decision of the proper tribunals, in case that his behavior or conduct should give cause to suspect his honesty in such cases.

"Your good judgment will at once cause you to understand the great importance of this subject, and as any neglect of zeal or activity would doubtless fall upon the honor of the government—which it is my duty to keep stainless even to the last of public functionaries—I hope that without any loss of time, you will communicate to all those dependent upon your authority, the foregoing determination, and such others as your zeal and good wishes to favor the general interest in its true 'sense may suggest; with the understanding that I will not deviate in my course for the proper punishment of the guilty, while at the same time I will endeavor to reward the good services of those who may be worthy of it.

"I finally recommend to you that in order to fulfil properly what I have ordered, you shall avail yourself of all such legal steps as may be within your control, with the understanding that all such measures as may tend to prevent the unlawful slave trade, will be approved of by this superior civil government. May God preserve your life many years."

"HAVANA, September 4th, 1860."

FRANCISCO SERRANO.

This, if the Captain-General is like some of his predecessors, is just a notice to the local magistrates, to pay over a large proportion of the bribes they receive to him, and a sham to blind the eyes of the British Government. Still, it shows what the obligations of Spain are known to be. In it, Spain, speaking through his Excellency, the Captain-General of Cuba, September 4, 1860, acknowledges herself bound by these treaties, by which, and by her own laws, the importation of slaves into any part of her dominions, and the traffic in slaves anywhere by her subjects, are forbidden. The forces of both Spain and Great Britain are pledged by these treaties for the enforcement of their stipulations. Let those treaties be enforced, and there can be no importation of slaves into any of the dominions of Spain. Great Britain has the power and the right to enforce them, even by war.

Lord John Russell, in his circular, calls the attention of the leading powers of both hemispheres to the statement, which he quotes with approbation, from a message of the President of the United States of May last, that "the only portions of the civilized world where it [the slave trade] is tolerated and encouraged, are the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico." This fact is certainly worthy of the attention which it solicits. It shows conclusively, that Great Britain has the destiny of this odious traffic in her own hands, and can put an end to it, whenever she chooses to enforce on Spain the observance of her treaties. It continues, because Great Britain sees fit to indulge Spain in violating her treaty obligations, she cannot honorably shirk this responsibility. She has sought it industriously by negotiating for forty-three years at least, since 1817. She has paid £400,000 sterling for it. She has possessed it in full, revised and perfected, for a quarter of a century, since 1835. To her immortal honor, she has accomplished the work in many parts of the earth. She can finish it when she pleases; and needs not the assistance or assent of any other power on earth.

True, if she were going to war to enforce these treaties, it might be well to prepare other governments for that event, by calling their attention to the facts that make war a duty, so as to secure their approbation in advance. Some parts of this circular read as if written for that purpose. The Liverpool steamer of September 8, too, brought a telegraphic announcement that "Earl Granville is en route for Madrid. It is reported that this mission relates to the slave trade." This, too, indicates a disposition to insist on the fulfilment of treaties, and may be a last effort, such as should always be made, to avert the necessity of war. We should be glad to know that such is the determination of the British Government; for we have no apprehension that such a war would destroy so many lives as are destroyed by the traffic which it would effectually abolish.

Other parts of the Circular, however, seem to indicate that the British government has no such intention. It proposes to buy off the sugar planters from the slave-trade, by furnishing them with cheap labor from China; a plan on which we shall venture a remark before we close. But first, it is proper to give the reply of our government to that Circular.

[This circular was published in the African Repository for October last.] Before remarking on this document, let us consider what, exactly, Great

Britian has left for the United States to do in this matter.

In the first place, it is the duty of our Government to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States. This is done as thoroughly as any government ever executes any law. All laws are sometimes violated, and some violations escape detection. Articles of commerce, excluded from importation or charged with heavy duties, are sometimes successfully smuggled into every country. We know that broadcloths, jewelry, and other articles, are sometimes smuggled into the United States. In some cases, the smugglers are detected and punished, and the goods confiscated; and nobody doubts that there are other cases, which escape detection. In no other article bearing a large profit, probably, is there so little smuggling into the United States, as in slaves. In a single instance it has been done by a bold adventurer, taking advantage of the fact that the authorities, not thinking such audacity possible, were off their guard; and that is all, so far as is known, for many years.

This guarding of our own coasts, if Spain would observe her treaties, or Great Britian would enforce their observance, would be the whole task of the United States in respect to the slave-trade. But so long as Great Britian indulges Spain in conniving at the bribery of her officials, by which slaves can be imported into Cuba, it is the duty of our Government to restrain our own citizens, and others residing or being within our jurisdiction, from engaging in the traffic. This is the work of our navy, under the Ashburton treaty, and of the revenue officers in our several ports. It is a much more difficult work than the other, and less perfectly done, though done to a very good extent, and will be needless whenever those who can and ought to do it will close the market in Cuba and Puerto Rico. In urging us to measures of this kind, Great Britain is only urging us to assist her in using a substitute for the effectual remedy which she has acquired the right, and assumed the responsibility, of applying, but has, as yet, delayed to apply. While that delay continues, it is the duty of our Government to use such repressive measures as are legally

and physically in its power.

But Great Britian is not restricted to a war with Spain as a means for suppressing the slave-trade. It would be a Herculean task to ascertain how many and what treaties she has for that purpose; but such samples as come easily under our notice will suffice to show that she can, when she pleases, prevent the exportation of slaves from Africa, as well as their

importation into Cuba and Puerto Rico.

In the Reports of Parliamentary Committees for 1847—'48, vol. 22, p. 224, is a list of forty treaties made with African powers, from April, 1841, to July, 1848, for the suppression of the slave-trade. The Reports for 1852—'3, vol 39, p. 214, give a list of twenty-three other treaties made since May, 1850. How many were made between July, 1848, and May, 1850, and how many have been made since, we do not know, though we have seen copies of some; but the territories guarded by these sixty-three, the Republic of Liberia, the possessions of European powers with which she has similar treaties, and her own possessions, cover the whole western coast, from the Great Desert to the Equator. The French slaver, so

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