

1971

## Abraham Lincoln and Negro Colonization: The Ile A'vache, Hayti Experience, 1862-1864

Jayne Ruth Spencer  
*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [African History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Spencer, Jayme Ruth, "Abraham Lincoln and Negro Colonization: The Ile A'vache, Hayti Experience, 1862-1864" (1971). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. William & Mary. Paper 1539624740. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-k0pj-fp82>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@wm.edu](mailto:scholarworks@wm.edu).

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND NEGRO COLONIZATION:  
THE ILE A'VACHE, HAYTI EXPERIENCE,  
1862-1864

---

A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department of History  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

---

by  
Jayme Ruth Spencer

1971

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Jayne Ruth Spencer  
Author

Approved, July 1971

Ludwell H. Johnson  
Ludwell H. Johnson

Judith Ewell  
Judy Ewell

Edward P. Crapol  
Edward P. Crapol

509096  
copy 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	iv
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	v
ABSTRACT . . . . .	vi
CHAPTER I. LINCOLN AND NEGRO COLONIZATION . . . . .	2
CHAPTER II. PROPOSALS TO COLONIZE . . . . .	14
CHAPTER III. THE INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL AMERICAN COLONY . . . . .	38
CHAPTER IV. OFFICIAL REPORT VS CONTRACTORS' CLAIMS . . . . .	56
CHAPTER V. THE FAILURE OF COLONIZATION . . . . .	73
APPENDIX . . . . .	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	102

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express her appreciation to Dr. Ludwell H. Johnson for his patience, his suggestions, and his helpful criticism. Dr. Judy Ewell and Dr. Edward P. Crapol are also to be thanked for their careful reading of the manuscript.

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Breakdown of Emigrants by Age . . . . .	40
II. Breakdown of Emigrants by Former Place of Residence . . . . .	41

## ABSTRACT

On December 3, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln delivered his first annual message to Congress. Included as one of the topics for Congressional consideration was Negro colonization outside the United States. This proposal was incorporated into a bill passed April 16, 1862, freeing slaves in the District of Columbia and providing an appropriation of \$100,000 for colonization. Authority for execution was lodged with the Department of the Interior and a Commissioner of Emigration and Colonization to be appointed by the President.

Although several colonization schemes were proposed, only two were contracted - one in New Granada and the other in Hayti. Only the Haytian contract was executed. Thus Ile A'Vache, Hayti became the United States' sole experiment in resettling freed slaves outside the United States.

Lincoln's role in initiating colonization as governmental policy and the attempt to implement this policy on Ile A'Vache are the major interests of this paper.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND NEGRO COLONIZATION:

THE ILE A'VACHE, HAYTI EXPERIENCE,

1862-1864



CHAPTER I  
LINCOLN AND NEGRO COLONIZATION

... and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent, or elsewhere, with previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there will be continued.<sup>1</sup>

For decades preceding the Civil War, Negro colonization had both black and white advocates. As early as 1776 Thomas Jefferson advocated a plan for colonization.<sup>2</sup> Before the 1850's the principal reasons for black interest in emigration seem to have been for personal safety, better economic opportunities, and equality of citizenship. After the 1850's, spurred by abolitionist sentiment, a degree of Negro nationalism accounted for some emigration schemes.<sup>3</sup> Removal of blacks to Liberia or some other country appealed to the humanitarian as well as the white supremacist. Such a colony would provide an industrious community where a free man

---

<sup>1</sup>Abraham Lincoln, "Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation," September 22, 1862, in Roy P. Basler (ed.), The Works of Abraham Lincoln (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953-55), V, 534. Hereafter cited as Works.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, edited by William Peden (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 144.

<sup>3</sup>H. H. Bell, "Negro Nationalism: A Factor in Emigration Projects, 1858-1861," Journal of Negro History, XLVII, no. 1 (January 1962), 42. Hereafter cited as "Negro Nationalism."

could take his place among his equals. For those who feared the day when emancipation might flood the country with Negroes seeking employment and social equality, colonization was often regarded favorably. Indeed, colonization was the only attempt to deal with slavery which took cognizance of racial prejudices in the United States.

In response to varied reasons, the American Colonization Society was formed in 1816. This society stated that its exclusive purpose was the colonization of free persons of color.<sup>4</sup> In actuality its activities were primarily limited to settlement in Liberia of Africans taken from captured slave ships. Despite its proposed intent, few freedmen in the United States emigrated to Liberia.<sup>5</sup> Interest in colonization waned in the 1840's and early 1850's but with the approach of the Civil War once again became an issue debated by leading statesmen.

One of these men, Abraham Lincoln, was to have a profound effect on the institution of slavery. Throughout his political career, as he moved closer and closer to the idea of emancipation, Lincoln referred to colonization or resettlement as a measure necessary to accompany emancipation. Although he believed in the destruction of slavery,

---

<sup>4</sup>William Jay, Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery (Boston: Jewett, 1853), 7.

<sup>5</sup>P. J. Staudenraus, African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), passim.

he desired separation of the races.<sup>6</sup>

One of the first references to expatriation made by Lincoln was in a eulogy to Henry Clay in 1852. Clay was in favor of gradual emancipation and was a promoter of the American Colonization Society. "He did not perceive, as I think no wise man has perceived, how it could be at once eradicated, without producing a greater evil, even to the cause of human liberty itself."<sup>7</sup> In referring to Clay's activities in the American Colonization Society, Lincoln wrote, "Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized!"<sup>8</sup>

Throughout his pre-presidential career, Lincoln spoke out in varying degrees against slavery and in favor of deportation. In 1854 he said

My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to liberia - to their own native land ... but its sudden execution is impossible. Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not ... it does seem to me that systems of

---

<sup>6</sup>John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History (10 vols. New York: Century, 1890), VI, 356. Hereafter cited as Abraham Lincoln. Jacques Voegeli, Free But Not Equal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 97. C. H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negro," Journal of Negro History, IV, no. 1 (January 1919), 7.

<sup>7</sup>Address of Abraham Lincoln, "Eulogy on Henry Clay," Springfield, Illinois, July 6, 1852, in Works, II, 130.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 132.

gradual emancipation might be adopted.<sup>9</sup>

Continuing this thought in 1857 he wrote

Such separation, if ever effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party, as such, is doing anything directly for colonization. Party operations at present only favor or retard colonization incidentally. The enterprise is a difficult one; but when there is a will there is a way; and what colonization needs most is a hearty will ... we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be.<sup>10</sup>

It was the next year, in a series of debates with Stephen A. Douglas that Lincoln took a moral position on slavery to contrast sharply with Douglas' seeming indifference. Turmoil in Kansas and the Dred Scott decision had made slavery an important issue in the senatorial race between Lincoln and Douglas. Before the actual debates began, Douglas contended that the Founding Fathers had not intended to include Negroes and that to do so would open the door on social as well as political equality. Lincoln responded by saying

Now I protest against that counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either, I can just leave her alone. In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal, and the equal of all others.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Address of Abraham Lincoln at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854, in Works, II, 256.

<sup>10</sup>Address of Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857, ibid., 409.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 405.

Repeated in varying degrees, the above became one of the cornerstones of the Republican campaign in the ensuing series of debates. Lincoln's attitude toward the Negro was essentially shared by Douglas. The major difference was that Lincoln admitted slavery to be a moral inequity, while Douglas saw the Negro's inferior status as natural and unchangeable. Pronouncements of Lincoln show the limitations of the moral principle of the Republican Party: a sense of outrage at slavery tempered by a belief in white supremacy. It has been shown that on the eve of the Civil War "the great majority of Americans believed in the innate superiority of the Caucasian race and were determined to maintain white supremacy."<sup>12</sup>

With the outbreak of war and the imminent possibility of largescale emancipation, colonization regained some popularity among those who saw the inevitability of emancipation but dreaded its social consequences.<sup>13</sup> Miscegenation was used as a political scare tactic frequently in Northern and Midwestern states.<sup>14</sup> In March, 1862, the Tammany Hall Young Men's Democratic Club resolved that "we are opposed to emancipating negro slaves, unless on some plan of

---

<sup>12</sup>Voegeli, Free But Not Equal, 1. See also Eugene H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 4, 13.

<sup>13</sup>James M. McPherson, "Abolitionist and Negro Opposition to Colonization During the Civil War," Phylon, XXVI (1965), 391. Hereafter cited as "Abolitionist and Negro Opposition."

<sup>14</sup>Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, passim.

colonization, in order that they may not come in contact with the white man's labor."<sup>15</sup> Congressman Albert S. White summed it up in a report on colonization made that same year. "Much of the objection to emancipation arises from the opposition of a large portion of our people to the intermixture of the races, and from the association of white and black labor ... colonization is the answer."<sup>16</sup>

As President, Lincoln had the opportunity to implement his ideas about slavery and colonization. For the first time, colonization was to become an active governmental policy. Lincoln recognized that colonization might prove a solution to secession, or at least a way to hold the border states. In his first message to Congress, December 3, 1861, the President recommended that

... in any event, steps be taken for colonizing both classes, (or the first mentioned [confiscated property], if the other shall not be brought into existence [freedmen]) at some place, or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too - whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals desire, be included in such colonization ... On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity?<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>McPherson, "Abolitionist and Negro Opposition," 391.

<sup>16</sup>Albert S. White, "Report of the Select Committee on Emancipation," 37 Cong., 2 sess., House Reports No. 148, IV, 13.

<sup>17</sup>Abraham Lincoln, "Annual Message to Congress," December 3, 1861, in Works, V, 48.

This appeal for colonization was coupled with a plan for gradual emancipation compensating those owners whose slaves were freed. This plan would serve several purposes. Voluntary state action would ward off constitutional questions and preserve state rights, compensation would appease loyal slaveholders, and gradual liberation accompanied by deportation would soften the social and economic shocks of emancipation.<sup>18</sup> Abolitionists lashed out sharply against this message "so thoroughly tinged with that colorphobia which has so long prevailed in Illinois." William Lloyd Garrison stated in a letter to Charles Sumner that "President Lincoln may colonize himself, if he choose, but it is an impertinent act, on his part, to propose the getting rid of those who are as good as himself."<sup>19</sup>

Congress reacted to the proposal by drafting "an act for the release of persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia." This act encompassed both compensation and colonization. In notifying Congress of the act's approval and signature, Lincoln stated that he "was gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied to the act."<sup>20</sup> An appropriation of \$100,000 was provided for

---

<sup>18</sup>Voegeli, Free But Not Equal, 39.

<sup>19</sup>Quoted in McPherson, "Abolitionist and Negro Opposition," 393.

<sup>20</sup>Abraham Lincoln, "Message on the Release of Slaves in the District of Columbia," 37 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Executive Document No. 42

colonization and resettlement of Negroes freed by the act.

In July another appropriation, this one for \$500,000, was made to carry out the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia and to colonize those freed by a confiscation bill.<sup>21</sup> Section XII of this Confiscation Act, passed July 17, 1862, declared

That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to make provisions for the transportation, colonization, and settlement in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate, having first obtained the consent of the Government of said country, to their protection and settlement within the same, with all the rights and privileges of freemen.<sup>22</sup>

In August 1862, Lincoln appointed Rev. James Mitchell, an Indiana Democrat, as Commissioner of Emigration and Colonization within the Interior Department. Shortly before his December message to Congress, Lincoln had given the Interior Department full power to enforce suppression of the slave trade. Mitchell came to his position an enthusiastic supporter of colonization but found the office a frustrating experience. He had been given no clear cut authority within the Department. Indeed, the Congressional appropriations for colonization were administered by the Secretary of the Interior rather than by Mitchell, the Commissioner of Emigration and Colonization.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup>U. S. Statutes at Large, XII, 582.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 592.

