impulse, men of virtue, piety, and reflection, are turning their thoughts to this subject, and seem to see the wished for plan unfolding, *in the gradual separation of the black from the white population, by providing for the former some suitable situation, where they may enjoy the advantages to which they are entitled by nature and their Creator's will.* This is a great subject, and there are several weighty questions connected with it, which deserve a deep consideration.

“Is it a practicable thing to form a colony of free blacks in our own wild lands, or on the coast of Africa?”

“Is it probable that the establishment would be productive of general happiness?”

“What is the most desirable situation for such a settlement? In what manner, and by whom might such a colony be planted with the greatest hope of success?”

“Much wisdom would no doubt be required in arranging a plan of so much magnitude, and some perseverance in executing it and carrying it to perfection. But it cannot be supposed to be among the things which are impracticable, to plant a colony, either of blacks or whites, either in Africa or some remote district of our own country. Most nations have had their colonies. Greece and Rome planted many which grew and flourished, and which, as they grew, added

strength and lustre to the mother country. At the present time there are few nations who have not their foreign settlements, and some of them from year to year are increasing the numbers of their colonies. With what ease is Great Britain transplanting a part of her population, in the remotest regions of the earth, and peopling New Holland—a land destined, like our own, to extend the empire of liberty and Christian blessings to surrounding nations.* It does not appear that it would require much greater skill or labor to form a separate establishment for free blacks in our own distant territories, than it is to form a new State. The people of color, observing the constant emigration of the whites, would soon feel the common impulse, if they could see a place where they might remove, and which they could fondly call their own. Many have both the means and disposition to go to any reasonable distance, or even to a great distance, where they could assume the rank of men, and act their part upon the great theatre of life. Their local attachments are no stronger than those of other men, their ambition no less than that of any other color.

“To colonize them in Africa would be a much more arduous undertaking. The country must be explored,

* “It is a remarkable instance of the mysterious and inscrutable ways of Providence, that the colony of New Holland, which is principally composed of British convicts, has become flourishing; its inhabitants peaceable, orderly and industrious, and, through the instrumentality of missionaries, Christianity is flourishing among them; and, through them, likely to extend civilization, and the benefits of the Christian religion, to the ignorant and superstitious natives of that country and the adjacent islands.”

and some situation chosen, fertile and healthy, expense must be incurred, in fair and honorable purchase from the natives, an honorable appeal *perhaps* be made to the nations of Europe, as to the justice and humanity of our views. An efficient government must, for a time at least, be afforded to the colony—the free blacks must be instructed that it would be to their interest to remove to the land which gave them origin, and instruction provided to raise their minds to that degree of knowledge, which in time would fit them for self government. These difficulties are real, and some of them might be found to be very great, but they are not insurmountable. We have wisdom in our councils, and energy in our government. In such an undertaking, we should have reason and the God of eternal justice on our side. Humanity has many a virtuous son, who would willingly and carefully explore the long line of African coast, which has not fallen under the dominion of any European nation. Their devotedness to their country's interest and glory would make them faithful to their undertaking, and their desire for the happiness of the free people of color, would induce them, if possible, to find a country where health and plenty might be enjoyed. The consent of the chiefs to part with a sufficient portion of soil might be easily obtained, especially when they were informed that the sole design of the colony was to restore their own children, and bring them back, free and happy. From what has often taken place on the coast of Africa, we may be assured that the cost of procuring the right of soil, by fair and just

purchase, would not be great. The expense of conveying the first settlers, of maintaining a sufficient force to protect the colony, and of supplying the wants of the colonists for a short period, might be more considerable. Yet the wisdom of Congress might devise some means of lightening, perhaps of repaying, the cost. Many of the free people of color have property sufficient to transport, and afterwards to establish, themselves. The ships of war might be employed occasionally in this service, while many would indent themselves to procure a passage to the land of their independence. The crews of the national ships which might be from time to time at the colony, would furnish at least a part of that protection which would be necessary for the settlers; and in a little time the trade which the colony would open with the interior, would more than compensate for every expense, if the colony were wisely formed. 'From the single river of Sierra Leone, where there is a colony of free people of color, the imports in Great Britain were nearly, and the exports to the same river, fully equal to the imports and exports, exclusive of the slave trade, of the whole extent of the western coast of Africa, prior to the abolition of that traffic.* To allay the jealousies of other nations, which might arise from our establishing a settlement in Africa, a successful appeal might be made to their justice and humanity. It would be only doing as they have done, should no such appeal be made. Spain has her settlements in Africa—France on the rivers Gambia and Senegal—

*"Ninth Report of African Institution."

Great Britain at Sierra Leone and the Cape—Portugal in Congo and Loango. On the principles of justice, no nation would have a right to interfere with our intentions. Moreover, in this period of the world, when the voice of justice and humanity begins to be listened to with attention, is there not reason to hope that plans, the sole design of which is the benefit of the human race, would be approved in the cabinets of princes, and hailed by the benevolent of all nations? The colony would not suffer for want of instructors in morals, religion, and the useful arts of life. The time at last is come when not a few are imbibing the spirit of Him who came from Heaven “to seek and save the lost.” That spirit is only beginning to go forth, which has already been so successful in teaching the Caffre, the Hottentot, the Boshemen, the means of present happiness and the way of eternal life. In the mean time the great efforts which are making to improve the mental condition of the people of color seems designed in Providence to prepare them for some great and happy change in their situation.

“It need not be apprehended, that these people would be unwilling to remove to the proposed establishment. To suppose this, is to suppose that they do not long after happiness; that they do not feel the common pride and feelings of men. In some of our great cities there are associations formed to open a correspondence with the colony at Sierra Leone, and prepare their minds for a removal to a colony should it be ever formed.* The colony at

* “Such an association exists in Philadelphia.”

Sierra Leone on the western coast of Africa, seems as if designed by God to obviate every difficulty, to silence objections, and to point out the way in which every obstacle may be removed, if measures sufficiently wise are adopted in establishing a similar colony from this country. The colony alluded to was first established in the year 1791. Its first settlers were a few people of color who were in Great Britain, and from 1100 to 1200 of the same description in Nova Scotia. In the year 1811, the population had increased to 2000 exclusive of many natives, notwithstanding the sickness and mortality incident to a new settlement, and the settlement being once destroyed by the French. In the year 1816, the population had increased to 3000.* All this has been accomplished, or at least it was originated and for many years maintained, by a company of benevo-

* "Early in the winter of 1816, about thirty people of color left Boston, with a view of settling themselves in the British colony at Sierra Leone, in Africa. The vessel in which they sailed, was the property and under the command of the celebrated Paul Cuffee. Captain Cuffee has returned to this country, and brings letters from the emigrants to their friends and benefactors. We have seen one of the letters, dated April 3, 1816. It states that they all arrived safe at Sierra Leone, after a passage of fifty-five days, and were welcomed by all in the colony. The place is represented as 'good.' They have fruits of all kinds, and all seasons of the year. The governor gave each family a lot of land in the town, and fifty acres of 'good land' in the country, or more in proportion to their families. Their land in the country is about two miles from town. They have plenty of rice and corn, and all other food that is good. There were five churches in the colony, and three or four schools; in one of which there were one hundred and fifty female Africans, who are taught to read the word of God."—*The Boston Recorder*.

lent and enterprising men—by men, too, who are far removed from those places where free blacks are to be found. What then might be done—under the blessing of that Being who wills the happiness of all his creatures—by the American government, aided by the benevolence of all its citizens, and surrounded with thousands who would be willing to emigrate, and many of whom could carry with them property, the useful arts of life, and above all, the knowledge of the benign religion of Christ.

“*Is it probable that the general good would be promoted by the establishment of such a colony?* If there is not reason to believe that it would be for the general benefit, the idea ought to be given up and the scheme rejected. But is there not reason to believe that the interest of the whites and the free people of color would be equally promoted, by the latter being colonized in some suitable situation? It can scarcely be doubted that slavery has an injurious effect on the morals and habits of a country where it exists. It insensibly induces a habit of indolence. Idleness seldom fails to be attended with dissipation. Should the time ever come when slavery shall not exist in these States, yet if the people of color remain among us, the effect of their presence will be unfavorable to our industry and morals. The recollection of their former servitude will keep alive the feeling that they were formed for labor, and that the descendants of their former masters ought to be exempt, at least, from the more humble and toilsome pursuits of life. The gradual withdrawing of the

blacks would insensibly, and from an easy necessity induce habits of industry, and along with it a love of order and religion. Could they be removed to some situation where they might live alone, society would be saved many a pang which now is felt, and must in course of time be much more sensibly felt from the intermixture of the different colors, and at the same time be relieved from a heavy burden, in supporting that large portion of this people which falls into poverty and must be maintained by others. If the benefit of the proposed separation would be considerable to those States where the people of color are comparatively few, how great would it be to those where they are very numerous? The love of liberty which prevails in those States, must be attended with a desire to see abolished a system so contrary to the best feelings of our natures. But however strong the desires of many, however lively the impressions of the great principles of right, or however pungent the convictions of a dying bed, it is believed to be unsafe to encourage the idea of emancipation. The evil therefore increases every year, and the gloomy picture grows darker continually, so that the question is often and anxiously asked—*What will be the end of all this?* The most natural and easy answer seems to be;—let no time be lost; let a colony or colonies be formed on the coast of Africa; and let laws be passed permitting the emancipation of slaves on condition that they shall be colonized. By these means the evil of slavery will be diminished, and in a way so gradual as to prepare the whites for the happy and progressive change.

“The benefits of the proposed plan to the race of blacks appear to be numerous and great. That they are capable of improvement is not to be contradicted; and that their improvement progresses daily, notwithstanding every obstacle, is not denied. Their capacity for self-government, whether denied or not, is ever present to our view in the island of St. Domingo. But it is in vain that we believe them capable of improvement, or that we are convinced that they are equal to the task of governing themselves, unless these unhappy people are separated from their former masters. The friends of man will strive in vain to raise them to a proper level while they remain among us. They will be kept down, on the one side by prejudice, too deep-rooted to be eradicated; on the other by the recollection of former inferiority, and despair of ever assuming an equal standing in society. Remove them. Place them by themselves in some climate congenial with their color and constitutions, and in some fruitful soil; their contracted minds will then expand, and their natures rise. The hope of place and power will soon create the feeling that they are men. Give them the hope of becoming possessed of power and influence, and the pleasure of their invigorated minds will be similar to ours in like circumstances. At present they have few incentives to industry and virtue, compared with those which they would feel, in a land which they could call their own, and where there was no competition except with their own color.

“This great enterprise must be undertaken, either

by a union of virtuous and pious individuals—as in the case of the colony of Sierra Leone; or by the government of the United States. Perhaps on mature deliberation, it might appear a work worthy of the government, and one that could be accomplished with the greatest ease and in the most efficient manner under the patronage of the nation. None but the nation's arm could reach to all the situations in which the free blacks are placed through our extended country, nor any but its councils be wise enough to accommodate the various interests which ought to be consulted in so great an undertaking. If wrong has been done to Africa in forcing away her weeping children, the wrong can be best redressed by that power which did the injury. If Heaven has been offended, by putting chains on those whom by its eternal laws it has willed to be free, the same hand which provoked the divine displeasure should offer the atoning sacrifice. Under a former government, this guilt and evil were brought principally upon our land; but for many years the State governments, under the eye of the general government, continued this great violation of the laws of nature. Let then the representatives of this great and free people, not only feel it to be their interest, but their duty and glory to repair the injuries done to humanity by our ancestors by restoring to independence those who were forced from their native land, and are now found among us.

“It remains yet to answer the question: Should Congress in their wisdom adopt the proposed mea-

sure—would it best answer the end designed, to plant the colony in some distant section of our country, or in the land to which their color and original constitution are adapted? If fixed in the territories of the United States, the expense of procuring soil might be saved; and the difficulty of removing settlers to the appointed place would be diminished, especially if the colony were planted at no very great distance in the interior. But these advantages would be in part counterbalanced, by having in our vicinity an independent settlement of people who were once our slaves. There might be cause of dread, lest they should occasionally combine with our Indian neighbors, or with those European nations who have settlements adjacent to our own, and we should have them for our enemies. However great the distance at which such a settlement would be made in our own country, it would furnish great facility to the slaves in the nearest states, to desert their master's service, and escape to a land where their own race was sovereign and independent. An easy communication would also be open, to send information to those who remain in slavery, so as to make them uneasy in their servitude. If removed to Africa, these last difficulties would disappear, or be greatly diminished. There we should have nothing to fear from their becoming our enemies. Removed from our sight, our contempt of them, produced by their situation, and by long habit confirmed, would gradually die away, and their jealousy and suspicion proportionably decrease. The colony could never become an asylum for fugitive

slaves, and but little opportunity could be afforded to communicate with this country in such a manner as to render the slaves uneasy in their master's service. On the other hand, great and happy results might be produced by their being colonized in Africa. It is the land of their fathers, a climate suited to their color, and one to which their constitution, but partially altered by their abode in this country would soon adapt itself. Who can tell the blessings which might in this way be conferred on Africa herself, when her strangers should be restored, and she should receive her children redeemed from bondage by the humanity of America, and by the hand of virtue and religion restored from their captivity. With what delight would she view them, improved in arts, in civilization, and in knowledge of the true God. She would forget her sorrows, her wounds would be healed, and she would bless the hands of her benefactors. Do we not owe to that hapless country a debt contracted by our fathers; and how can we so well repay it, as by transporting to her shores a multitude of its own descendants, who have learned the arts of life and are softened by the power of true religion, and who can therefore be instrumental in taming and placing in fixed abodes, the wild and wandering people who now roam over that great section of the globe. A nation of Christians ought to believe that all the earth is destined to enjoy happiness under the dominion of the Prince of Peace. Africa is not forgotten by Him who 'feeds the sparrows.' The spirit of her people shall arise. Her sons shall assume their

proper dignity, and she shall yet rejoice in her Creator's favor. Heaven executes its purposes by human agents, and perhaps this may be one of those means which are laid up in store to bless the sable millions that now exist, the pity of angels, but the scorn of thoughtless man. Could any thing be deemed so effectual for the happiness of that portion of the world as the plan proposed? In this way there might soon be fixed a seat of liberal learning in Africa, from which the rays of knowledge might dart across those benighted regions. Is it too much to believe it possible that *He* who brings light out of darkness, and good out of evil, has suffered so great an evil to exist as African slavery, that in a land of civil liberty and religious knowledge, thousands and tens of thousands might at the appointed time be prepared to return, and be the great instrument of spreading peace and happiness. Let not these reflections be thought wholly visionary. We know that the ways of the great Ruler of the world and Director of events are wonderful and great beyond calculation. We know that great and increasing benefits arise to the natives of Africa from the colony at Sierra Leone. From the vicinity of that colony, the son of an African chief, who has seen and felt its benefits, thus writes in the summer of 1815: 'What a happy thing it is to see the peaceable state that this country is now in! quiet and free from slave vessels!—no dragging of families from one another!—no innumerable slaves chained together, male and female! and the enemies of humanity, the slave traders, gradually

quitting the country! It has struck me forcibly, that where the gospel makes its appearance, there Satan's kingdom gradually diminishes. May God give grace and perseverance to his servants to carry on his work; and make them instruments in his hands of bringing them to perfection. On the fourth of June, 1815, ninety children and one adult were baptized into the faith of Christ in the colony.' On which occasion the same young prince thus writes: 'I never was better pleased in my life-time than to see so many of my countrymen brought so far as to be baptized, and particularly when I saw grown up natives come forward to be baptized. We had likewise the happiness of seeing our church so full, that some were obliged to stand out of doors. Five or six of the native chiefs were present on the occasion. I had more hopes that day than I ever had of those poor perishing countrymen of mine.' The period in which we live is big with great events, and as happy as they are great. It is pregnant with greater still. We have lived to see the day when man has begun to learn the lesson of freedom and happiness. America is blessed with every blessing civil and religious. Europe begins slowly but sensibly to reform her governments. The gloomy and dread superstitions of Asia, begin to totter before the gospel of Christ. Nor shall Africa be forgotten. Her bosom begins to warm with hope, and her heart to beat with expectation and desire. Toward this land of liberty she turns her eyes, and to the representatives of this great and free people, she stretches forth her hands, panting

for the return of her absent sons and daughters. Happy America, if she shall endeavor not only to rival other nations in arts and arms, but to equal and exceed them in the great cause of humanity, which has begun its never ending course.”

CHAPTER VII.

RIVAL CLAIMS TO THE AUTHORSHIP OF COLONIZATION STATED.—NOTICE BY DR. ALEXANDER IN HIS COLONIZATION HISTORY, &c.

RIVAL claims to the honor of originating this great and benevolent enterprise have been, at least impliedly, set up in behalf of others in various quarters. We have reason to feel obligated to such men as have employed their talents to ascertain the facts in this matter; for, by their investigation, they have saved us the trouble of renewing this examination, which we had gone through to our entire satisfaction more than thirty years ago, by failing to produce anything which impairs his claim to the exclusive credit of originating this magnificent scheme.

Dr. Archibald Alexander's "History of African Colonization,"* by exposing the futility of every opposing or rival claim to Dr. Finley's, as the original author of colonization, after his extensive and thorough search through the whole field of inquiry, triumphantly vindicates and establishes Dr. Finley as the principal and successful contriver of the vast system here in question.

What Dr. Alexander reports as the sum of his dis-

*An 8vo. volume, published by Wm. S. Martien, Philadelphia, 1849.

coveries in his labored investigation, may be found on the following pages of his work.

Dr. Hopkins,	-	-	-	page 56
Dr. Thornton,	-	-	-	61
Dr. Craighead,	-	-	-	62
St. George Tucker,	-	-	-	62
Legislature of Virginia,	-	-	-	63, 64, 65
Thomas Jefferson,	-	-	-	70, 74
Charles F. Mercer,	-	-	-	76

After appearing to attach considerable importance to the early doings of Dr. Hopkins, Dr. Alexander subsequently gives the opinion "that they were rather of the nature of a work of missions." Notwithstanding he tells us "that he considers this enterprise as one which has a real connection with the schemes of African colonization, now in a course of execution." In another place he expresses the conjecture "that in all probability Dr. Hopkins' scheme had suggested the idea of colonization at *Sierra Leone*." Dr. Hopkins lived, and made his abortive movement, in Rhode Island, at least thirty-five years, perhaps more, anterior to the formation of the Colonization Society; residing at, what was then accounted, a great distance between that State and New Jersey—a road very little travelled, as there existed no business intercourse. The fact is Dr. Hopkins, though a benevolent man, was heard of chiefly as a theologian.

In regard to Mr. Jefferson's opinion, Dr. Alexander informs us "That it has always been understood that his plan was to remove the slaves to some part of

the extensive country northwest of the Ohio, which then belonged to the State of Virginia." Mr. Jefferson hinted that "it would be a good thing for government to undertake a colony on the African coast." But he discards the subject with two or three remarks, each, or all, fatal to this suggestion. 1. "That for this the national mind is not prepared." 2. "That the blacks would not be willing to accept such an exchange of situation." And 3, he afterwards expresses great doubt, "Whether in an experiment of that kind they would be capable of governing themselves." Pages 74, 75, Dr. A's book.

On page 77, Dr. Alexander uses terms, which may mislead, on another point. "It is more than probable that Dr. Finley, the brother-in-law of Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., had heard, during the summer of 1816, of what had been secretly transacted in the General Assembly of Virginia, and of Mr. Mercer's intention again to bring the subject before that body at the earliest opportunity." Now, the fact is, Mr. E. B. Caldwell's letter to the writer, soon after Dr. Finley's death, states that he, Mr. Caldwell, knew nothing of Dr. Finley's mind on the subject, till he saw him in the District, December, 1816.* Mr. Caldwell there declares that "one leading design, and one that seemed to be most interesting to him, was the forwarding of the Colonization plan. "Shortly after he arrived," Mr. C. goes on to say, "he opened to me his views on the subject. I had been contemplating the same object from the preceding winter, I was, there-

* See letter of E. B. Caldwell, Esq'r., pp. 132, 133.

fore, prepared to *enter at once into his feelings.*" This was then an entirely new subject of conversation between these gentlemen.

In the progress of his remarks upon this subject, Dr. Alexander adds, "It is manifest that Dr. Finley had the scheme of a colony of free blacks, on the western coast of Africa, fully in his mind more than a year before Mr. Mercer knew anything about the secret resolutions of the Virginia Legislature," and adds, "As the Rev. Robert Finley, D. D., must ever hold a *conspicuous place* in the history of African Colonization, whatever may be the result of the enterprise, it cannot but be gratifying to the *reader* to know some particulars respecting him."

We may add that the fact is rendered plain, by Col. C. F. Mercer's speech, in Charleston, Kanawha county, Western Virginia, see Dr. A's book, pp. 75, 76, that he knew nothing about the organization at the time it took place at Washington, not even the date of its formation, as he states in his speech. "That the American Colonization Society was formed in the city of Washington, early in the month of January," when, in fact that organization was substantially effected on 21st of December, and completed in full form on the 28th of that month, 1816.

If co-operators with Dr. Finley in that great work are sought for, they can be found only in his native State—New Jersey. And the writer is the only surviving member of the very small number of his sympathizers and coadjutors, who aided this noble work in its progress, till fully developed and crowned at

Washington. The prime and chief honor of the enterprise, is cheerfully conceded to him who led the way and performed the chief labor. The great object now is, to secure to him the pre-eminent merit of the grand achievement, and to his native State the immortal honor of its *paternity*, through the patient and persevering agency of her distinguished son. Tribute to whom tribute! Honor to whom honor!

To us who aided in the incipient production of this monumental institution, and who have feebly assisted its infant efforts through weakness, danger, and doubt—to this hour, it is enough to be permitted to join in the general acclamation and tribute of thanks to Almighty God, and of applause to the virtuous, wise, and humane of our country, who have by their concurrent action nursed the society into greatness, and raised it above detraction and peril; with them to rejoice in its growing strength, and in the multiplication of its auxiliaries and friends at home and abroad; to anticipate its vast and incalculable benefits in the diffusion of light, liberty, and happiness over millions of dark and miserable victims of ignorance, bondage, and vice—born and unborn. The present and future glory of this magnificent plan of mercy, is the *just* and undecaying legacy of Dr. Robert Finley to his family—to their latest posterity; and to the State of New Jersey, which gave him birth—and has ever sympathized with works of benevolence and mercy to mankind.

CHAPTER VIII.

LETTER FROM CORPORATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA—GOVERNOR EARLY'S COMMUNICATION—MR. FINLEY ACCEPTS THE INVITATION—RESIGNS HIS PASTORAL CHARGE—HIS TRUSTEESHIP AT PRINCETON—RECEIVES THE DEGREE OF D. D.—TAKES LEAVE OF A WEEPING CHURCH—SAILS FROM NEW YORK.

EARLY in January, Dr. Finley received the following letter from the Secretary of the Corporation of the University of Georgia, informing him of his appointment to the Presidency of that institution, and urging his acceptance of it:—

Athens, December 31, 1816.

“REVEREND SIR,

“It is with much sincere pleasure that I take up my pen, to address you on the subject of our former correspondence. This pleasure is not a little increased by the ardent hope that the correspondence now officially commenced, or re-commenced, by the Board of Trustees, will result in your removal to Athens, and in your taking the superintendence and direction of the University of Georgia. At a late meeting of the Board, the appointment was conferred upon you unanimously; and Governor Early was directed to announce the same to you, and to solicit your acceptance of it. The resolution conferring the appointment is in the words following, which

I transcribe, lest the Governor's letter might miscarry :

“ ‘ *Resolved*, That the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, be, and he is hereby appointed President of the University of Georgia, in the place of the Rev. John Brown, resigned, with a salary of \$1500 per annum, payable quarterly ; and that a copy of the above resolution be transmitted to Mr. Finley, by Governor Early, the Senior Trustee, presiding at this meeting, together with a statement of the present and future funds of the University.’

“ Governor Early will inform you of the state of the funds of the institution, present and in prospect. On that subject I would only observe, that there is no doubt in my mind, that the Trustees will soon possess the means as well as the disposition to give their officers such salaries as will be perfectly adequate to their comfort and convenience. For reasons which cannot be stated in a letter, Dr. Brown tendered his resignation to the Board some time in the spring, which was accepted in November last. The Doctor has retired and resides a few miles from the village. He is very solicitous that you should accept the appointment. You will find in him a friend and brother, and an excellent man. Mr. Golding, son-in-law to Dr. Brown, is the professor of languages. With an equal ardor he awaits your arrival, to take charge of the institution. Mr. Camak, a graduate of the South Carolina College, a young gentleman of fine talents, is professor of mathematics and astronomy. Dr. Henry Jackson, late American Chargé

d'Affairs at Paris, and not yet returned from that country, but expected soon, is professor of chemistry, mineralogy, &c. He is a gentleman of great science, of uncommon modesty and much merit. In every measure, having for its object the well-being and well-doing of the college, you will have the hearty co-operation of the faculty, as well as their easy and voluntary subordination, and they will be happy in your official connection with them.

“It is wished that you should come on immediately, and if necessary without your family, and stay till commencement, on the second Monday in July; after which you could return, and in the course of the following autumn bring on your family. I hope, my dear sir, you will view this as a providential opening for your removal to a southern climate, and to a sphere of extensive usefulness. There are few healthier* spots in the world than Athens, although it be Georgia. The institution has been in operation here sixteen years, and the grave of a student is not to

* In confirmation of this part of Mr. Hodge's instructing and agreeable communication, a friend residing at Athens, formerly an inhabitant of New Jersey, writes as follows:—

“Athens, January 28th, 1818.

“A healthier spot than this cannot be found. The climate is a delightful one. This is as pleasant a day as I ever felt in the month of April. Our summers are more agreeable than at the North. Our mornings and evenings are like your pleasantest weather in June; and it is not uncomfortable in the middle of the day, unless exposed to the sun. It seems very congenial to my constitution. I enjoy better health than I have in twenty years.”

be seen. I hope you will not hesitate a moment to accept.

“In the midst of much other business, preparatory to a journey of two weeks’ continuance, on which I am to set out, *Deo volente*, to-morrow, I have written this letter hastily. Excuse its imperfections, and have the goodness to answer it immediately.

“I am affectionately
and very respectfully,
your friend,

JOHN HODGE.

“REV. R. FINLEY.”

In a few days after the reception of Mr. Hodge’s letter, Governor Early’s official communication on the same subject, reached Mr. Finley. The subject of his removal to Georgia was now presented to him the third time, which circumstance, in connection with others, rendered the application peculiarly deserving of his respectful and attentive regard. As the great outlines of this important subject, by previous inquiry and reflection, had become familiar to his mind, he seems to have spent but little time in deliberating upon it, before he addressed to Governor Early the following letter, in answer to that* received from him:—

“*Basking Ridge*, Feb. 21, 1817.

“PETER EARLY, Esq.,

“*Dear Sir*:—Your favor of the date of January

* The communication of Gov. Early, which was very valuable and interesting on this subject, has been unfortunately lost, in the course of Mr. Finley’s removal.

15, 1817, and with the post mark of January 29, arrived here yesterday, and was received by me to-day. A letter from the Rev. John Hodge, of Athens, had apprised me of the appointment mentioned in your communication, and if I were as well convinced of my ability to fill the station, as I am sensible of the honor conferred on me, I should be more gratified with the appointment, and more ready to accept it. My friends have ever been inclined to overrate my qualifications for usefulness, and I have often been afraid that, from this circumstance, I might be led to take some step which in the end would be unpleasant to them as well as to myself. In the early part of my life I spent a year at Charleston, South Carolina, and brought away with me a partiality for the South, which at different times has made the idea 'of a permanent settlement' in a more southern climate pleasant to me. Some time in the early part of January, I had a conversation with the Hon. William H. Crawford, Esq., at Washington, on the present state and future prospects of Franklin College. From the conversation had with him, an idea was received, that the funds of the institution now, or shortly would, warrant a salary of two thousand dollars to the President. On the receipt of Mr. Hodge's letter, and after having waited for three weeks for the official information, it appeared to me correct, under the impression that your letter might have miscarried, to write to Mr. Hodge, and express my feelings on this subject, especially as he desired me to do so. After seeing a publication in the Savannah Republican, as your letter did not still

arrive, it was deemed not improper to write to Mr. Crawford, Dr. Kollock, and Thomas Cumming, Esq., of Augusta, all of whom were understood to belong to the Board of Trustees of the University. It was stated in each of the letters written to those gentlemen, that the appointment would be accepted on condition that the salary of the President should be two thousand dollars per annum as soon as the funds would admit, and in the just expectation that this would be the case in twelve or eighteen months from next May; and on the farther condition that the Board should pay the general expenses of removing my family from this place to Athens. My property is of such a kind that the far greater part must be left behind, or sold at a very great loss. Permit me, sir, to state to you, for the information of the Board, my willingness to accept the appointment on the conditions just mentioned. Should the conditions appear unreasonable, or it be inexpedient to comply with them, it will be a subject of sincere regret to me that the Trustees should be disappointed, or the institution suffer in the slightest degree. It was perhaps wished that I should come immediately on, after receiving the appointment; but when it is considered that there is in this place an academy under my superintendence, which could not be dissolved at once without some appearance of impropriety; and, further, that as a clergyman, my connection with the church of which I am pastor, is formed by the power of a Presbytery, and can regularly be dissolved by it alone; it appeared to me too great a violation of propriety to

think of coming before May. It was intimated to the gentlemen to whom I wrote, that I would prepare to leave New York by the first good vessel that may sail for Savannah in that month. Arrangements will be going forward, as if a removal were determined on, but in such a way as to suit my convenience in removing or continuing where I am. I am sensible that there cannot well be a meeting of the Board to determine on the points in question within the time proposed, and that I must be satisfied with individual opinions. It will, therefore, be acceptable if these opinions should be expressed without any reserve, and as soon as convenient.

“You will be good enough to see nothing but the frankness of a candid mind in all that I have done since the receipt of Mr. Hodge’s letter, and a desire to meet the wishes of the trustees in a way compatible with my own interests. Should it be so directed, it cannot but be very agreeable to me to labor with yourself in promoting the interests of literature in Georgia and thereby benefiting our fellow men.

“It gives me pleasure to assure you, sir, that with esteem and very great respect,

I am sincerely,

Yours,

ROBERT FINLEY.”

The period that elapsed between the sending of this letter, and the reception of an answer, was to Mr. Finley a season of great suspense and anxiety. His mind, during this period, “*fatis contraria, fata repen-*

dens," seems to have taken some new and unfavorable views of the subject. The difficulties attending the transportation of a large family to so remote a situation—the painful emotions excited by the near view of entire separation from numerous, respectable, and dear relatives, and settling in a land of strangers—apprehensions respecting the operation of a southern climate on himself and family—and a more careful consideration of the state and prospects of the college, the high responsibility, and the arduous labors, he must encounter, the uncertainty of ultimate success arising from a view of the failure of former efforts—these things produced so great a hesitation, so serious a conflict in his mind, that he regretted his having conditionally pledged himself to the Board of Trustees. He would willingly have discovered some way in which he could retract, consistently with honor and with truth. He waited with great anxiety for the expected reply to his proposal, and hoped that some sufficient room would be afforded for him to withdraw from his engagement. On the 17th day of April, the last day of the period, during which he considered himself committed to the Board of Trustees of the Georgia University, their answer reached him, expressing unequivocally a full agreement to every suggestion he had made to them, relative to his removal. His suspense was now at an end. The path of his duty he considered pointed out by Divine Providence; and, from this moment, he resolved humbly and cheerfully to submit to what appeared to him to be the will of God, and to cast his care upon Him. He began im-

mediately to make the necessary preparations for leaving New Jersey, that he might, if possible, reach the place of destination before the extreme heat of summer.