<sup>23</sup>Letter, James Mitchell to Ulyssus S. Grant, February 16, 1871, Leesburg, Virginia, in Records of the



One of Mitchell's first acts as Commissioner was to arrange a meeting of Negro leaders with President Lincoln to discuss colonization. Rev. Thomas, director of the New York based Anglo-African Institute for the Encouragement of Industry and Art, headed the delegation. Lincoln explained colonization plans then under consideration, arguing that "your race suffer from living among us, while ours suffer from your presence ... It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated."<sup>24</sup> Replying to the President a few days later, Thomas expressed his willingness to work for colonization although he had previously been hostile to the idea. Other Negroes, however, violently objected to the President's ideas of colonization.<sup>25</sup>

Even before this meeting with Negro leaders Lincoln had begun to think of emancipation as a military necessity. An appeal to representatives of the border states to initiate emancipation within their states had been discouraging.<sup>26</sup>

---

Office of the Secretary of the Interior Relating to the Suppression of the African Slave Trade and Negro Colonization, 1854-1872, (10 reels. Washington: National Archives, 1949) reel 1. Hereafter cited as Slave Trade Collection.

<sup>24</sup>Address by Abraham Lincoln, August 14, 1862, Washington, in Works, V, 371.

<sup>25</sup>Frederick Douglass wrote "In this address Mr. Lincoln assumes the language and arguments of an itinerant Colonization lecturer, showing all his inconsistencies, his pride of race and blood, his contempt for negroes and his canting hypocrisy." Quoted in McPherson, "Abolitionist and Negro Opposition," 395.

<sup>26</sup>Lincoln urged them to accept his proposition saying "I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually." Room in South America

Their inaction coupled with pressure from ardent abolitionists and Congress strengthened the argument in favor of emancipation on a national level. On July 22 Lincoln presented to his cabinet a preliminary document proclaiming emancipation. Reactions were mixed. Secretary of State, William H. Seward counseled against an announcement of emancipation until such time as the military outlook was better. Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair favored the inclusion of colonization while Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase felt the preliminary document too weak.<sup>27</sup> By September 22 the military situation had improved, the Army of the Potomac having forced Lee's troops out of Maryland, and Lincoln issued the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Again the two principles of compensation and colonization were included. These two provisions were intended to soften the impact of largescale emancipation. Lincoln saw colonization as a practical solution to the millions freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. Thus the Proclamation would satisfy those who wished for emancipation of the Negro as well as those who feared that the freed slave would overrun the North.

The final proclamation was not issued until January 1, 1863 after consultation with cabinet members and study of

---

for colonization, can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance; and when numbers shall be large enough ... the freed people will not be so reluctant to go." Address of Abraham Lincoln, July 12, 1862, Washington, in Works, V, 318.

<sup>27</sup> Carl Sandberg, Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954), 582.

their suggested revisions. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles recorded that although there were some differences in the cabinet, the discussion "on the general principle involved [was] harmonious."<sup>28</sup> When the Proclamation was issued it had been pared down to the single idea of emancipation "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion."<sup>29</sup> Colonization and compensation were not included in the final document but had been recommended as part of a constitutional amendment proposed in Lincoln's second annual message to Congress, December 1, 1862.

In this message Lincoln reviewed the progress, or rather the lack of progress, in the field of colonization.

I regret to say such persons [freedmen] contemplating colonization do not seem so willing to migrate to those countries [Liberia and Hayti] as to some others, nor so willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, opinion among them in this respect is improving; and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable migration to both these countries [Liberia and Hayti] from the United States.<sup>30</sup>

He then proposed a constitutional amendment embodying the principles of emancipation, compensation and colonization.

Article -. Every State wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the 1st day of January, A.D. 1900, shall receive compensation from the United States ... [there follows a formula for rates of compensation]

<sup>28</sup>Gideon Welles, Diary of Gideon Welles (3 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1911), I, 143. Hereafter cited as Diary.

<sup>29</sup>Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation," January 1, 1863, Washington, in Works, VI, 29.

<sup>30</sup>Abraham Lincoln, "Second Annual Message to Congress," December 1, 1862, Washington, in Works, V, 520.

Article -. All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion shall be forever free; but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal shall be compensated for them at the same rates as is provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

Article -. Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide, for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.<sup>31</sup>

In recommending Article 3 of the proposed amendment, Lincoln said, "I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favour colonization ..."<sup>32</sup>

Bills introduced in Congress to carry his recommendations into effect met resistance. Though one bill passed the House and another the Senate, the two houses for one reason or another never agreed upon a bill.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 530.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 534.

<sup>33</sup>Congressional Globe, 37 Cong., 3 sess., 6, 76, 92, 138-139.

CHAPTER II  
PROPOSALS TO COLONIZE

Colonization was given more than lip service during Lincoln's presidency. After his message to Congress in 1861 scores of proposals were submitted on colonization.<sup>1</sup> Out of these only the proposals to colonize in the Chiriqui province of present day Panama and on Ile A'Vache, Hayti were seriously considered.

On the same day that Lincoln discussed emancipation with his cabinet, July 22, 1862, he suggested an executive order in respect to colonization. Chase recorded in his diary that the cabinet unanimously agreed that this order should be dropped.<sup>2</sup> Later that month, however, a colonization plan promoted by Colonel Ambrose W. Thompson was well received by Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith. Thompson had had a contract with the Buchanan administration for coal supplies and a mail route in the Chiriqui region of

---

<sup>1</sup>Senate Executive Document 55, 39 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>2</sup>David Donald (ed.), Inside Lincoln's Cabinet; the Civil War Diaries of S. P. Chase. (New York: Longman's Green, 1954), 98-99. Hereafter cited as Inside Lincoln's Cabinet.

Panama.<sup>3</sup> He now proposed a colony of freedmen in Chiriqui in accordance with the acts passed by Congress regarding colonization. He based the economy of his proposed colony on the coal present in that region. Thus his colony, in addition to draining off freedmen and contrabands, would provide a valuable asset to commercial relations in that region, he contended.

Despite Joseph Henry's report on September 5, 1862 that the Chiriqui coal was worthless, a provisional contract with Thompson was signed September 11, 1862.<sup>4</sup> Lincoln had requested Henry, the first secretary and director of the Smithsonian Institute and one of the most eminent American scientists of the nineteenth century, to examine samples of the Chiriqui coal and submit his opinion. On the day that the contract was signed, Smith, on instructions from President Lincoln, requested Senator S. C. Pomeroy of Kansas to serve as the government's special agent in the project. Pomeroy accepted and went at once to New York to begin preparations for an expedition to Chiriqui.<sup>5</sup> On September 19, however, Luis Molina, Minister to the United States from Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras, lodged a note of formal

---

<sup>3</sup>Warren A. Beck, Lincoln and the Chiriqui Improvement Company (unpublished Master's thesis. Detroit: Wayne State University, 1948), 26.

<sup>4</sup>Contract, Ambrose W. Thompson and the United States of America, Washington, September 12, 1862, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 1.

<sup>5</sup>Letter, Caleb B. Smith to S. C. Pomeroy, Washington, September 12, 1862, ibid.

protest with the Department of State.<sup>6</sup>

Generally the Central American states were opposed to the emigration of freedmen to their countries. The most vociferous objections to being classed with a servile race came from Negroes in Nicaragua, who considered themselves equals of the whites.<sup>7</sup> However, Molina was disturbed that the settlement was to be under the protection of another government. He expressed the hope that the United States would respect the sovereignty and the territories of the Spanish American nation. Seward's reply to Molina assured him that the colonization scheme would not be executed without the consent of the Central American governments concerned.<sup>8</sup> Pomeroy was informed of the protest and instructed to proceed slowly.

Meanwhile the expedition was beginning to take shape. Smith telegraphed Pomeroy on September 20, 1862 of Lincoln's interest in the expedition. The forthcoming Emancipation Proclamation made it desirable for the administration to have a practical solution to the problem of caring for the millions that might be freed by it. Molina, on September 29, protested the continued preparations.

---

<sup>6</sup>Letter, Luis Molina to William H. Seward, Washington, September 19, 1862, in Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, 899.

<sup>7</sup>Andrew N. Cleven, "Some Plans for Colonizing Liberated Negro Slaves in Hispanic America," Journal of Negro History, XI (1926), 39.

<sup>8</sup>Letter, William H. Seward to Luis Molina, Washington, September 21, 1862, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 1.

In Central America, the said enterprise [colonization] is looked upon as aggressive, illegal, and of a worse character than other former ones of the same kind; that it creates a real alarm, and that I had received orders to resist it ... I further made it known to him [Secretary of State] the intention which my estimable colleagues of Guatemala and New Granada had of solemnly protesting, representing to him that, in my opinion, it would be more conducive to good relations that your government should abandon, of its own good will and through respect to the rights which are believed to be threatened, an enterprise subject to unfavorable interpretations and which meets with legitimate resistance.<sup>9</sup>

This time his protest was heeded and the project was temporarily suspended. Lincoln approved the suspension and Pomeroy was notified to halt work.<sup>10</sup> Lincoln also asked his cabinet for their opinions on the question of colonization treaties with European powers and tropical nations. Attorney General Edward Bates felt that colonization projects should be accompanied by a treaty with the government concerned.<sup>11</sup> All the cabinet members with the exceptions of Chase and Welles were in favor of such treaties.<sup>12</sup> However, "There was an indisposition to press the subject of Negro emigration to Chiriqui at the meeting of the Cabinet against the wishes and remonstrances of the states of Central America."<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Letter, Smith to Pomeroy, Washington, September 22, 1862, ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Letter, Smith to Pomeroy, Washington, September 22, 1862, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 1.

<sup>11</sup>Edward Bates, The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866 (Howard K. Beale, ed., Annual Report of the American Historical Association, vol. IV, 1930), 262. Hereafter cited as Diary.

<sup>12</sup>Donald, Inside Lincoln's Cabinet, 156, 160.

<sup>13</sup>Welles, Diary, I, 162.



Following this discussion, Seward issued a letter to several American Ministers giving general principles for colonization, first of which was recognition by the government involved. This letter, written on September 30, 1862, was to become the basis for conducting colonization. Seward stated that the communication was not "to present the project of a convention, but simply to state some of the general principles which this government supposes proper to be recognized in any treaties ... pertaining to colonization."<sup>14</sup> One of these general principles was that all such emigration should be free and voluntary. Another required the agents of governments desiring to receive such emigrants to be recognized by the United States government.

Early in September, a proposal for colonizing 5,000 freedmen on Ile A'Vache, Hayti, had been submitted to the Department of the Interior. With the suspension of the Central American plans, this proposal was examined more closely. The scheme's initiator, Bernard Kock, had arrived in Washington late in August and had begun immediately to present his plan to the government. First he lodged his Haytian contract and supporting documents with the Department of State. He was informed by Secretary Seward that the Department of State had nothing to do with the matter; that it was entirely within the jurisdiction of the Department

---

<sup>14</sup>Letter, Seward to Charles F. Adams, Washington, September 30, 1862, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

of the Interior.<sup>15</sup>

During the month of September, Kock's efforts to promote his plan proved fruitless. A letter to the Secretary of the Interior drew only a standard reply requesting information on the nature of the island and the proposed treatment of the colonists. Kock was unknown in Washington and Thompson's plan was receiving the full attention of the government at the moment. Still no interest was indicated after the reception of Kock's answers to Smith's questions. Kock then enlisted the aid of J. R. S. Van Vleet, associate editor of Washington's National Republican and an ardent colonizationist, as his agent in Washington.<sup>16</sup> Later in the month several newspapers reported favorably on Kock's plans and urged government consideration of them. The Philadelphia Press, on September 26, 1862, having

been favored with a detailed explanation of the purposes intended [stated that] it seems to us that the plan here proposed will be a very profitable one to the gentleman who has it in charge while, at the same time, it will give a home to thousands of our unfortunate people who have escaped from slavery, and relieve the government from a great deal of embarrassment now surrounding this complicated question.<sup>17</sup>

On September 27, Kock sent the Secretary of the Interior a letter from the Surgeon General of Hayti endorsing Kock and his enterprise. With Thompson's plans now

---

<sup>15</sup>Letter, Bernard Kock to Caleb B. Smith, Washington, September 9, 1862, ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Letter, J. R. S. Van Vleet to Lincoln, Washington, September 1862, ibid.

<sup>17</sup>The Philadelphia Press, September 26, 1862, ibid.

under heavy attack by the Central American states, Kock's letter was received with interest. A few days later, Kock had printed a letter "To His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln," to accompany a request for an interview with the President and an endorsement from Van Vleet. Kock's letter outlined clearly his colonization proposals.<sup>18</sup>

Early in August 1862, Kock had signed a contract with the Republic of Hayti. This contract gave him rights to Ile A'Vache, an island twelve miles off the shore of the mainland.