When the corporation of Princeton college opened their sessions, April 12th, 1817, a letter from Mr. Finley was laid before them tendering his resignation of the office of Trustee, which he had now filled with great respectability and usefulness for twelve years. His resignation was accepted by the Board; and, by their unanimous vote, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on Mr. Finley, as an honorable expression of their high sense of his talents, piety, and usefulness.

On the 4th Tuesday of April following, he met for the last time his brethren of the presbytery of New Brunswick, at the stated semi-annual meeting of that body. From the numerous cares, and the necessary arrangements, which called so imperiously for his presence and attention at home, at this moment he was able to spare time sufficient only to transact the business necessary to his separation from the people of his charge, and to his being regularly connected with that presbytery, into the bounds of which he contemplated removing.

The following copy of the original document, with which Dr. Finley was furnished by the presbytery of New Brunswick, will give a correct view of the order in which this business was transacted.

“At a meeting of the presbytery of New Brunswick, at Allentown, April 22d, 1817, a minute was made, of which the following is a true copy, viz:

“The Rev. Dr. Finley represented to the presbytery, that he has been appointed president of the university of Georgia, and earnestly requested to accept the appointment, and that on mature deliberation he has deemed it his duty to comply with the request—In consequence of which he desired that the pastoral relation between him and the congregation of Basking Ridge be dissolved, and that he be dismissed from this presbytery to connect himself with the presbytery of Hopewell.

“The congregation of Basking Ridge present by their commissioner, Joseph Annin, Esq., being inquired of whether they had any opposition, or communication to make on the subject of Dr. Finley’s request, produced the following document, viz:

“At a meeting of the congregation of Basking Ridge, on Monday the 21st day of April, 1817, to adopt such measures as they might deem advisable, with respect to the Rev. Robert Finley’s application to be discharged from his pastoral charge of said congregation, the Honorable Henry Southard was appointed Moderator, and William B. Gaston, Clerk. The subject being agitated and discussed, it was the unanimous vote of the congregation, that they sincerely regret the application of Mr. Finley to be discharged from his pastoral charge of the congregation—but yielding to Mr. Finley’s wishes, and under existing circumstances, and as an act of friendly attachment to Mr. Finley, it is the unanimous vote of the congregation to make no opposition to the presbytery’s discharging Mr. Finley from his pastoral

charge of this congregation. And it is further the unanimous vote of the congregation, that Joseph Annin, Esq., be a commissioner to convey the sense of this meeting to presbytery, (Signed)

HENRY SOUTHARD, *Moderator.*

WILLIAM B. GASTON, *Clerk.*”

“On motion, resolved that the request of the Rev. Dr. Finley be granted, and that the pastoral relation between him and the congregation of Basking Ridge, be and it hereby is dissolved, and said congregation is declared to be vacant.

“Resolved further, that Dr. Finley be and he hereby is dismissed from this presbytery to join the presbytery of Hopewell.

“The presbytery in thus dismissing Dr. Finley to remove to so great a distance, feel all that reluctance, which attachment to a beloved brother, and a sense of his long and important services to this part of the church of Christ, might be supposed, to produce. Hoping and believing, however, that he may be still more useful in the honorable sphere of duty to which he is called, they dismiss him with many fervent prayers for his comfort and usefulness, and cordially and affectionately recommend him to the presbytery of Hopewell, as a minister in good standing.

Signed by order of the presbytery.

ASHBEL GREEN, *Moderator.*

WILLIAM C. SCHENCK, *Clerk.*”

Dr. Finley's last interview with the presbytery

was tender and affecting. Parting with his beloved fellow-presbyters, and associates in the Lord's service, among whom he had for so long a period, both given and received, numerous and endearing evidences of respect and affection, produced many painful emotions. In adjusting several minor concerns, relating to the business which chiefly occupied his mind, his sensibilities appeared to be much excited; but it was only, by a great effort that he was enabled to suppress his feelings, so as to state briefly his circumstances, and request a discharge from his pastoral obligation, and a dismissal from the presbytery. As a mark of peculiar respect, and contrary to the custom of this presbytery, a committee was appointed to draught the form of dismissal delivered to Dr. Finley which is embraced in the preceding document.

Dr. Finley's feelings would not permit him to take leave of his congregation in a formal valedictory discourse. Most of the sermons which he delivered, after the separation had been resolved on, were however peculiarly adapted to his trying circumstances and preparatory to his contemplated removal.* The

* Some time before Dr. Finley received his final call from Georgia, he commenced a course of lectures to his congregation, on the 14th chapter of the Gospel according to St. John. When he began, he had no intention of continuing through that chapter; but, he became much interested himself with the subjects presented in order, and the lectures appeared extremely interesting to the people; so that he continued this exercise some time, and closed his ministry at Basking Ridge with the 17th chapter. From the commencement of these lectures, a considerable portion of the people had an impression, that he intended to leave them, and that

weekly society, at which he attended in the academy on the Friday evening, immediately preceding the last Sabbath he spent at Basking Ridge, exhibited a scene truly solemn and affecting. Of the crowded assembly present, far the greater part were professors of religion, many of them young and almost all fruits of his ministry. The subject of discourse Philippians i. 27. was happily chosen—"Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ: that whether I come to see you or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel." On this occasion he manifested his peculiarly strong and ardent attachment to this people, and his deep and solemn concern for their everlasting salvation. He exerted all the influence of his warm affection and powerful eloquence, especially, when addressing those whom he considered as his children in Christ, to inspire them with steadfastness, vigilance and zeal, in the Christian course. Towards the close of his sermon, in the midst of his strong and moving persuasives, he said, "If it would add to my importunity, any additional force and effect, I would beseech you on my bended knees to remember and observe my affectionate, parting counsel," upon saying which, these discourses were designed to prepare their minds for that event. During the last week Dr. Finley and his family spent at Basking Ridge, one of the congregation requested these discourses of Mrs. Finley. He was much surprised and disappointed on being informed that they were not written, inasmuch as he had entertained the expectation, that they had been prepared to be left with the people.

kneeling down he poured forth his soul before them for some minutes in that attitude, exhorting and entreating them by the terrors and mercies of the Lord, to "let their conversation be as becometh the gospel of Christ." The people from the commencement of the exercises had appeared exceedingly solemn and much affected. This new, unusual* and pathetic appeal to their hearts, roused all their sensibilities, overpowered the whole assembly, and drew tears from every eye. In this discourse Dr. Finley addressed the people on the importance of their continuing to observe the Friday evening society, which had been commenced during the first revival under his ministry among them, A. D. 1803. He then stated, that for fifteen years, he had never been absent from that society, when at home, but once: "and then, said he, I was sick on my bed, but my heart was with you."

* Few instances are probably to be found in the annals of church or state, in which the most vehement and impassioned earnestness and zeal have manifested themselves in this truly eloquent and irresistible manner.

The elegant Biographer of Patrick Henry, in his interesting volume, before referred to, page 376, informs the world that *that* great man was directed by the strong impulses of native feeling and passion to the same resort, in one instance—

"I learn, that on one occasion, after the war, he appeared at the bar of the house of delegates, in support of a petition of the officers of the Virginia line, who sought to be placed on the footing of those who had been taken on the continental establishment; and that, after having depicted their services and their sufferings, in colors which filled every heart with sympathy and gratitude, he *dropped on his knees* at the bar of the house, and presented such an appeal as might almost have softened rocks, and bent the knotted oak."

On the Sabbath following, he administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and communed with his Christian friends at Basking Ridge for the last time. The assembly of people that attended on this occasion, was unusually large and very solemn. In the morning, Dr. Finley preached the *action sermon*, which was the last discourse he ever delivered in his native State. His sermon was appropriate* and im-

* To exhibit somewhat more fully the frame of mind which our departed friend possessed at this interesting juncture, and to furnish a specimen of the kind of notes he commonly used during several of the last years of his ministry, the following analysis of this sacramental sermon, is inserted from his own handwriting, without alteration:—

1 Corinthians x. 16. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?—the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?—

Our Lord in all his institutions consulted the edification of his disciples. In the institution of the supper, he instituted an ordinance that should keep up the remembrance of his love and sufferings, admit of fellowship with him, and naturally lead to communion among the disciples—

I. What communion is—

II. What the special communion which Christians hold, with one another in the Lord's supper, is—

I. What communion is.

It is that interchange of sentiment which produces a unity of feeling, and which is so delightful to the heart.

We must exchange our feelings to know each others' situation.

We must fully agree in order to be unreserved and happy. This is of the nature of that communion that there is between the soul and God.

II. What is the special communion which friends hold with one another in the Lord's supper.

1. As they are members of Christ—2. As they are fellow-travellers—3. As they have future hopes.

pressive. The whole multitude appeared to be greatly affected by the solemnities of public service; but “they sorrowed most of all for the words which he spake—that they should see his face no more.” At the close of the morning service, he made some observations of a valedictory nature. The whole address he comprised in a very few sentences, and concluded by bidding them a tender and affectionate “farewell.”

The Church of Christ has witnessed few seasons of a similar kind more interesting and affecting than the scene exhibited during these transactions at Basking Ridge. Dr. Finley’s union to the people of that congregation was of the most strong and endearing nature. Their long continued love and kindness had inspired him with an unusually warm attachment to them; and the blessings of God, so often and peculiarly vouchsafed to their sacred connection had

I. As they are members of Christ.

They commune of the sufferings—

of the atonement—

of the intercession of Christ—

2. As they are fellow-travellers—

About the conflicts of life, temporal and spiritual—

About the goodness and love of God and Christ—

About their own love and forgiveness to one another.

3. As to their future hopes.

That they shall be pure in the presence of God—

That after all their separations, they shall meet to part no more—

We shall all meet with Christ—

Subject needs no improvement but to pray that the spirit of true communion may be given to us.

cemented it still more strongly and drawn its ties still more closely together. This union of the pastor to his people fostered by their kindness and cemented by heavenly grace, could not be dissolved without a painful conflict in his heart. But under a deep and solemn persuasion that his separation from them was taking place at the call of God, he resigned himself obediently and cheerfully to *that call*. At the same time an awful and indescribable solemnity was visible in his countenance and manners, on that day which closed his sacred ministrations at Basking Ridge. He seemed to be standing before the great Judge giving his final account, surveying the "seals of his ministry," the "crowns of his rejoicing." Amidst the mourning and weeping which abounded, he preserved in general a steady composure, and seemed to be occupied with matters which raised him above the passing scene and to be "sitting in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."

The people of that congregation, notwithstanding their having formally consented to the removal of their beloved pastor, in a full belief that it was the Lord's will, manifested a deep and tender concern. It was evident that they felt the reality and magnitude of the loss they were about to sustain in this transaction. They saw retiring from them a chosen friend and holy man of God, a highly successful and honored ambassador of Christ. All beheld in him a *faithful* preacher of the gospel. Hundreds claimed him and hung around him as their spiritual father and guide. The poor and afflicted saw in him departing a kind

sympathizing friend and benefactor. Children and youth, in his removal, mourned the loss of a father. So that this congregation must be considered as having been furnished in this event with peculiarly great and ample cause for humiliation and sorrow. And the appearances of undissembled grief, prevailing on every side, corresponded with these ideas and impressions.

On Monday following, Dr. Finley's movable property was disposed of at public sale. On the evening of the next Wednesday he arrived in New York. A few days were spent there in making necessary arrangements for embarkation, and in taking leave of numerous and affectionate friends. In the beginning of the next week he sailed for Savannah.

The following extract from a letter, written by Dr. Finley to a friend, will give some general idea of what he observed and experienced on his passage:—

“As I think it probable that you have been informed of my arrival by some of the letters already sent from this place, there is no need that I should repeat anything of what has been already stated of our passage, and the various incidents arising out of it. One thing only seems worthy of a renewed mention. Off the North Carolina coast we experienced a variety of weather—head winds, calms, and winds blowing in all directions, attended with awful thunder and lightning which lasted the whole night. Toward the evening a whirlwind passed near us, and a waterspout formed and broke about two or three miles from us. It brought to my recollection the com-

plaint of the Psalmist, that waves and *water-spouts* had gone over him, and I had some grand and profitable meditations on the passage; one happy effect of which was, that my mind being filled with the idea of God and *reconciled, too, through him*, over whom the water-spouts of wrath did really break, my mind was kept quite free from fear. Indeed it was a great source of thankfulness that, except Miss R——, we were all free from any degree of powerful apprehension. The Lord grant it may be so when we pass the waters of death.”

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE 16TH OF MAY ARRIVES AT SAVANNAH—ACCOUNT OF HIS PASSAGE—CORRESPONDENCE—FIRST IMPRESSIONS—VIEWS OF THE COLLEGE AT ATHENS—FIRST MEASURES—LABORS IN THE VILLAGE, AND IN THE COLLEGE—FIRST COMMENCEMENT—ATTENDS PRESBYTERY—AND IS TAKEN SICK.

ON the 16th day of May, after being on ship-board almost two weeks, Dr. Finley arrived at Savannah with all his family in comfortable circumstances. After this, he had still to encounter a land travel of two hundred miles in extent, before he could reach his place of destination. In regard to this journey, which consumed fifteen days, he makes the following remarks, in a letter from Athens, to a friend in New Jersey :—

“ We were greatly fatigued with our journey from Savannah to this place, the carriage being much crowded with our large family, the roads being hilly and rough, through a new and dreary country, as nearly all the improvements are made off from the road. By the blessing of the Lord we are all in health, though we have all been very uncomfortable, I believe through the change of water and diet. The bowels and stomach have been greatly distressed. We are all well recovered, so that we can begin to eat *bacon*, the only stated meat of the country.”

To exhibit Dr. Finley's first impressions on his arrival at Athens, and to convey some general idea of

the state in which he found the college, the village in which it is located, and the country in general, the following letters, addressed by him soon after he reached that place to friends in this State, are introduced:—

“ June 12th, 1817, at *Athens, Georgia.*

“ DEAR SIR:—

“ Though very far separated from you in person, yet I am often present with you in mind. Indeed there are with you so many comforts and conveniences more than can be furnished here, that it would be difficult to keep my mind at all from my former home, were it not for the necessity and duty of providing for the present, and endeavoring to arrange for the improvement of the future. It would require a good part of the remainder of my life, to organize and put in motion the concerns of the college. We have enjoyed tolerable health since we arrived, except a severe affection of our stomach and bowels, which complaint passed away in a few days. Perhaps this may be a part of the seasoning we are to experience here. We find all things high priced, owing to the severe drought which last year swept away everything, as the frost did in Jersey. Europe and America in the same year experienced shortness of bread; in America the crops failing from frost and drought, in Europe from the rains. Corn is one dollar and a half; last year it was twenty-five to thirty-seven cents. Wheat is now one dollar, usually seventy-five cents. The people’s great concern is to

raise cotton, buy slaves, &c. As yet there is but little thought of making any improvement, the country being new; and what is worse, the population fleeing and constantly moving off to the Alabama Territory. The country suffers greatly for want of mechanics; for though it cannot be said there are no mechanics in some branches, yet they are such that nothing is done to the satisfaction of those who have seen anything better. A tanner and currier might make a fortune in a little time in any part of this country. A man who could make boots and shoes, might choose his own business and on his own terms. A carpenter and joiner, with a common blessing, might get rich as fast as labor could enrich any one."

June 24th, 1817, to another friend he writes as follows:

"The place in which we live is entirely healthy, but for a few miles round the soil is considered as rather thin; though, thin as it is, it produces good crops of corn, wheat, and cotton, for a few years, and would continue to do so if the people had any idea of manuring. They have none, but, being principally emigrants from Old Virginia, they wear out a piece of land and leave it. At present, immense sums of money are made by raising cotton, each slave yielding about two hundred dollars, exclusive of support. The comforts of life are not attended to, nor any of its elegancies, either in buildings or furniture, either in dress or table. Morals low, correct ideas few, manners coarse, and religious knowledge nearly noth-

ing. Yet some of the people seem to be sensible of all this, and desirous to have it all changed. But irresolution, arising from inexperience, and the *indolence connected with slavery*, will make changes slow, unless northern and eastern people come in to show an example and to take a lead. This part of the country suffers a very great inconvenience in having no bottom meadows; and the soil, being sandy, does not produce grass. At the same time the people are determined to believe that no kind of grass seed can be sown with success.

“The college is at the last gasp—forgotten in the public mind, or thought of only to despair of it—neglected and deserted—the buildings nearly in a state of ruins—and the Trustees doubtful whether it can ever be recovered. This is a picture not over drawn. You can readily conceive how all this has operated on my mind. I thank the Lord my spirits do not sink, nor is my heart discouraged. Yet, possessed of tranquillity and hope, one week at my old residence would give me more pleasure than all I have felt since I bade you farewell at Elizabeth Town Point. Some that I left I shall not see till the heavens are no more.

“Instead of my large congregation I now preach to about fifty people. What a change! Blessed be God, we shall be in the ‘great congregation’ shortly.

“With sincere love and respect, yours,

“ROBERT FINLEY.”

The following^r letter to a respectable gentleman at

Basking Ridge, and intimate friend of Dr. Finley, possesses considerable interest, as illustrating farther the early history and the prevailing habits of the country in which the college is situated.

“*Athens*, July 1st, 1817.

“*Dear Sir*:—You have probably learned from some of the letters that have been sent from this place, something of its appearance and condition. From them you will learn that we were considerably disappointed. One cause of this is the newness of the country. It is only about twenty years since it was the abode, or at least the haunt, of Indians. It is impossible, therefore, that society should be much advanced, or any great improvements made; especially as not only the first, but almost the only, settlers are from Virginia, and do not bring with them the spirit of improvement, which comes with eastern settlers, and even with Jersey men. Slavery chills every ardor, and retards every improvement, and it will continue to do so, for a long time to come. The college is in the lowest state that is possible; the contempt of the enemies of literature, the scorn of its own particular enemies, and the pity of those who were once its friends. The students are twenty-eight. It is, however, to be observed, that there were about forty when Dr. Brown, the former president, resigned his office. Whether it can rise for a long time, does not appear to me certain—that it will shortly does not appear probable—but there is every reason to hope that it will eventually. As there are funds to pay the salaries, independent of the numbers of the students,

there is some advantage, as well as disadvantage, in the number of the students being small at first. It affords an opportunity to introduce discipline with more ease, and more efficiently; it affords an opportunity for the officers to establish themselves in the affections of the students more deeply, and to make the improvement of the few more sensible to the observer. Thus much being gained, every pupil will aid in giving a name and character to the institution. We have mentioned in former letters that there are but few Presbyterians in and about this village, and no religious society formed of that denomination. There are a few Methodist professors, and two preachers in the immediate vicinity of the place.

“As yet I know but little of the country, having been entirely employed in endeavoring to get fixed, and making myself acquainted with the state of the college. We have no garden, nor is there any market for vegetables; but we have not wanted, as yet, in any day for a little of something to eat. All are kind to us, and divide freely. All seem now to be contented, though we have not yet had time to learn to be pleased.

“I look at Mrs. ——’ snuff-box sometimes, but it is empty and I dare not fill it.

“With great regard and affection,

Yours,
R. FINLEY.”

The following very interesting communication is enriched with intelligence, cheerfulness, and piety. It is particularly valuable on account of the views it

presents of Dr. Finley's state of mind, in his new and trying condition, and in full contemplation of the great and arduous undertaking on which he was just entering.

"Athens, (Geo.) July 16th, 1817.

"REV. ISAAC V. BROWN,

"*Dear Sir:*—Your favor came to me most acceptably, and was in all respects very gratifying. It was the first letter received from Jersey, except one from ——. Occupied with the main subject before him, he did not give one item of intelligence.

"It is a great blessing to me that in some degree I have endeavored to cherish a missionary spirit, otherwise in the outset my situation would have been very undesirable. On account of health, the college was located quite on one side of the State, or population at least, where it was seldom seen, and where it created but little interest. Its funds, consisting of lands put to rent, were uncertain. The most of the lands are now sold, realizing an hundred thousand dollars, only sixty as yet in operation. My predecessor left forty students, of which I found twenty-seven remaining. The public mind was so dispirited that the trustees had determined to abandon the institution for a time, had their application to your friend been refused. After being unwell, through the change of diet, water, and climate, for about two weeks, and experiencing considerable depression, my mind began to revive, to feel itself on missionary ground, to view the college as designed in the providence of God to

meliorate the condition of man and direct his heart to heaven. These last views fixed in my mind a strong belief that I was on proper ground, where, if it pleased the Lord, with much wisdom and self denial, with much industry and patience, some good, perhaps great good, may be done.

“If my views of the men associated with me are correct, the prospect is good from them. With regard to other things, there is reason to hope that so far as an impression has been made at all it has been favorable. Our nominal commencement will take place this day fortnight. Nominal, because owing to the resignation of Dr. Brown, there is no senior class. But we shall keep up appearances.

“A few weeks vacation will, I trust, afford me an opportunity of seeing a little of this new country. No religious exercises have been performed on the Sabbath day by the students. Next Sabbath, for the first, there will be *a recitation on the Bible*, I hope. The students appear willing, I am told; though some say they do not believe the Bible, some that they never read a chapter, &c. In the village, too, about a dozen have expressed a willingness to be formed into a class for the same purpose. When the vacation commences, I shall endeavor to commence with the village youth. We have no church formed here, but expect, or rather hope, to have one soon. We have no congregations worth a name; yet there are various places in growing country towns, where young, enterprising clergymen might, by teaching, support themselves, and at the same time raise up respectable congregations in a few years.

“Brother, let us endeavor to be meek. Let us ‘hunger and thirst after righteousness.’ My heart embraces, while my pen salutes, you and yours. The love of my heart to the Presbytery. Shall I ever see them more ?

“Yours,

“ROBERT FINLEY.

“P. S.—With men of reflection the colonizing scheme is as popular here as with you in Jersey. Go on, and prosper. Be firm and resolute. Life is short. All flesh is to come a little lower in worldly matters, to rise a little higher in the service of God and man. I have got my personal abasement. Lord grant I may not deserve more.”

Dr. Finley found himself now in a situation which to him was new and untried in itself, very critical and highly responsible. He had relinquished a station which presented a pleasing sphere of comfort and emolument, of honor and usefulness. He was now entering upon a great experiment, the result of which was covered with uncertainty. He was surrounded with a cloud of witnesses. In the north and in the south, many eyes were turned towards him, with high expectation and great solicitude. The duties incumbent upon him, and the interests committed to his management, were vastly extensive and important. One step of rashness or of folly might blast the whole enterprise. He awakens from partial repose, and summons to action all his powers. His

first object is to understand the condition of the college, the charge of which he has accepted.

To illustrate the circumstances of this university, as they existed, at the time of Dr. Finley's undertaking its superintendence, and to develop correctly the difficulties he had to encounter, it will be necessary to give a concise history of the institution, from its first establishment to that period.

The citizens of Georgia, impressed with a sense of the importance of providing within their own state, the means of sound and useful education, turned their attention very early to this interesting object. In the year 1784, the legislature of Georgia, with a highly commendable discretion and liberality appropriated forty thousand acres of land situated on the northwestern limits of that State, for the purpose of endowing and establishing a university. In the succeeding year, they granted a charter to the institution, and appointed a Board of Trustees to superintend the college affairs, giving them no authority to sell the lands entrusted to their care, but clothing them with discretionary power to use and dispose of them, in any *other manner*, for the best interests of the infant seminary. The donation to the university was situated in the heart of a very extensive tract of unappropriated state lands, on its northwestern frontier, the settling of which was long prevented by the constant dread of savage incursions, to which it was frequently and sometimes fatally subject. When the fear of Indian barbarity began to subside, the population of the state to diffuse itself over this unoccupied

region, and emigrants and speculators to visit it from motives of speculation and emolument—the public lands, a full and permanent title to which could be obtained at once, presented a more interesting and inviting object to their enterprise and avarice, than the college property, subject to such conditions as had been prescribed by the trustees of the college, to suit the necessities and promote the interests of the institution. Consequently very little of the college demesne, appeared likely to be taken on tenancy, and the endowment remained long unproductive and useless. The institution receiving no other active donation, and the corporation relying on the lands as their only resource, fifteen years elapsed before any effort could be prudently made to realize the designs and benefits of the charter.

The friends of literature and of public improvement in general, perceiving the population of the state to be rapidly increasing, and feeling deeply concerned for the literary honor of Georgia, began to manifest great anxiety to see the affairs of the university placed in a more promising and successful train.—Accordingly, in the year 1800, before a sufficient fund had accumulated from the rents of the college property, in conformity with the public impulse, the trustees resolved to commence erecting the necessary college buildings. Their pecuniary resources being very inadequate, and the impatience and importunity of public sentiment seeming to prohibit farther delay to meet the exigence of the case, and as their only alternative, they applied to the legislature of the

state for authority to sell five thousand acres of the original appropriation, and to use the proceeds in erecting the contemplated edifice. In addition to these five thousand acres now cut off from the endowment of the college, the institution sustained the loss of ten thousand acres more, of its most valuable lands. The one half was lost in a controversy with individuals, and the other part fell into the State of South Carolina, upon the adjustment of a territorial dispute. By these misfortunes which were unavoidable, and, to appearance irreparable, the resources of the institution were much impaired; and in the building operations was unavoidably incurred, a burdensome debt, which for seventeen years painfully embarrassed all the proceedings of the board of trustees. The exhausted state of the college funds forced the board afterwards into a system of economy and restriction in expenditure, which prohibited their employing a competent number of college officers, prevented the purchase of a library and philosophical apparatus, and very lamentably depressed the reputation and general aspect of the institution.

In these disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances, did Dr. Finley find the seminary over which he had been selected to preside—its resources impoverished—its credit prostrated—its friends disheartened—its principal officers retired from the scene of action—the number of students greatly diminished—the vital power of its government paralyzed—its edifices in a state of decay and approaching ruin. He was himself far from possessing the strength of con-

stitution and animation of spirit, which had imparted life and power to his former movements. The care and fatigue of his voyage and journey had also produced a considerable impression. The country itself did not present to him an interesting and pleasing aspect. The place of his future abode did not afford a prospect of so much convenience and comfort to himself and his family, as he had been accustomed to enjoy and induced to anticipate.

When we consider all these circumstances in connection, it will not appear surprising, that his spirits should have suffered a temporary depression. Indeed, had he not possessed a mind of extraordinary firmness and resolution he must have sunk under the weight of the accumulated obstacles, and discouragements that presented themselves on every side.

Low, however, and reduced, as the funds of the institution were conceived to be, at first view, Dr. Finley found in the progress of his inquiries, that their nominal was far beyond their real value. In the year 1815, the legislature of the State of Georgia authorized a sale of the unimproved lands of the university, and directed the proceeds to be vested in bank stock. To facilitate the accomplishment of this measure, and to put it into the power of the trustees, to make a more advantageous disposal of the college lands, by giving the purchasers a reasonable credit, the state very liberally advanced a sum sufficient to enable the college to purchase a thousand shares in a bank, expected to go into operation soon, agreeing to depend upon the proceeds of the land sales for a re-

imbursement. This arrangement which manifested liberality and public spirit in the legislature, and which promises a very flattering issue, afforded a benefit, principally remote, and not immediate in its influence. The bank in which the funds were vested, did not commence business until the summer of 1816, and then its operations were founded upon only seventeen per centum of its original capital, and at the expiration of a year, it had demanded but little more than half that sum. The consequence was, that the university instead of deriving an immediate and extensive advantage from the change produced in the state of its finances, received on account of its stock, and from all its other resources, a sum merely sufficient for current expenses. When therefore, Dr. Finley arrived at Athens in May, 1817, he found upon a thorough investigation of the affairs of the institution, that its funds were *good* only in *prospect*,—that although the great cause of the disease was removed, the debility remained.

Difficulties and discouragements, too great to be encountered by men of ordinary minds, tended only to touch the springs of his intellectual frame and to bring all his extraordinary powers into vigorous exertion. The truth of this observation was strikingly exemplified in the case before us. Individuals of respectable talents, attainments and zeal, had yielded to the opposing obstructions. But Dr. Finley found in the circumstances of the university, a suitable field for the exercise of all his abilities and virtues,—his enterprise, his firmness, his indefatigable indus-

try and perseverance, and his pre-eminent prudence and address. His character altogether was such, as to make him peculiarly adequate to the task, of recovering the institution from embarrassment and dishonor, and of raising it to prosperity and usefulness.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the necessity of obtaining the decided and zealous co-operation of the Board of Trustees, he at first employed all his influence with them, and endeavored to inspire them with a lively interest in the state of the college, and concern for the success of the contemplated operations. With his characteristic candor and earnestness he he stated to the Trustees, his opinion, that to raise the university to credit and usefulness, great alterations and improvements must be made immediately, through their instrumentality—that a philosophical apparatus and a respectable library must be procured—that the institution must be supplied with decent and comfortable buildings for accommodating the college officers and students—in order to do this, that some new edifices would be required, and considerable repairs necessary to those already erected—that the officers of the institution should be recalled immediately to their posts—and that the whole establishment should be brought with all practicable speed, to exhibit such an appearance of order and taste, dignity and comfort, as other literary institutions presented to view, and as would command respect, and operate as motives and inducements, with the intelligent, wealthy and honorable inhabitants of the southern States to place their sons there for the purpose of prosecuting

and completing their education. He declared to them, his full persuasion, that the character of the college was to be redeemed, not so much, by a change of officers, as by a change of measures—that his counsels and efforts would avail but little without their cordial concurrence and zealous assistance.

In this interesting and important crisis, ardent and impatient, to facilitate and expedite their progress, by gaining some signal advantage in the outset, he proposed and urged to the Board their appealing directly to the legislature of the State, in a respectful and importunate supplication for relief and aid, relying on the reasonableness of their claim, the usefulness of their object, and the former munificence of that enlightened and liberal body. But this measure appeared to be opposed by so many difficulties and discouragements, that on mature deliberation, it was unanimously agreed not to attempt its execution.

The anxious and determined mind of Dr. Finley, then suggested, as a last resort, the plan of casting themselves directly upon the bounty of a generous and charitable public, with a view to obtain the necessary supplies. In this measure, he was cordially reciprocated by the Board of Trustees, who promptly approved and adopted the proposed system. The necessary arrangements were made immediately and agents were appointed to carry this plan into effect. But Dr. Finley, unbounded in his solicitude for the success of this measure, and unwilling to commit the execution of it to any other person, voluntarily

offered his own services in the delicate and ungracious business of courting public bounty. Besides his earnest desire for the success of this measure, other important considerations induced him to engage in so unpleasant and laborious a service. By the charter of the college it was made the privilege, and duty of the president of the university annually to visit and inspect the *public* schools and academies in the State of Georgia, with a view to their general amelioration and success in the system of instruction and discipline pursued. As soon as this provision in the charter came to his knowledge, he expressed himself in terms warmly approving of it, and resolved to embrace the first opportunity that presented itself, to enter upon this important duty of his office. Dr. Finley was also very desirous of becoming acquainted by personal observation, with the State of Georgia, not only in relation to the face of the country and its general improvements, but in regard to the character, condition and genius of the people—all with a view to enable him better to understand the dispositions and habits of the youth, and more successfully to superintend their education. From this tour, he anticipated much profit and pleasure in relation to all these objects; but his principal desire was to obtain pecuniary contributions for the aid of the university. The period allotted, for the performance of this soliciting service, was that of the approaching vacation in the college.

The time that elapsed before the close of the session, Dr. Finley spent in diligent attendance upon

the various duties of his new and important station. His attention was occupied principally with the daily instruction of the students, and with endeavors to give form and success to the internal regulations and movements of the college. He embraced the earliest opportunity to introduce into college the study of the Bible on the Lord's day. This he considered an important and indispensable object of attention in schools and seminaries of learning, through all the successive stages of improvement.