It covers an area of about a hundred square miles, is known to be free from reptiles, and to have a healthy and agreeable temperature, the thermometer rising rarely above 80 in the shade, in consequence of its exposure to the trade winds. The interior of the island is hilly, in some places rising as high as three hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is well timbered with mahogany, oak, hard, and dye-woods, while in the neighborhood of the coast it is mostly prairie land, and ready for the plough. As would be expected in a country like this, the soil and climate are adapted for all tropical productions, particularly sugar, coffee, indigo, and more especially, cotton, which is indigenous. Upon the north side of the island is the beautiful Bay of Ferret, with the average depth of twenty-eight feet, upon whose bosom a large fleet could repose in safety, secure from the storms of the ocean; and here it is proposed to erect a commercial city, with all conveniences necessary to such.<sup>19</sup>

Kock explained that his original intention had been to employ German and Swiss to cultivate cotton on his plantations but after learning of the "humane need for American Negro colonization," he now proposed to utilize contrabands.

---

<sup>18</sup>Letter, Kock to Lincoln, Washington, October 1, 1862, ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

Kock depended for success, not on the hardwood forests as specified in his contract, but on the cultivation of cotton, which at that time commanded top prices because of the Southern blockade. To take full advantage of the weather, Kock hoped to leave by the last of October with at least a thousand colonists. He proposed to

give each family a comfortably furnished house, with a garden spot attached, and, without extra charge to them, supply all their provisions, provide a hospital and medical attendance, a church, and a school-house, with a New England Christian minister, and New England school teachers. With each family I will make a contract for four years, and will pay them more liberal wages than is now paid in any of the West India Islands. At the expiration of the term for which these persons are employed, the Government of Hayti, by a special law, will give to each family sixteen acres of good land, and to each single man eight acres, so that, with this grant, and the money earned during the four years of service, the intelligent Negro may enter upon a life of freedom and independence, conscious that he has earned the means of livelihood, and at the same time disciplined himself to the duties, the pleasures, and the wants of free labor.<sup>20</sup>

Kock would act as governor of the island and would see to the "enforcement of wise and paternal regulations." To establish his "Industrial, Agricultural American Colony," Kock asked that the government furnish the colonists with transportation and subsistence for a short period as well as furnish the means for providing them with agricultural implements and machinery. He indicated that he would refund all monies expended for transportation and subsistence, giving a deed of trust upon all personal property upon the island.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

In this letter Kock pointed out the commercial advantages of an American port in those waters. He estimated that within a few years the commerce of the island would amount to several millions. Kock also noted the political importance of this enterprise.

The successful establishment of such an American colony in Hayti, as proposed, would materially interfere with the ambitious designs of Spain in that quarter and would greatly aid a young and thriving republic in maintaining her integrity, and would insure each individual thereof his personal freedom from bondage and oppression.<sup>22</sup>

Commerce and politics had both played a vital role in gaining U. S. recognition of the island republic earlier in 1862.<sup>23</sup> Now the argument for colonization added a third element, cotton. Hayti had long been considered by some colonizationists as an ideal location. Its climate, proximity, and Negro population were all advantages. Proximity and Negro population were also disadvantages for some saw these as a possible threat to United States security. Others saw Hayti as a breeding ground for servile insurrection.<sup>24</sup>

In the 1820's Hayti had encouraged immigration of American blacks but had been opposed by the American Colonization Society. After the revolution in 1859, President Geffard once again sought black immigrants from the United

---

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ludwell L. Montague, Haiti and the United States, 1714-1938 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 86. Hereafter cited as Haiti and the United States.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 69.

States. He appointed James Redpath, a militant abolitionist from the United States, as "general agent of emigration to Hayti from the states and provinces of North America."<sup>25</sup> Redpath's activities in Boston sent about 1600 emigrants to Hayti in 1861.

With interest aroused in his scheme, Kock left Washington for New York. There he established himself in Great Jones Street and began preparing for the resettlement of 5,000 Negroes upon Ile A'Vache.<sup>26</sup> He first sought financial assistance for his colony. With a copy of the proposed government contract and his guarantee of the President's signature, Kock persuaded a group of businessmen to finance his commercial venture. Indeed his plan seemed sound. He proposed to transport the freedmen to the island, immediately plant sea island cotton, and produce a crop of 1,000 bales within eight or nine months. At war prices this could mean a yield of \$500,000,000 for an initial outlay of only \$70,000.<sup>27</sup> Kock assured these financiers that the soil was similar to that of Alabama and well suited to the growth of cotton. He claimed he had already grown cotton on the

---

<sup>25</sup>James Redpath, A Guide to Hayti (Boston: Thayer & Eldridge, 1860), 64.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Paul S. Forbes to James P. Usher, April 18, 1864, New York, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. Memorandum of Charles K. Tuckerman (N.D.), ibid. Nicolay, Abraham Lincoln, VI, 361.

island, where it grew indigenous. Paul S. Forbes, Charles K. Tuckerman and Leonard W. Jerome were the principal backers of the venture. Tuckerman wrote later that they were never partners, that he and his friends entered the enterprise on the strength of the President's signature and the hope of a successful and profitable colony.<sup>28</sup>

On November 1, having received no reply to his proposition, Kock wrote to James Mitchell, the Commissioner of Emigration and Colonization. He enclosed a copy of his October 1 letter to the President and wrote of his business in New York. Kock stated that he had already spent \$14,500 for machinery and agricultural implements and had contracted for houses to the amount of \$17,000. He boasted that his colony would be "one of the most complete establishments on the Continent and superior to any in the West Indies." A number of men had already been engaged as superintendents. Now, Kock was writing to Mitchell to "appeal to you, as the Authorized Agent of the Government for assistance to put the colony in working order."<sup>29</sup>

Mitchell thought the plan a good one. He drew up a brief of Kock's proposition and submitted it with his own recommendation to Lincoln. He also submitted a rough draft of a contract but noted that the "terms of my commission

---

<sup>28</sup>Tuckerman's Memorandum, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

<sup>29</sup>Letter, Kock to Mitchell, New York, November 1, 1862, ibid.

whilst empowering this office 'to organize and locate colonies' leaves me powerless to move without your endorsement involving expenditures." Mitchell felt the contract he had drawn would bind "Mr. Kock firmly to a humane and liberal policy."<sup>30</sup>

The plan now received full attention of the departments involved. Mr. Van Vleet, Kock's agent in Washington, was asked to supply references for the gentleman. Kock's contract with Hayti was examined. It had been granted to Kock on the 8th of August, 1862, for a period of ten years, renewable for ten more. It was the last contract of its kind granted by the Haytian government; on August 14 a Haytian law had been enacted which forbade any more such grants.<sup>31</sup>

The grant gave Kock the exclusive right to improve forests, to take and farm whatever quantity of land was needed for cultivation of provisions, to colonize laborers of African or Indian races, and to exempt materials for these improvements and subsistence for the laborers from all imposts and duties. In return, Kock was bound to relinquish thirty five and one quarter per cent in kind to the government of the timber cuttings. The laborers imported for work under this contract were to become naturalized Haytians

---

<sup>30</sup>Letter, Mitchell to Lincoln, Washington, November 11, 1862, ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Letter, \_\_\_\_\_ Muller to Kock, New York, August \_\_, 1862, ibid.



immediately upon their arrival; upon the expiration of their contract with Kock they were to be entitled to become farmers and landowners. The Haytian government reserved the right to exercise its power in controlling the proper clearing of the woods and to establish at its own cost military posts or garrisons. Article 2 of the contract bound Kock to begin the improvement of Ile A'Vache within six months.<sup>32</sup>

Mitchell made inquiries concerning the legality of this contract of Ernest Roumain, the Haytian minister in Washington. Roumain replied that his government greatly desired the success of the colonization experiment. In a later letter to Senator Pomeroy, Roumain certified Kock's contract and stated that it had been granted after obtaining full information about Kock's responsibility and his capability to carry out the contract. He stated that Kock had arrived in Port-au-Prince early in the spring of 1862 with letters of recommendation from reputable bankers in London to several important merchants in the Islands.<sup>33</sup>

At this point a small interruption foreshadowed the future of Kock's relations with the United States government. A rumor implying dishonesty reached Kock and he wrote to Robert Murray, the United States Marshall at New York, regarding its origin. Murray assured Kock he had made no

---

<sup>32</sup>Contract, Kock and the Republic of Hayti, Port-au-Prince, August 8, 1862, ibid. (For complete text of contract see Appendix).

<sup>33</sup>Letter, Ernest Roumain to Mitchell, Washington, November 5, 1862, ibid.

such accusations and that he felt them to be groundless. None of these suspicions reached Washington at this time.<sup>34</sup>

In mid-December Van Vleet had an interview with Lincoln at which he presented letters of recommendation for Kock from A. C. Rossire & Co., D. & W. Williamson, Stiles Walsted & Co. and William C. Wetmore, all merchants in New York. All stated they knew Kock to be a man of means and undoubted respectability and considered him fully able to carry out the Ile A'Vache expedition. On December 13, 1862 more recommendations were made on Kock's behalf. Mr. W. E. Robinson, of the United States' Assessor's Office, wrote Lincoln that he had "no hesitation" in recommending the man and the experiment.<sup>35</sup> Attorney General Bates felt otherwise, denouncing Kock as a "charlatan adventurer." Kock had called upon Bates to ask him to write out a contract for the colonization project. "I told him that I had not been consulted, and did not choose to play scrivener in the business."<sup>36</sup>

On December 31, 1862, the night before issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, President Lincoln signed a contract with Kock for the colonization of 5,000 freedmen on Ile A'Vache according to the terms set forth in Seward's

---

<sup>34</sup>Letter, Robert Murray to Kock, New York, November 17, 1862, ibid.

<sup>35</sup>See letters of recommendation for Bernard Kock, ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Bates, Diary, 168.

circular letter of September 30, 1862. The emigration was to be strictly voluntary and followed the lines of Kock's proposal to the President in his letter of October 1. The contract stipulated that as soon as the capital invested in the buildings, machinery, agricultural implements and other necessities should have been refunded, ten per cent of the net profits were to be distributed pro rata among the laborers on the first day of January. The ninth article of the contract bound Kock to recommend a respect for the ten commandments. The tenth article provided for the presence of a government agent in the colony to see that the stipulations were correctly carried out.<sup>37</sup>

In consideration for removal of the freedman and compliance with the stipulations, Kock was to receive fifty dollars per capita. This sum was to be paid in installments upon the presentation of certain documentary evidence of the colonists' well-being and safety. The contract was signed for the United States by the President, Abraham Lincoln.

Instructed to take his copy of the contract to the Department of State to have it certified and sealed, Kock deposited it there on January 2, 1863. When he returned for it the next day he was advised it was not ready. Seward wrote a note to Lincoln that day indicating his reluctance

---

<sup>37</sup>Contract, Kock and the United States of America, Washington, December 31, 1862, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. (For complete text see Appendix).

to complete the contract.<sup>38</sup> Rather belatedly, Seward dispatched a letter to the United States Consul in Hayti, Benjamin F. Whidden, requesting information on Kock and his claims. On January 6, Kock demanded the return of his contract but was again denied; Lincoln had written to Seward asking that the Kock contract be retained under advisement.<sup>39</sup> Kock wrote to Usher protesting Seward's action. He requested Usher to send Seward copies of the Haytian contract and letters of recommendation from Hayti and New York. Kock drew attention to the fact that earlier Seward's department had refused to have anything to do with the scheme. He urged the Secretary to remember that an early departure was essential for the success of the colony.<sup>40</sup>

Then, on January 13, all hope of Kock's contract being certified was erased with Robert Murray's telegram to Usher reporting the possibility of fraud. George C. Whiting, chief clerk of the Interior Department, was sent to New York where he ascertained that charges of fraud had been made by David M. Merrick. Merrick held Power of Attorney for Andrew Hackson, William S. Skinner, and John R. Cree, all New York merchants, to collect all money due or to grow due them by

---

<sup>38</sup> Letter, Seward to Lincoln, Washington, January 2, 1862, ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Letter, Lincoln to Seward, Washington, January 6, 1863, in Works, VI, 41.