While diligently occupied with the duties of his office, he was also anxiously engaged in devising measures for the general improvement and success of the college. The preaching of the gospel, he had determined never to relinquish while life lasted. The character and the duties of a pastor were endeared to his heart by a thousand tender and sacred ties, which he could never dissolve nor forget. While therefore supremely devoted to his professional duties, as president, he made it an important object to be useful at the same time, as far as possible, as a minister of the gospel. With this view he made use of the leisure time he enjoyed, to organize a regular Presbyterian congregation in the village of Athens, and to preach in the surrounding country wherever opportunities offered. It was a part of his plan, to institute a class among the young people in the village, for studying the Bible, as soon as his circumstances would enable him to accomplish it. During the month of June and early in July, he met several times with the Trustees of the college, and by his prudent, dignified and

pleasing deportment, he acquired in a very high degree the respect and confidence of that honorable Board. His impressive discourses, delivered from time to time in the village, before the citizens and students, had a very happy effect, and inspired universal veneration. Indeed "everything seemed to bid fair for his being in the hand of Providence a rich blessing to the State of Georgia."

The commencement in the college, which, according to a standing rule, took place on the last Wednesday of July, 1817, was an interesting season. The following account of this transaction, communicated by the Rev. Dr. John Brown, former president of the college, is both appropriate and pleasing:

"The commencements in this institution are held on the last Wednesday of July. On the preceding day a commencement sermon is delivered by the president. Dr. Finley most happily availed himself of this occasion to state to a very numerous and respectable audience, the intimate connection between the growth of true science and the success of Christianity. His text was, Matt. xxiv. 27—'For as the lightning cometh out of the East and shineth even unto the West, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be.' This might be considered as the Doctor's inaugural discourse. He showed in several respects, how the past and present progress of Christian morals, was beautifully exemplified in the progress of that rapid and luminous element, the lightning. The subject was happily chosen, the discourse well prepared, and delivered with great energy. To you, sir, who

were so well acquainted with the powers of his mind and his irresistible manner, I need say nothing respecting the effect. I need not tell you that every eye was riveted on the speaker—every heart impressed.

“The business of the commencement day, he conducted with great dignity and with the most perfect ease to himself. Nothing like embarrassment or perturbation of mind appeared on any occasion. His happy art of making the situation of his pupils easy and pleasant, was also manifestly exhibited. Great God! how deep and how mysterious are thy ways! How strange to us, that a life so useful should not have been spared! When he fell, what an assemblage of qualifications for filling the presidential chair with credit to himself and advantage to the State, fell with him!”

The season of commencement having been agreeably passed through, the business determined on for the ensuing vacation took possession of Dr. Finley's mind, and nothing could attract his attention from it. “*In augenda, festinat et obruitur, re.*” On the subject of this tour Dr. Brown writes in the following judicious and interesting manner:—

“Had Dr. Finley been more indulgent to himself and less ardent in his wishes for the prosperity of the institution, he would have spent the six weeks of vacation which ensued after the commencement, in the enjoyment of ease with his family and little circle of friends in Athens and its vicinity. But his solicitude that the Trustees might be able to meet engagements which he expected would be made by the

gentleman who had gone on for the purchase of books, induced him to volunteer in the business of soliciting benefactions. With this object in view he visited the counties of Jackson, Ogelthorpe, Wilks, Hancock, Green and Morgan. Some of his friends attempted to apprise him of the danger of leaving so healthy a spot as Athens, and undertaking fatigue and exposure during the sickly season, and indeed while a bilious epidemic was considerably prevalent in some of the lower counties; but his mind could not be diverted from its favorite object. On this tour he was very successful in acquiring benefactions to the funds of the university, but imbibed the seeds of a disease that cut short his useful labors, and bereaved the institution of so valuable an acquisition, in the very dawn of its prosperity. He had been about two months in college, and in about two months more he slept in the arms of his Redeemer."

One paragraph in a communication from my honorable correspondent, Col. Clayton, before referred to, so fully confirms the above representation of his excellent friend, and so happily describes the outlines and incidents of this eventful tour, that I shall present it in his own words.

"Although the necessary arrangements were made and the agents appointed to give efficiency to this scheme, yet such was the eager solicitude of Dr. Finley, at every delay which interposed itself between his plans and his hopes, that he descended from the dignified station of his office, to volunteer his services in the ungracious task of courting public gratuity, and

subjecting himself to all the incidents of chagrin, that are known usually to accompany that delicate engagement. Accordingly he commenced his tour the latter part of July, which is the beginning of the sickly season in that State, and although in the short compass which he made, he had the satisfaction to have his most sanguine expectations realized, as to the generous spirit of the people of Georgia and their attachment to their university, and that his own views of their benevolence were not unfounded; yet the knowledge of these valuable facts was obtained by a sacrifice far above their value; for in this tour the fatal sickness was contracted, that bereaved society of one of its brightest ornaments."

While performing this journey, a variety of objects, all connected with the great end contemplated, occupied Dr. Finley's attention. He did not here, even in the midst of secular concerns, for a moment forget his character as an ambassador of the Prince of Peace. On this point the following observations of Col. Clayton, will be found appropriate and satisfactory:—

“He returned home on the 8th of September, after an absence of six weeks from his family, in which time he had been arduously and unceasingly engaged in soliciting private contributions in furtherance of his design, and, that his useful labors might not be confined to one object, he availed himself of every opportunity of shedding abroad the light of those divine truths of which he had been so long a faithful depository, and from whom it had so often emanated with such divine effect. In this short period, by day

and by night, in a season peculiarly unfriendly to mental exertion, he preached sixteen sermons. His constant bodily employment, under almost a vertical sun, exposed to heat and wet, his mind seriously and anxiously engaged, with a constitution and habits unaccustomed to the climate, joined to an unusual prevalence of disease, to have escaped indisposition would indeed have been miraculous. When therefore he reached home, he felt the usual symptoms of an attack, but flattering himself that the languor of his feelings had been produced by excessive fatigue, he unfortunately relied too much upon a state of rest for relief, and omitted such precautionary applications as might have averted the impending blow."

At this period the Presbytery of Hopewell which embraces this district of the church, held its sessions at a village considerably distant from Athens. Dr. Finley's extreme anxiety to enjoy an interview, form an acquaintance, and establish a regular connection with that ecclesiastical body, induced him to set out to attend its meeting on the fourth day after his arrival at home from the former tour. In relation to this subject, Dr. Brown writes in the following manner:—

"It was on the close of this tour that he met with his brethren in the ministry, the members of the Presbytery of Hopewell, in sessions at Madison, in Morgan county. He became a member of that reverend body on the fifth day of September. He was received with great cordiality by his clerical friends, and they would have been very happy in administering to his

comfort and support in his important office as president of the university. Few of his friends have more sensibly felt, or more sincerely lamented his early removal, than the members of the Presbytery of Hopewell. It is the usual practice with this Presbytery to have preaching on every day during their sessions, and to close with the administration of the holy sacramental supper, on the Sabbath day. A great number of people attended this meeting. It was a very solemn occasion, and Dr. Finley appeared to enjoy it exceedingly. He preached several times during the meeting, and attempted to preach on the Sabbath morning, but was not able to do it. In the evening he was better, and after night preached a very solemn and interesting discourse from these words of our Saviour, *It is finished*. On Monday evening he got home to his family in Athens: complained of extreme languor and lowness of spirits: on Wednesday he attended the funeral of a person in whom he felt considerable interest, and a very deep expression was observed in his countenance while a neighboring clergyman was making some appropriate observations at the grave."

Col. Clayton most justly observes that "Dr. Finley, too anxious to fill up the measure of his usefulness, would not suffer the only remedy he had chosen to mitigate the force of his symptoms, to have its full effect:" for before repose has had an opportunity to produce the desired relief from lassitude of body and depression of mind, he engages in some new service, he exposes himself to some new hardship. In con-

formity with which, Dr. Brown, after describing his indisposition while attending the Presbytery, and his exhausted condition after his return home, proceeds to say :

“On Friday, though still unwell, he set out to attend a sacramental meeting at the distance of about twenty miles. This meeting had been deferred for some time with the expectation of enjoying the company and assistance of Dr. Finley. Here again his exertions were beyond his strength. On Saturday he preached a most excellent sermon from Heb. xii. 22, 23, 24—‘But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.’ I know not whether to call this his own funeral sermon. The view which he took of the light in which the gospel represents the things of the eternal world, and the familiar acquaintance which he appeared to have with them, seemed scarcely consistent with a longer continuance in this. He saw with solemn delight in the countenances of his hearers the effect which preaching produced, and was encouraged to attempt it again on the Sabbath; but although the introductory exercises were performed by another, he was scarcely able to go through with a short discourse, until he had to retire for rest. On

Monday he came home. On Tuesday he lingered about the house, and on Wednesday he was taken down on the bed from which he never arose. I was abroad during his illness, and returned just in time to attend one of the most solemn funerals I ever witnessed."

The circumstances of Dr. Finley's sickness and death so far as communicated to the writer, will be presented to the reader principally in the same words in which they were received. The peculiar character of his disease which partook of bilious and typhus symptoms rendered conversation extremely painful and difficult to him. In the commencement of his sickness he considered his recovery doubtful. Soon after he was taken, a friend was called upon to assist Dr. Finley in settling his affairs, and in making a disposition, by will, of the property which he had acquired by his great industry and economy. As is usual on such occasions, his friend asked him if any particular direction should be given respecting the manner of his burial. With a smile on his countenance, his hand on his breast, and his eyes turned towards heaven—"Oh no"—he replied, "I care not how they put me away; I know I shall get up safe."

At the close of a day, early in his sickness, he observed to a friend, "notwithstanding it had been a painful day, it had been to him a very interesting one, as his views of the plan of salvation had been soul-refreshing; there was nothing of ecstasy in them, but solid peace and comfort." At another time he observed to a friend who inquired respecting his

state, "that he had spent a delightful day; his views of the plan of salvation were so clear, that if it were not for his wife and family, he had no desire to get well."

A communication received during Dr. Finley's illness, from the Secretary of the Colonization Society established at Washington, giving information of its brightening prospects, greatly refreshed his languid spirit, and forced from him expressions and manifestations of peculiar satisfaction. It is much to be regretted that Dr. Finley's observations in this trying hour on the subject of colonizing the people of color, which, next to the plan of salvation for sinners, had occupied his mind for years, more than any other subject, could not be distinctly heard and recollected.

Col. Clayton, who attended the Doctor's dying bed, writes in the following interesting manner:

"In all his conversations during his illness, he never lost an opportunity to impress upon his friends and family some sacred truth, and would often make his illness contribute to that holy purpose. 'Oh! my friend,' he would say, 'all flesh is grass;' and then, with a calmness and tranquillity known only to the bosom of the truly pious, would he enforce the necessity of an ever present recollection of that solemn fact. The last Sabbath before his death, as if unwilling to leave the world without making a last effort to lead a valued friend into the paths of peace, and at the same time to give the most convincing proof of his own resignation, he earnestly requested that friend to read to his congregation the

affecting sermon of Dr. Blair, on the subject of *death*, from this text—‘Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.’”

Another correspondent writes in the following words :

“On the tenth day, his disorder took a favorable turn, and we all thought him convalescent. After this, I believe he never realized his danger, until the day previous to his decease. Indeed a general infatuation prevailed with respect to his death, we felt his life so important to the cause of religion, literature and his family—but he who raises up the means, knows the proper time to lay aside. A lethargy from which it was not possible to rouse him for more than a few minutes at a time, made it impossible for him to communicate his views and feelings to his friends or family. A few hours before his death, beginning to realize his end to be approaching, I inquired of him if his mind was comfortable, and if his views were clear. He answered with much sweetness and composure, ‘that it was as much so as his extreme sickness and faintness would admit.’ We awakened him several times through the night. A few words only he was able to say, before he would fall asleep. About one o’clock I went to him and inquired how he felt. He said he was much revived, and perhaps might yet be able to recover; expressed a desire, if it was the Lord’s will, that he might yet live for the sake of his wife and dear children. This was but the

last effort of expiring nature. In an hour after he awoke, almost suffocated—called for air—said he was going. His lips moved for some few seconds, as we supposed in prayer. He then sunk into a state of total insensibility, in which he lay nearly two hours, and then with a gentle sigh breathed out his soul into the bosom of his Saviour. The last hour of his life was most interesting indeed. The joy of his soul illumined his countenance, and rendered it the most interesting object I ever beheld. The very place appeared to be sanctified by the presence of the Saviour and the spirits of the dear departed saints who had been given to him as seals of his ministry, appeared to be waiting to be the crowns of his rejoicing.”

The reflections of a correspondent may here with propriety be introduced.

“What consolation have not the friends of Dr. Finley experienced from his passage through this trying test? With what firmness did he sustain his sickness. How sensible of his end, and how resigned to the stroke. So comfortable, as he expressed himself, were his views of a future state, that, save the ties of his family, he had not a wish to remain connected with the cares of life.”

Dr. Finley once very piously and solemnly observed in conversation with a pious friend, that it sometimes pleased God to enter into a very sore dealing with families, and even with those of his own people.* The

*This conversation took place at the house of Col. John Neilson, New Brunswick, several years ago, and was intended for the comfort of that excellent man and his amiable and pious consort, who

dispensation of God in his providence towards the author of that observation and his family, in the event we are here contemplating, furnishes an additional and mournful illustration of the truth and importance of that remark.

The removal of Dr. Finley to Georgia, and his sudden death, present an instance of darkness and mystery in the government of God, awful and impenetrable to the view of mortals. When we consider the importance and usefulness of the station he occupied at Basking Ridge, the numerous, enterprising, and beneficent plans in which he was engaged, the multiplied difficulties which were encountered in his translation to the south, the many peculiar and prominent qualifications Dr. Finley possessed for the office to which he was called, the favorable impression and the successful beginning he had made in his new sphere of duty, the pressing demands of the interests of science and religion in Georgia for the services of such a man, the pleasing prospect of eventual success that presented itself, when we consider these things, and take into view the size and circumstances of his family, the number and tender age of his children, our emotions can find utterance most suitably in the humble and adoring language of the Apostle, Romans ii. 33, "O, the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God. How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out. For who

were then in deep affliction, and mourning for the sudden death of a beloved son at Batavia, in the East Indies—information of which event had recently been received.

hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor? Of him, and through him, and to him, are all things, to whom be glory forever. Amen.”

The public mind in Georgia was deeply impressed*

* In illustration of this fact, the following extract is introduced from a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Shepard, missionary in Georgia, to the editor of the Boston Recorder—published in the “Religious Remembrancer,” Philadelphia, November 29, 1817.

“*Washington, (Ga.) October 14, 1817.*

“About two weeks after, we were again clothed in sackcloth at the melancholy tidings of the death of Dr. Finley, President of the University of Georgia. No death was ever more deeply felt, or more generally lamented, in this region than this. To this State the loss seems irreparable. The success which attended the few months of his presidency, gave us the most animating hope that Providence had designed him as an instrument for advancing the literary and religious state of Georgia. His plans of operation were laid with much skill, and executed with a zeal highly becoming a man in so important a station. It was in a tour through the lower counties, for the purpose of soliciting donations to procure a library for the college, that he took the seeds of the disease which terminated his valuable life. A dark cloud now hangs over the affairs of the seminary, but we know it will soon be succeeded by a clear sky. We know that He whose “kingdom ruleth over all” will perfect his own work in his own time, and in his own manner.

“The rising state of literature in this country, no doubt will induce the Board to renew their exertions for the prosperity of their rising seminary, in selecting another man without delay to fill the important station now left vacant.”

In a friendly letter received from the south, bearing date April 2d, 1818, I find the following passage, which will probably gratify curiosity and impart pleasure to readers concerned for the welfare of this bereaved institution, viz :

“The Trustees of Franklin College have lately given a call to

and agitated by the information of Dr. Finley's death. Expressions of disappointment and grief at this event fell from every mouth. The painful impulse was experienced from Athens to New York, but it was most poignantly felt in his native State.

the Rev. Mr. Beman, a native of Vermont, who has been some years a resident of Georgia, and has had a large and very respectable school establishment at Mount Zion. Mr. Beman is said to possess great energy, fine talents, and handsome address, joined to warm piety. The public are much pleased with the appointment. It is both hoped and expected he will accept it."

CHAPTER X.

DEATH OCCURRED ON THE THIRD OF NOVEMBER, 1817.—TRANSACTIONS OF TRUSTEES.—LETTERS OF CORRESPONDENCE.

Dr. Finley's death was announced to the public in Georgia in the following handsome and honorable *obituary* notice.

“Died on Friday morning, the 3d instant,* the Rev. Robert Finley, D. D., President of the University of Georgia, after a painful illness of eighteen days. His sickness, which was of the most violent bilious character, he unfortunately contracted during a tour through several of the lower counties, on professional business, in August; he returned home with the fatal indisposition which has imposed so distressing a wound upon all the relations of society.

“Whether we consider the death of this truly pious man, in a private or public view, the causes of regret multiply upon us with such successive and increasing rigor as to overwhelm the mind with the most bitter feelings of anguish. He has left an amiable wife and nine children to mourn his afflicted loss. This family have recently been brought from the bosom of their friends and relations, and, by the melancholy dissolution of its head, are now cast upon a land of strangers. Connected with the fortunes of the lamented deceased, they have forsaken some of

* November, 1817.

the dearest ties which can arise from a love of country, the early scenes of nativity, or the liveliest sympathies of feeling. United with him, whose whole energy of soul was bent to the accomplishment of an all important service to this State, they, by the separation occasioned by this awful dispensation, are now left friendless and unprotected upon the gratitude of that State.

“In the institution, which he had so lately been called to preside over, he commenced the duties of his office with such a prompt and ardent zeal, so unwearied in his exertions, and so constant in his devoted care of all its concerns, as afforded the most certain promise of success, and the no less gratifying assurance that under his administration it was about to raise its languishing head. To the deep regret of this country, he has left the institution once more to the dubious issue of wayward contingencies.

“In contemplating the private course of Dr. Finley, the mind has a field to rest upon, lovely in prospect, unbroken in surface, and endless in variety. If the most fervent and durable piety can give dignity and respect to character—if equanimity of temper, steady firmness of principle, and the most unbending rectitude of conduct, can secure to pure and worthy motives their merited esteem—if the most inflexible benevolence of heart, constantly directed to the advancement of charitable institutions, the relief of misfortune, the diffusion of happiness, and the increase of pious contentment has not lost its influence upon human actions, the life and death of this good man must offer an example full of peace and consolation

to his family, comfort and resignation to his friends, and the most lasting usefulness to society.

“The church has sustained a loss of one of its firmest pillars: in all the pursuits of his life, those ceased to be objects of interest, when they ceased to subserve the purposes of religion. To a mind warmed and animated by those hopes, which devotion contemplates shall survive the stroke of death, he joined the soundest dictates of sober reflection. the cool and unshaken possession of judgment and the open and reconciling stamp of sincerity. From the pulpit he was accustomed to utter, graced with beauty, armed with the energy of the most impressive eloquence, those eternal truths, which while they stand on “the Rock of ages,” were winged with irresistible effect, when delivered with his masterly and affecting management, and never failed to dignify the heart, elevate the affections, and heighten those dread expectations which rest in such mysterious wonder beyond the limits of time.”

To exhibit the sentiments that prevailed in Georgia on this occasion, the following document, with which the writer has been obligingly furnished, is presented to the public:

“*Milledgeville, Senate Chamber, November 12, 1817.*

“On motion of Mr. Elliot—Resolved unanimously, by the *Senatus Academicus*,* that the lamented

* The body distinguished by this name, is composed of a highly respectable committee, appointed annually, by the legislature of Georgia, for the purpose of exercising a general superintendence over all the literary institutions in that state.

death of the late President Finley, having deprived Franklin College of an useful and highly important officer, the community of a conspicuous member, and his afflicted family of its only guide and support—The Senatus Academicus entertains a just sense of the exalted worth of the deceased, and most unfeignedly mingle their regrets with those of the bereaved family for their common loss. And as a testimony of respect for the memory of Doctor Finley, they do strongly recommend to the Board of Trustees to continue the salary of that officer to the end of the quarter in which he died, and to offer to his family the use of the President's house and its appendages until the same shall be required for the accommodation of his successor——

“And it is further unanimously resolved, that the eldest son of the late Dr. Finley be educated at Franklin College, free of any expense, so far as relates to any charges for tuition, and that a copy of these resolutions be handed by the Secretary to Mrs. Finley.”

The following extract from the minutes of the Board of Trustees in Franklin College will be read with pleasure :

Athens, Franklin College, December 12, 1817.

“On motion of Mr. Clayton—Resolved unanimously, by the Board of Trustees that they feel with full force the testimony of respect offered by the Senatus Academicus, to the memory of the late president of the university, and do most cheerfully acquiesce

in the measures recommended by that body, as demonstrative of their veneration for the lamented deceased and their regard for his respectable family : And in addition to those measures, this Board further unanimously resolve, that the education in manner recommended to be bestowed on the eldest son of Dr. Finley be extended to all his sons, and that the sum of two hundred dollars be appropriated for the purpose of erecting over his grave a suitable tomb-stone, commemorative of his worth and services ; and that the Secretary of the Board hand a copy of this resolution to Mrs. Finley.

“ Resolved, that the prudential committee be authorized to sell, in such manner as they may think proper, any lots in the town of Athens, already laid off, or which may be laid off hereafter, in pursuance of a former resolution of this Board, passed the 31st of July, last, first reserving to Mrs. Finley, widow of the late Rev. Dr. Finley, any two lots which she may chose out of said range, one being a front, and the other a back lot ; and that the President *pro tempore* be authorized to make her a title to the same.

“ True extract from the minutes.

“ JOHN HODGE, *Secretary*.

The following letter exhibits the subject of these memoirs in a very interesting point of view. No character could be more properly applied to him than that which he here sustains—the prompt and affectionate comforter of the afflicted. As this judicious, pious and tender communication appears likely to be

highly gratifying and extensively useful, it is inserted with great pleasure, and with many thanks to the excellent lady who first experienced its consoling power, and now through this channel, bestows it on the public for their instruction and comfort in sorrow:—

“ *Basking Ridge*, April 14, 1815.

“ MADAM,

“ Mrs. V—— D—— spent a few minutes with us yesterday, after our worship on the day of national thanksgiving, and gave us the afflicting information of the numerous and heavy trials with which it has pleased the Lord to try you. Your afflictions yet continue, and you perhaps begin to think they will never terminate. The ways of God are full of wonder, and he often makes the cloud his chariot, and the thick cloud his pavilion. His providence, which for a season appeared clear and bright, is at other times surrounded with an impenetrable gloom. But let us not despair. He remains the same, *a God of sovereign mercy*, and we through the cloud may believe his grace, secure of his compassion. God is love, nor can he cease to be so. Your afflictions appear to me to be more than commonly great, but yet not so great as the Almighty hand, which is able to sustain you. One dear babe is withdrawn from your bosom, and has taken off a little portion of your heart. But *it is well with the child*.* Dedicated to the

* To illustrate the views of Dr. Finley in regard to the very interesting subject here involved,—to exhibit the basis on which he founds the sentiment here advanced *it is well with the child*—and to place this precious article of Christian faith in a light at once clear

Lord, and presented to him, a living sacrifice, faith may follow it to heaven, and contemplate it among the happy spirits. She will not come to you, and

and consoling to the afflicted, the following extract from his sermon on the *benefits of baptism*, &c. is introduced:—See 2d general head of discourse—4th particular, page 20th of this sermon.

“The last blessing now to be mentioned, connected with baptism, is, that it conveys the promises of God, ‘whose are the promises.’ Among these stand most conspicuous the promises: that those who, being baptized, die in infancy should be saved: and that the *possession of the seal* should impart to the possessor the power of conveying both the seal and its benefits to the rising generation. God commanded the seal of his promise to be put on the bodies of infant children and at the earliest possible period: saying, ‘I will be a God to thy seed.’ To convey and secure this promise to Abraham, God ordered the seal of his covenant to be put upon the bodies of the infant seed of the father of the faithful. ‘He gave Abraham the covenant of circumcision, and so Abraham begat Isaac and circumcised him on the eighth day.’ Acts. vii. 3.—What are we to suppose is meant by the promise, ‘I will be a God to thy seed.’ Are we to think that it meant nothing more, than that in general, God would take care of Abraham’s children, as he had already watched over and blessed *him*? Or are we to believe that this promise was of such a nature that it conveyed some valuable blessing to every individual who became a subject of it! It appears to be the fair construction, that when God promised, saying, I will be a God to thy seed, he did engage himself to every individual who should receive the seal of the promise. And is there any way in which he can manifest himself to be the God of those, who by the counsels of his excellent wisdom, are allotted to die in infancy, but by taking them to himself in glory? To take them from their cradle to his heavenly life is all that he can do for them, as their God. I mean not here to decide unfavorably on the case of those who die in infancy without being baptized.—But I do mean to exalt the grace of God, and the efficacy of his sealed promise: And that this meaning, at least in part, of the promise, ‘I will be a God to thy seed,’ is much confirmed by the

why should you wish her back to this place of sorrow and sighing and pain? The Lord has need of her in another state, and if the Lord requires who would refuse? I have often thought that the counsels of God may require something of the same variety, which we observe in this state, for our after condition: and that therefore it is requisite that some babes, some tender and some full grown youth, some in the vigor of life and some white with age, should enter into heaven.

“Your other dear child will, I trust, be spared to you, to be a comfort to you while you have need of earthly comforts; or, should her sickness also be unto death, consider, that the Lord knoweth the best time, and she will be taken from the evil to come, and that you shall soon go unto her. Simeon is not and Joseph is not; all these things are against me, said the aged patriarch. But it was not so. It appeared only for evil, but the Lord meant it only for good, and so it appeared plainly at the last. Perhaps the sorest of all your afflictions is the absence of your husband* in his feeble and declining state of health. Great indeed must be the grief which a heart of sensibility

consideration that God suffered the seed of man to perish, by his despising the threatening of God, so he hath, in restoring the ruins of that fall, secured the salvation of the dying infant, by connecting it with the promise made to the parent. ‘These are the little babes,’ says Dr. Watts, ‘who just enter into the world to die out of it, and who are saved from everlasting death, merely by the spreading veil of the covenant of grace drawn over them by the hand of a parent’s faith.’”

* Then on a journey to Georgia for the benefit of his health.

would feel in a situation like to yours. Your awakened imagination represents to you his situation in all its aggravations. But perhaps he has strength and consolation given to him, which make these light afflictions, which are for a moment, aid him in realizing the exceeding weight of glory, which is also eternal, and is wrought out for the saints by the distresses of this life. Perhaps while the outward man decays, the inner man is renewed day by day. In a land of strangers he enjoys the presence of his Father and his Elder Brother. A wanderer, he is making the greater and more speedy preparation to enter the city which God prepares for his saints. And should he, without ever reaching you, breathe out his spirit into the hands of Christ, his mortal part will be deposited in the grave selected for him by his heavenly Father. What place of ending his labors could be so desirable! But what if excess of grief and the power of disease, should remove the parents and the little babes! Is it anything else, but the removal of the whole family, to the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, whose builder and maker is God? Whatever may be the allotment of the Lord, all things will terminate in the glory of God, and your own best good. When a Christian once complained to his fellow, of the numerous sorrows of which he was partaker, he was answered, 'Never mind it, dear brother, you shall be the happier for it to all eternity.' The consolations of the Lord are not few, nor is his ear heavy, nor is his arm shortened. *He* is witness to your distress, who told his

disciples, they should have tribulation in this world, but exhorted them to be of good cheer, for that he had overcome the world. He will either support and comfort you, or, coming forth from the place where he dwells, in the boundless ocean of his infinite love, he will take you up to himself. My dear friend Mrs. V—— D——. desired me to write this letter, which I close with a sincere prayer that it may administer a little comfort.

“In the common Saviour,

“Yours,

“ROBERT FINLEY.”

Additional letters, received from a gentleman of distinguished respectability, with whom Dr. Finley kept up a very free and friendly correspondence for many years.

“*Basking Ridge*, June 12, 1810.

“DEAR SIR,

“I have copied over the letter which you were pleased to return to me, that I would make some small alterations in it to fit it for the magazine. I found considerable difficulty in making the thing as perfect as it is. The subject matter was gone from me, and I found in the copy put into my hands many words, and these all leading ones, left out. I felt rather reluctant to do any thing with it. But how could I resist the wish of a man who has done me many kindnesses, and of a lady whom I much esteem in the Lord? I do not know that it will be of sufficient value for the magazine, but I will submit it to

your pleasure. Sometimes the exercises of dying men, when represented in a lively manner, produce a deep effect on others. There is something very striking to us in the feelings of persons who are in the very situation in which *we must* be by and by. I was informed two weeks ago of a *worldly*, fashionable, sensible lady of my acquaintance, who spent two days and nights to observe the emotions of a pious, godly neighbor. I know nothing of the effect produced. But the man went full of triumph. On a very great change taking place in him, he asked his friends if it was death. They answered that he was dying. Upon this he said, "Glory be to the Lord, the hour of deliverance is come."

"A letter attends this for Mrs. M—— and Mrs. L——. I meant to write to the latter on the subject of female societies for prayer.

"Yours,

"ROBERT FINLEY."

"*Basking Ridge, July 20, 1810.*

"DEAR SIR,

"I received your favors of June 28 and July 10, the day before yesterday, by one and the same mail. I know not by what means the one of June has been delayed. It bears the post mark, Newark, July 12th. Having received your answer, I shall consider master B—— as one of my supplies next fall, and shall expect him to quarter with A——, who is in good health and doing as usual.

"As you have made no mention in either of your letters of receiving 'the old letter new vamped,' or

my letter to Mrs. M——, I have been apprehensive those letters may have miscarried. Both I and Mrs. Finley are grieved to hear of Mrs. M——'s want of health, but hope our compassionate Lord and almighty Physician will soon heal her. It gives us pleasure that she is 'slowly recovering.' When her frame, strengthened by the everlasting arm, shall have shaken off disease, she will soon be perfectly recovered. What a thick veil a little disease draws over the scenery of this world. Blessed be the Lord, there is a land the inhabitants whereof doth never say, *I am sick*. There may our weary souls refresh themselves in the bosom of our Creator. The diseases of my soul are my worst diseases, especially spiritual sloth, arising from the want of that faith which is 'the substance of things hoped for.' This is much increased by the spiritual death, in which a large part of my people are sunk. Yet I know of a small number who are considerably alarmed at their situation. But they are not taking by violence the kingdom of heaven; they are not striving and pressing into it; their convictions remain, but they are ready to die. O, that the Lord would be pleased to strengthen them. When I urge them, in personal address, they weep and tremble; when I visit them again, I find them nearly as before. I suspect they very much resemble the state of our friend Mr. ——. He is not easy, but his impressions do not *urge* him on. He waits for the moving of the waters; but does not consider that the *angel of the covenant* has moved them once for all, and that they are always healing. He

sees that something is wrong, but does not feel that *all is lost*. He thinks that religion may be necessary, but he means to have it by and by, and not now. If he had as much of the grace of God as his heart could contain he might be an excellent man indeed. If I find an opening, and any liberty, I shall probably write him on this subject. Perhaps the best way is to make an opening, and trust to the Lord for liberty. Be pleased, sir, to accept my thanks for your kindness, relative to the money transaction, and believe me to be, with very great regard,

“Yours,

“ROBERT FINLEY.

“N. B. I found one of my people the other day emancipated from the terrors of hell and slavery of Satan and rejoicing with most exceeding joy.”

Basking Ridge, August 9, 1811.