<sup>40</sup> Letter, Kock to James P. Usher, Washington, January 8, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

Bernard Kock.<sup>41</sup>

Merrick's story was indeed a fantastic one. In his statement of facts, made January 15, 1863, he claimed to have begun observance of Kock's activities early in September, 1862. Merrick followed Kock (designated Cotton Planter in Merrick's manuscript) to New York where he found Kock to be connected with other Southerners in the colonization scheme. Merrick became acquainted with one of Kock's agents and through him learned of an opening in Kock's organization for an engineer. Merrick secured this position at the salary of \$1,200 per year about the middle of October. Gaining the confidence of Kock and his private secretary, Mr. Williamson, Merrick was able to learn the location of private communications. He gained access to these and found a letter from Captain Raphael Semmes of the C. S. S. Alabama.

The capt. told Kock that he would be in the vicinity of the Ilnad of Avache about the first of January 1863 to receive the Negroes he might get from the United States Government for colonization. The Captain told Kock that he should be liberally rewarded. The writer of the letter seemed to convey the idea that arrangements had been made previous to Kock and Semmes leaving New Orleans. There were a large number of letters from Southerners and all those read by Merrick had reference to the same matter to taking Negroes to said Island and from there to Cuba.<sup>42</sup>

Kock's employees were charged with being Rebels, the exceptions being Williamson and an old man from Cuba by the

---

<sup>41</sup>Telegram, Robert Murray to the Department of the Interior, New York, January 13, 1863, ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Statement of David E. Merrick, New York, January 15, 1863, ibid.

name of Dolton. That Kock's employees were Southerners cannot be denied for Kock wrote Van Vleet in November, 1862, giving him the names of his superintendents and their home states. However, Kock assured Van Vleet that all these men were Union sympathizers.<sup>43</sup>

Merrick's other charges against Kock concerned the money expended for the purchase of equipment. Merrick estimated that \$50,000 had already been spent on the project but that the merchants had not collected one dollar. Merrick himself was acting under the authority of merchants who had extended credit to Kock.

Whiting noted on the back of Murray's January 13th telegram that he had been to New York and had heard Merrick's charges but failed to see that they could be proved. The government seems to have taken no action other than a temporary suspension of Kock's contract. Following this episode, however, Mitchell wrote to Usher that he had "just learned some things about Mr. Kock that he must clear up before we can trust him with this interest. I am not ready to act in his case ..."<sup>44</sup> Mitchell's inquiries made back in November when he was preparing the brief for the President had turned up some unsavory background on Kock. The firm of Watts, Crane & Co. of New Orleans, tobacco merchants, wrote of a

---

<sup>43</sup>Letter, Van Vleet to Lincoln, Washington, October 4, 1862, in The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection (42-18866-70).

<sup>44</sup>Letter, Mitchell to Usher, Washington, January 19, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

fraud perpetrated in New Orleans by one Bernard Kock. Kock had purchased several hundreds of inferior lug tobacco and one or two hundreds of fine leaf tobacco. The fine tobacco he made up into samples and transferred the "Tobacco Inspector's Sample Card" from the fine samples to the lug samples. He proposed to Watts, Crane & Co. to leave these samples with them for resale but was refused. Kock afterwards left the tobacco with Messrs. Hewitt, Norton & Co. and Messrs. Moore and Van Conklin for sale. A large portion of it was purchased by R. Yeatman of New Orleans and shipped to Europe. Before the deception could be detected, Kock sold all his property in New Orleans and left for Europe. Watts believed that Kock had made a great deal of money through this fraud. As soon as it was uncovered, Watts stated, his firm and other tobacco merchants of the Crescent City subscribed a fund to send a man after Kock but the search proved hopeless.<sup>45</sup>

Throughout this period of suspicion Kock remained at work, readying his expedition. With official silence on the subject and the backing of the New York financiers, Kock's plans advanced. On March 3, 1863, Forbes chartered the Ocean Ranger, a British ship of 487 tons, to voyage from New York to Fortress Monroe and then on to Ile A'Vache for \$11,000.<sup>46</sup> The charter secured, the loading and outfitting began.

---

<sup>45</sup> Letter, Watts, Crane & Co. to R. Atkinson, New Orleans, January 2, 1863, ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 1.

Watkins, a colored man hired as head superintendent, left for Fortress Monroe to begin recruitment of colonists. Then in mid-March more accusations of intended rascality were advanced.

H. B. Stanton of the New York Customs House wrote to Robert Murray that he believed a "nefarious scheme to be afloat to carry some Negroes out of this port and sell them into slavery." He enclosed the statements of Mesrs. Tappan and Flint to substantiate his view. Tappan and Flint were New York merchants who had been approached by Kock to supply portable houses for the expedition. Inquiries were made of a New Orleans friend, a Mr. Bouligney, who replied that Kock was a rascal. Corroboration of this opinion by other New Orleans merchants persuaded the firm not to conclude the contract.<sup>47</sup>

Tappan and Flint were also acquainted with Mr. Williamson, the private secretary. Williamson had quit his position with Kock due to his belief that the whole affair was a fraud. Flint spoke with Williamson upon his return from Panama. Williamson said he had stopped over at Ile A'Vache and felt it was not a fit place for habitation. Flint felt, however, that Forbes and the others had been taken in when they guaranteed the contracts Kock signed with the colonists and chartered the Ocean Ranger.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>Statement of Tappan and Flint, New York, March 17, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.



These reports, coupled with Dispatch #20 of B. F. Whidden, United States Consul at Hayti, heightened the feeling that the contract with Kock should be broken. Whidden reported that Kock's Haytian contract was definitely legal. He pointed out, however, that the six month's commencement clause had already expired. As to Kock's ability to carry out the scheme, Whidden wrote that "he has not the visible necessary means of his own. I have heard him called 'an adventurer.'" At the conclusion of Whidden's dispatch, he stressed the necessity of a guarantee from Kock for the condition and treatment of the immigrants during their journey and after their arrival at Ile A'Vache.<sup>49</sup>

Now the question could no longer be ignored; Kock was informed that his contract with the government was to be cancelled. Although Kock's backers were also notified of the cancellation no explanation was given them. Since the expedition had progressed this far, Forbes and Tuckerman stood to lose a great deal with the cancellation of the contract. Tuckerman proceeded to Washington and apparently had an interview with the President. At this meeting Lincoln supposedly assured Tuckerman that if he and the others were willing to assume the responsibility, a contract with the

---

<sup>49</sup>Letter, B. F. Whidden to Seward, Dispatch #20, Port-au-Prince, March 4, 1863 (received March 21, 1863), in Slave Trade Collection, reel 2.

government could be negotiated.<sup>50</sup> On March 20, Kock transferred his lease to Forbes and Tuckerman. A contract was drawn and signed with Forbes and Tuckerman as the principals. This time Secretary Usher, instead of President Lincoln, contracted for the United States.

Tuckerman, in a letter written to the Secretary of the Interior a year later supporting his claim, set forth the idea that he and the others involved were forced into the "alternative of accepting one [contract] in our own name ..." and that they had been

in utter ignorance of Mr. Seward's private criticism of the President's official act or that he intended to withdraw the contract finally and forever from Kock. In good faith we advanced money and promoted movement thus initiated by the President's own act and hand and will assert under oath that no representative of Kock's or promises of great commercial advantages would have induced us to go into this but for the contract.<sup>51</sup>

Tuckerman admitted that "without some basis of commercial prosperity, men however benevolent or patriotic would be wanting in common sense to further colonization schemes."<sup>52</sup> Forbes, Tuckerman and Jerome could either lose completely or proceed with the colony in an effort to recoup these losses. If Kock were to be believed at all the first crop of cotton would insure recovery and success.

---

<sup>50</sup> Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. There is no record of such an interview other than Tuckerman's reference to one in this letter.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

The contract entered into by Forbes and Tuckerman on the one part and the United States of America on the other, was much like the contract signed with Bernard Kock, including the terms of Mr. Seward's September 30th letter. This is an important point, as the Forbes-Tuckerman case for compensation later revolved around this "impossible condition." The Forbes-Tuckerman contract engaged the transportation of not more than 500 Negroes at fifty dollars per capita. Again there was an emphasis on voluntary migration and a stipulation that no payment was to be made without documentary proof of the colonists' well-being and safety.

The contract called for the establishment of a colony with churches, schools and hospitals. It provided that all

such emigrants and their posterity shall forever remain free, and in no case be reduced to bondage, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime ... On cases of indigence resulting from injury, sickness or age, any of such emigrants who shall become paupers, shall not thereupon be suffered to perish or to come to want, but shall be supported and cared for.<sup>53</sup>

It would appear that after the incident with Kock the government sought a written guarantee for the colonists' safety.

Forbes and Tuckerman signed the contract in New York April 6, 1863, in the office of the United States District Attorney, E. Delafield Smith, with Robert Murray as witness. The contract was sent to Washington and submitted to the

---

<sup>53</sup>Contract, Paul Forbes and Charles K. Tuckerman and the United States of America, Washington, April 16, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 1. (For complete text see Appendix).

President for his approval. This was given April 13, 1863 and on April 16, Secretary Usher signed the contract on behalf of the United States. Also on that day President Lincoln issued a proclamation cancelling the contract made in December with Bernard Kock.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup>Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, Washington, April 16, 1863, in Works, VI, 178-179.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL AMERICAN COLONY

As Forbes and Tuckerman negotiated with the United States government for a new contract, their chartered ship, the Ocean Ranger, sailed for Fortress Monroe. Here the emigrants who had been recruited were waiting to embark.

Watkins had been sent to Fortress Monroe earlier to select a company of colonists from the freedmen and contrabands in the area. A respectable and educated man of color, Watkins was known to prominent Republicans of New York and had been involved in a previous emigration movement to Hayti headed by James Redpath.<sup>1</sup>

Fortress Monroe was a gathering point for the freed Negro. Here protection and employment was provided by the United States Army. A report on the conditions around Fortress Monroe made in March, 1862, listed over 1,500 Negroes (freedmen and contrabands) in the area, over 400 of whom were employed by the Army in some capacity.<sup>2</sup> Two large buildings had been built to house these people but

---

<sup>1</sup>Bell, "Negro Nationalism," 52.

<sup>2</sup>Edwin M. Stanton, "Report on Africans in Fort Monroe Military District," 37 Cong., 2 sess., Executive Document No. 85, 5, 10.

many lived in log huts and deserted buildings. The investigating commission reported inadequate rations and generally deplorable conditions. Approximately \$10,433.82 was owed to these people, primarily by officers and civilians who employed them as servants and by the quartermaster's department.<sup>3</sup>

A year later, a correspondent of the Philadelphia Inquirer was quoted by the Richmond Daily Whig in a story about the contrabands around Fortress Monroe. This reporter stated that

They care very little as to who rules. Many of them state that they were just as comfortable when with their masters as now. They seem indifferent to everything but eating, lounging and sleeping. Speaking of 'contrabands' - out of the large number assembled at this point and Hampton Creek, if you want a little labor work done, it is almost an impossibility to get any of these folks to do it.<sup>4</sup>

From this group, Watkins was able to recruit 452 men, women and children to join the expeditions. Tuckerman reported that many of these people told him they would be happy to leave the area; that several left with government wages due them. Of these 452, 298 were between the ages of 18 and 30 (see Table I), with most of these males. The majority of the emigrants came from Virginia, especially the Richmond area. There were 47 from North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and the District of Columbia (see Table II).<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>4</sup> Richmond Daily Whig, April 12, 1862, p. 1, col. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 7, 1863,

TABLE I  
BREAKDOWN OF EMIGRANTS BY AGE

Age Bracket	Total	Individual			
1 month to 10 years	47	-1... 7 1... 3 2... 7	3... 2 4... 3 5... 3	6... 3 7... 5 8... 5	9... 3 10... 6
11 years to 20 years	109	11... 2 12... 5 13... 6	14... 2 15... 8 16... 3	17... 4 18... 26 19... 19	20... 34
21 years to 30 years	219	21... 41 22... 30 23... 25	24... 19 25... 32 26... 14	27... 17 28... 5 29... 4	30... 32
31 years to 40 years	45	31... 2 32... 5 33... 4	34... 2 35... 12 36... 4	37... 3 38... 6 39... 0	40... 7
41 years to 50 years	20	41... 0 42... 1 43... 1	44... 0 45... 8 46... 0	47... 0 48... 0 49... 2	50... 8
51 years to 62 years	5	53... 2 55... 1 59... 1	62... 1		