“*Dear Sir*: I think our common friend, Mr. W——, informed me by letter that you, or some friend of yours, wished to have the filling of the first vacancy that might occur in the school. I now foresee that in the beginning of November there will be a place for four, three being about to go to colleges. And three fine scholars and orderly young men they are. You will be pleased to signify, at your leisure, what may be your wishes on this subject. Last spring a Mr. V——, an officer, I think, in one of the banks, spoke to me on the subject of a son of his. Mr. W——stated to me that he was a man of excellent

and pious character. I believe I signified to him that he should have early notice of any vacancy that might happen; that if his son was not placed according to his wish he might have an opportunity to send him to our academy. Since I saw you last I have been very busy, as indeed I generally am. I have been catechising the youth and children of my congregation, and, having found a small number who appeared to be seriously exercised with the great truths of religion, I have been visiting a good deal. I perceive something more than ordinary on divers of my people's hearts. Here and there a *mercy drop* fallen down. But, alas, the fierce sun of temptation threatens to dry up all again, like as the few scattering drops from a cloud are dried up by the scorching sun. There is an operation on their hearts, but it does not appear yet as that *soul travail*, which usually precedes the new birth. I have endeavored to fan the flame, but my own heart, like theirs, is only half awake and half alive. Yet I trust that God will give me some few at this time who shall reign with Him forever. I met one old man the other day who I do think is made alive to God by the spirit of Jesus Christ; and one woman, in the caves of the rocks, who begins to see men as trees walking. Pray for us, dear sir, that the Gospel may be glorified among us. The day before yesterday I went, in company with another clergyman, to a neighboring church, where there is something of a special display of the mercy of God. It was in a distant corner, among the hills, nine or ten miles from my residence. I think

it was a solemn season to most, and a precious season to many. The house not being capable of containing the great multitude of rich and poor, but especially the last, we seated ourselves on seats on the house green, under some aged willows and locusts. There were full five hundred persons, who behaved as discreetly as ever you saw the same number do in a country church, for a little more than three hours, while the worship lasted. One lady said, who had never seen an assembly for worship out of doors, when she drew near and saw such a scene, that it appeared at first a fairy scene ; but when she got near enough to hear the minister, the scene appeared to be laid in the first heavens. So you perceive that it has wrought on some imaginations. May the Lord send his Spirit to all hearts. The leaven of God continues to work, and the mass must be leavened. Amen. Have you come into your new church yet? I hope to have my little babe baptized next Monday. By the grace of God we are all well. A—— and Master B—— remain as before, good boys, and good scholars. Mrs. Finley sends her Christian love to Mrs. M—— and family, not forgetting your daughter Mrs. —— . I unite with her, and to you, sir, I tender the assurances of my great respect.

“Yours,

“ROBERT FINLEY.”

“*Basking Ridge, December 19, 1814.*”

“DEAR FRIEND,

“For some considerable time back I have felt a desire that the agreeable correspondence we formerly

carried on should be renewed, and especially since I was informed that you had experienced some adverse dispensations of Providence. The disappointments of several of my best and dearest friends, occasioned to me a great many reflections on the vanity and uncertainty of all worldly views and calculations, and the little that I had fondly called *my own* appeared ready to take wings and fly away. Indeed I have not been able to escape entirely the devastation of this day of disaster and of judgment, but have suffered a considerable diminution of that moderate abundance which some time ago I enjoyed. However, I desire to be submissive, and to see the hand of the Lord in all that concerns me. Your case and situation have been often present with me, and I have longed to know what door would be opened for you. In some former states of society, and of commerce, it would have been but the misfortune of a day, and to-morrow would have seen you rising into business and affluence. But this I know, the Lord knoweth how to deliver the righteous out of trouble, and he can open a thousand channels, when he will, to pour down comforts upon his people. May I not hope that already something is presented to your view suited to your convenience and wishes. It is a day of sad rebuke, and judgment begins at the house of God. But, though it begins at them, and they appear for a moment to be the mark for the arrows of the Almighty, yet it shall pass away from them, and when he has afflicted them a little he will give them deliverance and put a song of deliverance into their mouths. How far the Lord means to

proceed in his present course I do not know, nor can any one form any conception; but from the dark clouds which hang over us it would seem that the fury of the storm is not passed away. There is yet no reformation of heart and life, no amendment of our ways, no returning unto the Lord. Alas, in my own charge the most sad declension of the life of God is experienced. Where have fled all those pleasing expectations on which our hearts rested with so much delight! Were they only the pleasing reveries of a gilded imagination? No, they were the smiles of our gracious Father previous to the day of chastisement which was to come upon all the earth. We, through the cloud, believe his grace, secure of his compassion still. Though the clouds should return after the rain, yet at last the storm will disperse, and the sunshine of the divine favor will *rest* upon his people and on the world. Are we not, however, to look for some heavier judgments upon our land? It appears to me we are to experience more; but his people who have felt the first of the affliction shall be delivered and set free at the last. Oh, could I feel a spirit of prayer, could I see the hearts of God's people mourning and contrite, it would refresh me, and make me believe the vengeance was going by. But as blindness happened in part to Israel, so blindness has not only come upon the nation but even on the people of the Lord, so that as yet we see but imperfectly the dealings of the Lord. Party, passion, strife, infatuate us, and prepare us for farther judgments. But why should we spend all our time in mourning and complaints? Hath the Lord

forgotten to be gracious? Hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies? Will he be favorable no more? Zion saith, indeed, "The Lord hath forsaken me and my Lord hath forgotten me." But it is not so. Zion spoke the language of a weak disconsolate woman. She spoke, too, the language of her fainting sons. But the walls of Zion are ever before the Lord, and on the palms of his hands are graven all the names of her sons. In a few minutes I expect to set out to visit a few sick, and to preach to a disciple hindered from the sanctuary by long disease. The subject—1 Corinthians, iii. 22, 23, For all things are yours, whether life or death, &c. May the Lord increase my faith and yours in these words. They suit every case, and answer every purpose. For some months Mrs. Finley has desired to visit New York, and among her friends to see Mrs. ——. She is yet hindered by many cares, but hopes to come after a little. The academy is sufficiently supplied. Let the bush that burned, and was not consumed, be in your remembrance. And may the Lord who appeared in the bush bless you. This is the sincere prayer of,

"Dear sir, your sincere
and affectionate friend,
"ROBERT FINLEY."

CHAPTER XI.

CHARACTER OF DR. FINLEY—REVIEW OF HIS PAST COURSE—NOTICE
OF HIS SERMONS—LABORS—DEATH.

DR. Finley had no ambition to excel as a fine writer, or to acquire fame as an author. His great excellence consisted in prudent and useful action. The sermons which he published and which are his only publications, were modestly and reluctantly yielded through the importunity of friends, rather than ostentatiously offered by himself to the world.

The first of his sermons bestowed upon the public, was a funeral discourse, “on the victory of Christ over death,” delivered at the interment of the Rev. William Boyd, in the congregation of Lamington on the 17th day of May, 1807, from the following words:—1 Corinthians xv. 54. “So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.”

Notwithstanding the evidences of haste in preparation, which it exhibits, this is an edifying and solemn discourse on a most interesting subject. The concluding paragraph presents a striking summary of Mr. Boyd’s numerous and prominent excellences of character—and also a just specimen of Dr. Finley’s taste in composition at this early period:

“Affection and esteem induce me to speak a little of the character of this man of God. In doing this I shall less comply with what is customary on such occasions, than to do that which is pleasant to myself. His Creator endowed him with an intellect, strong and vigorous—with a mind clear and distinguishing. This, combined with a retentive memory and much early reading, had furnished him as a fit companion for the man, the gentleman and the scholar. He had wit without severity, sprightliness without levity, and knowledge without ostentation. Equally ready for easy conversation or profound investigation, no man ever found himself uneasy in his society. Never in his usual intercourse, either inviting or avoiding contested subjects—few men could boast that they had foiled him in solid argument. The great use which he made of his retentive memory was to lay up the rich treasures of Sacred Scriptures. Of these he had gathered perhaps as large a store, as any of his time. And the happy use which he had made of his discerning mind was, to be sound in the faith. The doctrines of the Reformation were his great delight. They were the theme of his discourse, the objects of his faith and the comfort of his soul. He preached them while he lived; he rejoiced in them in his dying hours. He was far less concerned to find out new things, than to make a wise improvement of truths already known. He walked in much humility and was a lively example of the meekness and gentleness of Christ. I came not here, however, so much to praise my friend, as to bury him; not so much to bring his virtues to the

light, as to assist in committing his body to the tomb. His burial, without pomp, is splendid, all good men attending him. His name is venerable without the praises of funeral address, all good men lamenting his departure. But I cease to speak more of him. His praise hath long since been in all the Churches, and his name is now embalmed in every Christian heart."

[See this discourse printed in New Brunswick by A. Blauvelt—1807.]

Soon after this, Dr. Finley was induced to present to the public his very respectable "Sermon on the Baptism of John, showing it to be a peculiar dispensation and no example for Christians"—from the following text—Acts xix. 5—"When they heard this they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus."

The subject of baptism in general, and especially, the question respecting the proper mode and subjects of it, was at this period much agitated and discussed, in the pulpit and in the private circle. Dr. Finley's sermon was considered very seasonable and very useful. Its general object, which is faithfully and successfully pursued, is indicated in the title above inserted. The discourse displays clearness of discrimination, strength of argumentation, considerable critical skill and literary research. As it was expected to be considered in some measure controversial, in its nature, it was written with much more care and accuracy than the former discourse. This sermon raised Dr. Finley's reputation, as a man of sound intellect and promising usefulness. [See this discourse—printed by "Shepard Kollock—Elizabethtown—1807."]

This sermon was followed, in the next year, by Dr. Finley's distinguished and popular, "Discourse on the nature and design, the benefits and proper subjects of baptism," from Acts ii. 39. "For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."

This sermon in itself, possesses great originality and merit; and it was published under circumstances calculated to give it an increased estimation with the public:—in connection with Dr. Smith's truly finished and eloquent sermon on the same general subject, and with the full approbation of that eminent author. They were both published by "B. B. Hopkins & Co." of Philadelphia. Dr. Smith, in his preface, refers to Dr. Finley's sermon in the following words—"I can with pleasure refer to a discourse of the Rev. Robert Finley on the same subject, for a more ample elucidation of several points, from the analogy which subsists between the Mosaic and the Christian dispensations."

This sermon of Dr. Finley is extremely valuable and interesting, and ought to be possessed and studied by every parent. The matter comprised under its second head, is principally new, and calculated strikingly to represent the importance of this evangelic ordinance.

These discourses together, probably present as able and interesting a view of the subjects treated and sentiments maintained in them, as can be found within the same limits, in our language.

In connection with the preceding subject, to show

Dr. Finley's views of the important practical question, so much discussed recently in the Presbyterian Church, relating to the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline over baptized persons, the following extract, from the session records of the congregation of Basking Ridge, is introduced :

“*December 31, 1807.*—The session entered into a free conversation on the question—are all baptized persons proper subjects of the discipline of the church, and if so, how far will it be proper, at this time, to attempt the disciplining of baptized persons, who are not members in full communion?—It was agreed unanimously, that baptized persons, from their relation to the church, not only *may*, but *ought to* experience the care and attention of the church—Whereupon :

“1. Resolved, that the session of this church will in future extend their care to all persons, who by baptism are subjected to its government.

“2. Resolved, that a register be kept, of all families belonging to this congregation, for the inspection of the session at their meetings.

“3 That there be four regular meetings of the session in each year, for the purpose signified in the first resolution, on the following days—

“4. Resolved, that the discipline to be administered to those not in full communion, shall never extend to calling them before the session, but only to counsel and admonition, and finally to a formal notice, that a continuation in sin will expose them, to be recorded as excluded from the privileges of the church, which might belong to them.”

Mr. Finley was requested to explain and enforce this subject, in his public discourses, at a proper time.

Two additional sermons, which were published in the "New Jersey Preacher," in July, 1813, complete the list of Dr. Finley's publications—The one from Matthew v. 14. entitled "The disciples of Christ the light of the world:"—the other from Philippians iii. 9.—"The benefits resulting from being found in Christ."

In these discourses, Dr. Finley appears to have aimed principally to be useful. They are such as his talents and piety would naturally and easily produce, and they are such as the editors of the *New Jersey Preacher* solicited from him—full of evangelic truth and vital godliness. Their style is more graceful and agreeable than that of his former productions.

Dr. Finley manifested great indifference with regard to the dress of his ideas. In this respect, he resembled many of the learned and excellent Scottish preachers and philosophers to whom he bore so near an alliance. His Creator had not endowed him richly with those delicate sensibilities and nice perceptions of taste, necessary to eminence in elegant composition: and he voluntarily permitted his capacity for this kind of excellence, to remain in a great degree, uncultivated. His grammatical and rhetorical improvements were ample. But while he successfully communicated his knowledge to others, he seemed, from choice, to make no effort to employ it to his his own advantage in writing. Perspicuity, strength, and effect, were the great things at which he aimed:

Ornament he did not employ. A correct skill for the collocation of words in a sentence and harmonious sounding of periods, he did not possess. His style sometimes exhibits a want of ease and smoothness, in arrangement and expression. "But there is in his negligence a rude inartificial majesty."* And the good sense, the uniform simplicity, the unaffected earnestness, and the excellent spirit, which characterize his discourses, render them highly respectable and agreeable. Had he written more he would have written better. Our great regret is that we possess so few of these pious and precious productions of his uncommonly strong, elevated and sanctified mind.

In presenting a summary view of this eminent *man of God*, we are called to contemplate an unusually pleasing combination and variety of peculiar excellences.

Dr. Finley's person exceeded the ordinary size of men: he was about six feet in stature; erect and well proportioned; wide across the shoulders and deep through the breast; grave and contemplative in his appearance; deliberate and dignified in his movements. The lineaments of his face were peculiar, and the expression of his countenance was striking. His hair, naturally black, was considerably whitened by the lapse of years and the toils of life. His forehead was unusually capacious and commanding. His eyes were blue, marked with a mixture of mildness and severity. His cheek bones were high and prominent. His nose, above the common size, was on the

Roman model. His whole mien exhibited traces of *Scotch* extraction. Compliance and decision, gentleness and asperity, the winning softness of conciliation and affection, and the uncourtly sternness of a strong, original, self-possessed mind, seemed to mingle their traits, and to give variety, interest and energy, to the expression of his face.

The outlines of his character corresponded with his personal appearance. The features of his mind, original and peculiar, were conformed to no living model. Firmness and independence, in him, constituted signal and distinguishing traits. In conversation and acquaintance, he was open and candid, yet considerate and cautious: he was dignified without ostentation; authoritative and determined, without arrogance or disdain: in opinion, he was steadfast and faithful to himself, but not intolerant to others: he was reluctant to admit an unfavorable impression respecting any person, slow to manifest it even to an enemy: he was plain and easy in manners; sufficiently attentive to person, dress and equipage to be respectable, but decidedly opposed to show and splendor, to all compliance with useless forms and frivolous fashions. In receiving and entertaining a friend, he exhibited a singularly agreeable mixture of carelessness and simplicity, with cordiality and satisfaction.

The utmost frankness and sincerity ran through all his actions. Mean compliances, little artifices, cunning subterfuges, he utterly abhorred. In the latter years of his life, especially, a high degree of Christian gentleness and meekness, was remarked in

his deportment. It was indeed eminently true of Dr. Finley, that whatever was originally unhappy or wrong, in his temper or deportment, he controlled, corrected and changed, while, at the same time, the high gifts of God, and the natural excellences of his character, from good sense, from principle and from grace, he perseveringly and successfully cultivated and employed, until he was called to the general assembly of the spirits of just men made perfect.

As a pastor, Dr. Finley has rarely been excelled. His preaching, like himself, was not *resembled* to any known standard. He was often heard to say, that in early life, he was much attracted and influenced by the powerful eloquence and profound discussions of the Rev. Dr. Samuel S. Smith, from whom, in part, he received his theological instructions. For that *great* man, he entertained, all his days, a very high esteem and veneration. But his genius was so peculiar and unaccommodating, and the native impulses of his mind towards something original and unusual, in thought, expression and action, so strong, that he could not bring himself to attempt imitation, or conformity to any proposed example. Therefore, casting himself upon the resources of his own mind, yielding to its strong, original impulses, and to the directing and governing influence of lively religious feeling, he pursued a new track, and formed a character, *sui generis*, which was generally admired.

In public prayer, Dr. Finley's manner was slow, but earnest; simple, but solemn. He was remarkable for making frequent and long pauses, especially

in the beginning of this service. The thoughts and views which presented themselves, appeared so deeply to occupy and engross his mind, that he could scarcely proceed from sentence to sentence. His prayers were sensible, pious and devout. He was mighty in the scriptures, and hence his devotional performances were enriched with a great variety of appropriate scripture language. In consequence of his great zeal and devotedness, in this part of the service of the house of God, it was sometimes carried to an unusual length, but never so far as to become tedious and uninteresting.

Lecturing on portions of the scriptures, was with him a favorite mode of instruction, from the pulpit. And, in pursuing this plan he manifested superior skill and judgment, in selecting, illustrating and applying the most important and useful matter which the passages suggested. A series of lectures, which he delivered to his congregation at Basking Ridge, on the epistle to the Romans, has been represented, by persons highly competent to judge, and who had the happiness to hear them, as displaying in a very high degree, masculine vigor of understanding, fervent zeal, and eminent practical piety.

Dr. Finley was one of the most highly approved and useful preachers of his day. In his theological tenets, he was purely and rigidly orthodox. Divinity, in its various branches and departments, had been the subject of his laborious, constant and delightful study. The *word of God* was indeed habitually the man of his counsel, the subject of his meditation, and the re-

joicing of his heart. His experimental acquaintance with the operations of God's *Holy Spirit*, and with the exercises of the soul under divine influence, was deep and thorough. His sermons exhibited a copiousness of valuable matter, judicious arrangement, clearness of illustration, strong reasoning, animating, practical piety, and irresistible power. The sentiments with which he was regarded, as a preacher of the gospel, consisted more of that high esteem, strong approbation, and pious satisfaction, which sound sense warm piety, and great exertions in a Christian minister produce, than of that light admiration and applause excited by fine talents, finished sentences, brilliance of fancy, and cultivated gracefulness. He captivated the heart more than the imagination, and secured the approbation of the former more than the admiration of the latter.

If we were to analyze his intellectual powers, and his qualifications for eminence as a public speaker, and judge of them by the principles of taste and the rules of eloquence, as separated from the object to which they were devoted, from the service in which they were employed, and from the effect they always produced, we should not pronounce them of the highest order. His voice was loud and commanding, rather than sweet and melodious—his elocution was strong and significant, rather than easy or graceful—his gestures bore an appearance of stiffness and negligence—he did not ordinarily employ unusual *excellence of speech*, or *the enticing words of man's wisdom*. Notwithstanding, he possessed and manifested

a peculiar power and capacity to engage and impress the hearer's mind. This we are assured was the fact, in the metropolis of the nation. We are furnished with ample evidence, that this was the case, among the wealthy and cultivated citizens of Georgia. In the populous cities of New York, and Philadelphia, few preachers commanded more large and solemn assemblies. And, through his own State, in town and country, he was heard with the greatest attention and pleasure.

The effect usually attendant upon his preaching, was not produced by an artful, studied appeal to the passions, nor by the play of a sprightly and vivid imagination, nor by any premeditated stroke of eloquence. It was rather an effect naturally and imperceptibly created by his easy, earnest and solemn manner of address. On ordinary occasions, without effort and without design, he would gently draw the attention, gradually interest the hearer, steal on the sensibilities and affections of the mind, and so, imperceptibly bring the whole understanding and heart, into a state of painful commotion, or of pleasing captivity. The hearer would be pleased, impressed and affected—yet he could scarcely tell why. On surveying the preacher, his talents and faculties, in an abstract point of view, he would find little, of an extraordinary nature, to admire: but on placing himself again under the same voice and in similar circumstances, the same or a greater effect would certainly follow. The Creator had endowed Dr. Finley, with uncommon powers, which could be distinctly

perceived, and which were extensively felt, but which cannot be fully described. It may be said, in general, that he saw clearly, felt strongly, and expressed himself with solemn earnestness—that sometimes his imagery was bold and striking, his description frequently rapid, ardent and overwhelming. After all, in estimating Dr. Finley's powers and oratory, we ought not to lose sight of the important truth, that the power of the spirit of the most high God, often rested on his head, penetrated his heart, and pervaded the hearts of his hearers and produced effects as wonderful as they were divine.

In those interesting seasons, of awakening and revival, which agitated his own mind with strong feeling and prompted him to corresponding efforts, he sometimes exhibited a spectacle in the sacred desk, which cannot now, after the lapse of many years, be contemplated without lively emotion. Then especially he was enabled to speak in *demonstration of the Spirit and with power*. The multitude often listened with astonishment, and wept and trembled before him. They saw, that he preached, not to secure to himself a *name*, but for them a *crown*. Pious sensibility and thoughtless hardness, were often deeply moved under his awakening discourses. His descriptions, comparisons and illustrations were often highly original, significant and striking.

During the *out-pouring of the Spirit* in 1803, he was preaching, at a particular time, on the atonement and priesthood of Christ. In the progress of his discourse, after the subject in general had been pret'a-

fully explained, and the work of Christ as Saviour, illustrated, he made a strong effort to convince sinners of the danger of neglecting Christ:—he represented their guilt and misery without Him in strong and suitable language:—he described them as approaching an awful precipice, beneath which the billows of divine wrath were rolling in fearful majesty:—every eye was fixed in deep and silent attention:—the breaking surges of divine vengeance seemed to send up a dreadful echo to the preacher's voice:—just at this moment of trembling anxiety, the speaker, as if to rescue the multitude from the dreadful ruin to which they were rushing, placed himself between them and the frightful brink:—and there, his countenance speaking terror and amazement, with gestures suited to his shrill, alarming notes, he cried out —“stand back—stand back—Oh! sinners, let me push you from this fiery deep!”—An electrical impulse could not, more rapidly, have pervaded the house:—the assembly, in general, appeared in a half rising posture, as if starting to recede with horror, from the abyss before them.

Dr. Finley in discharging various other pastoral duties, and in his intercourse with society, was as remarkable and perhaps as useful as he was in the pulpit. Whether solicited or not, he visited the sick of every age and of every character. The house of affliction he delighted to frequent and to bless with his instructions and prayers. The funeral attentions and services which he rendered, in his extensive con-
with gation, were very numerous and often very labori-

ous. With great solicitude and diligence would he search for impressed and inquiring souls, that he might impart encouragement, relief and comfort to the troubled mind. It was his custom on at least one day of every week, and frequently more, to mount his horse towards evening, and proceed slowly and solemnly towards some retired corner of his congregation, there, by appointment to meet a little assembly of immortal creatures, often of the obscure and indigent, to pour out his soul before them, in instructions, entreaties and prayers, for their everlasting salvation. He appeared to be always engaged in the sacred business of his profession. When he went about, like his great Master and model, it was to *do good*. In the friendly visit, the occasional call, the unexpected interview, by the fireside or on the way, he was a witness and a monitor for God. He carried with him, a savor of piety, which made him alike precious to the good, and venerable to the wicked. His moral temperament was warm and active, and his religious frames, his faith and love, his spiritual hopes and comforts, through divine grace, were rendered so uniform and uninterrupted in their character and influence, that he was always alive on the subject of religion, and to the interests of souls. Hence, it appeared to be in a very peculiar degree, *as his meat and his drink to do the will of Him that sent him*.

His ordinary conversation was uncommonly plain, judicious and sensible, always interspersed and enriched with pious remarks and reflections. Practical piety was interwoven with all the ordinary and extra-

ordinary feelings, views, and transactions of his life, so that he was, "a burning and a shining light," shedding abroad his salutary radiance, equally in public and in private. No person could spend, even a short time in his company, without being highly pleased, and receiving some useful hints, or seasonable instruction. His common observations on every subject bore marks of wisdom, propriety and force. His society being very agreeable and useful, was highly appreciated by all classes of people. He possessed in a remarkable degree, the faculty of inspiring confidence, esteem and regard for him, in the minds of others, young and old, cultivated and plain, acquaintances and strangers. To this faculty, in a considerable degree, is to be attributed the popularity and influence which Dr. Finley so extensively shared, in the church and in the world.

As a man of sound scholarship and useful science, few men have ranked higher. He had been early and constantly an attentive observer of human life and so became well versed in knowledge of the world. His philosophical attainments were very thorough and respectable. As he studied to extend his capacity for usefulness, more than to acquire fame, his improvements were solid rather than splendid, and consisted in an extensive enlargement of the understanding rather than in a cultivation of the finer powers of taste and imagination. Splendor and admiration, were in his view, things of very little value. Hence solidity of thought, fertility of resource, strength of conception, appeared to him vastly more

important and desirable, than the most improved capacity to embellish, amuse and fascinate. There was in his mind and character a constitutional propensity to grasp the strong and prominent points of every subject and every science, and this propensity he cherished and indulged from principle. He perceived the strong and urgent demands of the church for his active services; he felt that life was too short and his powers too feeble to accomplish all he would wish; and hence he resolved to obtain those requisites first, which are most essential to the greatest practical utility.

In his knowledge of languages he excelled most men of his age. He had studied the English tongue with great closeness of investigation and soundness of reflection; he understood it well in theory and in practice; his knowledge of its principles was both grammatical and philosophical. Although he did not shine in great excellence or elegance of composition, he was admirably qualified to illustrate and to teach the important practical parts of the English language. In the Hebrew tongue his proficiency was sufficient to enable him, to refer with ease and accuracy, to the original language of the Bible, for a solution of any doubts that existed respecting the correctness of our translation, and with facility to communicate the elements of it to learners. But in the Greek and Latin, his eminence and superiority were more decided and acknowledged. To a careful and finished education, in classical science, had been added the accumulating

improvements, of more than twenty years experience and actual service in the business of teaching.

Dr. Finley possessed an extraordinary capacity for business. He was more admired, however, for his deliberation, comprehensiveness and accuracy, than for his quickness of conception, or rapidity of execution. He could embrace and pursue, with ease and efficacy, different kinds of business at the same time. All his transactions were accomplished with great facility, without bustle, and apparently almost without effort. Patience and perseverance, judicious enterprise and zealous public spirit, were prominent traits in his character. The village and the country around him, felt happily the influence of his industry and skill in agriculture and in various other species of public improvement. With his judicious economy, was combined a high spirit of liberality. His beneficence extended to the poor and unfortunate—to infant congregations and rising churches—to poor and pious young men, preparing for the sacred office—to the cause of missions* in general—and to various

* The following statement, on this subject; has been recently presented to the writer by a highly respectable minister of the gospel, who received the communication, in confidence, from Dr. Finley, a short time before his removal to the South :

They were returning together from a meeting of the presbytery, to which both belonged. A conversation on the subject of missions took place. Dr. Finley observed to his friend, that he thought the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church had not engaged in the business of missions, so extensively and zealously as they ought, and especially that they had been very remiss in paying so little attention to the subject of *foreign missions*. After making

public charitable institutions. His bounty, bestowed at different times, on the interests of science and religion, connected with the literary and theological establishments at Princeton, was unusually large, almost beyond his means; and of his liberality of feeling and intention, towards the colonization society, we are furnished with an honorable testimony, in the letter from my correspondent at Washington. His attendance on the judicatories of the church was punctual and faithful. In most of the important transactions of the church, he bore a conspicuous part. Modest and unassuming, more ready to *hear* than to *speak*, he seldom engaged deeply in public debates. There were occasions, however, on which his zeal predominated over his diffidence, and forced him into discussion. At these times, he displayed, both in appearance and address, his characteristic plainness, dignity and power.

On the whole, Dr. Finley's rise and eminence in his profession, must be ascribed to the joint influence of his own talents and exertions, and to the benignant care and assistance of Divine Providence. He had

some general remarks in relation to these objects, Dr. Finley proceeded to say, that he had made up his mind to offer himself in a short time to the General Assembly as a missionary to go to the East, to be employed under their direction and that he intended to present them with about \$500, to lay the foundation of a fund for the purpose of prosecuting and promoting this object. Circumstances, recently ascertained, create a belief, that the particular place of missionary labors intended, was the contemplated colony of free blacks, to be formed on the coast of Africa, and eventually other destitute parts of that great continent.

no family influence to bring him forward and recommend him to public regard; no powerful and devoted friends, to patronize and promote him; no patrimonial fortune nor parental laurels, on which to repose. The native activity and vigor of his mind were extraordinary, and the ardent impulses of his soul to be good and to do good, stimulated his powers, prescribed his course, and conducted him to true greatness and true glory.

———"Vitiis nemo sine nascitur: optimus ille est,
Qui minimis urgetur." HOR.

This letter of Dr. Studdiford was received late, and is inserted at the close of the Biography, a powerful testimony, to strengthen the preceding narrative.

"Lambertville, February 22, 1856.

"REV. J. V. BROWN,

My Dear Sir :—I avail myself of the first leisure time I have found since the receipt of your letter to return an answer. You ask for some reminiscences of my old preceptor, the Rev. Dr. Finley. I was a small boy when I entered his school, but have still quite a distinct remembrance of his person, and his methods of instruction and discipline. As a classical teacher he was remarkable for the methods he took to secure an accurate knowledge of the laws and struc-

ture of the learned languages. Until his pupils had made considerable proficiency in gaining this knowledge, he spent most of the time of each recitation in the exercise of parsing. The derivation and composition of words, their forms and relations, received full attention. Together with the grammar, that excellent old book, Mair's Introduction, was constantly employed, and English sentences were given out to be turned into Latin. In teaching Greek, he paid very particular attention to the formation of the different parts of the verb. He could succeed beyond most teachers in making his pupils interested in what they were studying. It was scarcely possible for a boy of ordinary abilities to be under his tuition for any length of time, without gaining a respectable facility in applying the rules of his grammar.

His school, while I was in it, numbered from thirty to forty-five pupils. About one-fourth of this number boarded in his own family; the rest in other respectable families in the neighborhood. These latter, though not so immediately under his own eye when out of school, yet felt the awe of his authority resting on them as a restraint on their vicious propensities. The common impression seemed to be that he possessed a kind of mysterious ubiquity, so that if mischief was done anywhere in the neighborhood, it could not escape his detection.

He spent the most of each forenoon in the school-room, hearing the different classes in turn. The rest of the time we were left with his usher, who followed out his rules to the letter.

His discipline has generally been regarded as rigid and severe. And yet I never knew a teacher, who would speak more cheeringly to the good and studious, or who showed more pleasure in hearing a well prepared recitation. The boy who had mastered his prescribed task deemed it a privilege to recite to him. To the bad and the incorrigibly idle he was sometimes severe. But there was no caprice or partiality in the punishment he inflicted. The predominant feeling of his pupils towards him was, no doubt, one of reverence approaching to awe; and yet we all felt that he had the sincerest love for us. I forget to state that as an excitement to study he made a very free, but, I think not improper use of the principle of emulation. I have not yet mentioned what, I consider the most interesting feature of his school, the attention he paid to our religious instruction. Originally, I believe, his pupils were in the practice of reciting their prescribed tasks in the catechism and scriptures on Saturday or Monday morning, each week. But about the time of my entering the school he adopted the plan of collecting us in the school-room for that purpose, on Sabbath afternoons. Each scholar was required to be present. Each one had a lesson previously assigned which he was required to recite. The smaller boys studied the shorter Catechism, first without and then with scripture proofs. The more advanced scholars recited on the Bible. This recitation was made after the examinations on the Catechism were concluded, so that the whole school had an opportunity of hearing it, with his questions, ex-

planations, and remarks on the passage. Thus, before that Sunday-schools were yet known in our region, we had one and that of the best kind. The meetings were opened and closed with prayer, and usually with singing.

On these occasions our venerated instructor appeared in his happiest moods. The aspect of sternness which sometimes marked his visage in the school-room on other days had disappeared. A heavenly calm rested on his countenance, which indicated communion with a higher region. When the usual recitations were over he frequently concluded with an address to the whole school. This was always impressive. I never knew a man, that could bring divine truth home more forcibly, to the minds of youth. I have often wondered where the secret of his great power lay. He did not employ the usual methods for interesting children, relating anecdotes and drawing pictures to please the fancy. He possessed no uncommon power of illustration; and yet he could make the most heedless feel that the things of eternity were solemn realities. At different times I have seen a whole school of forty boys or more retire from these services with a solemn stillness such as we sometimes witness in our churches during seasons of revival. No doubt the holy earnestness of his own spirit was one main reason of his success in impressing others. While he spoke his face shone with a glow of hallowed emotion, and he seemed like one looking into the unseen world. There is good reason to believe that at these Sabbath afternoon meetings

impressions were produced on many youthful minds, that will be remembered with lively gratitude to God through eternity.

As a preacher he certainly possessed uncommon power to move an audience. Even children listened with interest to his pulpit performances. I can distinctly remember the impressions produced by his preaching on my own mind, when a boy of ten or eleven years of age. And I particularly recollect two discourses which at that time I heard from him; one on the fall of man, and the other an evening lecture on the woe pronounced by Christ on the cities that believed not on him.

I am rejoiced, my dear sir, that you propose publishing a revised edition of your biography of this truly excellent man. You will perform an important service to the cause of Christ in holding up his example and his life before our churches, our ministers, and candidates for the ministry. I will be happy to do all I can in promoting the circulation of the work in this region.

Yours, with much esteem and respect,

P. O. STUDDIFORD.

CHAPTER XII.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE—EARLY CONNECTION OF THE ENGLISH AND OTHER NATIONS WITH THE TRAFFIC—SIERRA LEONE—WEST INDIAN EXPERIMENTS OF THE BRITISH TO APPRENTICE SLAVES, 1833—TO EMANCIPATE, 1838—FAILURE—THEIR COURSE TOWARDS COLONIZATION—FREE LABOR AND SLAVE LABOR CONTRASTED—BRITISH CONNECTION WITH THEM—RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE SAME—GREAT IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA TO ENGLAND, AND TO THE UNITED STATES, AS A VAST FIELD FOR FREE LABOR—NOTICES OF LIBERIA—HER PROGRESS—HER CONNECTION WITH US—HER NECESSITIES—HER DIFFICULTIES—THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES TO EXTEND A PROMPT AND VIGOROUS HELPING HAND TO LIBERIA, TO THE WORK OF COLONIZATION, AND MISSIONS.

IN the year 1484, Pope Martin V. granted to an exploring expedition of Portuguese, along the western coast of Africa, in pursuit of a passage to India, a right to all the land they might discover, and an indulgence to all the souls who might perish in the enterprise. An officer of the company, Anthony Gonzales, received at the mouth of the Rio del Oro in 1482, ten negroes, in exchange for Moorish captives he had on board. This, it is believed, was the first cargo of this kind ever transported along the coast of Africa. Gonzales disposed of his Africans to great profit, and by the report of it at his return to Lisbon, he stirred up an eager desire among his countrymen to participate in the trade; which soon resulted in their preparing and commissioning about

thirty ships to engage in that novel kind of business. Avarice speedily prompted successive adventurers to follow up this small beginning, and to augment its extent and power, till the Government of Portugal—even the throne, became deeply interested in its success.

About the year 1493, the Spaniards became involved in a war with the Indians of St. Domingo. After a long and unsuccessful resistance by the persecuted and suffering Indian tribes, and the failure of some sympathizing companies in their attempts to succor and relieve those miserable victims of oppression and exterminating violence, Las Cases, an enterprising Spaniard, distinguished in the sanguinary movements and conflicts of these times, embarked in their favor; but soon finding all his efforts in their behalf unavailing, and cherishing a desire of instituting some bold and successful measure in America, then recently discovered, to enrich the crown of Spain and gratify his own ambition and cupidity, he purchased from the Portuguese settlements on the African coast, a number of negroes, to be employed in America instead of the native Indian population; their labor being found incomparably more productive and valuable than that of the natives. Ferdinand, the King of Spain, about 1511 encouraged the introduction of African slaves into his American dominions in great numbers.

Notwithstanding the opposition of Cardinal Ximenes, Regent after the death of Ferdinand, Charles the V. on his accession and arrival in Spain, sanc-

tioned the measures and requests of Las Cases in connection with some Flemish favorites, as a monopoly; who sold their right to some Genoese merchants A. D. 1518, and thus gave form and continuance to the inhuman traffic in slaves, between Africa and America. Through this agency, this barbarous system productive of such unutterable woes to the African tribes near the coast, was at first commenced.

The monopoly held by the Genoese in this shocking branch of commerce, was purchased successively by several European nations. The French obtained it from the original proprietor, and used it till it produced for them \$204,000,000. In 1713, the British nation became possessed of it, and employed it successfully for thirty years. But Spain, impatient to recover this immensely profitable trade, bought out in 1739, the unexpired four years of the British term, at the price of \$500,000.

The Dutch soon began to participate in this nefarious traffic. About 1620, one of her vessels with the *first cargo of flesh and blood*, sailed up the James River in Virginia, and sold it there. The British nation soon gained an influence in this trade, and discovered in it as they supposed, such interest and policy as induced them to pursue it with so much zeal and activity, as to overcome the opposition made by the colonists. Their motives were gradually disclosed, and always appeared mixed with selfishness and avarice.

In 1777, the Earl of Dartmouth assigned as a reason for forcing slaves upon the Colonies, the belief

that, "negroes cannot become republicans; they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly colonists." In 1820, the Congress of the United States, in pursuance of a memorial from the American Colonization Society, passed an Act, declaring the slave trade to be *Piracy*. In Great Britain, many years preceding, a measure prohibiting the trade in their West Indian Colonies, had been adopted, to take effect in 1808. But the declaration that it was piracy never passed in Parliament till 1824. England, France and the United States and other Christian nations united in this decisive and important decree.

Thus, as far as human foresight could penetrate and human authority determine, the most nefarious of earthy trafficks appeared to have received its death warrant. This grand scourge of humanity being abolished in human view, and this reproach, so long resting upon the Christian name, removed, the philanthropists of the world, and all the friends of suffering and bleeding humanity experienced at the announcement a thrilling satisfaction; their hopes seemed triumphant, and their joy was unbounded. A devout and fervent *te deum* went up to the mercy seat from every holy altar, and every humane fireside throughout Christendom.

But it was soon discovered that an egregious oversight had been committed in the progress of these measures to suppress the slave trade. Great Britain and those concurring with her in these steps, had neglected to secure the co-operation of Spain and Portugal to annihilate the traffick. A brief summary

of facts which occurred very soon in connection with the above transactions, will show that the check imposed upon that trade was after all partial and temporary; just sufficient to exhibit the enormities which followed in more glaring and horrible colors. The history of the West Indies shows, that British capitalists in their own vessels, were ascertained to have evaded all restrictions, and braved all hazards, in carrying an average of 20,000 victims annually from Africa to the Islands, continuously from 1680 to 1786.

Six years later, Fox and Pitt, as sagacious as any men then living, estimated the numbers yearly stolen away from Africa at 80,000. Parliamentary Records prove, that this amount was augmented to 85,000 from 1798 to 1810. From 1810 to 1815, the aggregate amount was swelled to 93,000, and the loss by suffocation over sea, for these ten years, was estimated at 15 per centum. From 1815 to 1820 the transportation is stated at 106,000, subject to a mortality of 25 per centum.

But as this traffic was maintained in violation of all law, these estimates of course, are utterly vague, and must come short of the truth, there being no standard by which to test their accuracy. The exhibition of Sir Thomas F. Buxton, in 1840, after long continued and profound research, placed the annual aggregate of this detestable trade, at 500,000. In this estimate, he embraced the desolations of the intestine wars among the native tribes, to secure the victims for sale; the destruction occasioned by the slave trade;

the competitions and artifices of those engaged in the traffic, to obtain their miserable merchandise most advantageously, from the market, and the loss by death in the middle passage, and after landing, in acclimation; all of which united, would reduce the whole number of surviving victims of the trade, in the ratio of 50 per centum. The documents of Parliament correspond with these statistics, and prove their general correctness. This outrage upon humanity, was committed year after year, at the very time Great Britain, France, and the United States were maintaining a vigilant and active armed force along the African Coast, at an annual cost of millions, to suppress this iniquitous and inhuman traffic.

Finding all that had been done in this noble cause, splendid as were the achievements, in a great degree useless, their *African Civilization Society* was formed, and furnished with instructions, motives and means, to attempt by a more wisely adapted *policy*, what they had failed to accomplish by physical force. Now, they were directed to institute agricultural companies; to procure lands from the native tribes, for culture; to introduce the civil arts and implements for tilling the soil; industrial habits and all useful knowledge. And, that they might accomplish these various objects, they were encouraged to send out ships; open factories and workshops; make treaties with the native tribes; conciliate their confidence and kindness and impart instruction and establish commerce. The object of all this was, to make wild and desolate Africa, a useful and productive appendage of Great Britain.

Mr. M'Queen, the English agent, who reports to us these plans and projects, and who patriotically and loyally urged on the alleviating enterprise, soon writes upon its brilliant and cheering frontispiece, the repulsive characters of *disaster* and *defeat*, chiefly, through the blighting influence of the climate upon the white man's constitution. This was the last great effort of the British nation, to redeem lost Africa. And during the last *ten* years, the victims of the slave trade have averaged about 60,000 per annum, with a loss of 25 per centum.

During many of these latter years of England's abortive experiments and efforts, the *American Colonization Society*, which sprang into being, A. D. 1816, was earnestly engaged, developing its principles and its aims; making its large prospective surveys; digesting its modes of action; forming a favorable public sentiment; awakening kind sympathy; opening resources; refuting the cavils and calumnies of opposers; and thus preparing the way for a decided advance towards her avowed object.

The open and determined conclusions, in regard to the best method of redeeming Africa, to which the acknowledged failure of the British effort had brought her statesmen and philanthropists, tended greatly to confirm the hopes and animate the exertions of the American Colonizationists, in prosecuting their noble cause. The two sentiments which planted themselves most firmly and harmoniously in the breasts of Africa's best friends, were embodied in the following few words, viz. : "The best if not the only remedy,

for the slave trade, is, colonizing the Western Coast of Africa, as fast as possible, with civilized and moral colored men." And, to this policy, which has been the *primum mobile* of the Colonization Society, and the *vade mecum* of her sons, Great Britain, to the outward eye, has extended from her councils and actions, a very pleasing and consistent fostering sympathy; thus acknowledging and ratifying their abandonment of that feature of their extension system, which controlled their unsuccessful attempt to make Africa a dependency or province of the British Kingdom. Still her statesmen, very patriotically, manifest a decided wish, and seem to pursue a wisely directed policy, to secure, to their nation, the early and increasing advantages presented to the world by the *colonization* system.

The policy and influence of Great Britain have not extinguished the slave trade, beyond the limits of her *Sierra Leone* colony. But the Colonization Society, have abolished it, for more than five hundred miles, along the coast. The English nation, in their efforts relied upon *physical force*; colonization, chiefly upon *moral means* and influences. In Liberia, the old New England rule prevails. Every man is required to patronise instruction; to assist in procuring teachers; and to send to school. The whole measure or system is based upon the assumption, that making the body of the citizens wise and virtuous is the best corrective of social and civil ills, and the introduction to corresponding moral and political advantages. While contending with the slave trade, on the ocean, is

proved to be, in great measure vain, these indirect countervailing influences, at home, show clearly their adaptation and power by the success which attends them. If nothing else can secure a complete triumph, in exterminating this iniquitous and merciless trade, colonization, perseveringly pursued, *will* accomplish it. Teach the wretched spoliated victims, at home, that the practice is demoniacal, suicidal, horrid; and this awful crusade against humanity must cease, for want of nutriment.

Though we rejoice in all the evidences afforded of British sympathy for American colonization plans, and though this sympathy is doubtless in many individual cases, the fruit of genuine philanthropy, yet we are constrained to fear that it is chiefly selfish—a part of their national economy—of their financiering system. They will favor it, therefore, as a nation, just so far and so long as it favors them. The *lex talionis*, whether moral or political, if connected with national interest, is with them the rule of their wisdom and mercy. They are calculating, probably, by their sound policy and mature craftiness to outwit and outmanage Young America in the work of reaping spoils, no matter who is the pioneer and laborer in opening the field and preparing the crop. This is a low position for a great and boastful nation to assume.

In America all feeling and action in regard to this object is honest, pure, patriotic, benevolent, Christian. It has not a venal or mercenary feature. When fully consummated, if ever, we gain from it no direct advantage, unless at this stage we change our national

policy. If any pecuniary benefits should accrue, they must be indirect, adventitious results, never courted. Traits of justice, even mercy, to injured parties may be detected in the scheme; but it is pre-eminently a work of disinterested charity. Thus far, no power has moved a wheel in this divine machine but that of individual kindness, justice and liberality. What the nation will do, by its collected wisdom in Congress, is yet to be seen. We desire no merely interested selfish favor, no agency which does not correspond with the pious, patriotic, philanthropic emotions and views which prompted the founders and animated the friends and promoters of this greatest of modern enterprises.

In proportion as this society insinuates itself into the body of Africa, or penetrates beyond its present prescribed limits, benefits of various kinds and degrees will manifest themselves. If we purchase or acquire lands from the head men or tribes in Africa, the population on the so acquired soil will be brought immediately under the influence of Liberian laws, liberties and kindred advantages of various kinds. All its benefits, pleasures and prospects are at once placed within the reach of this new accession; and the noble system of Liberian rule begins to confer upon them its precious republican fruits. It must be understood that some apprenticeship, or period of preliminary experience in the novel circumstances of these natives of the wilderness, is necessary to secure to them full citizenship. About 150,000 are already admitted and enrolled; 200,000 more occupy such a

position, by arrangement, that they are pledged to oppose the slave trade, to observe treaties, to maintain peace among themselves, to court union and amalgamation with the colony as their *Ultima Thule*.

Our very philanthropic English brethren do not care who takes the lead in this splendid career of kindness, if you will only give them the profit of it. Mr. McQueen, who is deeply devoted to British interests, justly urges the importance of Tropical Africa to the British nation. She too, sees the value of this possession so clearly, that she appears willing to aid the Colonization Society in its efforts to bring Africa under a strong moral influence, to the practice of industrial pursuits and enterprises, habits and modes of civilized life; all that she may widen the field of her commerce and the diffusion of her manufactures. To incline and even constrain Great Britain to such a policy, there exist strong incidental reasons. To illustrate the general principle involved, we remark, that the amount of tropical produce reported as received from their own principal possessions, is very far short of that received from foreign nations. Hence her interests, her necessities connected with her national administration, her success in sustaining this gigantic and costly fabric must depend upon her success in extending her commerce, and sending her vast accumulation of manufactured articles widely through those tropical latitudes which so greatly preponderate in yielding the supplies of tropical fruits which *she needs*, and which open so capacious a market for the sale of her own immensely profuse

goods. Hence the argument in favor of the object proposed is two-fold, and both branches of it are very strong. To see their force, let us contrast the amount of a few articles of English tropical productions on her own *colonial soil* with that of a few others of like character from *other countries*.

FROM BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

SUGAR.	
<i>No. of cwts. in 1842.</i>	
West Indies,	2,508,552
East Indies,	940,452
Mauritius,	544,767
Total,	3,993,771

COFFEE.	
<i>No. of lbs. in 1842.</i>	
West Indies,	9,186,555
East Indies,	18,206,448
Total,	27,393,003

COTTON.	
<i>No. of lbs in 1840.</i>	
West Indies,	427,529
East Indies,	77,015,917
East Indies to China,	60,000,000
Total,	137,443,446

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

SUGAR.	
<i>No. of cwts. in 1842.</i>	
Cuba,	5,800,000
Brazil,	2,400,000
Java,	1,105,757
Louisiana,	1,400,000
Total,	10,705,757

COFFEE.	
<i>No. of lbs. in 1842.</i>	
Java,	134,842,715
Brazil,	135,000,800
Cuba,	33,589,325
Venezuela,	34,000,000
Total,	337,432,840

COTTON.	
<i>No. of lbs. in 1840.</i>	
United States,	790,479,275
Java,	165,504,800
Brazil,	25,222,828
Total,	981,206,903

The above brief table shows the excess of England's receipts *annually of foreign goods* named, over the amount of her *home products*, viz :

1. Excess of Sugar, cwts.,	-	-	-	-	7,312,754
2. Excess of Coffee, in lbs.,	-	-	-	-	310,039,837
3. Excess of Cotton, in lbs.,	-	-	-	-	843,763,457

This demonstrates the great importance of the *tropical*, or *slave labor* territory to Great Britain. The comparative shortness of her tropical supplies from her *own* possessions, when discovered *at home*, produced not only a great national shock, but so great

an embarrassment among her statesmen and financiers, as to drive them to extraordinary efforts to increase the productiveness of her own Island possessions, and to diminish those of her rivals, as their first resort in this startling emergency. This result could be accomplished only *in two ways*, by multiplying laborers from abroad, or by making her home laborers more efficient and productive, or by both.

As they had already taken a position and made a declaration utterly hostile to the slave trade, *that* could not be made availing for them at this crisis. Their only refuge then, was to make the labor already in possession, more prolific. The subject of West Indian emancipation had long been under discussion among British patriots and philanthropists. Its advocates had argued that free labor was cheaper and more productive than slave labor; that free men would do twice as much work in any given time as a like number of slaves; that the truth of this proposition when verified in action, would lead all other slave holding governments and states to emancipation; and, that thus slaves would be so much diminished in value, that they would no more be an article of trade voraciously sought after; and that the slave trade would in this manner be brought to an *end*. Impressions favorable to this theory, made upon the British nation, led to the apprenticeship Act of 1833, on the Islands, to decide the long mooted question, which was most productive and valuable, *free* or *slave labor*. An experience of about *five years* gave decisive evidence of failure, and coerced the British

nation (in 1838) to the still more ruinous experiment of substituting *total* emancipation for *partial*.

A short period under this system, was sufficient to demonstrate that freedom, *personal liberty*, even when stimulated by high wages, will not secure the industry of a mass of ignorant, uncultivated men, but little raised above the savage state; because they possessed no adequate intelligence, experience or adaptation any way, to such a change of condition.

These British Acts of 1833 and 1838, among their West Indian slaves, presented to all the world, one great instructive fact on the subject of slavery; that before extremely ignorant, untrained and almost savage men can be made profitable free laborers, they must receive both mental and moral culture; civilization to a considerable extent, of a Christian kind. The emancipated negroes of the English, proved indolent and reckless; sank into a condition of most wretched poverty and debasement, not to say pauperism and incipient starvation, more excessive and hopeless than while in bondage. This continued with increasing aggravations till teachers and missionaries from Great Britain and the United States came among them, to introduce at least, partial reliefs from their distresses, by applying the seasonable and salutary, civil and moral corrections, which the owners of the slaves had entirely neglected prior to their liberation. Now what we particularly desire to remark in this place is, that those British experiments, when their results were unfolded, ought effectually to have taught both British and American abolitionists, the

absurdity and inefficacy of their foolish and incessant cry for immediate and universal emancipation. In reference to the British wing of this infatuated host, unless they had resolved, as Pitt said to Walpole, on another topic, "to continue ignorant in spite of experience," their own experiment ought not only to have condemned, but corrected their folly. And, at the same time, the exhibition among the British slaves in the West Indies, ought forcibly to teach American fanatics, what would be the consequence of carrying out their scheme of prompt, universal freedom in our slave districts, without previous and appropriate preparation.

Although British capitalists suffered incalculably by their rash adventure, and many of them sunk to ruin, as its legitimate fruits; yet humanity may rejoice; for these emancipated masses, under salutary advice, being furnished with suitable teachers and missionaries from England and elsewhere, to labor among them, to supply their manifold pressing wants, are rapidly rising in intelligence and respectability; advancing notwithstanding their *first failure*, to such a state of improvement and capacity, as will prepare them for industrial and civil pursuits of all grades; which will ultimately enable them to yield for the interest and glory of Great Britain, though she never looked to this end at *first*, more luxuriant and golden crops than their period of slavery ever exhibited or promised. The failure of England to enlarge her resources in the West Indies, and the discovery that her share in the tropical fruits of the world from her

own soil, was really so much smaller than her necessities, has made it for years, a particular object, a ruling passion, a cardinal point in her state policy to extend her interests in tropical latitudes. This brings her, in some measure into contact with colonization.

To see the full force of the motives which now, more especially, influence England in her course, we must recollect, that at the introduction of her apprenticeship and emancipation experiments, besides the losses, vexations, and embarrassments they produced in her financial operations, cost her to remunerate the planters for their slaves (\$100,000,000) one hundred millions of dollars, and another like sum, \$100,000,000 to keep under the slave trade, especially while her grand experiments, were in progress. England's sympathy has been directed particularly towards tropical Africa ; because it lies nearer to her, and is of more easy access, than any other tropical region. She enters into this redeeming policy, fully persuaded, from the lesson she received, in her West Indian experiment, that intelligence, general moral improvement, and acquaintance with the arts of life, must precede every effort to make mere children of nature, even in want and suffering, industrious, orderly and profitable citizens : and from the history of her African civilization society, she learnt the precautionary fact, that *white* men cannot be safely relied upon, to accomplish the work of Africa's improvement and moral elevation.

It is evident that Africa must undergo a thorough course of discipline and training, preparatory to any

important effort she may make to become a self-sustaining nation, on liberal principles ; or to make her tributary, as a great multitude of laborers and factors, to the strength and prosperity of the English nation.

One great cause of England's failure, in her emancipation experiments, in the West Indies, was the fact, at first not recognized, that the life of the laborer generally, or rather his period of labor, is short, and restricted, in that climate, to six or eight years. Hence a generation of laborers, very quickly pass away. This loss can be supplied, not by stimulating and coercing industry, but by resorting to Africa, for fresh supplies. Hence, it is manifest that West Indian, and much more, that Brazilian freedom, encourages the slave trade. For without fresh importations, to replenish the wastes of death, the plantations must speedily cease to produce from the want of cultivators. It is therefore easy to perceive how and why, the British West Indian experiments, in 1833, and 1838, proved to be, not only abortive but injurious. But they have given valuable instructions on this subject.

The effect of the slave trade, in every view we can take of it is, also, in other respects, highly deleterious. By stealing and carrying away multitudes to foreign lands, the number of laborers is diminished, at home. By civilizing, instructing, and thus redeeming her from savage habits, the natives become contented, occupied, quiet, at home ; and thus they may and do become *contributors*, rather than burdens, on an extensive scale, to their own domestic comfort and independence

as well as to the wealth of other nations. On this pleasing supposition, every man becomes a producer; he augments his efficiency. His depressed country, under such circumstances, begins to rise; increases in power, and respectability, among the nations of the earth.

Just in proportion as free labor increases, it furnishes the produce of free labor, supplies the demand for it, through the world—it forces the product of *slave* labor out of the market; dispels it from human tables; excludes it from trade; and so operates strongly against the slave trade and against slavery too. *This process will* exterminate the traffic, and no other, probably *ever* will. An attempt has been made, by the strongest nations on the globe, by diplomacy, by vigilance, by power, by fleets, by armies, and by combined legislation, to suppress this inhuman traffic; but they have only temporarily checked its inveteracy and circumscribed its boundaries; they have modified its form, changed its locations and closed some of its channels. But they have really, in character, aggravated its enormity, by multiplying its phases, its aspects, its rallying points, its clandestine evasions and artifices; while the execrable evil still lives.

Now, civilize Africa, and you will effectually abolish that barbarous trade forever. You bless the world; you elevate the human race; you secure to that continent the great object of government, of political compacts and charters. You reach in great measure, the ultimate point aimed at by the God of truth and purity, justice and freedom. It results

then that colonization is a vast effort, upon principles and by means, heretofore little thought of, to emancipate the human race, now in bondage. Africa is the great arena of strife and contention. If success in civilizing, cultivating, and fully redeeming Africa, be secured, on that continent, and the products of slave labor be excluded from the human market, that great quarter of the world *will be free*. The impression will be such among men, and the call for free labor and free production will become so loud and irresistible, that even Cuba and Brazil will be compelled to come into the system and embrace the grand universal *reform*, to seek wealth and honor, independence and happiness, character and influence among the nations, by establishing a common, a universal freedom.

To secure the final and complete triumph of such a system, among the low, debased and wretched orders of our race, still in bondage to ignorance, to vice and despotic power; and occupying still much of earth's finest surface, there must be mixed with the moving emancipating and refining influences, much of a religious, sanctifying element; a power of truth, and conscience, a sense of the divine presence and government, in connection with human law and state policy. These distinct classes of moving energies, should enter and progress simultaneously, *pari passu*. The influence of those motives which are drawn from the invisible and eternal worlds, is essential, to make others effectual. This work is so great, that under circumstances most favorable, it will require time, and labor, patience and devotion, as well as faith and hope, to crown it with triumph.

Some interesting facts, hitherto little regarded, though intimately connected with the preceding thoughts, ought now to be more fully presented and duly appreciated.

The *free labor* field of production in tropical regions, fails incalculably to furnish those commodities which the tastes, necessities and appetites of the world demand; and hence this supply is looked for to *slave territory* and *slave labor*. Now, it may be asked, who are the chief *consumers* of these *slave labor* products from tropical climates? The answer is obvious. England, France and the United States. These nations are the principal customers of the slave producers in the tropical latitudes. Hence, it follows, they are the great and prominent patrons of slavery and the slave trade. These nations who proclaim themselves as the distinguished leaders in emancipating, civilizing, and Christianizing all who are in bondage; in executing a vast mission of philanthropy and mercy; are in reality, practically combining their influence and power to patronize and perpetuate slavery and the slave traffick. This is as true as it is astounding and deplorable. The governments above named, pre-eminent in wealth, in numbers, in power, in refinement, and in responsibility, cannot escape from their absurd, criminal and disgraceful position, but by employing all the physical, political and moral power they possess, to convert *slave nations*, *slave factors* of every grade, and *slave producers*, into civilized free-men; so arranging, modifying, improving and renovating the character, condition and habits of slave population, slave countries, slave production, and of

their relation to them all, that true liberty may redeem and sanctify the whole. Then freedom will be a spontaneous luxuriant growth of all climes, and produce fruit for the healing of the nations. No longer will it be said with sarcasm and reproach: Behold these nations, how contradictory and absurd their public course! In the statute book the *slave trade* is a heinous crime, deserving death—Piracy! But to fill their treasures, to gratify their appetites, to swell their commercial sails, they exhibit themselves before the whole world as practical patrons and abettors of that very traffick, in all its strong positions and countless ramifications!

Africa is the principal field now unoccupied and open to free labor, as a vast productive area, surpassing all others in attractiveness and in facility of acquisition. Her central situation, besides making her easy of access to almost all the world, will enable her more successfully to compete with all markets, in the exportation of her abounding tropical productions as soon as brought under culture. The adaptation of her soil, as well as climate, to the cultivation of the principal staple articles of tropical regions, is now by examination and by twenty years of experience, placed beyond doubt. Coffee, pronounced equal to any in the world, is advantageously raised in Liberia, and its cultivation may be extended indefinitely into the interior. The plant lives and thrives for a score or more of years. Cotton of superior quality and value, grows successfully and yields two crops a season for many successive years. And sugar-

cane in thriftiness and fertility, excels even our own Southern States. Native laborers are easily obtained and at a moderate rate. On this point it may be observed, that Africans are much more susceptible of instruction and prompt introduction to the arts of labor, industry and civil enterprise than East Indian natives. The pride and caste of Asia, create an almost insurmountable barrier there, to civilization and civil pursuits. But the native simplicity and comparative modesty of the African, and his sense of inferiority, make him docile, and easy to be moulded to any form or occupation.

That African natives may be successfully employed in all kinds of business contemplated, is abundantly proved by experience. The productiveness, value and cheapness of this kind of labor are all established. Their capacity, their willingness, their skill, their industry and perseverance have also been satisfactorily tested. But in all these particulars, improvement and increase may be reasonably expected; as their civilization advances, and their knowledge, their experience, their tastes, their pleasures, their ambition to excel, are all augmented. In proof of this it has been observed, that the exhibitions of the slave traders and others, upon the African coasts, awaken among the natives, speedily, a keen and anxious desire to resemble them in appearance, to adopt their manners and to imitate their style and fashion of dress. And to the natives of the African continent, the exhibitions of the Liberian colony are already a model full of attractive influence.

From their location, and their relations also, it seems plain that Great Britain and the United States are more capable of exercising salutary influence over Africa, both physically and morally, than any other nations. It is now very soon to be decided, which of these shall take the lead, and perform most, in this splendid work of national enterprise and true philanthropy; and reap from their distinct, individual action, the greater national emolument, and more signal honor. Both these nations are bound to proceed in this work, so benevolent in itself, and so elevating to humanity, where it is shockingly sunk and degraded. Their former course, their frequent avowals, their public acts and partial movements, may be regarded as pledges, which they are now called upon to redeem. A competition cannot be avoided, but there need not, there must not be a collision. For it is the mother and the child who are to divide the spoils; the toil and sacrifice; the aggrandizement and glory of this great work. As Abraham said to Lot, "Let there be no strife between me and thee. If thou wilt take the left hand then I will go to the right."

Having reached this crisis in our great enterprise, we take our position and send forth our cry and our appeal, to the constituted authorities of these United States, in behalf of the Liberian colony, and the vast pagan continent of Africa, for aid and direct co-operation, in the prosecution of this magnificent work of kindness. Africa places herself at the disposal of the American States, imploring deliverance from her

barbarism ; beseeching her magnanimously to remedy her degradation and wretchedness ; offering promptly and munificently, to repay the debt, in the produce of her hitherto neglected soil and degenerate sons ; cultivating the grand foster parent of Liberia, to assist that affiliated Republic in accomplishing her plans of wisdom and mercy, designed, in her infancy and weakness, but found in execution, to be too vast and weighty a work for her years and resources. Individuals, and associations, moved by a generous impulse of compassion, having so far penetrated this wide expanse of desolation and woe, that they find their means and energies inadequate to realize the scheme of mercy ; they now stretch forth their hands and raise their supplication, for aid, to their beloved countrymen, who have hitherto stood at a distance from this important enterprise, and ask for moral force, as well as physical power, believing, that without both combined, success will be difficult and may be distant.

These last twenty years or more employed by Great Britain in attempts to advance her financial affairs, and to correct her former mistakes ; lapped upon the first score of the American Colonization Society ; the former seeking escapes from recent disappointments and disasters, and anxiously exerting her utmost skill, to secure extension and aggrandizement of Empire ; and the latter surveying past troubles, present griefs, and threatened catastrophies at home, they seemed to meet, upon a middle ground, or common platform, in apparent harmony and unity of

design. At the commencement and through the progress of this period, England made very slow progress in attempting to acquire the possession and control of tropical territory, in Africa. Other nations had preceded her, in occupying the greater part of the continent. France had stationed herself near the mouth of the Senegal, on the Gaboon; and mouth of the Niger, at Massuah, on the western coast of the Red Sea; at the mouth of the Jub, (Joob) and on the banks of the Johanna, near the northern outlet of the Mozambique channel; in Southern *Abyssinia* and on the *White Nile*.

Spain and Portugal observing these movements, to supplant them, at various points, with a jealousy and suspicion adapted to their character, instituted more vigorous measures, to recover and extend their influence. All eastern and northern Africa, already occupied, by independent and invidious sovereignties, combined, to resist any attempt of the English, to encroach upon their limits. Southern Africa, though to a great extent, in possession of the British nation, was found to be not well adapted to tropical productions. The only soil available for her purpose, was located between the mouth of the Niger, and the coast of Liberia. Between these points, were situated the large and populous nations of Dahomey and Ashantee, both heavily stocked with slaves, and deeply engaged in the slave trade. Hence the tropical field, open to British enterprise, was, necessarily, very limited.