Compiled from "Corrected List of Emigrants to Ile A'Vache, Hayti," enclosed in letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 7, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

TABLE II

## BREAKDOWN OF EMIGRANTS BY FORMER PLACE OF RESIDENCE

<u>VIRGINIA</u>		<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>	
Alexandria .....	2	Bertie Co.* .....	3
Blackwater* .....	6	Camden .....	2
Charles City Co. ....	5	Chowan Co. ....	1
Eastern Shore .....	17	Edenton .....	2
Elizabeth City .....	1	Elizabeth City .....	3
Faulkner Co. [Fauquier Co.]	1	Gates Co. ....	3
Gloucester .....	7	Hertford* .....	3
Hampden [Hampton?] .....	47	Newbern .....	1
Hampton .....	8	Pasquotank* .....	4
Isle of Wight .....	8	Quimmins Co. ....	17
James City Co. ....	5	[Perquimans Co.]	
King and Queen Co. ....	1	Sherman .....	1
King William Co. ....	6	North Carolina	
Lancaster Co. ....	12	(no city listed) .....	2
Mathews Co.* .....	9	TOTAL .....	42
Mt. Pleasant .....	1		
Nanseung# [Nansemond Co.]	12	<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>	
New Kent Co. ....	21	Charleston .....	6
Norfolk .....	17	Beaufort .....	3
Northampton Co. ....	35	Hampden .....	3
Northld. Co. [sic] .....	19	TOTAL .....	12
Orange Co. ....	1		
Petersburg* .....	7	<u>ALABAMA</u>	
Prince George Co. ....	2	Madison Co. ....	2
Princess Anne Co. ....	23	TOTAL .....	2
Rappahannock Co. ....	8		
Richmond .....	60	<u>DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA</u> .....	5
Sewall's Point .....	1		
Smithfield .....	2	*Variant spellings in	
Southampton .....	7	manuscript	
Spotsylvania .....	1	#Listed Va. and North	
Suffolk .....	2	Carolina	
Summers Co. [sic] .....	1		
Surry Co. ....	7		
Sussex .....	1		
Warwick Co.* .....	5		
Western Shore .....	1		
Westmoreland Co. ....	3		
Williamsburg .....	5		
York Co. ....	4		
Yorktown .....	1		
TOTAL .....	382		

Compiled from "Corrected List of Emigrants to Ile A'Vache, Hayti," enclosed in Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 7, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.



The second week in April, the emigrants and their belongings aboard, the Ocean Ranger was inspected by a member of Major General John A. Dix's staff who pronounced it fit and ready. Charles Tuckerman also examined the vessel and spoke with the emigrants. Tuckerman and Watkins signed an affidavit after this inspection to the effect that the emigrants had freely consented to go and that all minors were aboard with permission of parents or guardians. This fact was also testified to by Major General Dix "on evidence satisfactory to my own mind, and such as I should receive in all cases where direct personal inspection and examination by me are impracticable."<sup>6</sup>

These necessities being taken care of, the ship began its voyage to Ile A'Vache, Hayti. Tuckerman wrote to President Lincoln on April 14 that the ship had left Fortress Monroe.<sup>7</sup> Sailing with the emigrants were Watkins, several white superintendents, a Dr. Conklin, and Bernard Kock. Forbes and Tuckerman had arranged for Kock to remain with the company of emigrants as his presence was required to make good the Haytian contract. His position was to be subject to the authorized agent of Forbes and Tuckerman.

---

in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. (For complete list of emigrants see Appendix.)

<sup>6</sup>Certificate of Maj. Gen. Dix, Fortress Monroe, May 26, 1863, enclosed in ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Lincoln, New York, April 14, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. See also Daily Morning Chronicle [Washington], Thursday, April 16, 1863, p. 4, col. 1.

Tuckerman later stated that they had

felt bound to give him [Kock] remunerative employment in the colony so long as his course was satisfactory to ourselves, since he projected this colonisation movement and at one time held a contract signed by the President for advancing this important object and in consequence of which the gentlemen associated in the enterprise advanced the means for carrying it on.<sup>8</sup>

Although precautions had been taken to keep out those who had visited or even been in remote contact with the Negroes at Craney Island where smallpox prevailed, several cases of the disease developed on board ship. Estimation of deaths resulting from this outbreak vary, the most common being thirty.<sup>9</sup> There was a daughter born to Randell and Louisa Shoales, a young couple from Richmond. Born on the high seas, she was appropriately named Oceana.<sup>10</sup>

The Ocean Ranger reached Ile A'Vache early in May. A bleak sight must have indeed greeted the emigrants--there were no homes waiting for them as had been promised. Indeed there were no buildings of any kind and the island presented a primitive look. Tired from the voyage and many sick, the people disembarked hesitantly. Accounts of the development of the colony from this point vary greatly. On June 1, the United States Assistant Consul at Aux Cayes, George C. Ross, certified that the emigrants had been safely landed and were

---

<sup>8</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Lincoln, New York, April 18, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>List of Emigrants to Ile A'Vache, enclosed in Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 7, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

colonized on said island in accordance with the conditions contained in the circular of Secretary Seward to that effect. I do certify that the new colony is flourishing under the able, wise, and humane direction of its Projector Bernard Kock and that the emigrants have declared before me and the Haytian authorities that they are happy and contented.<sup>11</sup>

Soon after the landing of the emigrants, Haytian authorities visited the island and administered the oath required by the Act of Naturalization, "thereby affording to them, all the civil and political rights, liberties, and protection accorded to their own native population in addition to the exclusive advantages afforded them as Emigrants in the right of free men and exemption from military duty."<sup>12</sup> Although this oath was administered, Forbes and Tuckerman failed to secure the written "special guarantees" set forth in Secretary Seward's September 30th letter. The certificate of Ross on June 1 was incorrect in stating that this stipulation had been satisfied. Forbes and Tuckerman claimed that Seward's letter had not been a part of Kock's contract; that the clause requiring the contractors to abide by the instructions in the Secretary's letter was totally new to them when they signed the contract on April 6, 1863.<sup>13</sup>

This was a major argument presented by Tuckerman on July 7 when he handed the required documents to the

<sup>11</sup>Certificate of G. C. Ross, Aux Cayes, June 1, 1863, ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 7, 1863, ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 29, 1863, ibid. See also Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864 and Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1865, ibid.

Department of the Interior to prove compliance with the contract. Along with the certificates of George Ross, Charles K. Tuckerman and Maj. Gen. Dix, and the corrected list of emigrants to Ile A'Vache, a letter from Colonel Roumain was enclosed. Col. Roumain wrote to Tuckerman that

my government had considered it inexpedient to stipulate for any special protection in favor of persons of African descent who are about to settle upon the Territory of the Republic. They will remain (elles restent placees) [sic] under the general guarantees of our laws and our constitution, upon their arrival permit their naturalization, which confers upon them the immediate enjoyment of civil and political rights.<sup>14</sup>

The non-compliance of Forbes and Tuckerman with this particular section of the contract and rumors of trouble in the colony deterred settlement of the account. Instead Usher wrote to Tuckerman inquiring about the stories he had read in Southern newspapers of the colonists starving and their deplorable condition. Tuckerman replied that the accounts were "too ridiculous to deny." A few more people had died from smallpox and two of the white employees had been dismissed for inefficiency. "They doubtless," wrote Tuckerman, "did give colour to the report."<sup>15</sup>

Then, in late August, the United States Commissioner to Hayti, Benjamin F. Whidden, enclosed in his dispatch to the State Department several reports from the United States

---

<sup>14</sup>Letter, Ernest Roumain to Tuckerman, New York, July 7, 1863, enclosed in Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 7, 1863, ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 29, 1863, ibid.

Consul at Aux Cayes, James DeLong. Whidden noted that "I have no information from your department of any connection of Bernard Kock or his emigrants with the United States Government ..." but felt that DeLong's reports were important.<sup>16</sup>

DeLong's dispatches to Port-au-Prince weave a story of unhappiness which conflict with the reports of Forbes, Tuckerman, Ross, and another man who visited the island in late August, 1863, Alston Wilson. DeLong's picture of Kock's movements, however, are supported in part by all parties. From his dispatches and other reports emerge a picture of mismanagement and oppression on the part of Kock.

On July 3, 1863, Kock crossed to Aux Cayes on the mainland to request military aid in putting down a mutiny. Several colonists were arrested but not imprisoned. On the 5th of July, Governor Fabre visited the island and was "fully satisfied that great injustice had been done."<sup>17</sup> DeLong came to know of the deplorable conditions on the island from some of the colonists who had come to Aux Cayes to escape the tyrannical rule of Kock. He wrote to Whidden charging that Kock had taken all the emigrants' money while on board the Ocean Ranger, exchanging it for notes he (Kock) had had printed in New York; that the food provided for the colonists was inadequate, consisting mostly of salt pork and

---

<sup>16</sup>Letter, Whidden to Seward, Dispatch #32, Port-au-Prince, August 21, 1863 (received August 30, 1863), in Slave Trade Collection, reel 2.

<sup>17</sup>Letter, James DeLong to R. Conard, Aux Cayes, July 8, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

cornbread; and that housing and hospital facilities were poor. DeLong and others in Aux Cayes felt that Kock was "out to get his hands on all he can and then leave ...."<sup>18</sup>

DeLong corresponded with Commissioner Whidden several times during the month of July. On the 21st he reported in a short note a rumor that Kock had poisoned Watkins and was about to leave suddenly.<sup>19</sup> Requested by Whidden to visit the island, DeLong made the trip and had a personal interview with Kock.

Accompanied by Captain Cook of the U. S. Schooner Clara Holmes, Emile Doneto, and two Negroes, DeLong landed at the wharf on Ile A'Vache. He was met by Haytian soldiers who challenged him and then took him to Kock. The following describes their meeting.

I inquired if this were Kock, he answered it was. I understand you sent soldiers to request me to call and see you, he answered by saying I want you to understand that I am proprietor here. I own this Island and that you have no business here, and my orders are not to allow any person to land on the Island without my leave. I replied that I could not help the misfortune of the error into which he had fallen nor the despotic manner he desired to exercise his power; that he might exercise it for the time being over the poor blacks lately redeemed from the chains of slavery by the blood of my countrymen in the field of battle, but that he could not exercise it over me, that I had a mission to perform and I intended to fulfill it and turned to a Mr. Ripka who was of the United States and a resident of the city of Philadelphia. I take him to be a gentlemen and asked him if he would accompany me to the tents of the emigrants, he replied he would with pleasure--Mr. Kock previously said I should not visit them--so we left Mr. Kock

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Letter, DeLong to Conard, Aux Cayes, July 21, 1863, ibid.

somewhat humbled--I am now at a point where you will expect me to give you the particulars this I cannot do it would take volumes, but I can say without fear of contradiction that the condition of the emigrants is tenfold more than I reported to you in my dispatches #1 and 2. They all gathered round me, men, women and children with tears, misery and sorrow pictured on every countenance--I can never blot from my memory the sights of the 25th of July, 1863. I think of them all the time, their condition is constantly before me--I talked to them as kindly as I could find language to do and they shed tears when I left.<sup>20</sup>

Andrew A. Ripka was the agent sent out by Forbes and Tuckerman shortly after the Ocean Ranger had landed. He had instructions to oversee the colony, to arrange for provisions, to negotiate with the firm of Brown, Ross and Co. for supplies, and to dismiss Kock in the event of any mismanagement.<sup>21</sup> Ripka seems to have been a man of many faces. In every report of the venture he is described differently. Forbes and Tuckerman represented him to be trustworthy, honest and responsible, while Donnohue, the government agent sent to Ile A'Vache in October, 1863, saw him as an opportunist.<sup>22</sup> Instructions from Forbes and Tuckerman were not carried out fully, for Kock was not dismissed, although mismanagement and inhumane treatment were obvious. Ripka returned to New York in late August to report to the principals on the progress of the colony. Sometime between his departure and the last of September, Kock was obliged to

---

<sup>20</sup>Letter, DeLong to Conard, Aux Cayes, July 27, 1863, ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, October 17, 1863, ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Letter, D. C. Donnohue to Usher, Port-au-Prince, December 5, 1863, ibid.

flee from the island, the colonists at last challenging his tyrannical rule.<sup>23</sup>

This situation now came to the attention of Commissioner Whidden. His immediate reaction was a dispatch on October 3, 1863 to Seward stating the condition of the colony.

The origin and cause of these troubles seems to have been a failure on the part of Kock to fulfill his contract with them. From this failure, they have been reduced to great suffering, exposure, and in many cases distress ... They ... have been dispersed from their conferences by the military obtained from Hayti. The discipline of the overseers of this colony has been mixed with a good deal of severity...<sup>24</sup>

Whidden had no knowledge of the contract regarding the emigrants but felt the government should be informed of the deterioration of the conditions on the island. With his dispatch he enclosed several of DeLong's dispatches and affidavits of Robert Henry and William Skinner, former colonists then residing in Aux Cayes.

Both affidavits described vividly the horrors of the smallpox which had broken out on board the Ocean Ranger. Henry testified that after landing, the sick were put into a so-called hospital on one end of the island but were not cared for. Both of these men, Henry and Skinner, were among some twenty-nine emigrants who had left the island protesting Kock's management. These men had come to Aux Cayes to

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Letter, Whidden to Seward, Dispatch #39, Port-au-Prince, October 3, 1863 (received October 26, 1863), in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.



search for employment but had been greeted by hostile Haytian authorities. DeLong intervened and secured employment for several of them, supporting others out of his own pocket.<sup>25</sup> Although the affidavits touched upon existing conditions, they dealt primarily with the treatment of smallpox on the island.

Whidden's dispatch was forwarded by Seward to the Interior Department immediately. These rumors of trouble and Tuckerman's pressure for payment prompted the appointment of a special government agent to visit Ile A'Vache and report directly to the Department on the conditions and prospects of the colony. On October 9, 1863, Usher wrote his former law partner in Greencastle, Indiana, D. C. Donnohue, requesting that he serve as the special agent.<sup>26</sup> Donnohue accepted the assignment and quickly prepared for departure on October 20 aboard the Saladin from New York. Unfortunately, he missed this boat and had to wait for the next steamer to Port-au-Prince.

A. A. Ripka, however, did not miss the sailing of the Saladin. He went with instructions from Forbes and Tuckerman to find some commercial house or private party who would buy the property on the island and guarantee

---

<sup>25</sup>Letter, DeLong to Usher, Aux Cayes, May 29, 1866, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

<sup>26</sup>Letter, Usher to Donnohue, Washington, October 9, 1863, ibid.

protection of the Negro colonists.<sup>27</sup> Tuckerman had written to Usher proposing the sale. He had inquired if the government agent could be empowered "to assume charge of them [the emigrants] and provide for their immediate necessities by removal to the main island or the United States?"<sup>28</sup> Usher cautioned Tuckerman against any move to abandon the emigrants and urged him to continue support of the colony.

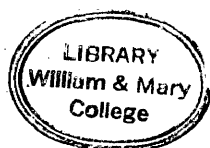
Donnohue reached Port-au-Prince October 29, where he met Ripka. Ripka told Donnohue that he had arranged for the sale of the property and interests but completion of the deal had been obstructed by Haytian authorities. The Haytian Secretary of the Interior told Ripka that the Haytian Government would consider a proposition to purchase the colony. Donnohue advised Ripka against this move and requested instruction from Washington as to how to proceed in view of virtual abandonment. Ripka informed Donnohue that Haytian soldiers remained on the island, that the land would not produce enough to support even one man, that many of the same people employed by Kock were still present on the island, and that he (Ripka) planned to return to New York leaving the colony in the hands of the United States government.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup>Letter, Andrew A. Ripka to Donnohue, Port-au-Prince, December 5, 1863, ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, October 17, 1863, ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Letter, Donnohue to Usher, Port-au-Prince, December 5, 1863, ibid.



Kock called upon Donnohue on December 30 but did not call again. Donnohue reported rumors of Kock intriguing with the Haytian government to regain control of the island. He also reported the sentiments of several representatives of other governments expressed at a formal dinner given by Whidden on December 5. These men were distressed by the violence and the inhumane treatment of the Negroes and hoped something would be done soon.<sup>30</sup>

In view of the reports of Donnohue and a letter written to the Interior Department by Leonard W. Jerome, attorney for Forbes and Tuckerman and himself a partner in the venture, Usher instructed Donnohue to assume control of the colony and provide for the colonists from the general appropriation for colonization.<sup>31</sup> Jerome's letter asserted that the failure of the colony was due to non-payment of the contracted bounty. He stated that unless this sum was paid the principals would consider it no longer their duty to support the colony.<sup>32</sup> Again, Forbes and Tuckerman were urged by Usher not to abandon the experiment. He informed them that to do so at this stage would seriously damage their case.

---

<sup>30</sup>Letter, Donnohue to Usher, Aux Cayes, January 5, 1864, ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Letter, Usher to Donnohue, Washington, December 15, 1863, ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Letter, Leonard W. Jerome to Usher, New York, December 12, 1863, ibid.

After reviewing the situation in Port-au-Prince, Donnohue set out for Aux Cayes. Here he was received by James DeLong. G. C. Ross attempted to meet Donnohue and extend a welcome from the firm of Brown, Ross and Co., Forbes and Tuckerman's agents in Aux Cayes after the departure of Ripka. As DeLong reported:

When he [Donnohue] landed at the wharf in this place G. C. Ross of the firm Brown, Ross and Co. and a man by the name of Ernest Dutche were on hand and in my presence ordered his baggage to be taken to Brown's residence. They were determined to take him into their care and keeping but he very deliberately and without making any reply or saying one word walked off with me to my humble residence and remained with me until an opportunity afforded him to visit the Ile A'Vache ...<sup>33</sup>

Thus Donnohue at once alienated himself from the representatives of the New York interests. When he did visit the island, however, he was accompanied by Brown and Ross. Donnohue found the conditions deplorable and the people unanimous in their wish to return to the United States. He gave the number of people on the island as of January 3, 1864 as 292. With the 73 residing in Aux Cayes, this made a total of 365. The remaining 88 had either died or left the island completely. Following Usher's instructions, Donnohue assumed control of the colony. At this time, the people were living in huts they had constructed themselves after the fashion of the natives on the mainland; the only buildings were the wharf, a storehouse, the Grand Pavillion, and a number of residences built for Kock and the white

---

<sup>33</sup>Letter, DeLong to Usher, Aux Cayes, December 28, 1864, ibid.

superintendents. The people were poorly dressed and had few possessions. The fields were uncultivated except for about twenty acres of cotton. The people subsisted on fresh fish, cornmeal and wild hogs.<sup>34</sup>

Soon after Donnohue's arrival on the island, Kock paid a visit to the colony.

He ... started out among his people as he in his hypocrisy choose to term the poor negroes who had confided their destinies to him, he had not proceeded more than 150 yards from my house before his people began to exhibit signs of hostility; and if you ever seen a little devil run and squall equal to Kock you have seen what I never seen before. He was a little the worst demoralized individual I ever seen before, and as he came thru a gate near me he squalled out 'They are after me.' I assured him they only desired to embrace him, 'no, no.' the poor cuss shrieked and 'they want to kill me' we arranged the terms of surrender which was Kock was to leave Hayti to which he readily assented and went over to Aux Cayes and left on the first steamer.<sup>35</sup>

Donnohue urged the Department to send for the colonists. In the meantime he saw to the relief of the colony, ordering foodstuffs and clothing for the emigrants. On January 24 when Usher received the first of Donnohue's reports for Ile A'Vache, he immediately proposed to the President to send a steamer to bring the colonists home. By February 1 the decision had been made and the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, was requested to order to Aux Cayes, if practicable, a suitable transport for 365 colonists. The Marcia C. Day was provided and a Captain Hartz

---

<sup>34</sup>Letter, Donnohue to Usher, Ile A'Vache, January 5, 1864, ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

was appointed special quartermaster to provide for the emigrants and keep detailed accounts of all expenditures.<sup>36</sup>

The Marcia C. Day arrived at Ile A'Vache on February 29, 1864 and preparations to depart began immediately. The vessel was loaded and set under way by March 4th. Within three weeks the ship reached the United States, casting anchor in the Potomac off Alexandria, Virginia on March 20.<sup>37</sup> The colonization experiment had not lasted a year but bitter argument over it was to last for another nine years.

---

<sup>36</sup>Letter, Usher to Donnohue, Washington, January 24, 1864, ibid.

<sup>37</sup>The Daily Morning Chronicle [Washington], March 21, 1864, p. 2, col. 3. See also D. C. Donnohue, "Official Report of the special agent of the Department of the Interior sent to Ile A'Vache, Hayti," Washington, March 26, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. Hereafter cited as Donnohue, "Official Report."

## CHAPTER IV

### OFFICIAL REPORT VS CONTRACTORS' CLAIMS

The Official report of agent Donnohue was submitted to the Department of the Interior on March 26, 1864. Acting upon the information contained in this report, Usher refused to settle accounts with Forbes and Tuckerman.<sup>1</sup> Donnohue's report, although brief, clearly placed blame for the failure of the experiment upon mismanagement by Kock and the contractors. Donnohue informed the Department that the contractors had ceased to give colonists employment and wages as of early November, 1863, and that when he arrived on the island there was only a small stock of provisions. It was not until late November or early December that Forbes and Tuckerman had notified the government of their intention to remand the colony to the care of the government.<sup>2</sup> From Donnohue's report it would seem that the contractors had already implemented the policy of abandonment before that time.

---

<sup>1</sup>Letter, Usher to Tuckerman, Washington, April 5, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 1.

<sup>2</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, October 20, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. See also Jerome to Usher, New York, December 5, 1863, ibid.

Donnohue had found the colonists dissatisfied and complaining bitterly about Kock's treatment. He also reported the discovery of six pair of stocks, five dozen handcuffs, and three dozen leg-chains upon Ile A'Vache. This, the attitude of the colonists, and the lack of a viable system of agriculture convinced Donnohue that the colony's "Failure was owing, entirely, to mismanagement of its projectors and their agents." Donnohue "was so thoroughly impressed with the natural advantages the Island afforded and great reward it promised" that he was at first inclined to encourage the colonists to remain on the island.<sup>3</sup> The opposition of both the colonists and the Haytian Government forced him to give up the scheme and make preparations for the return of the remaining emigrants. For the colonists the venture had been only hardship and broken promises. For the Haytian Government the colony had been an expense with no return. Kock's contract had provided for forest improvement which would have surrendered thirty five and one quarter per cent in kind to the government. When Forbes and Tuckerman ordered Ripka to sell the colony, the Haytian authorities had blocked a private sale and had proposed to purchase the colony itself. This was in turn blocked by agent Donnohue. Thus, when Donnohue proposed to stay, the Haytian Government indicated that they were quite unwilling to allow the colony to remain.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>Donnohue, "Official Report."

<sup>4</sup>Montague, Haiti and the United States, 79.



Despite the glowing description of the fertile land and healthy climate and the inclination to make the colony a productive one, Donnohue concluded that the scheme of colonization in Hayti was hopeless.

There are, in my judgement, reasons which will, for many years to come, render abortive all attempts at colonizing the free colored people of the United States in the Republic of Hayti, prominently among which are the great dissimilarity which exists in language, religion, education and government. Though these people are, for the most part, of the same race they have, apparently the least possible degree of sympathy for each other ...<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, Donnohue provided passage for 39 Negroes who had come to Hayti in 1861 in response to James Redpath's colonization efforts. "Owing to their unpreparedness and the unfavorable climate not more than one third of them remained."<sup>6</sup>

Until the Marcia C. Day arrived, Donnohue attempted to keep the colony supplied and busy. He arranged for provisions and clothing through several firms in Aux Cayes and New York. He also had the colonists plant about twenty acres of cotton. This cotton, Donnohue reported, was beginning to ripen just as they departed, "having attained a growth far beyond any I had ever seen, though I have visited and been acquainted with the best cotton growing regions."<sup>7</sup> This part of the report confirmed Kock's original contentions

---

<sup>5</sup>Donnohue, "Official Report."