By their mistaken policy, commercial transactions

at *Sierra Leone*, had been placed originally, almost entirely, in the hands of white men, and of course, the colored population, were out of the way of experiment and improvement, in practical business. On the contrary, in Liberia, the colored people had been put forward, in every thing, because they were intended from the beginning to be supreme owners and sole occupants. Consequently, industry and active business habits, were early, immediately formed among them. Fortunes, by not a few, were speedily acquired in trade, successful enterprises was a striking, not uncommon feature; the surrounding country witnessed the fact and felt the cheering influence of this success, in their neighboring towns. Hence the tropical cultivation by men of *dark skin* but *free* spirit became popular, prevalent, attractive. Their tropical fruits have already entered many markets and cheered many climes. Now, nothing is required to make Africa, redeemed from her darkness and debasement, a land of peculiar and splendid productiveness, but *capital and labor*, money and men, in a form, to be employed and applied, as their exigencies demand. Frosts never nip her buds or diminish her crops. They possess fine natural soil, and showers enough in all seasons, to make it luxuriantly fertile.

Indeed, beyond all controversy, Africa constitutes for purposes here contemplated, the most valuable and inviting tropical field unoccupied, upon our globe: in extent, in location, in promise, far surpassing the *Brazils*. In addition to the decisive evidence

of England's shortness of tropical produce, afforded by the statistical results before us, a glance of the eye over the geographical surface of the tropical world, will show that *they* are gathering from a narrow and precarious field.

At the same time, this view of the great and increasing demand for *free tropical products* and suitable *free tropical laborers*, beyond the present supply, even in the European market, should operate upon intelligent Africans in the United States, and in all slave holding countries, as a strong impressive motive to induce them to hasten to Africa, to realise the certain pecuniary, as well as moral and political advantages, now opening in full and wide and free expansion there, to *free labor* and to free enterprising and industrious citizens, in the land of their fathers. There they may locate themselves, their families and their posterity, on a free, salubrious and prolific soil, to be enriched by their own industry, their own crops of delicate and luxuriant fruits, springing almost spontaneously from the bosom of the earth. The markets of Europe and of the United States, having command of *no tropical soil*, will gladly expand to receive the productions of Liberian industry and enterprise, and repay the debt in rich returns of all that art and liberality can bestow. Here will speedily spring up a wide spreading commerce, full of gain and honor, progressive and countless benefits to the newly opened country and established republics of freemen on the African continent. If there exist, then, in the bosoms of our African people, any true

sympathy for their own race and color, any tender concern for those who have continued at home, but are involved in darkness, poverty and gloom, any ambition or desire to secure personal and national independence and glory, here is the field in which to realise these pearls beyond value, "without money and without price."

The preceding views lead us to the conclusion, that Great Britain's apparent sympathy with young Liberia ought not to surprise us. We have no cause to wonder that she should so cordially and respectfully receive Governor Roberts, though a descendant of slaves, whom they or their fathers had long since sold into Virginian bondage; when he comes the representative of a free colored republic, soliciting equality among the nations of the earth! England was long ambitious—insatiably grasping for foreign dominion. She proportioned in imagination, to success in this work, her calculations, her hopes of future greatness and glory. Experiments and results, both near home, and far distant, have taught *her*, and ought to teach other nations, that *colonies* or *new States*, are rarely national benefits; that the cost and trouble of their acquisition, protection, maintenance and final establishment, often, very generally, surpass the amount of the tribute they pay, in any shape. The British have admitted, even boasted, that after they lost America by the Revolutionary war, they derived more profit from her, and swelled their treasury more from their spoils as an independent nation, than they ever had in her colonial state. The States

became a vast market for her manufactures and general commerce. The area opened here for her trade, and for the productions of her then already numerous workshops, presented in this emancipated colony, grew rapidly, and proved to the mother country a mine of wealth. The States exhausted by war, were naked and in need of all things; at the same time destitute of skill and experience for many years, in the business of providing for their pressing wants.

Therefore, with the instruction Great Britain has received from experience, she may justly be considered in a great measure indifferent as to the attainment of tropical territory, even in Africa. But *she watches* with extreme *vigilance* and *solicitude*, every opening to secure to herself the *profits* and *commercial rewards* due to other adventurers and more rightful claimants of these fiscal advantages. It is now to be tried and decided, whether these American States, with all their pretended enterprise, their boasted energy, ambition and desire of distinction in the scale of nations, will *stand idly by* and see this immense field for commerce, speculation, and ultimately transcendent gain, entered upon by an invidious foe and rival—occupied, monopolized by strangers; seizing upon the fruits of our labor and enterprise; carrying off the splendid and delicious spoils, to which we are pre-eminently entitled.

Impelled by the most impressive interests and arguments, to secure if possible, this internal trade, with or without the territory now opening in Africa, England will exercise all her sagacity; employ the

fruits of her large experience and wise policy acquired and manifested in other climes and in other days, to accomplish her darling project, to enjoy the almost exclusive benefit of this almost boundless market for her manufacturers and trade. She will not be easily repelled or excluded from a sphere so full of splendid attractions to her national eye. It will be no easy matter to outwit or outmanage her in this interesting competition; a competition not for a small, temporary advantage, but a contest almost for her very existence; a struggle for pre-eminence in a boundless field of enterprise and emolument, upon the result of which, in good measure, the prosperity and glory of the British crown may depend. To cover her ambition and artifice, she may take refuge under the plea of *great zeal* for the promotion of civilization; of crippling and forever stopping the slave trade; of advancing the noble cause of science, religion and missions; but *remember!* her main object will be to sell *hats* and *shoes*, muslins and prints, axes and hoes, &c; all the variety of goods produced in Glasgow and Manchester, in Leeds and Sheffield, to supply the wants of the hundreds of millions of naked and needy sufferers and suppliants of Africa's dark and gloomy clime; and to take home in return, all her various delicious fruits and useful products, her mineral wealth and various productions of her opening mines and growing skill. Merchandise, manufactures, English goods, in every conceivable form and most profuse abundance, will be all the proclamation and exhibition at every fresh British arrival on the

African coast. Bibles, Testaments, Sunday-school books, brief sacred and pious biographies, &c. &c., are easily boxed and carried, and would be given at home but they yield so little profit in the market, that in the cargo, they will be like the small *dust of the balance*; and this will not fill merchants' pockets nor foot British bills.

Yet though not conveyed there as articles of commerce, many of these messengers of good are sent to that country by benevolent associations in England, for which we cheerfully render them all due praise. We do not however repudiate the idea of self interest as a subordinate motive to excite to benevolent action, and we are willing to avail ourselves of it in the present instance to promote the noble cause of African colonization; although *freedom* and *philanthropy* are inseparably connected, the same genius presides over both, the same pulse animates them, and the same object engrosses them. Colonization has never been a national enterprise, although the parent society bears the American name. This great institution has so far succeeded, as to resolve the great problem, even among emancipated slaves, whether a republic is capable of self government. Perhaps no exhibition of purer popular morality, political loyalty and good social order, than exists in Liberia, can be found among men.

But freedom and philanthropy apart, the commercial interests of England and the United States, furnish a strong motive for extending a fostering hand to the colony of Liberia—a motive strongly felt and

vigorously acted on by Great Britain, and whose example may well stimulate us to greater zeal and activity in this important object. Manufactures in Great Britain's account, are of the greatest possible importance. Out of this class of her property and business grows her gigantic commerce, whitening every sea. This mans her navy, pays her taxes, sustains her armies and wars, supports her government, foots her national bills, in every department, maintains her aristocracy, her royal family, her Parliament and Commons. It feeds and clothes the nation, and upon it the crown reposes. Their jewels and their diamonds, if not fabricated there, are paid for from their looms and anvils, to decorate and garnish their pride and profligacy.

. Hence it is, that England has gulled and bribed and driven and wheedled almost all other nations, early and late, far and near, to minister to her workshops, and often starving working men; and the dominant party in these United States have suffered themselves, as tame and easy dupes, to be drawn into this *British vortex*; to present themselves before the world in the humiliating act of catering to British splendor and prodigality; renouncing her own high, honorable, independent policy to pay court and contribute millions annually to Victoria, the *soi disant* royal mistress of the world.

But this immense tribute, augmented as it is, by the gold of California, and the vast surplus agricultural products of our wide spread prolific country, increased annually by our 800,000,000 lbs. of cotton,

will not be sufficient to discharge the American debt to England, or to meet her unbounded exigencies. Her *cry* still is *give, give!* She must gather her spoils from other lands, reap her harvests as well as laurels, in milder climes; and she has marked out tropical Africa as a favorite object of her commercial prowess and power. And as a first step in this wise and lucrative career, England has already arranged a well adjusted *treaty of commerce and amity* with Liberia; and has thus placed herself in the front and most enviable rank among the friends and benefactors of our young Liberian Republic.

To open this great market for her goods, is now a grand financial desideratum of that nation. To accomplish this, you may expect her to make it apparently and indirectly, her interest to assist Liberia in penetrating the interior of Africa, with enlightening and redeeming influences. Till the colonization scheme burst upon her view, the down trodden myriads of Africa had implored relief in vain. Now the gloom of past ages begins to recede. Divine Providence is overruling this heaven born enterprise of civilization and philanthropy, to raise up, directly and indirectly, from various quarters, seasonable and efficient auxiliaries; so that her prospect is brightening every hour.

But in addition, before quitting this subject, we ought to designate as specially deserving attention, the authentic and impressive fact, that a vast body of iron ore has recently been discovered in Liberia, located in the New Jersey colony, and extending over

many thousands of acres, easy of access, and so pure that it is found to be malleable and ductile without smelting; susceptible of conversion even by rude and unskilful hands, into a great variety of instruments and utensils, both for utility and ornament, adapted to the use and convenience of that country.

In this article alone, a commerce may be commenced and carried on, both foreign and domestic, of immense value and importance. The conjecture is warranted by many judicious explorations already made, that various other deposits will be found in that region, of different species, enriching the soil and country, and providing for the future wants and convenience of the population, placing that country in internal resources and prospects, upon a level with many of the most favored parts of the globe. How exceedingly important then, is it, that the United States should immediately extend to that young and rising Republic, prompt and efficient aid, in the effort now demanded, to explore her mineral wealth, and open up her internal resources of every species, thus to prepare the way for her future aggrandizement and glory.

CHAPTER XIII.

SKETCH OF REV. JAMES CALDWELL, FATHER OF MRS. FINLEY.

MR. CALDWELL was ordained to the work of the holy ministry, in the latter part of the year 1761; and, he was at the same time, installed pastor of the First Presbyterian Congregation in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. His intellectual powers, which were of a superior order, his education which united religious strictness with literary culture, and his native elevation of mind combined their influence to create in him early, a strong tendency to a virtuous, honorable and useful course of action. It pleased the Giver of every good gift, early to foster and sanctify these endowments, and to crown them with distinguished honor by directing them into the channel of his own sacred service, in the ministry of the gospel. The qualifications with which Mr. Caldwell entered on this high vocation, were such as to adorn the sacred office, to promote the interests of the church, and to benefit the souls of men. Of a sprightly temper, comely person,—graceful and engaging address—his voice clear and melodious—his mind well improved by theological science, polite literature, and cultivated society—his piety highly evangelical, active and fervent—he was one of the

most pleasing, eminent, and useful preachers of his day. He was much beloved by the people of his congregation, and his memory is still dear to a number of them who are now living. He was zealous, laborious and faithful in discharging the duties of his sacred trust. He delighted in visiting the people of his charge, and was accustomed to carry warm, practical piety with him into the private apartment and the social circle. In the small domestic assembly and in the ordinary intercourse of friendship, as well as in the congregation of God's people, he exhibited peculiar charms. Societies, and *small meetings*, for prayer were his delight. Accordingly, stated and occasional assemblies for these purposes were numerous in his congregation. His ministry was pre-eminently prospered by the great Head of the church in the year of our Lord 1772. A considerable effusion of the divine Spirit was then experienced in his congregation; and many were added to the church, some of whom are yet living witnesses, that this was truly a work of God.

Mr. Caldwell's character soon became extensively known and highly appreciated, in the church. His superior capacity for extemporaneous speaking, his animated, impressive, and captivating eloquence in the pulpit, and his fervent piety, rendered him uncommonly interesting to every audience, and excited for him, high esteem, both at home and abroad. The character of his mind, and the nature of his improvements, qualified and designated him for eminent usefulness in various spheres of action and of duty; and

the circumstances of his country, in the revolutionary contest with Great Britain, soon presented an opportunity for the splendid and successful exercise of all his versatile powers, and for the trial and illustration of all his Christian virtues. Independent, prompt and ardent, he espoused the cause of his country with decision and warmth; and he pursued her interests with a degree of intrepidity and enterprise, of zeal and perseverance, which would have honored a Christian patriot of any age.

While the British occupied the city of New York, the borough of Elizabeth and its vicinity, were peculiarly exposed to incursions from the foe. Hence the Americans, to whom the defence of that point was committed, were compelled to exercise peculiar vigilance and activity in all their movements. Mr. Caldwell, from his perfect knowledge of the people and the place, and from his sagacity, alertness and zeal, was remarkably calculated to give them efficient aid, in counsel and in action; and he rendered them his services on all occasions, in a manner corresponding with his known patriotism and tried courage.

The frequent alarms and occasional sufferings that speedily resulted from the warfare, and the insecurity of property and of life, attendant upon a residence at Elizabeth Town, induced Mr. Caldwell to move his family a short distance into the interior of the country. He continued his pastoral labors with as much constancy and fidelity as the state of his congregation and his own peculiar circumstances would permit. Notwithstanding the continual guard that was kept, and the precautionary means that were employed, a

party of *refugees*, under covert of night, January 25, 1780, destroyed his church by fire.

Mr. Caldwell had for some time discharged, in an acceptable manner, the duties of chaplain, in the American army stationed near Morris Town, and performed voluntarily many other important services in aid of its operations. His zealous exertions to promote the cause in defence of which his country was arrayed in arms against a powerful foe, his cheerful and affable disposition, and his urbanity of manners, continued to raise him high in the respect and confidence of the American officers and soldiers. His popularity and influence in the army, were well known to the enemy, and rendered him particularly obnoxious to those traitors to their country, who had abandoned its interest and joined the British standard. The wanton and sacriligious destruction of the church at Elizabethtown, was attributed principally to this circumstance.

Mr. Caldwell shared extensively in the hardships and hazards generally experienced; and he was called in the year 1788, to encounter a peculiarly afflicting calamity, in the death of his excellent wife. This lady was the daughter of John Ogden, Esq., of Newark, New Jersey. Her amiable disposition, her piety and exemplary deportment, had obtained for her the very particular respect and attachment of all who knew her. Her life had evinced that she was worthy of the sphere in which she had moved, and prepared for the event which now prematurely befell her. She was the mother of nine children, the eldest of whom was sixteen years old, and the youngest was an infant.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, on several occasions, when alarms of the enemy's approach had been made, Mrs. Caldwell had been induced to retire from her residence at Connecticut Farms, for greater security, higher up in the country. Having found these retreats very difficult and troublesome, and, for the most part causeless, she determined to cast herself in future on the clemency and magnanimity of the foe, and on the *care* of her covenant-keeping God.

On the sixth of June, 1780, General Knyphausen came over from Staten Island, with about five thousand men, and landed in the night, at Elizabethtown Point. Very early next morning they directed their march towards Springfield, through the settlement of Connecticut Farms. Although Mrs. Caldwell was apprised of their approach in season to escape, her mind was made up on this subject, and she resolved, in humble reliance on Divine Providence, to remain at home. When the enemy were entering the village Mrs. Caldwell withdrew from the apartment she usually occupied, into a more retired room, for the purpose of devotion as well as security, with her infant in her arms. The maid, who had accompanied her to this secluded apartment, and had charge of the other small children, on looking out of a window into the back yard, observed to Mrs. Caldwell, that "a red coat soldier had jumped over the fence and was coming up to the window, with a gun." Her youngest son, nearly two years old, playing upon the floor, on hearing what the maid said, called out, "Let me see—let me see!" and ran that way. Mrs. Caldwell rose from sitting on a bed very near; and at

this moment the soldier fired his musket at her through the window. It was loaded with two balls, which both passed through her body. The surrounding building and the house in which this deed was perpetrated were soon after set on fire. It was with difficulty that the dead body of Mrs. Caldwell could be preserved from the general destruction that ensued. After it had lain some time exposed in the open street and in the hot sun, liberty was obtained to place her remains in a small dwelling house, on the opposite side of the road, which had survived the conflagration.

The following night Mr. Caldwell spent at a place called *Short Hills*, not far from Springfield. He retired to rest in the evening in a state of excessive anxiety respecting the fate of his wife and children. The partitions of the house consisted of boards not very closely joined. In his sleepless state he overheard two men, lodging in an adjoining room, talking on the subject of the *death* of Mrs. Caldwell. He rose quickly and entered their room in great agitation, and inquired what they heard on that subject. They represented it as only a rumor, and probably a mistake, and persuaded him to return to his bed. The remainder of the night was to him a season of most painful suspense and anxiety. In the morning Mr. Caldwell procured a *flag*, and proceeded with all possible speed to the Connecticut Farms, to visit his family and ascertain their state. While yet at some distance, he discovered that the church and village were in ruins, and that the enemy had returned to Staten Island; and very soon, he learned the truth of the afflicting rumor before received, that Mrs.

Caldwell was no more. Her friends were assembled ; and the funeral service was performed, with as much solemnity and order as the desolation and alarm universally prevalent would permit.

While this event was deeply afflicting to Mr. Caldwell and his numerous friends, it made a strong *impression* on the public mind. The following account of this transaction, is extracted from *Marshall's Life of Washington*,* and is introduced to show the views of this distinguished revolutionary patriot and American historian, as well as of the public in general, in relation to the events we are here recording :—

“At the Connecticut Farms, a flourishing settlement which took its name from the country of those by whom it had been planted, and which has been distinguished for its zeal in the American cause, a halt was made. In a spirit of revenge, unworthy the general of an army, which was in the character of Tryon, who was present, rather than of Knyphausen who commanded : which served more to injure than advance the interests of those in whose cause he was engaged ; and which tended more to irritate than intimidate : this settlement, including the meeting-house and the house of the clergyman belonging to the village, was reduced to ashes.”

The author here quoted then adds in a note :—
“This circumstance would scarcely have deserved notice, had it not been accompanied by one of those melancholy events, which even war does not authorize

* See Vol. iv. p. 225.

and which the civilized world condemns, and which made at the time *a very deep impression*.

“Mrs. Caldwell the wife of the clergyman, who has been mentioned, had been induced to remain in her house, under the persuasion that her presence might serve to protect it from pillage, and that her person could not possibly be endangered, as in the hope of preserving the farms Col. Dayton, who at that time commanded the militia, determined not to halt in the settlement, but to take post at a narrow pass on the road leading to Springfield. While she was sitting in the midst of her children, *having a sucking infant in her arms*, a soldier came up to the window and discharged his musket at her. She received the ball in her bosom and instantly expired.

“Ashamed of an act so universally execrated, it was contended by the British, that this lady was the victim of a random shot, and even that the fatal ball had proceeded from the militia: in proof of which last assertion, they insisted that the ball had entered on that side of the house which looked towards the retreating Americans. But it was notorious that the militia made no stand at the Farms, and a pathetic representation of the fact made to the public by the afflicted husband, received universal credence and excited universal indignation. The death of Mrs. Caldwell might indeed be considered as the act of a single soldier, and therefore not of itself involving the reputation of the army; but when with it was connected with the wanton and useless devastation committed by authority, these acts formed one con-

nected whole in the public mind, and served still more to confirm the settled hate of the well affected, against the British government.”

In this season of public alarm, private suffering, and universal confusion, Mr. Caldwell, after putting his domestic affairs in the most favorable situation practicable under existing circumstances, returned to his important avocations. His activity and zeal in the discharge of his various duties were not diminished and the indignation and abhorrence of the public, were greatly increased by this recent outrage of violence and rapacity.

In less than eighteen months after the tragic act which deprived Mr. Caldwell of his inestimable wife, he was himself brought to an untimely grave by a similar deed of horror, which appeared to be instigated by the most savage malevolence, and was perpetrated by the hand of a ruffian traitor to his country, who attempted to shelter himself under the protection of a British flag of truce.

This event took place on the 24th of November 1781. The following account of the circumstances is extracted from the “New Jersey Gazette,” a respectable paper printed at the period here referred to, and obligingly furnished to the writer by the Hon. Joseph Bloomfield dated Wednesday, December, 12, 1781.

“Mr. Caldwell having been informed that a young lady had arrived at Elizabethtown Point, in a flag of truce from New York, who had permission to come within our lines, and who is the daughter of a lady

who has distinguished herself by her great humanity, tenderness and generosity to the American prisoners in New York, and considering himself bound by his duty as a citizen, to render every possible service to the family of so worthy a character, went down to the Point, with an intention of waiting on the lady up to town; when he arrived there, the officer then commanding the post at Elizabethtown, being on board the flag sloop, asked him whether he would go on board. He then stepped on board the sloop and was informed that the young lady had already gone to the town. Being about to return, a person in the sloop asked him whether he would take a small parcel tied up in a handkerchief. Mr. Caldwell consented to take it, went on shore, put the bundle into a chair-box and was driving off, when a soldier stepped up to him and said, "I must search your chair to see whether you have any seizable goods in that bundle." Mr. Caldwell then seeing it would be imprudent to run any further risk, asked the officer whether he would suffer him to return the bundle to the sloop. To this request the soldier readily agreeing, Mr. Caldwell took the bundle out of the chair-box and was stepping on board of the sloop to return it, when the murderer who was on the quarter-deck and within about ten yards of him, said, *Damn you, stop.* Mr. Caldwell instantly stopped and immediately on his stopping, the soldier presented his musket and shot him; he fell down and instantly expired without a groan. His funeral was attended the Tuesday following by a large concourse of people, when a funeral

sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. M'Whorter, from Ecclesiastes viii. 8.

“Mr. Caldwell was a man of very superior talents, whether considered as a preacher, a statesman, or a citizen. He was one of the first who embarked in the cause of his country, in which he has ever discovered a mind incapable of being intoxicated with partial successes, or meanly depressed by the clouds of adversity. His zeal, activity, and unshaken integrity under every circumstance of the present revolution, are deeply imprinted on the minds of his countrymen. As a preacher of the gospel he was excelled by very few of the present age; his oratory was natural and pleasing, and exceedingly persuasive. He was a diligent and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, to which the reformed lives and conversations of a large part of his numerous congregation bear an unequivocal testimony.

“He has left a most destitute and helpless family, consisting of nine children, the eldest about seventeen years of age, and the youngest not exceeding two, to experience the humanity and benevolence of those tender and sympathetic minds, who are not above the feelings of another's woe. Though Mr. Caldwell has been almost constantly engaged in public departments since the present war, which have been the source of riches and affluence to many others, yet such was his uprightness and love of his country, that his rising family are now left to deplore the want of a bare subsistence, but from the generosity of those who knew their father's virtues. We may justly conclude

with lamenting our country's loss, a loss to mankind—to human nature."

The utmost consternation and horror seized all who were present, at the sudden and tragical death of Mr. Caldwell. The perpetrator of the shocking deed was for some time forgotten. Mr. Caldwell's body, lifeless and drenched in blood, was taken up and carried to a public house not far distant. After the tumult at first excited had in some measure subsided, means were employed to secure the murderer, whose name was Morgan. He was pursued, speedily overtaken, and committed to prison. In the course of his trial afterwards, it became manifest that the murder was premeditated, and produced in part probably by something more than individual enmity. Morgan was condemned to death; and at the time of his execution, he manifested an awfully corrupt and obdurate heart. On being informed, when led out to be executed, that his time was come, and that if he had anything to say, he must say it quickly; he replied, "You will all soon come to this. Here give this blanket," presenting it to the executioner, "to my wife. Now do your duty, and don't keep me here suffering in the cold."

The remains of Mr. and Mrs. Caldwell were deposited in the Presbyterian churchyard, at Elizabethtown; and on the marble slab which covers them, is the following honorable *inscription*:

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. James Caldwell and Hannah his wife, who fell victims to their country's cause, in the years 1780 and 1781.

"He was the zealous and faithful Pastor of the

Presbyterian Congregation in this town, where, by his evangelical labors in the gospel vineyard, and his early attachment to the civil liberties of his country, he has left on the hearts of his people a better monument than brass or marble.

“*Stop, Passenger!*”

“Here also lie the remains of a woman, who exhibited to the world a bright constellation of the female virtues. On that memorable day, never to be forgotten, when a British foe invaded this fair village, and fired even the temple of the Deity, this peaceful daughter of heaven retired to her hallowed apartment, imploring Heaven for the pardon of her enemies. In that sacred retreat she was by the bloody hand of a British ruffian dispatched, like her divine Redeemer, through a path of blood, to her long wished-for native skies.”

By the untimely and lamentable death of Mr. Caldwell and his wife, their numerous and interesting children were cast upon the affection of their friends and upon the providence of God. The condition of the country, the agitated state of public affairs, rendered their loss incomparably greater, and the care of them proportionably more difficult. In Mr. Caldwell's zeal for the public welfare he had neglected his private interests. His property in a great measure, as well as his life, he had sacrificed to the good of his country. Never was public sympathy manifested towards a bereaved and afflicted household, more strikingly and affectingly than on this occasion. The tidings of Mr. Caldwell's death, and the mournful

tale of his children's orphanage and helplessness, pervaded the whole land, inspiring deep sorrow and tender concern in every bosom. In the central regions of the country more especially, this subject shed a gloom over every social company, and was long the melancholy theme of common conversation. The Heavenly Father mingled his counsels and his care with the sensibilities of the surrounding country and with the weeping anxieties of friends and kindred. His wisdom and goodness were peculiarly manifested towards this interesting group of orphans, in raising up for them affectionate and judicious friends, disposed to train them with parental fondness and fidelity, to knowledge and piety, honor and usefulness. Among their principal benefactors may be enumerated the Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL.D. the Marquis de La Fayette, and General Lincoln. General Washington, the illustrious father of his country, transferred his regard and kindness for his martyred friend, Mr Caldwell, to his fatherless children. The Father of the fatherless, by his merciful interposition and care, remarkably fulfilled to those bereaved children the words of his promise, by the mouth of his servant David, "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord shall take me up." That distinguished friend of humanity, who stands as the first of the earthly benefactors of this afflicted family, was the principal instrument employed in divine providence, to accomplish this desirable and happy purpose. Dr. Boudinot voluntarily assumed the care of these children, and discharged the important trust with a pa-

rental faithfulness and constancy. Divine wisdom seemed to direct his ways, and the divine blessing to rest upon his measures. With his judicious management, and under the care of the great heavenly Parent, their lives were preserved, their minds were well improved, their patrimony was yearly extending, and their prospects brightening before them. Nor have the hopes which soon began to be cherished, and the pleasing anticipations which were formed respecting their ultimate success in life proved delusive. God remembered his promise; he regarded the faith and the prayers of his servant and handmaid. The counsel and the care of anxious and devoted friends often prove weak and inefficient in the government and disposal of children. And how often do the prospects of fortune and the possession of wealth and splendor, become injurious or destructive! But the Lord God is a friend, a helper and a solace indeed, to all who *cast their care upon him; for he careth for them.*

APPENDIX.

I.—ON LIBERIA.

Leaving Sierra Leone for Monrovia, with a fair wind, we passed Sherbro Island and the Shebar and Gallinas rivers, and on the second day made Cape Mount.

The country between Sierra Leone and the Sherbro is covered with timber, much of which is annually exported. With the exception of about ten miles along the coast, the Shebar is now the northern boundary of the republic of Liberia.

Twenty miles from Cape Mount is Half-cape Mount river, which, in part belies its name; for it is a fine river, flowing through a level country, uninterrupted, as far as the eye can see, by the slightest elevation.

From Cape Mount to Cape Mesurado, is the Dey country, cut up in small districts, held by petty kings, who, while outwardly acknowledging the jurisdiction of the republic, are continually holding palavers; i. e., quarreling among themselves. The word "palaver," with a great many phases to its meaning, generally implies a discussion, to decide upon a right assumed, or a right disputed; or indemnity for a wrong; or the enforcement of a contract. It is in fact, the court of law of the tribes, and suits are brought before it.

The Deys, more tractable but not more trustworthy than the Veys, are somewhat given to agriculture, and possess considerable mechanical skill in the weaving and dyeing of cotton cloths, and the manufacture of household articles and instruments of

warfare. They are considered less numerous than the Veys, and are a more indolent and inoffensive race, numbering from 6,000 to 8,000. The dialect of these two tribes has some affinity, but differs from other languages along the coast. Although very imperfect, the missionaries have succeeded in reducing it to significant characters, and translating into it a compilation of the gospels.

At daylight, on the 31st of January, we made Cape Mesurado dimly visible through a thin white mist which shrouded the horizon. The mist hanging over the lowlands, but not rising above the tops of the trees, gave to the scene very much the appearance of a general inundation. We soon after heard the splashing of paddles in the water, and in a few moments a number of canoes came swiftly forth from the obscurity, and revealed two or three natives nearly naked, sitting upright in each, and handling their paddles with great dexterity. These canoes are dug out of the bombax ceiba, pullam or wild cotton tree of the country, and being very light, narrow, and long, with a slight upward curve at each extremity, float buoyantly and gracefully upon the water.

As we slowly sailed along, the mist in the meanwhile rising with the sun, the surrounding scenery, feature by feature, was unveiled, and by the time we cast our anchor in the bay the whole was distinctly revealed.

Abreast of us was a lofty promontory; a little beyond, and partly hidden by it was the town of Monrovia; and to the east and north a densely wooded country, its sandy shore interrupted only in two places, where the rivers Mesurado and St. Paul's find outlets to the sea—those outlets marked by the foam of breakers flashing in the sunlight.

* The pitch of Cape Mesurado is gently rounded; but its face is abrupt, and would present a rugged appearance, were it not covered with a mantle of the richest green I have ever looked upon, resembling, if anything, the hue of lichens and mosses in some sequestered ravine, from the sides of which water imperceptibly trickles. Except a very narrow strip of beach, with a few outlying rocks at the very water's edge, all is one mass of foliage—tangled vines and shrubbery beneath, but above a dense growth of trees, becoming more and more lofty, until those on the summit rear their heads above and half conceal the light house, an indif-

ferent frame building, stained and defaced by the weather ; which, except in its greater height, recalls to mind one of those narrow and neglected tobacco houses so often seen in our southern States.

Monrovia, which contains about 300 houses and 2,000 inhabitants, is built, as I have said, on a depression of the ridge which sweeps inland from the Cape. About midway the length of the principal street the land swells up like an earth-wave, and sinks immediately down the street, crossing the summit and following the declivity. On the summit is Fort Hill, where, in December, 1822, in the infancy of the settlement, the heroic Ashmun, rising from his bed of sickness, with thirty-four brave colonists repulsed an assault made by eight hundred savages.

The houses are detached, being built on lots of a quarter of an acre each. They are of good size, some two stories, but most of them one and a half, consisting of a single story of frame resting on a basement of stone, with a portico front and rear. Many of them were neatly, and two or three handsomely furnished.—There were twelve houses under construction, mostly of stone ; and there were besides a few which looked in good preservation ; but most of the frame dwellings presented an old and dilapidated appearance, owing to the humid climate during half the year, the scarcity of whitewash and paint, and the ravages of the beeg—a bug—a destructive species of *termite*. For the last reason, all the new houses not built in the native fashion—of wattles, mud, and grass—are constructed of stone, while the old frame ones are abandoned to decay.

In almost every yard there were fruit trees—mostly the lime, the lemon, the banana, the pawpaw—and the coffee tree ; sometimes the orange, and now and then the soursop and the tamarind. The oranges were good, but scarce ; and the lemons large and fine. The cocoa grows abundantly, and the pomegranate, the fig, the vine, and a tree bearing the cashew-nut, are to be seen, but not in abundance.