<sup>6</sup>L. R. Mehlinger, "Attitude of Free Negroes on African Colonization During the Civil War," Journal of Negro History, I (1916), 301. Hereafter cited as "Attitude of Free Negroes."

<sup>7</sup>Donnohue, "Official Report."

that the land was fertile and discounted Forbes and Tuckerman's assertion that the colony was in danger because the soil was not productive.<sup>8</sup>

Donnohue's report included an affidavit signed by twenty of the colonists, certified by James DeLong. These were probably the men referred to earlier by DeLong in his dispatches to Whidden. Their statement concerned the treatment of smallpox just as Henry and Skinner's previous affidavits had. This document, however, accused Watkins of obtaining the colonists under false pretenses by promising them fifty dollars and an interview with President Lincoln. It also accused Kock of forcing the emigrants to pay high prices for water and food on board ship and of abusing them for unintentional offences. Impossible working conditions were imposed and maintained by threat of military intervention according to these men. In all, the affidavit was a harsh indictment of the experiment, relating deplorable conditions and flagrant mismanagement.<sup>9</sup>

Although there had been sporadic support for colonization in the fall and winter of 1863-64, it was by that time a dead issue. The coup de gras was given to colonization in July, 1864 when Congress passed an act repealing all provisions of the 1862 legislation appropriating funds for

---

<sup>8</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Lincoln, New York, January 9, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

<sup>9</sup>Affidavit of 20 colonists, included in Donnohue, "Official Report."

colonization.<sup>10</sup> Unlike other colonization bills, this act to repeal funds passed quietly through Congress and was approved by President Lincoln July 2. As of March 15, 1864, only \$33,226.97 of the \$600,000 appropriated had been expended, including Mitchell's salary and an advance to Pomeroy of \$25,000.<sup>11</sup>

For nine years Forbes and Tuckerman pressed their claim, submitting documents to refute certain parts of Donohy's report. Their first official reply was quite lengthy and reviewed the entire proceedings. Their case came to five major points. First and foremost was the inability of the contractors to procure the written guarantee of the Haytian Government as required in the April 6, 1863, contract. This point had been debated for several months with the Department of the Interior. Forbes and Tuckerman maintained that since it was an unreasonable requirement, one which the United States would certainly never agree to if put on the other side of the contract, it should therefore be disregarded. Indeed, Tuckerman pointed out, the government's own agent was unable to persuade the Haytian Government to grant these guarantees.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>U. S. Statutes at Large, XIII, 352.

<sup>11</sup>John P. Usher, "Letter on the Colonization Fund," 38 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 69.

<sup>12</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

Kock's original contract and his subsequent relations with Forbes and Tuckerman became the basis for much of their claim for payment. Tuckerman insisted that without the President's signature on Kock's contract, he and his associates would not have entered the venture.

He [Kock] required us [Forbes, Tuckerman and Jerome] to initiate the enterprise, an expenditure of \$70,000, \$25,000 of which was to be immediately returned to us from contract money and balance from the first proceeds of goods. Thus his contract with the United States was our guarantee for at least return of portion and on our faith in the President's signature ... advanced the sum ... We were then in utter ignorance of Mr. Seward's private criticism ... In good faith we advanced money and promoted movement thus initiated by the President's own act and hand and will assert under oath that no representatives of Kock's or promises of great commercial advantages would have induced us to go into this but for the contract.<sup>13</sup>

Tuckerman also insisted that he and his associates had been given no choice when Kock's contract had been withheld. Since the ship was fitted out and the emigrants engaged, they were forced to contract with the government or lose large sums.

They [Forbes and Tuckerman] attempted at great cost and in most faithful manner to carry out, not any scheme of own, but policy originated by Abraham Lincoln, who personally and in an earnest interview with the writer [Tuckerman] insisted that the experiment should be made and asked us to make it in accordance with a long cherished wish of his own that surplus freedmen, then suffering at North, should be so disposed of.<sup>14</sup>

With a new contract signed so late in the preparations for the expedition, it was reasonable, Tuckerman

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Letter, Tuckerman to James Harlan, New York, December 27, 1865, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

asserted, "to give the man who held the only right to work the island of a Vache permission to take out the colony there."<sup>15</sup> What Tuckerman overlooked was the fact that the initiation date set by Kock's Haytian contract had already expired and that the contract did not grant him the specific right of cultivation but of forest improvement. Tuckerman claimed in his official reply that even "today we remain in utter ignorance upon what precise grounds the contract was withheld ... I never heard anyone in Washington express doubt of his executive ability--on the contrary he was considered an energetic man particularly held in favor by the Haytian minister."<sup>16</sup> Thus the contractors should not be held responsible for the engaging of Kock or his mismanagement, argued Tuckerman. He challenged Donnohue's statement that Kock's mismanagement "prevented ... continuing the colony on any other basis."<sup>17</sup> Kock's mismanagement, Tuckerman contended, was checked by their agent Ripka and the commercial house of Brown, Ross and Co., their representatives in Ayx Cayes.<sup>18</sup>

In this connection, Tuckerman disavowed any knowledge of the stocks, handcuffs, and leg-irons. He stated that the

---

<sup>15</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864, ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Donnohue, "Official Report."

<sup>18</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

stocks had been provided by the Haytian authorities. As to the other items, Tuckerman produced statements of Dr. Moore and Capt. Conklin that neither had ever seen such employed upon the people. These items, as well as the fiasco involving the houses, Tuckerman readily attributed to Kock. Kock, "both verbally and in writing, assured us [Forbes and Tuckerman] before we entered that 20 employees were already at work" constructing buildings and preparing the soil for cultivation.<sup>19</sup> Thus the charges that the contractors had punished cruelly and provided poorly for the emigrants on Ile A'Vache were not true; those particular charges must be levelled at Kock alone, Tuckerman asserted.

The major point of disagreement with Donnohue's report, however, concerned the condition of the soil and its suitability for cultivation. In direct contradiction to statements of the soil's fertility by the Haytian Surgeon General, Alston Wilson, Ripka, and Donnohue, Tuckerman asserted in his letter to Usher that

It soon appeared evident to the superintendents as well as to the more intelligent colored laborers themselves that to attempt further cultivation would be fruitless, resulting in no good to the colonists or to the friends of colonization.<sup>20</sup>

Vermin and lack of "sustaining qualities in the soil" made largescale agriculture a hopeless cause, according to Tuckerman. He quoted Capt. Conklin as stating that "so compact and

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

matted is the soil with roots and so full of destructive vermin ... that no crops could have been brought to maturity," especially the sea island cotton.<sup>21</sup> Sea island cotton was to have made the colony succeed and its sponsors prosper. Kock had assured Forbes and Tuckerman "within six months from time of landing a crop of at least 1000 bales of sea island cotton to market worth \$1 or more per pound ...."<sup>22</sup> Six months after the colonists landed, Forbes and Tuckerman had had no return on their investment, but instead had continued monetary outlays and had garnered governmental disapproval.

In answering Donnohue's report, Tuckerman noted deficiencies in the document.

Donnohue says nothing of mutinies on the island by colonists which the Haytian Government repressed; the indolence of a large portion of Emigrants and their refusal to work; the acts of insubordination and arrests and incarceration of several by Haytian authorities for plunder. He is ominously silent with regard to the misconduct of United States Consul James DeLong.<sup>23</sup>

Tuckerman dealt at length upon the misconduct of United States Consul James DeLong. His acts "would have broken up the colony and to these acts mainly we have reason to ascribe the discontent of the people after Kock's dismissal."<sup>24</sup> DeLong had applied to the Department of the

---

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

Interior for a contract to colonize Negroes in Hayti at the time Kock's contract was being reviewed. Despite a recommendation by Secretary Seward, DeLong's proposal was refused and he therefore returned to Aux Cayes alone.<sup>25</sup> Tuckerman asserted that DeLong collected testimony to prove remarks and acts detrimental to the colony with his own interests in mind.

... soon after arrival in Aux Cayes he [DeLong] commenced a deliberate system of underhand influence with view to accomplishment of his designs against the colony and that in his official character as United States Consul he did on repeated occasions publicly and in private interviews with the emigrants sow seeds of dissention and discontent. That in official capacity he did declare to the emigrants they would be justified driving whites off the island and cutting their throats...<sup>26</sup>

Thus DeLong's certification of the affidavit included in the report of agent Donnohue was not reliable, argued Tuckerman. Tuckerman made reference to previous official misconduct of DeLong and to the statement made privately by Donnohue that DeLong was "a G\_\_\_ D\_\_\_ liar." Here Tuckerman resorted to a sly indictment of DeLong by

admitting that beyond question these complaints in the affidavit of the 20 colonists had more or less foundation in fact, yet great allowances must be made for the simplicity, ignorance, and slave-like disciplines of these people; They are very pliable, very credulous ...<sup>27</sup>

Thus Tuckerman implied that DeLong had influenced the stories

<sup>25</sup> Letter, DeLong to Usher, Washington, February 9, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. See also Seward to Usher, Washington, February 9, 1863, ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864, ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.



of these people. Capt. Conklin was quoted by Tuckerman as saying that all statements of the colonists must be taken with great allowances and that the colonists "would sign 'anything' for a purpose."<sup>28</sup>

These charges were never answered by DeLong as far as the records show. DeLong, in the spring of 1867, made application to the Department of the Interior for compensation, asserting that he took care of many of the Ile A'Vache colonists during the fall and winter of 1863. DeLong claimed that he had been the sole supporter of several of these men and that the money had been private funds. He made no mention of the charges made by Tuckerman.<sup>29</sup>

Tuckerman's application to the government for payment was ignored for quite a while. Secretary Usher ruled that payment would be made only upon presentation of the necessary documents from the State Department. Despite this, Forbes and Tuckerman, with Tuckerman as the author of all their correspondence, pressed their claim. Tuckerman had a formal statement of circumstances printed and sent to the President on January 13, 1864. This statement was later expanded, printed, and submitted to Secretary Usher with request it be given to the President. In 1868 Tuckerman

---

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Letter, DeLong to Department of the Interior, (n.p.), May 28, 1867, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

was appointed United States Minister to Greece.<sup>30</sup> Still he continued to press for payment. In 1869 he decided to present his case to Congress. An investigation was begun but nothing came of it. According to an article written for the Magazine of American History in 1886, the claim had not yet been settled "as the chief pecuniary sufferer [Forbes] was a millionaire, who preferred to pocket his loss to undertaking the prolonged and unsatisfactory prosecution of a government claim."<sup>31</sup> In this article Tuckerman stated that the loss amounted to nearly \$90,000. This is the amount estimated in the first official communication after the colonists returned. At that time they asked for only the fifty dollars per capita for 431 colonists as provided in their contract.<sup>32</sup>

The failure of the Ile A'Vache colony was explained, from the contractors' point of view, in a letter to Secretary Usher on April 18, 1864.

We claim it failed in part from our own inability to carry out a technical provisions which required guarantees from the Haytian Government to which the Government declined to accede and which if had granted would have been unreliable.

We claim it failed in part from consequences of the deception practiced upon the Government and us by Bernard Kock.

---

<sup>30</sup>"Tuckerman, Charles Keating," Appleton's Cyclo-  
pedia of American Biography (10 vols. New York: Appleton's, 1900), VI, 178.

<sup>31</sup>Charles K. Tuckerman, "President Lincoln and Colonization," Magazine of American History, CLXI (July-  
Secember 1886), 332.

<sup>32</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

We claim it failed in part from the withholding of the contract money at a period when expected and relied on by us 'the equity of which claim was not denied' by Seward.

We claim it failed in part from unpromising character of the soil and climate of Ile A'Vache which island having remained uncultivated for centuries presented conditions which rendered its successful culture [sic] within limited number of years doubtful in the opinion of experienced and practical minds. After repeated plantings it being found impossible to produce corn and vegetables suitable for support and before the soil could yield healthful returns expense vastly disproportionate to results expected. Under this condition no agricultural economist would be authorized to go on with so hazardous an experiment where lives and conditions of hundreds depended on such remote results. In Donnohue's opinion no 'company could successfully work it.'