The soil is thin and not productive, resting upon a ferruginous rock which occasionally crops out. The gardens are enclosed by wooden palings, generally in a state of decay, or by stone walls without mortar. In them were only a few collards and some cassada, sweet potatoes, and arrow-root. But it is not the proper

season for vegetables, and a few months hence these gardens may, and doubtless will, present a more gratifying appearance.

The suburbs, the river, and the inner harbor, are commanded by Fort Hill, as the outer anchorage is by that of Fort Norris at the cape.

The view from Fort Hill is a very fine one. To the west and southwest it overlooks the houses and the trees far out upon the sea; on the north and east, Stockton creek and the two branches of the Mesurado flow gently through an alluvial plain; and to the southeast the eye follows the direction of the ridge which stretches far into the interior.

On Broadway, south of Fort Hill, is the government house—a large stone building, with arched windows and a balcony in front. The lower floor is used as a court-room and printing-office, and the upper as the hall of legislative council; behind it is the jail; directly opposite is the President's mansion—a double two-story brick-house, with a front portico—its roof sustained by lofty columns. It is the most imposing building in the place. There are five churches, all well attended. Indeed, I never saw a more thorough-going church community, or heard a greater rustling of silk, on the dispersal of a congregation, than here; all were at least sufficiently attired: and the dresses of the children were in better taste than those of their mothers. One of the most gratifying things I noticed was the great number of well-dressed and well-behaved children in the schools and about the streets. The schools are also numerous and well attended. I did not see sufficient to justify the expression of an opinion, except that, while I noticed the attendance was full in almost every one, it seemed to me that, in some instances, the acquirements of the teachers were surpassed by the capacities of their scholars: but for all the purposes of rudimental education the materials are ample. I feel a delicacy in alluding to this subject, and only say what has escaped me from a solicitude that the generation now coming forward may sustain the institutions of the republic.

The colonists were all decently clothed: and of the natives moving about the streets, with very few exceptions, the most indifferently clad wore a long loose shirt, but their heads and legs were bare. One of the latter I saw reading apparently a book which he held before him as he walked.

On the outskirts of the town is a large coffee grove, which did not seem to be in a thriving condition; and altogether, in and around Monrovia, agriculture wore a languishing appearance. This is doubtless owing, in part, to the poverty of the soil, and in part to the overweening spirit of trade; there being evidently a preponderance of petty retail shops. I must say, however, that the town presented a far more prosperous appearance than I had been led to anticipate. From its fine situation it must eventually be a salubrious one. The sea-breeze at all seasons blows directly over it, and in this respect it is far preferable to Sierra Leone. The bifurcation of the river St. Pauls to the north gives, through Stockton creek, its southern branch, a direct and easy access to that river at all times, without encountering the perils of either bar. On the southeast the east branch of the Mesurado is separated by a portage only five miles from the head of Junk river, which flows into the sea thirty-five miles down the coast. Monrovia will therefore be the outlet of the products of an extent of country not less than 1,250 square miles.

During the time of the Portuguese ascendancy, the Mesurado was called Rio Duro, from the cruelty of the natives—a cruelty fostered, if not engendered, by the whites.

It is but fair to state, that the land on the northeast Mesurado gives little promise of being soon brought into cultivation. The banks are so low as to be overflowed at every tide, and are covered, as far as the eye can reach, with an impenetrable growth of mangroves, while the sluggish stream is discolored by the black mud of the marshes, from which at low water, a most offensive odor is exhaled.

At 13 miles from Monrovia, the east branch is too shallow for canoe navigation; and a quarter of a mile above its source is an extensive morass, overgrown with long grass and mangrove bushes. The scenery is the same as that on the northeast branch. A short distance from the morass is the native village; the soil around is exhausted from repeated cultivation, and producing little else than cassada.

From thence, across the portage, to the Red Junk river, the surface of the country is nearly level, with extensive fields, no longer under cultivation, skirted with open forests.

ST. PAUL'S.

The banks are uneven—at some places high and steep; at others coming down with a slope to the water's edge. On each side is a belt of cultivation, with a dense forest-growth behind it; and the most conspicuous objects of the scene were the light-green, broad-leaved foliage of the banana, clustering about every settlement, and the detached and distant palm-trees, which reared their dark, tufted heads above the surrounding mass of vegetation.

The appearance of this tree is majestic, yet graceful. Its round smooth trunk springs, shaft-like, into the air, from sixty to upwards of a hundred feet, and then expands its rich, fringe-like leaves into a canopy, twenty or thirty feet in diameter.

The St. Paul's narrows very gradually in ascending it, and to the head of navigation is nowhere less than one-fourth of a mile in width. For the whole distance of fourteen miles from its mouth, there is a greater depth of water in the channel of the river than on the bars; and, for its length, it is a magnificent stream, pouring down such a volume of water as to render it certain that, however soon its navigation may be interrupted, it has its sources far in the interior.

The soil on both sides is a loamy clay, equal in fertility to the best sugar lands in Brazil. There are on the banks of the river four hundred farms and three thousand cultivators. Many of the houses are built of brick, two of them double-sized two-story ones and there were seven brick-kilns.

I landed at four or five places, and saw every indication of comfort and prosperity—far more so than in Monrovia. The houses were well furnished, and in one of them was a room, specially assigned for the purpose, which contained a small but good library. The principal articles I saw in cultivation were sugar, coffee, cassada, arrow-root, yams, sweet potatoes, and a few ground-nuts. Among the fruits were the luscious pine-apple, oranges, lemons, limes, bananas, plantains, and the paw-paw; the last, in cooking, an excellent substitute for the apple. A little cotton is raised for domestic use. The sugar-cane was growing finely; and at one of the farms I witnessed the operation of grinding it. The apparatus, in part the invention of the owner, was

an ingenious one, but very wasteful in its process; yet the proprietor expected to make nine thousand pounds of sugar and several hundred gallons of molasses this year. I tasted the sirup, which, owing, I presume, to the high temperature, was thinner than I have seen it during the grinding season in Louisiana. Some of the sugar of last year's crop was as light in color and as well granulated as the best Porto Rico I have seen. I scarce think, however, that sugar can to any extent be profitably cultivated, owing to the deficiency of capital and the consequent want of machinery.

Coffee will, I think, become eventually the great staple of this section of country. The tree grows indigenous, can be transplanted with ease, and requires little care in cultivation; and, where it is not extensively grown, its berry may be gathered as a pastime by women and children. I was shown one sample raised on the St. Paul's and tried another gathered in Monrovia. The last, which I did not see in the berry, was excellent; but I cannot sustain the assertion that it is better than the Mocha. The former was of a clear light color, and the grains were the largest I have ever seen; I am not aware, however, that the large size of the grain, is *per se*, an indication of superior quality.

From all that I could observe or learn from others, a taste for agriculture is becoming prevalent; and I cannot give a better idea of the prosperity of the settlements on the St. Paul's, than by stating that cleared land fronting on the river sells at from \$40 to \$50 per acre. Some of the country seats looked beautiful from the river, and their names are characteristic of their owners; some being unpretending but expressive; some classic, and some scriptural—"Pleasant View," "Iconium," and "Mount Horeb."

Opposite to Caldwell is the settlement of New Virginia; where in 1847, the government of the United States built a receptacle for liberated Africans. Higher up are Kentucky, Heddington and Millsburg. Heddington was fiercely attacked by the natives in 1841, and gallantly defended by a missionary and one of the colonists; the leader of the assailants was killed and his party dispersed. These four are little more than a close contiguity of small farms; but Millsburg, at the head of navigation, and the farthest inland settlement in Liberia, is a flourishing village and missionary

school station; and on the opposite side of the river is the mission of "White Plains."

From its situation, Millsburg must be comparatively healthy, and is certainly beautiful. The river, separated by an island into two channels, there forces itself over a rocky ledge with the rushing sweep and hoarse sound of a rapid. The ledge is, however, a narrow one, and a channel through it might be blasted with gunpowder, or it could be flanked by a canal. Above the ledge the stream is unobstructed for about ten miles, and the country through which it flows is yet more rolling and beautiful than it is below the rapids. The soil is a rich mould, formed by the vegetable decay of centuries, resting on a substratum of clay, and covered with a luxuriant forest.

At the rapids are a number of islands, clothed with luxuriant vegetation; and, as was remarked by the lamented Dr. Randall, the islands differ from each other in their verdure, and from that of the main land. Each one seems to have caught, in the autumnal inundations, the seeds and roots of particular plants and shrubs brought down from the interior; for, while differing from those on the main, no two resemble each other in their peculiar foliage.

Above the islands the country is represented as most beautiful, bearing trees of immense size, clear of undergrowth, and having their branches interwoven with vines, and decorated with gaudy parasitic plants, forming a shade impervious to the sun, and imparting a coolness to the atmosphere which is truly delightful. The stream, irregular in its width, sometimes forces its way through fissures in the rocks, and at others forms deep pools, where the water is so transparent that the bottom is distinctly visible. It seems as if the foot of man had never trodden these lovely solitudes, where the silence is only interrupted by the murmuring sound of water, the scream of the fish-hawk, and the chattering of monkeys pursuing their gambols among the trees.

This must, however, be taken *cum grano salis*; for, in the rainy season the river overflows its banks and inundates the country.

The river St. Paul's has its source in the same range of hills from which the Karamanka issues; and by barometrical measurement, these hills are 1,400 feet in height, which is about the elevation of the head-waters of the Mississippi. The scenery of the

upper St. Paul's will, therefore, compare with that of the Karamanka, although more than two degrees intervene between their outlets.

The late Major Laing thus describes the country bordering on the latter river:

"The valleys are picturesque and fertile, and are watered by numerous rivulets, which, running from north to south, collect behind the lofty hill of Botato, and contribute in swelling the river Karamanka. I was frequently induced to stop to contemplate the lovely scene around me, consisting of extensive meadows clothed with verdure; fields from which the springing rice was sending forth its vivid shoots, not inferior in beauty and health to the corn-fields of England in March, interspersed here and there with a patch of ground studded with palm trees; while the neighboring hills, some clothed with rich foliage—some exhibiting a bald and weather-beaten appearance, formed a noble theatre around me. We left the town of Nijiniah, on the Karamanka, and having walked an hour and three-quarters, gained the summit of one of the hills; and in one direction, on the opposite side, a scene quite panoramic broke upon the view; an extensive valley, partly cultivated and partly covered with a long natural grass, about five feet high, with lines of stately palm-trees, as regular as if laid out by art, and here and there a cluster of camwood trees, their deep shade affording a relief to the lighter hue of the smaller herbage.

"These, with a murmuring rivulet, meandering through the centre, exhibited the appearance of a well cultivated and tastefully arranged garden, rather than a tract amid the wilds of Africa; whilst in the distance, mountain towered above mountain in all the grandeur and magnificence of nature."

Without being so wide or so impetuous in its current, there is much in the St. Paul's (one feature excepted) to suggest what might have been the appearance of the Mississippi above La Fourche, and below Baton Rouge, before the less pretending houses of the Creole planters were displaced by the stately mansions of the present proprietors.

The St. Paul's connects, it is said, with Half-cape Mount river by a branch that runs parallel with the coast, and both abound in fish and a small species of the "*Hippopotamus liberiensis*," thus named by the late Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, from *craniæ* sent to

him by Dr. Goheen. This animal is said to be extremely tenacious of life, and, except to gunpowder and ball, almost invulnerable. When injured he becomes dangerous; but if unmolested, never, the natives say, attacks any one. The flavor of the flesh is described as intermediate between that of veal and beef.

About seventy miles from Millsburg, in a direction a little east of north, is Boporah, a large native town, formerly containing more than a thousand houses, fortified with a strong barricade. The path to it leads through a dense forest, in which there are elephants and a great many other wild animals. For the first fifty miles there are no villages, and the only natives met with are the elephant hunters, who are numerous, and represented as friendly. The St. Paul's passes within twenty-five miles of the town, winding, in its course, among many islands.

We landed just below Bassa Point, near the dwelling of a colonist. It was recently built, in a clearing in the midst of a grove of palm-trees; and I found him, with three or four natives in his employment, busied in extracting from the palm-nut the rich oil it yields. After resting a short time under his thatched roof, with the assistance of his laborers, we dragged the boat up the high shelving bank, and over a narrow strip of sand, and launched her in the South Junk, which, flowing nearly parallel with the coast, unites with the other branches just inside the bar.

From thence we pulled over to the village of Marshall, on the northern bank, about half a mile from the river's mouth. This was the last settlement made by the parent Colonization Society in Liberia. It is elevated about forty feet above the river, and its situation is a fine one in appearance; but the soil around it is poor, and the place far from flourishing. Originally laid out on an enlarged plan, it now contains but thirty or forty houses, built along the river bank—a few of them frame buildings, but most of them plastered mud-walls, with thatched roofs—many presenting a dilapidated appearance.

The only article of export I saw was a quantity of lime, made from the oyster-shell upon the shore; and I was assured that this place wholly supplies Monrovia, and partly the other settlements with this invaluable building material. Oysters are plentiful here; but they are only palatable when cooked; and the river abounds with mullet. There is some small traffic here with the natives in

camwood, palm-oil, and a little ivory; but it is much interfered with by dealers from Monrovia.

It being Sunday when I arrived, after conversing with some of the citizens, I accepted an invitation to attend church, and there heard a sermon from a venerable colored preacher which I shall not soon forget. I have heard many stereotyped sermons, but never one to move me as much as this. The distant booming of the surf on one side, through which I had to pass to rejoin my companions, and the dark, teeming forest upon the other, tended no doubt, to enhance the solemnity of the scene; for, seated upon a rush floor beneath a roof of thatch, as I listened to the earnest tones of the feeble old man, I never felt more impressed with a sense of my own undeserving. I mention this, because I conceive that I should withhold nothing which may convey a correct idea of the impressions made on me in Liberia. In a personal sense, these impressions are insignificant and wholly unworthy of record. Their only importance is derived from the scene which gave them birth, and from the inference to be drawn from it, that Christianity has its exemplars in benighted Africa, as well as in our own more favored land.

About a mile above the settlement is the confluence of two streams—the Red Junk, flowing down from the north, and the Junk, or main stream from the east. The Red Junk, near its source, is connected with the eastern branch of the Mesurado by a narrow portage. At the junction the banks of both streams are low and bordered with mangrove thickets.

About two miles up the Red Junk there is a native village, and from thence the banks become more elevated and present a more attractive appearance. The palm trees become more frequent, and, in the space of twenty miles, the scene is enlivened by a number of villages—the light green leaves of the banana indicating their locality long before the brown roofs become visible. The course of the stream is winding, and its width various; at times but 150 to 200 yards, with comparatively high banks, and again spreading out to nearly a mile in width, with low and sedgy shores.

The vegetation is very luxuriant and much diversified in its character. The scenery of the river's banks is described as rich beyond conception.

“Trees of singular form and foliage spring from the deep, rich

soil, and rear their heads to an amazing height; while their branches are covered with a beautiful drapery of vines, forming a dense shade, and hanging, in many places, to the surface of the water."

Looking closely at these trees, a large black knot is occasionally seen swelling irregularly out of the branch to which it attaches. It would be set down as a fungus, but that a more scrutinizing glance detects the head of a snake projected above the coil, in an attitude of menacing vigilance. On the near approach of the boat every fold is shaken out, as by a single effort, and the snake precipitates itself into the water and disappears. It is the well known black snake, measuring from four to six feet in length and two to four inches in diameter, which frequents the banks of rivers, and is said, by the natives, to be amphibious.

The fertility of the soil, combined with the presence of moisture, gives a peculiar depth and vividness of green to the foliage; and the stream as smooth as a polished mirror, reflects the variegated beauties which clothe its banks. Occasionally a light native canoe shoots down with the current, or paddles up stream, close along the shore; while among the trees a short distance back, monkeys are seen springing from limb to limb, in pursuance of their gambols. As on the St. Paul's and the Mesurado, the stranger is little annoyed by mosquitoes and flies, and is struck with the scarcity of birds and flowers.

In the rainy season the first deficiency may be more than satisfactorily supplied, and the moist gloomy shades of the forest are unfit nurseries for flowers, which thrive best in a light soil where they can expand their petals to the sun.

Of the birds to be seen in the recesses of the wood, very few are gifted with melodious notes; but by the compensatory law of nature, some of them are magnificent in their plumage. Of these, the sun-bird, scarce larger than our smallest humming-bird, with its scarlet breast, tinged straw-color at the edges, its emerald throat and back, and dove colored wings, and a tail longer than its body, is the most beautifully conspicuous. Others I saw wholly of one color—some of the deepest indigo-blue, and others a rich tinted orange. But they partook of the spirit of the solitude in which they dwelt, and flitted silently from tree to tree before the footsteps of the intruder.

Like the Red Junk, the Junk proper has low banks, bordered with mangroves for about three miles from the junction, where the shore rises on each side and the soil becomes fertile, occasionally presenting a slight elevation, on each side of which is a settlement comprising three farms of colonists and two native villages.

The river averages about 300 yards in width to King Kymocree's village—a collection of twelve or fourteen low-pitched, mud-plastered huts, with projecting thatched roofs and uneven clay floors. In the centre of the floor is the fireplace—the only outlet for the smoke being the low and narrow door-way, near which the inmates are always, by preference seated. The principal building, in front of which the king held his audience, was built of wattled cane; but not plastered, being open all around. About six feet from the floor were cross-pieces; on which up to the roof, was piled rice in the sheaff, to be dried by the smoke of the council fire. The king is short of stature, but with a muscular frame; and his features altogether are more of the true negro type than I have thus far seen in Africa. He was cordial and communicative: and the colonists represented him as a staunch friend and ally, having in the late war borne arms gallantly in their behalf. He possesses a number of villages—the male inhabitants, like those of the one we were in, being nearly all absent some distance inland, clearing land preparatory to sowing rice. He presented us to three of his wives and six or eight children; declaring that the latter were so numerous, that he did not know them all by sight. His tribe is one of the many ramifications of the Bassas, of whom I will speak further on.

From the Junk to the St. John's river the coast preserves its south-east direction, with the same monotonous features, except some red and white cliffs which abut upon the shore below the former; and inland the range of Bassa hills and the insulated Mount St. John, which become visible on approaching the latter river.

We anchored off the mouth of the St. John's too late to enter it by daylight. On the following morning we started for the shore, and passed a Liberian schooner, bound to Monrovia with a cargo of palm oil, and an English cutter coming up from the southward, we steered for the opening in the line of beach, where, with a graceful curve and a rapid sweep, the river finds an outlet; and, crossing the bar on a heavy roller, we landed at Buchanan.

Within the bar are concentrated the waters of three rivers: the Mechlin, flowing from the north; the St. John's, from the north-east; and the Benson river from the east. This great body of accumulated water is forced through a passage narrower than the principal stream; and when the tide is ebb and the wind blows fresh upon the shore, there is drawn across it a line of terrific breakers. At this season, however, the winds are ordinarily light, and with a skilful pilot the bar can be passed in safety.

On the sandy peninsula between the Mechlin and the sea, just within the confluence, some thirty feet above the water, is the village of Edina; the streets contiguous to and running parallel with the river. This settlement consists of a church and some twenty or thirty dwellings, of which the former and three-fourths of the latter are frame buildings; the rest are thatched huts.

On Benson river, adjoining the town, there was a small steam saw-mill in operation, and in the cove beyond it, one small vessel was hauled up for repairs, and two others were anchored in the stream.

Between the Benson river and the confluent streams, before they mingle with the sea, Buchanan is built, on wide streets running parallel with the beach, and they are less encumbered with weeds than those of Edina. Unprotected by whitewash or paint, the houses all present a dingy, semi-dilapidated appearance, except the house of Judge Benson, on the south side of the cove; which looks fresh and beautiful, embowered; as it is, in an extensive grove of coffee-trees.

The St. John's river is as wide as would be the united streams of the Mechlin and the Benson. It is half a mile wide at the estuary; and for a mile further up, is fringed with the mangrove.—Thence it gradually lessens in width, and at the distance of three miles is divided into two channels by Factory Island, on which Mr. Ashmun contemplated forming a settlement. Above the island the river narrows more rapidly, and does not exceed 200 yards in width at Bexley, a missionary school station, and rather a farming settlement than a village, seven miles from the river's mouth.

Opposite to the mission is the town of "King Soldier" a venerable and friendly old man, upwards of one hundred years old.—A little above is another island, half a mile beyond which is the

head of navigation, where the immediate banks are about twelve feet high.

The scenery is the same as that on the Junks, except that there are more frequent indications of agricultural improvement. After the mangrove ceases, the soil is a yellow clay; and the principal growth on and near the water's edge is a medium sized tree, from its peculiar properties called the soap-tree; and the more lofty pullam or wild cotton tree, the sassy-wood tree, and the palm tree. The qualities of the soap-tree are the same as those Herodotus mentions, of the shavings of which the Scythian women made a soft paste, wherewith they plastered their bodies, and stripped it off again when quite dry; by which means the skin was thoroughly cleansed.

One of the farm-houses at which I stopped was finely situated on a rolling piece of ground, some eighty feet above and one hundred and fifty yards distant from the river. It was well furnished and contained two rooms and a kitchen below stairs, and an attic sleeping-room above. It was the workmanship of the owner—an emigrant from Staunton, in Virginia; and the neat, yet strong stairway of wattled cane, and the partitions made of rushes, attested his industry and skill; while a small, but good library, proved that he possessed yet other resources. Himself, his wife and daughter, made the same declaration, which, with two exceptions (and those unprotected females,) I have heard from many others—that nothing could induce them to again take up their residence in the United States.

On the banks of the river between Buchanan and Bexley, are the farms of eight or ten colonists, with as many native settlements, and I think that I counted two brick-kilns; but, as on the branches of the Junk and the St. Paul's, the settlements extend only a short distance back from the river. Including Bexley, there are 250 colonists on the St. John's above Buchanan.

The mission-house, just below the settlement of Bexley, is a fine two-story frame building, occupied at the time of my visit by two male and three female missionaries. They had arrived a month previous, and were still in the enjoyment of excellent health. Although unprovided with a physician, they spoke cheerfully of their prospects, and expressed gratification at finding things so much better than they had anticipated.

I felt a glow of pride, tempered with sympathy, as I looked upon my countrymen and countrywomen periling all earthly hopes in such a noble cause. This is true heroism—the chivalry of the gospel! For warlike achievements, men are almost deified; while the self-sacrificing missionary, who foregoes all the comforts of life, and, with the cross for his banner, boldly penetrates the cloud which overshadows this continent, and encounters certain sickness, and death more or less premature, for the benefit of a benighted race,—the missionary is rarely named, except with the final enunciation, “*Mortuus est.*”

There is a considerable tract of land under cultivation at Bexley. I could not ascertain how much its produce has increased; but some years ago it yielded 600 lbs. of coffee; nearly 3,000 lbs. of ginger; 1,100 baskets of sweet potatoes; 1,200 lbs. of arrow root: and 300 bushels of cassada. There were raised, besides, a great many fowls, and some sheep, goats, and cattle.

Beyond the rapids, the St. John's is navigable by canoes six miles further; from whence it is about ten miles to the base of Mount St. John; beyond which is a broad valley, bounded on the east by elevated ridges.

The principal forest growth beyond the head of navigation is camwood, bastard mahogany, African hickory, two kinds of wisniore—both admirably adapted for articles of furniture—and the oak, differing essentially from the species found from the tropics nearly to the polar circles, which is, throughout those regions, a cosmopolite of vegetation, being alike in its fruit, although much diversified in growth and the form of its leaves.

From thirty to fifty miles from the sea is one uninterrupted camwood forest; and the wood is used by the natives as fuel, and for building purposes. They fell the trees, and split them up into billets fifteen or sixteen inches long, which they carry in bundles on their heads to the nearest point of canoe navigation. Instead of this slow and laborious process, it is strange that it has never occurred to them to launch the trees, denuded of their branches, and raft them down the river. The whole world might be supplied with camwood rafted down the St. John's.

Most of the land bordering upon the sea has been, at different times, under cultivation: but after yielding the first crop, a piece of land is abandoned, and a new clearing made for the succeeding one.

As a natural consequence, a rapid growth of vegetation supervenes in the deserted field, and it becomes, in a few years, a tangled thicket of trees and shrubs, bound together with the lacings of interminable vines and creepers. Added to which, from the incessant wars heretofore the purpose of supplying the slave trade, the country along the coast has been half depopulated. Thus stripped of a great part of its primitive growth, and cultivated only in spots detached and distant from each other, the general aspect of the coast is that of a forest of dense and matted trees and shrubbery, almost destitute of its original characteristics.

In ascending the rivers, however, a wholly different scene presents itself. The primitive forest, in all its native grandeur, covers the earth ; the graceful palm-tree waves its feathery branches in the breeze, and the lofty wisniore and huge bastard mahogany rear high their towering heads, while among the green foliage is seen the gay coloring of blossoms on many a stately tree, which give a kaleidoscopic variety to the deep embowering wood. Far up the streams, the eye is charmed with the ever-varied landscape, the dense trees which overhang the banks, their towering height and majestic size, the vivid hues of their foliage, and the sombre shade, despite the rays of an unclouded sun.

The profound stillness which prevails in these solitudes was disturbed at our approach, not only by the harsh grating of the oars in the rowlocks, but also by the wild and not unmelodious songs of the boatmen, which caused the basking crocodile to plunge into the stream, the monkey to retire into the recesses of the wood, and the fish-hawk to seek another position from whence to pounce upon his prey.

The territory of Little Bassa has many subdivisions, under as many names. It is compressed nearly into the form of a triangle by the Atlantic and the branches of the Junk and St. John's rivers ; and is also a peninsula, as these streams approach each other very nearly in the interior. The country abounds in camwood and palm-oil, and the demand for the last is rapidly increasing, as it is now used instead of Russian tallow in the manufacture of soap. Hundreds of tons of camwood, and many thousand gallons of oil, are annually shipped from these rivers.

The new clearings on the river-banks, the steam saw-mill at Buchanan, the vessels in the cove, and the buildings under con-

struction, attest, with the exception of Edina, that the settlements on the St. John's are flourishing.

About three miles further down the beach from Buchanan is Fishtown, now being resettled, where there are twenty houses under construction, and a considerable tract of land cleared for cultivation. In the environs of the former, and on the road to the latter, I saw a number of cattle, larger in size than those of Monrovia. Their excellent condition verified the statement of respectable settlers that the neighborhood is a fine grass country.

The landing-place at Bassa Cove is protected from the sweep of the southwest wind, the prevalent one during the rainy season, by Grand Bassa Point, which bends to the north and renders the landing safe, except during a northerly wind. Unfortunately, when I left, the wind blew from that quarter, driving a heavy sea before it. It was near night-fall when I embarked in a canoe, to be conveyed through the surf to the boat, which lay beyond the outer breakers. I took my seat in the little dug-out, which was so light that I could have carried it upon my shoulders, while two natives, one standing at each end, kept it from being swerved entirely round and filled with water, as the waves broke upon the shore and washed knee-deep beyond them. As each wave receded the two men pointed the bow anew in the right direction, and then stretching themselves up to the greatest height, watched the forming crest of the succeeding roller, for an opportunity to launch forth and attempt a passage. It was necessary that those who had me in charge should not for one moment be distracted; a few friendly colonists, unable to resist, stood a short distance back therefore and watched our proceedings in silence. The scene to them must have been a wild and impressive one; the tiny canoe, the dusky forms of the natives, now and then shown in striking contrast as an angry breaker broke upon the shore, and sent its seething foam far up the beach, and the troubled sea beyond with the boat in the foreground, tossing confusedly upon it.

We waited so long for an opportunity, that the ship, at first dimly visible in the distance, became lost in the fast increasing obscurity; and the boat beyond the line of surf could only be distinguished as a dark speck upon the surface.

At last there was a sudden shout, a push, a plunge, a rocking violently from side to side, a rapid play of the paddles

which seemed more like wild gesticulations than a concerted movement: and, after a few moments' pitching and tossing, more than I ever pitched and tossed before, I found myself alongside the boat, and the canoe half filled with water.

It was a long, cold, uncertain pull afterwards to the ship, four miles distant, against a high wind and heavy sea, and without a compass, which, from fear of losing it by the upsetting of the canoe, had been left upon the shore. We were soon, however, favored with a beacon; for a lantern was hoisted on board the ship. About an hour afterwards a blue light was burned; and in an hour more we pulled alongside, the Kroomen too weary to keep up their customary song.

The next morning we sailed for Sinou, eighty miles further down the coast, a Liberian schooner taking her departure also for the south a few hours before us. The two canoemen, my companions of the night before, came off to bring the compass, and receive a compensation for their services. They also brought a specimen of coffee from Judge Benson's plantation, for exhibition at the New York Crystal Palace.

The Bassa tribe occupies the coast and an indefinite distance inland, from the Mesurado to Settra Kroo, below Sinou. All the colonial settlements of Liberia are within the territory of this tribe. With this tribe, therefore, they are better acquainted, having daily and hourly intercourse with them; nearly all the residents, natives of the settlement, being members of this large tribe, estimated to number 100,000! all speaking with little variation, the same language; their physical conformation, pursuits, manners, architecture, superstitions, and productions of the country, presenting a striking uniformity. This tribe, like others on the coast, embrace a great many subdivisions, under petty chiefs, of from 15 to 20 miles square, but forming combinations, to more or less extent, by general custom and superstitious laws, continually harassing each other by family quarrels and petty jealousies. They are nevertheless, industrious in their habits, not fond of wandering far from their homes, and are imitative and desirous of improvement.

Wars occasionally take place between two or more of the subdivisions: but when they have occurred heretofore, the slave trade was generally the exciting cause. With the extinction of that

direful cause, its lamentable consequences it is hoped, may be hereafter averted

Every town and village has its headman, who is subject to a king—generally an old man, to whom, as well as to the aged in general, great respect is paid. These kings and headmen do not appear to exercise despotic authority. An accused person is tried by the ordeal of drinking red water, a decoction of sassywood, or by a general palaver, which decides the innocence or guilt, and determines the punishment.

Their towns are assemblages of small conical huts, placed without order, sometimes on the banks of rivers, but are most frequently hidden by the surrounding woods, to which they retreat when attacked by an enemy. These towns exhibit much pleasing harmony and good nature, having altogether the order and features of one great family. Polygamy is universal, the number of wives being the measure of a man's wealth; yet nothing like indiscriminate licentiousness is to be seen. The men perform no servile labor, but pass most of the year in careless indolence, except the months of February, March, and April, when the towns appear to be deserted by them, excepting one or two hoary-headed patriarchs; all others being busied in cleaning and burning off their farms.

At this time the whole line of coast presents an interesting spectacle from the sea—volumes of smoke by day, and numerous blazing fires at night. The planting of rice and cassada is then left to the women, to whom all further labor is resigned until the crops are safely stored in their houses. The men then betake themselves to their usual pursuits and amusements. They often seek employment among the colonists, in order to get a supply of tobacco and cloth for themselves, and beads for the women. When they have anything to sell in the colony, the women, with their children strapped to their backs, carry the articles on their heads, while their lordly husbands walk on before, each bearing a knife or a gun.

The children soon after their birth are exposed naked to the rays of the sun, and the manner in which they are nursed is anything but gentle; but they are very healthy, and few die in infancy. The boys, eleven or twelve years old, completely throw off all maternal restraint, deeming it unmanly to be longer controlled by

a woman. Nothing will make a native boy in the service of the colonists run away sooner than being struck by a female.

Their mechanical and agricultural implements are exceedingly simple—the latter being merely a hatchet for the men to cut down the bushes and trees; and a small hoe, three inches broad, for the woman to plant the rice with, which, when the fruit is ripe, is cut down with a common knife. They cook rice admirably, and all their peculiar dishes are highly seasoned with pepper. They live principally on vegetables, but are fond of animal food—snakes, guanas and monkeys being among their highest luxuries; and they are accused of not being averse to cats and dogs. Smoking and drinking palm wine (and rum, when it can be had) is the *summum bonum* of their existence. They rarely, however, drink to excess; but are fond of games of hazard, which they play with large beans. They do not gamble, however, to the extent of some tribes in the interior, who first stake one limb, and then another, until the whole body is forfeit, and the unsuccessful player becomes the slave of his antagonist.

By the labor of the missionaries a syllabic alphabet has been constructed for the Bassa language, which, although harsh, is metaphorical; the figures being drawn from natural objects. It is believed that there exists a similarity of construction, and no great disparity in the elementary sounds of the languages of the tribes extending from the Gallinas to Cape Palmas. Such alphabets, therefore, may prove extensively and eminently useful.

Between the St. John's and the Sinou river there are several streams coming down from the interior, but, all are shallow and mostly difficult of access. First, the "New Cess," where was the last slave mart between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas. There are here masses of sienite upon the beach and a range of hills stretching inland. Next, the "Little Culloh," south of the highland peak, and accessible to boats in fair weather, and with a good landing just below it. Then follows the "Grand Culloh" river, with its entrance barred up at this season; and the "Tembo," which has a good landing on its southern beach; "Sestos" river, where a slave factory was long established; the "New" river, coming in by "Diabolito rock;" the "Broom" river, at the mouth of which is Bahyah rock, sixty feet above the sea; and the "Sang-

win" and the "Grand Bouton" rivers, the latter having a bluff 260 feet on its southern shore, and the "Yulee" shoal before it.

There are many rivulets besides these streams, all pouring down, even in this dry season, immense volumes of water, but none of them admitting vessels drawing more than six feet water, except the "Sangwin," which at the flood has upwards of ten feet water upon its bar, within which it is spread out and is navigable but for a short distance.

From the Sangwin to Nifou is the Kroo country, inhabited by an interesting race. The extent of their territory inland is not accurately known, but supposed not to exceed twenty miles, as they have no towns, except upon the coast. The general aspect of the country is champagne, and it is densely wooded, but mostly free from marshes. Its chief vegetable productions are rice, cas-sada, yams, and plantains. The rice which it produces is valued by traders along the coast for its superior whiteness. The rivers which run through it are not large, and do not probably rise at any great distance from the coast, although the Kroomen, whose ideas of distance are far from exact, represent them as extending a great way inland. They are full of banks and shoals which obstruct navigation.

In the Kroo country there are but five towns: "Little Kroo," the northernmost; "Settra Kroo," the chief town; "Kroo Bah," "Nanakroo," and "Willstown." A few small villages inhabited by strangers or slaves, are said to be scattered over the intermediate space, and at a greater distance from the shore, for the purpose of cultivating the land. This small district is considered more populous than any along the coast. The inhabitants are employed by all the vessels trading between Cape Mesurado and Cape Palmas as factors, interpreters, and as auxiliaries to the crews, to save them from exposure in boats. The Kroomen who thus employ themselves are seldom less than fifteen or more than forty years of age. Those who remain at home are chiefly employed in agriculture and a few in fishing. They rear also a few cattle. The land seems to form a common stock, and not to descend by inheritance. Each man settles where he pleases, and the labor is performed chiefly by the women, assisted by domestic slaves.

The commerce of the Kroomen is carried on principally by barter, and the articles in greatest demand among them are leaf-

tobacco, cotton cloth, handkerchiefs, fire-arms, knives, and bar iron. The last they manufacture into implements of husbandry. For these articles they exchange palm-oil, a little ivory and rice, and occasionally supply ships with fire-wood, plantains, cassada, and sometimes with bullocks. They paddle in very small canoes to ships eight or ten miles from the shore, with not more of these articles than will procure for them a few leaves of tobacco—counting their toil and hazard as nothing. Their chief article of barter, however, is their labor to captains and traders on the coast. This is the source from whence they derive by far the greater portion of their imported commodities. They have long been the exclusive intermediate dealers between vessels trading on this part of the coast and the people of the interior; and while the slave trade flourished, it employed a great many hands. Since the abolition of that trade, they have sought other lines of service; and at Sierra Leone, 350 miles to the north, there were 800 of them employed in one year. The form of their government is monarchical; but the “*old men*”—the aristocracy of the country—possess considerable influence, and the power of the monarch is small, except when supported by them. Each town has a chief, who is designated as king to strangers; but there is one chief who is considered superior, and rules over the whole. The power, however, of the superior chief is very great in his own district, and the office, it is probable, is hereditary. At the same time the children of the greater chiefs work as laborers in clearing the ground, while they are young men, in exactly the same manner as the lowest of the people; nor are they to be distinguished on ordinary occasions by their attire, or by superior respect being paid to them.

With respect to the principal monarch, his power is seldom exercised; and instead of being the source of all authority, the fountain of justice, the original proprietor and ultimate heir to all the land, he is in general no more than the last referee in important disputes, and the person in whose name business with other tribes or countries is transacted. A general war must be carried on in his name, but independent of the concurring voice of those headmen who possess the greatest share of talent and activity. His power is probably far less than that of some of his subordinate chiefs. This remark applies not only to the Kroomen, but to all the African tribes not of the Mohammedan faith.

A king usually names a vice-king, who, on the death of the former, succeeds him in sovereign authority. A mourning cry of several days' continuance takes place on the death of a king, during which time the succession is arranged. The body of a deceased king must be interred with the honors due to his rank before his successor can be recognized. The possession of the body is therefore the first thing aimed at by competitors for the throne.

Wars are not frequent among them; but the inhabitants of the different towns sometimes have very serious quarrels. When at war, all Kroomen who are made prisoners are released on the payment of a ransom. They neither kill nor sell them. Prisoners of other tribes are enslaved or put to death. The submission of Kroomen to their superiors is carried so far, that, if one of the foremen commit a theft, the rest will run any risk, and resist every temptation of reward, rather than reveal it; and if there be no other mode of saving their superior from disgrace and punishment, they will assume the crime, and suffer its penalty. Among themselves, theft is punished by whipping. The punishment of adultery is by fine. Murder *may* be punished with death, but it, also, may be atoned for by a pecuniary fine. Witchcraft is always punished capitally; but instances of it are rare.

Among Kroomen no offence is punishable with slavery, nor is any Krooman permitted to be sold on any account whatever; but while the slave trade continued, they were notorious for kidnapping and selling the Bushmen, who came down to the coast for the purpose of trade.

Kroomen are seldom very tall; but they are well made, muscular, vigorous and active. They wear no clothes, except a piece of cloth or a kerchief wrapped around their loins; but they are fond of obtaining hats and old woollen jackets, which they are allowed to wear in their own country in the rainy season. They are extremely sensible to cold during this season, but never appear to suffer from the heat. They are generally gay and cheerful in their dispositions, and frequently talkative and noisy, often evincing much talent for mimicry. They seldom speak English well, and they understand it but imperfectly. They are very fond of adopting what man-of-war sailors call "pursers' names," such as "pipe of tobacco," "bottle of beer," "tin pot," "pea soup," "half

dollar," "after breakfast," &c. They are very sensitive; and, if harsh and angry expressions are used towards them, become sulky and intractable. But they will bear even a sharp blow if their negligence deserves it, provided it seems to be given more in jest than in earnest.

In their general conduct, they are more deliberate than impetuous; and, although not a brave race, they are less cowardly than the tribes immediately above and below them.

Among themselves they are exceedingly hospitable; and when absent from their country, those who are unemployed are supported by those who are receiving wages. In their expenditures they are rigid economists, a little tobacco being the only luxury which they allow themselves; in every other respect, they are content with the bare necessities of life. A small quantity of ship-biscuit was the only article of provisions taken by those who accompanied me in my boat expeditions. Although fond of rum, they never buy it, and never drink to excess when it is given to them; and their clothing on board of a man-of-war consists only of a flannel shirt and drawers, and a straw hat. On board of trading vessels they wear their shore attire, and the cost of their clothing is insignificant.

The residue of their gains is converted into such goods as are most valuable in their own country. In eighteen months or two years a sufficient stock has been collected, and the Krooman returns home with his wealth. A certain portion is given to the head man of the town; all his relations and friends partake of his bounty, if there be but a leaf of tobacco for each; and his mother, if living, has a handsome present. All this is done in order "to get him a good name;" what remains is delivered to his father "to buy him a wife." One so liberal does not long want a partner. The father obtains a wife for him; and after a few months of ease and indulgence, he sets off afresh to different parts of the coast, from Sierra Leone to Fernando Po, to get more money. By this time he is proud of being acquainted with "white man's fashions," and takes with him some raw, inexperienced youngsters, whom he initiates into his profession, taking no small portion of the wages of the *elevés* for his trouble. In due time his coffers are replenished; he returns home, confirms his former character for liberality, and gives the residue of his wealth to

his father "to get him another wife." In this way he proceeds for ten or twelve years, or more, increasing the number of his wives, and establishing a great character among his countrymen; but scarcely a particle of his earnings, except in the article of wives, is at any time applied to his own use.

A Krooman sometimes presents his favorite wife with one of his front teeth, which he has had extracted for that purpose; and he mourns for a departed friend by shaving all the hair from the back or one side of his head.

The name "Krooman" is said to be a corruption of the term "crewmen," because of their general employment among vessels visiting the African coast. Among this people polygamy exists universally, and slavery to some extent; although slaves are bought only from other tribes, and are never sold to foreigners, or to any person out of their own tribe. The houses are built of a square form, of sticks covered with bamboo plaited, and the roof of leaf-thatch; and the floor is of plaited bamboo, raised eighteen inches on cross-pieces; and the door and loft above are not sufficiently high to permit an adult to enter without stooping, or to stand erect. There are generally three rooms in each house, separated by partitions of plaited bamboo. The fire-place is made principally of hard clay, near one corner of the house, where is the only window, which serves both to admit light and open a passage for the smoke. The smoke penetrates the interstices of the loft above and preserves the rice, which would otherwise be destroyed by insects.

Their furniture consists mostly, of a few cooking utensils; the floor answers for bed, table, and chairs; their pillow is a round stick of wood. Their dress is a piece of cloth wrapped about the loins. Their devotions are superstitiously gazing on the moon, and a feast on the first day of the moon, among the head men, and devotional walks in a thicket called the "devil's bush;" and they depend on amulets or gree-grees for protection and defence. The latter are purchased from gree-gree doctors, for different sums of money, according to the purposes for which they are designed. These amulets are sheep's horns, or small pockets, filled with herbs, palm-oil, and dirt, made by the conjuror or doctor. These doctors are a distinct class of men, who come into the profession hereditarily—the heads of the families teaching their children the

craft. The children destined to this profession enter early upon their studies under some doctor—sometimes as early as seven or eight years of age—and are distinguished by a peculiar straw dress.

These doctors profess a knowledge of herbs and roots, and to have the means of curing diseases, and are called to relieve the sick and afflicted ; but their greatest reputation is derived from their imagined supernatural knowledge. The Kroo people consider death and sickness as caused by witchcraft, and they employ and rely upon the doctors to point out the person who has, by witchcraft, caused these evils. The person who is designated as guilty of the crime of witchcraft is arrested by the soldier king, and condemned to the ordeal of sassy-wood. The bark of the sassy-wood is powerfully narcotic, and a strong decoction of this, the person condemned is forced to drink ; and after he has drank it he walks to and fro, exclaiming, “ Am I a witch? Am I a witch?” While one of the executioners walks behind him replying, “ You are a witch, You are a witch,” and thus continues until he either throws off the poison from his stomach, when he is pronounced innocent, or it operates as a cathartic, when he is declared guilty, and compelled to take more of the decoction, and is subjected to other cruelties which cause his speedy death. When pronounced innocent, there is great joy and triumph among the friends of the accused, who march through the town dancing, singing, and firing guns, and the conjurer resigns his fee to those who employed him. These shocking scenes of the ordeal of sassy-wood were of almost daily occurrence in former times, but have been much less frequent since the establishment of missions among them. Sometimes this sassy-wood ordeal is used to decide questions between individuals ; and they voluntarily drink it to prove and settle some disputed points. It is one of the most prevalent and cruel of African superstitions, and is practised among nearly all, if not all, the tribes of Africa.

The laws of the Kroo people form a body of customs, handed down by tradition from past generations, interpreted and enforced by the general council, who also enact occasional special laws, which are generally suggested or dictated by the doctor or conjurer. The laws are imperfect, inconsistent, and unfair. If one man

loses anything and accuses another of having stolen it, the accused is required to drink sassy-wood water to prove his innocence. The ordeal of sassy-wood is, therefore, a penalty for almost all crimes, and exerts a powerful restraining influence on the community. When the sassy-wood so affects the accused as to condemn him, his friends may buy him off from death for different sums of money, according to the wealth of the family accused; but few are thus saved, in consequence of the poverty of the friends of the accused, and because, if once rescued, he is liable to be re-accused for any trifling offence. The ordeal of sassy-wood is frequently made to decide points of honor, precisely like the custom of duelling in the United States.

The leading motives of the Kroo people are sensuality and vanity. The men employed by vessels on the coast, and by traders as factors on shore, are industrious; but on the plantations, and in their towns, the men are idle, and the women perform most of the labor. The men build the houses and clear the plantations; but the women plant, watch, cultivate, and gather and beat the rice, and cut and bring the wood, and perform all the labor about the house; and especially those who are old and incapable of other labor, are constantly and industriously engaged in making salt, by boiling down sea-water. Salt is a principal article of trade with the interior tribes.

The women seldom eat with the men, except a man's head or favorite wife, who superintends the cooking, and first tastes the food before he partakes of it.

The system of polygamy gives rise to jealousies and many quarrels among the women. All lawful wives are purchased when children, and, on attaining a suitable age, are taken to their husbands. Besides these there is a class of women who go and live with any man they choose, and leave him for any other at pleasure. When one or more of these leave a man and run to another, the one to whom they resort fires guns, and his lawful wives rejoice with him; because they regard it as adding importance to their husband, and it relieves them from a portion of their labor. There appears to be a strong affection between parents and children, and brothers and sisters; but polygamy doubtless lessens the affection between husbands and wives.

Kroomen are passionate, but cowardly; fond of war and hunt-

ing, but have little skill in either. When especially intrusted with property they may be expected to be faithful; but if they can slyly steal, they are apt to do it; and in case one of their number informs against the thief, it is the law that the informer shall pay for the stolen property.

The imports of the Republic of Liberia, on which duties were paid for the year ending September 30, 1851, amounted to \$166,000. The exports, of which no account is kept, may be safely estimated at a much larger sum, as along the entire coast commerce increases rapidly.

From the Garraway to Cape Palmas is the Atlantic coast of territory settled by the Maryland Colonization Society. At the latter point the coast line tends abruptly to the east, along the Gulf of Guinea, as far as Cape Lahore. Between the Garraway and the first named Cape, besides the hill of Kabla, 290 feet high, near the shore, there are but three elevations visible from the sea, of which Flat Mountain is 1,090 feet in height; all else is level forest.

Cape Palmas is a bold promontory, in a marked geographical position, where the Atlantic suddenly swerves to the left and forms the Gulf of Guinea. From the current which sweeps into the gulf along the coast, all vessels bound in that direction avail themselves of it and pass within sight of the Cape, which must eventually attain great commercial importance. The extremity of the Cape is crowned with a light-house, and is separated from the main land by the Hoffman river, which has from three to seven feet water upon its bar, and is navigable but a short distance from its mouth. The fine headland, the scattering houses upon its summit, the rocky islet on one side, and on the other, across the river, the wide extent of country, part forest and part prairie, present, from the anchorage, a beautiful appearance. The rocky islet, formerly used by the natives as a receptacle for their dead, is now called Russworm's island, in honor of the first colored governor of the colony. It is small and irregular in its outlines, the chafing of the sea having worn deep fissures in its sides. Between it and the peninsula is a narrow channel, practicable only for boats. Back of the Cape are seen houses of colonists, and the conical peaks of native huts, which from the sea, appear to be confusedly intermingled. In the distance, shooting up from the plain, or overtopping the woodland, are many detached hills, one

of them to the north (Mount Vaughan) rendered conspicuous by the buildings of an Episcopal mission.

There is here a public farm of sixteen acres, of which ten were in cultivation when I saw it, and the remainder was used as pasture. There were some coffee-trees, and the cassada, sweet potatoes, plaintains, and Indian corn, were in cultivation. The coffee-trees did not seem to flourish, and altogether the farm presented a less thrifty appearance than it doubtless would have done had it been individual property. It is ever the case, that management by deputy will never compete with the superintending vigilance of the owner. I mean to cast no reflection on Dr. McGill, the colonial governor, whose time is engrossed by more pressing and important cares.

In the two colonial settlements there are 122 voters and about 800 inhabitants. I was there on an election day, and the place was quite lively. The people were in their best attire. The men gathered in groups near the building where the poll was held, while the women stood about in the shade, principally near the stands, where some of their sex displayed, on long tables, cakes, fruit, etc., for sale.

A short time ago it was unanimously decided to declare the independence of the colony, and this day the voters were assembled to elect commissioners to proceed to the United States and confer with the Maryland Colonization Society on the subject. At the same time delegates were to be elected to a convention for forming a State constitution. This act, seemingly premature, is, I believe, the offspring of necessity. I am inclined to think so from what I see around me, and am convinced of it by the concurrence of the Society at home, which in most respects has heretofore so wisely directed the affairs of the colony. The election was conducted in a quiet and orderly manner, and I am satisfied that in its climate, soil, geographical position, and the general characters of its settlers, this colony possesses the elements of undeveloped prosperity. The settlement has heretofore been retarded in its growth by the number of emigrants sent out, who were either infirm in health, feeble from age, or indolent in their habits and of listless characters—too many recently emancipated from slavery, with no idea of freedom beyond exemption from labor. A better time is approaching; and when the colony becomes an independent State, it will

compete with its sister republic to the north, in the advantages it presents to the enterprising settler.

In and around Cape Palmas, for four or five miles from the shore, the soil is a sandy prairie, but soon presents clay covered with vegetable mould; and in the valleys between the clumps of hills, which are seen in every direction, is a rich alluvial soil capable of supporting an immense population. Among these valleys are found most of the native villages.

It now remains for me to speak of the best place to disembark an exploring party; the proper inland route; the precautions to be taken; and the difficulties to be encountered.

I consider Monrovia the best place for a party to ride out the fever in. I believe it to be as healthy as any other settlement in Liberia, and good accommodation and nurses for the sick can there be procured. Besides, the intercourse of its inhabitants with the interior is more frequent, and extends farther inland, than from any other point I am aware of along the coast. Millsburg, at the head of the navigation of the St. Paul's, I recommend as the proper rendezvous, and the point from whence to take up the inland march.

Boporah, a populous native town, of which I have spoken in this report, lies directly in the path which it seems to me should be pursued, and it should be reached as soon as possible, and made the pivot of operations for advancing inland, and keeping up a communication with the sea-shore.

The march from Boporah should be regulated by the nature of the country, and the distance and direction of the nearest mountain range, which must form the water-shed between the tributary streams of the Niger and those which flow into the Atlantic. That range attained, if it trend southeast, as it most probably does, it might be followed to the parallel of Cape Palmas, with a particular eye to the country on its Atlantic slope, and thence the expedition might descend and make its way to the sea.

The obstacles to be encountered would be a dense forest, (through which, in many places, a path could only be cleared with the hatchet,) wild beasts, the frequent morasses, the jealousy and possible treachery of the natives, and sometimes the scarcity of food.

The party should consist of as few whites as possible. The commander; an officer to take his place, should he perish; a physician, who should also be a naturalist; and some twelve or fifteen colonists would perhaps be sufficient.

The energy of the white man is indispensable for such an undertaking; but from the hostility of the climate to his race, as few as possible should embark in it. The main body, therefore, should be citizens of Liberia; but as no man of resolution and judgment would undertake to head them unless they were under military organization, and bound to follow as long as he led the way, I suggest that if an expedition be organized, the government of Liberia consent to its citizens enlisting under the flag of the United States, and thereby subject themselves to its martial code.—All ought to possess physical stamina, and the whites, especially, should be in the vigor of life, and, if possible, natives of our Southern States.

I have considered it my duty to collect in my route all the information I could as to the commerce of the places I visited. It has been presented in the body of this report, and few, I presume, are aware of the present magnitude and the annual increase of the commerce of Western Africa. For further information on this subject, I herewith submit the official reports of the British colonial possessions, transmitted with the Blue Book to both houses of Parliament.

Our own proportion of the African trade is very large, and might be rendered yet more extensive by forming treaties with the principal independent tribes along the coast. England has already negotiated eighty such treaties, her plenipotentiary being sometimes a lieutenant in her navy. To her honor be it said, that while looking to her commercial interests, she is not forgetful of the claims of humanity, and inserts, wherever she can, a clause prohibitory of the slave trade. She is, however, accused of reviving that trade in another form, and I submit in the Appendix (No. 1) a proclamation of the President of Liberia on the subject.

I will illustrate the advantages of the treaties to which I have alluded. It is a custom of the tribes, that all traffic with the natives shall be transacted through the kings and head men; in other words, the head men and kings are the sole factors of their respective communities. By a stipulation of the treaty, these po-

tentates become responsible for the payment of debts contracted with an English trader. Should payment be withheld when due, (for the credit system prevails here as well as in the Christian world,) the trader seeks a British man-of-war, and communicates the circumstance to her commander, and the latter repairs instantly to the place and enforces payment. Not so with the American trader. If his debtors are disposed to defraud him, he has no redress; and as native breach of faith is not unfrequent, he cannot fairly compete with the Englishman. With this report I submit two maps, on a large scale—one of the republic of Liberia, and the other of Maryland in Liberia—together with views of Monrovia, the residence of President Roberts, Cape Palmas, Mount Vaughan, and Russworm's Monument.

In the "John Adams," we were ten days making a distance which a steamer could have accomplished in thirty-six hours.—From Monrovia to the island of St. Jago, vessels are often forty days on the passage, which a steamer could make in five. In one direction along the coast it is a drift with the sluggish current: in the other, it is working up against it with light and baffling winds.

I do not say that the vessels we have on the coast do not sometimes protect our commercial interests, or are not otherwise serviceable. I have mentioned the "John Adams" assisting a merchant vessel in distress; and I submit in the Appendix (Nos. 2, 3, and 4) some letters from President Roberts, expressing acknowledgments for benefits derived from our squadron. But from the causes I have enumerated, our cruisers can visit very few places compared to the number that should be visited, and, as the log-books will testify, often remain long at their anchors, or make yet more lengthy passages to Maderia to recruit—a passage which, under canvass alone, in the teeth of the trade-wind, is often more prolonged and more wearing to the ship than if she came directly home.

The service on the coast of Africa needs an incentive. Great Britain has twenty-seven vessels-of-war employed in the suppression of the slave trade on that coast, and a large proportion of them are steamers, mostly small ones. Her naval officers have every inducement to seek service on that station, for he who attains to a higher grade by the death of his superior in rank, retains it

permanently, and does not as with us, hold it but temporarily.—The consequence is that the English far surpass us in activity on the coast of Africa. A very slight incentive would cause service on that coast to be coveted by our officers and crews. Within a few years two commanders have died on that station. If the two senior lieutenants in the squadron had been promoted permanently, the files of the department would now exhibit more applications from lieutenants for service on that station than all others combined. And thus of every other grade, except the highest, which, living on its honors, should be influenced by higher inspirations.

The arrogance of British officers heretofore, precludes the idea of an agreement to search respectively the vessels of either nation. It is a privilege which cannot safely be conceded to them, and we must at all hazards protect the integrity of our flag. But, for the honor of our country, and the protection of its commerce, it is to be hoped that small steamers will be substituted for our sailing vessels on the African coast, and that some incentive may be presented which will infuse greater activity among them, and render them almost ubiquitous in the neighborhood of the slave marts, and the parts of the coast frequented by our traders, instead of making tedious passages to and fro from a few places, some of them too remote by far, or too long lying sluggishly at their anchors.

Since my return I have received intelligence from Sierra Leone of the capture by British men-of-war of three slavers, one of them American. The prostitution of our flag, now so much facilitated by sea-letters, obtained principally at the consulates of Rio de Janerio and Havana, will continue, to our disgrace, until we have vessels on the coast of Africa propelled by steam, and manned with crews and commanded by officers who are stimulated, the one by increased pay and the hope of prize money, and the other by permanent promotion when vacancies are caused by death.—The climate is a trying one, and, as in battle, the places of those who perish should be filled by the survivors.

I do not permit myself to dwell on the necessity of incorporating into the international code a clause declaring the slave-trade piracy under any flag; nor the frequent decisions of our legal tribunals, (caused by the want of such declaration,) which have so-discouraged our officers. Of this want, and its attendant evil consequences, the government has been long advised.

In estimating the amount of our African trade I have been careful not to exaggerate, and rejected every item not based on authentic data; but there is so much traffic along the coast in articles never entered at a custom house, that I have reason to believe I have given twenty-five per cent. less than the actual imports; and as the profits are very great, that the exports exceed the estimate nearly one hundred per cent. Apart, therefore, from the suppression of the slave-trade, our commerce with the west coast of Africa needs the protection of an efficient force—efficient more in its power of locomotion than in the number of its guns.

A knowledge of the disadvantages under which our countrymen labor who trade along the coast, has induced these concluding remarks, and I trust they will not be considered inappropriate.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, &c.

W. F. LYNCH, *Commander, U. S. N.*

Hon. J. C. DOBBIN, *Secretary of the Navy.*

DR. LIVINGSTONE'S JOURNEY ACROSS THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

A letter has been addressed from Cassange, west coast of Africa (January 29, 1855,) by Dr. Livingstone to Mr. Maclear, Astronomer Royal:

“I am now (he says) on my way back to the Zambese, and thence I hope to descend to Quilimane, on the east coast. It is rather a difficult task, for I have none but Zambesians with me; and I suspect they will not be very willing to go so far from home, and return again without my company. The Portuguese gave me two Empaccaseiros, a sort of free-masons—a pretty powerful body in the country. They are faithful, brave, and good shots. We got on very well for some time; but at last, without saying any thing to any one, they took leave by night; and I must do the best I can alone. I intend going a little further east now, than when coming here, in order to avoid some tribes in our vicinity; then turn south, about longitude 22 degrees. We have had a great deal of sickness in Angola; intermittent fever perpetually. Last night I had three hours of teeth chattering and breathing as hard

as if running up a hill. It enlarges the spleens of all the Portuguese, and often ends fatally. The country is, however, most splendid. I never saw such luxuriant vegetation before. Every thing grows, if they only put it into the ground; but the inhabitants, having been seduced by the gains of the slave trade, have paid small attention to the resources of their country. Coffee was introduced by the Jesuits; and, finding a congenial soil and climate, has propagated itself over the whole country. I saw it a short time ago at Tala Mongono, nearly three hundred miles inland, and fine plantations of it are daily discovered in the dense forests which line the sides of the mountains. It is the finest coffee in the world, being descended from the celebrated Mocha. It affords an excellent means of turning to honest industry from slave trading; for all that is necessary is to cut down the brush-wood, and leave the large trees to afford shade, and then the person possesses a lucrative estate. Many South American fruit trees also introduced by the Jesuits, grow luxuriantly. Pine-apples are planted in rows on each side of the road for miles together.

“I visited several of the ‘extinct convents,’ or, as we should say, deserted missionary stations. Several of the churches would require but little to put them in repair. Their neat gardens stand as they left them. Their dormitories, too, and big chests, in which, I suppose, the brethren stored their grub; but there are no books, nor inscriptions on their graves. They were sometimes troublesome to the powers that be; nearly as bad perhaps as the London missionaries! But I have not much information about them. I picked up good chiefly; not being much desirous for scandal, which may be got gratis nearer home. They have left a good impression of their devotedness, and very many can now read and write in consequence. In the district of Ambaca it is considered a disgrace for any one to be ignorant of letters, and it is not unusual for blacks to be seen in the evening with a fire-stick in one hand, and a pen in the other, writing in a beautiful hand a petition or other document to a commandant. If their labors were so permanent, surely the efforts of Protestants of all denominations, who try to leave behind them the word of life, will be no less abiding. I was amused at one place, when looking at the ruins of a convent of Black Benedictines, for some unaccountable jerk in the association of ideas, made me immediately fancy one of the Hottentot

Benedictines up there at the Devil's Lop, with a lot of spy-glasses, peering at your establishment. Do you remember a few beans I gave to Mrs. Maclear. I hope they grew; for that is the identical seed which yields the sweet-oil of commerce. The people pound it, then throw it into boiling water. The oil is skimmed off the top; and I met hundreds of people conveying large jars of it to the coast for sale. When the oil is boiled with water three times—*i. e.* the water being changed thus often—it is used as salad oil; and the bean itself toasted is delicious, being put on the tables of men-of-war as part of the dessert. Here it is named the Fingola, or Mendobi bean. I hope, by God's help, to reach the east coast about the end of this year. I did not get a single letter from any of my friends while in Angola; hence I am quite ignorant of my family and every private friend."

II—NEW JERSEY COLONY.

His Excellency, STEPHEN A. BENSON, Governor of the Liberian Republic, in a letter to the writer, lately transmitted the following brief description* of the New Jersey Colony, which he purchased some time previous to his election, as the agent of this Society :

“ Territory purchased for the New Jersey State Colonization Society :—

“ This tract of land was negotiated for and purchased by Messrs. James Moore and Stephen A. Benson, at the request of the New Jersey State Colonization Society, and comprises an area of about 250 square miles, or 160,000 acres; and is bounded on the South East, by the river St. John, at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the coast. This extensive tract of land is one of the most beautiful spots connected with the Republic—being both elevated and fertile, well watered and free from miasmatic influences.

“ The whole face of the country presents a rich and fertile soil, well timbered, and admirably adapted to agricultural pursuits.— Here the industrious farmer may reap the reward of his labor in any of the numerous productions of a tropical climate.

* This extract is taken from Public Records of the Republic.

“The mountain region is said to abound with rich Iron ore, which can be obtained with comparatively little expense, and could be rendered valuable as an article of commerce—the quality not being inferior to any known to us.

“The district, from its proximity to the Cam-wood country, offers considerable facility for commerce, and besides cam-wood, other articles valuable for commerce, might be obtained from the interior, such as ivory, gums, cattle, &c., &c.

“There might be some difficulty attending the conveyance of produce to the coast, at first, owing to the *rapids* or *cataraets* which prevent the navigation of the St. Paul’s river for more than twelve miles: but the difficulty might be soon obviated, by cutting roads for the distance of about twelve miles, of sufficient width for wagons or carts, which might be done at a small expense, and which the enterprising merchant would not fail to accomplish.

“The *site selected for the Town* is not very distant from the mountain, and is considerably elevated. Emigrants going to this place will, without doubt, suffer less, in going through the *acclimating* process, than on the coast, being free from the influence of the deadly malaria, which operates so unfavorably upon them, at present.

“The aboriginal inhabitants of this district are mild and hospitable, and peculiarly anxious to have the principles of civilization introduced among them. Here a vast field for missionary labor opens itself.”

Measures are now in prospect in the New Jersey Colonization Society for laying out the Town, to which Governor Benson refers in the above extract—and also for constructing at least one good *Turnpike* or *Highway*, from the sea shore to the summit level of the *Cam-wood* country, and as soon as the Society can realize funds for the purpose, it is intended to erect on the Town-site suitable tenements, to be presented, with sufficient grounds, to the emigrants moving to that Retreat from Bondage and Oppression, that they may become not only *Free*, but *Free-holders*, independent citizens, in the land of their fathers. If there be full deliverance, and honor and glory, and felicity, in reserve for the poor, exiled, smitten and groaning African—it is here. Escape then from your chains and sadness to the free, and peaceful, and happy home, here offered to you, without money and without price.