We claim it failed in part from indisposition to emigrants to work or to be subjected to systematic regulation necessary for guidance of the colony. This owing to false ideas entertained of condition as freedmen and under circumstances where they knew they must be supported by employers whether worked or lived in idleness.

We claim it failed in part from the spirit of insubordination and discontent secretly and treacherously implanted in the minds of these simple people by the United States Consul at Aux Cayes who is official character as is alleged did by wicked advice and false representation tamper with the colony and seduce the people from allegiance where due, and in consequence every reason to believe open revolt and mutiny would have occurred in course of time causing destruction of human life. That it has been represented to us that the instructions of said United States Consul was to transfer them to planters at \$10 a head, where conditions might have been worse than in American slavery.

We claim it failed from impracticability of effecting such an arrangement with the Haytian authorities as would guarantee to satisfaction of Government protection and safety to property and support to these people as free agents on the main land. That according to Donnohue 'no protection could be relied on and no use to go on with the experiment.'

We claim it failed in part because the colonists were of the opinion they 'could never be prosperous and happy there' and because they 'did not like the country, climate, Haytians, or language' and expressed themselves 'unwilling to remain under any circumstances' and that

even with the protection of the Government they could not stand the climate.<sup>33</sup>

Oversimplification and inaccuracy mark Tuckerman's allegations. Several reliable statements are to be found that the soil, with work and care, would have been quite productive.<sup>34</sup> There is no record of the statement attributed to Donnohue that "no company could successfully work it." On the contrary, there is his official report which recorded his conviction that the island afforded great reward.<sup>35</sup>

That the emigrants were not disposed to work is also a dubious charge. Wilson mentioned their industry and eagerness to work the land. Donnohue found the colonists despondent but remarked on their desire to secure employment. After a while in the colony, Donnohue did discern a certain trend towards idleness, stating that at times the colonists seemed to expect the government to take care of them without any remunerative labor on their part.<sup>36</sup>

Tuckerman's last cause of failure is unconvincing. There is no evidence that the colonists expressed such sentiments until they were abandoned and mistreated. There is

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Letter, Alston Wilson to Usher, New York, October 30, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9. B. Ardouin, "Geography of Hayti," in Redpath, A Guide to Hayti, 38. Donnohue, "Official Report."

<sup>35</sup> Donnohue, "Official Report."

<sup>36</sup> Letter, Donnohue to Usher, Ile A'Vache, January 16, 1864, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

Tuckerman's own statement of July 12, 1862 that upon departure many had thanked God for the opportunity to emigrate to Hayti.<sup>37</sup> The feeling that they would never be happy or prosperous on Ile A'Vache was not expressed until disaster was evident and the prejudice of the Haytian people had made itself felt.

There are several other items which must be added to Tuckerman's list of causes. The deception of Bernard Kock deserves more attention than given it by Tuckerman. This man's role in the entire experiment is a crucial one. Without the mismanagement of Kock the colony might have succeeded in all particulars except the securing of the Haytian Government's guarantee. Kock's original motive in applying for a contract with the United States Government is obscured by the passage of time. The record shows him to have been a scoundrel, perhaps ready to sell his colonists back into slavery. Kock's behavior on the island is perhaps more indicative of his intentions. His exploitation of the colonists and subsequent abandonment of them is not unlike the episode with the tobacco described by Watts, Crane and Co.<sup>38</sup> In New York he had had quantities of scrip printed for use on the island. This scrip was of his own design and next to worthless. He also was able to convince Forbes and Tuckerman to advance him \$25,000 for machinery, agricultural

---

<sup>37</sup>Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1864, ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Supra, 28-29.

implements and building supplies. From the descriptions of the island by Donnohue and others, it is doubtful that this sum was spent entirely on these items.

Kock's role in the venture is also a puzzling one. His is a dramatic entrance on the scene in Washington early fall of 1862, complete with introductions to government officials. Recommendations for him came from several merchants in New York and for a while he was able to maintain this facade of respectability. In this particular, however, the government must come under criticism. When it was discovered that Kock was not all he represented himself to be, the fact was kept from his backers. His contract was withdrawn but without specific reasons given to his backers other than Kock was not a good financial risk.<sup>39</sup>

Why the government proceeded with colonization plans at that time is uncertain. However, they must take a share of the blame for the colony's failure. A thorough investigation at the beginning of the episode would have prevented Kock's hoax. Even after disclosure of Kock's previous underhand dealings his contract was kept under advisement for a month and he was allowed to continue preparations for the expedition. Then, suddenly, announcement of the cancellation was made. The subsequent contract with Forbes and Tuckerman was made almost immediately, again without a thorough investigation. Such an investigation would have

---

<sup>39</sup> Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, April 18, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.

revealed the intention of the contractors to send Kock to Ile A'Vache as manager of the colony. It would have also revealed the fact that the Haytian Government was unwilling to grant the colonists all the guarantees requested by the Secretary of State in his September 30th letter.

The government also did not respond to Kock's suggestion to send a government agent to Ile A'Vache to oversee the emigrants' welfare. It may be supposed that the proximity of such an agent might have prevented Kock's mismanagement and despotic rule. Why no such agent was provided is not made clear.

In addition to all these causes, the conclusion of agent Donnohue is an important one. The great dissimilarity in many areas such as language and religion plus the apparent prejudice of the native Haytians against the American Negroes "... will, for many years to come render abortive all attempts at colonizing ... in the Republic of Hayti ...."<sup>40</sup> Other colonization schemes in Hayti had felt this prejudice.<sup>41</sup> With these conditions existing it is hard to see how a successful colony could have been established.

---

<sup>40</sup>Donnohue, "Official Report."

<sup>41</sup>Montague, Haiti and the United States, 72-75.

## CHAPTER V

### THE FAILURE OF COLONIZATION

Any hope of colonization becoming governmental policy ended with the return of the Ile A'Vache colonists. John Hay remarked "I am glad the President has sloughed off that idea of colonization. I have always thought it a hideous & barbarous humbug & the thievery of Pomeroy and Kock have about converted him to the same belief."<sup>1</sup> Colonization was proposed by Lincoln several times early in his administration. After issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, he made few references to colonization but did permit the experiment on Ile A'Vache. Welles thought the President earnest in his desire to colonize emancipated blacks; he wrote that the President "thought it essential to provide an asylum for a race which we had emancipated, but which could never be recognized or admitted to be our equals."<sup>2</sup> Proof of his willingness to try to provide this asylum is the second contract with Forbes and Tuckerman, signed and approved months after the Emancipation Proclamation

---

<sup>1</sup>Tyler Dennett, ed., Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1939), 203.

<sup>2</sup>Welles, Diary, I, 152.



and after the disclosure of Kock's fraudulent nature.

Several months after the return of the Ile A'Vache colonists, Congress repealed colonization funds. In his annual report, the Secretary of the Interior touched upon several of the reasons why colonization had failed.

I am unable to report any greater disposition, generally, among the colored persons, for whose colonization provision was made by certain recent acts of Congress, to emigrate, than had been exhibited at the time of your last annual message ... Independent of the seeming unwillingness of this class of persons to leave the United States, the experience of the country has derived since the passage of the acts of Congress on the subject of colonization, and the action of the government towards them in adopting the able-bodied men into its armies, render it a question of great importance whether the efforts to colonize ... should be continued ... Although much prejudice has been manifested ... there is a place where many of them can now be advantageously employed at remunerative prices, and where the objection to color does not exist [the Army].<sup>3</sup>

Emancipation had come and the North had not been overrun with hordes of Negroes seeking employment and social equality. Their use in the Army also signalled the end of serious deportation activities. As a political force, northern opposition to emancipation had ceased to be influential; thus one of the weapons for combatting this force, Negro colonization, was no longer the urgent issue it had been. Unwillingness to emigrate on the part of the freedman dealt another blow to the cause of colonization.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>"Report of the Secretary of the Interior," 38 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Executive Document No. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Mehlinger, "Attitude of Free Negroes," 278.

Even while colonization was utilized in the political arena, there was a lack of any real commitment to it on the part of the government and its officers. Lincoln appointed a Commissioner of Emigration and Colonization, James Mitchell, but failed to give him the authority necessary to be effective. Mitchell's efforts were repeatedly thwarted by the Secretary of the Interior, who often refused to endorse Mitchell's proposals or to forward them to the President. In 1862, Usher even recommended Mitchell's dismissal.<sup>5</sup> Thus any effectiveness this office might have had in establishing orderly, successful colonization was prevented.

This is seen only too clearly in the Ile A'Vache fiasco. The entire matter was handled far too haphazardly. Lack of proper investigation and preparation on the part of the government resulted in a loss of life and money and failure of the experiment. In both schemes considered by the government a concern for the commercial benefits of a colony outweighed concern for the colonists. Coal and cotton were the drawing points of these schemes. Without them no backers could have been found to colonize the freedmen. Both schemes collapsed when their commercial value was disproven.

Perhaps the largest stumbling block for colonization was the nature of the enterprise itself. Jefferson had

---

<sup>5</sup>Letter, Usher to Lincoln, Washington, September 22, 1862, in Slave Trade Collection, reel 1.

advocated colonization but had never satisfactorily solved the problem of numbers or expense. Both physically and financially, colonization was a doomed project. The Census reports for 1860 list a total of 4,441,730 Negroes in the United States and its territories. Of these, 487,970 were freedmen and 3,953,760 were slaves.<sup>6</sup> These numbers were far too large to contemplate complete colonization immediately.

In all this there is evidence to support the idea that Lincoln abandoned the concept of colonization. The only suggestion that perhaps he did not is a statement attributed to Lincoln by Benjamin Butler. According to Butler:

A conversation was held between us after the negotiations had failed at Hampton Roads and in the course of the conversation he said to me:

'But what shall we do with the negroes after they are free? I can hardly believe that the South and North can live in peace, unless we can get rid of the negroes. Certainly they cannot if we don't get rid of the negroes whom we have armed and disciplined and who have fought with us, to the amount, I believe, of some one hundred and fifty thousand men. I believe that it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have to themselves.

'You have been a staunch friend of the race from the time you first advised me to enlist them at New Orleans. You have had a good deal of experience in moving bodies of men by water, - your movement up the James was a magnificent one. Now, we shall have no use for our very large navy; what, then, are our difficulties in sending all the blacks away?

'If these black soldiers of ours go back to the South I am afraid that they will be but little better off with their masters than they were before, and yet they will be free men. I fear a race war, and it will be at least

---

<sup>6</sup>United States Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Population (Washington: G.P.O., 1864), ix.

a guerilla war because we have taught these men how to fight. All the arms of the South are now in the hands of their troops, and when we capture them we of course will take their arms. There are plenty of men in the North who will furnish the negroes with arms if there is any oppression of them by their late masters.'

...  
The second day after that, I called early in the morning and said: 'Mr. President, I have gone very carefully over my calculations as to the power of the country to export the negroes of the South, and I can assure you that using all your naval vessels and all the merchant marine fit to cross the seas with safety, it will be impossible for you to transport them to the nearest place that can be found fit for them, - and that is the Island of San Domingo, - half as fast as negro children will be born here.'

'I am afraid you are right, general,' was his answer ...<sup>7</sup>

"The political creed of Abraham Lincoln embraced, among other tenets, a belief in the value and promise of colonization as one means of solving the great race problem ...."<sup>8</sup> By 1864, a combination of political, economic, social and moral conditions had persuaded Lincoln that colonization was not feasible.

---

<sup>7</sup>Benjamin F. Butler, Butler's Book (Boston: A. M. Thayer, 1892), 903-904.

<sup>8</sup>Nicolay, Abraham Lincoln, VI, 354.

## APPENDIX

Contract: Bernard Kock and the Republic of Hayti

TRANSLATION

Liberty

Equality

Republic of Hayti

Contract

This day, Eight of August - one thousand eight hundred and sixty two, & fiftyninth year of Independence, it has been concluded and agreed between General Jules Bance, Secretary of State for the Department of the Interior, Agriculture, and General of Police, in the name and for the Republic of Haiti, of the one part; and Mr. Bernard Kock, merchant, of the other part:

Article 1st The Government grants to Mr. Bernard Kock the exclusive right to improve forests of Ile-a-vahches for the term of ten years, and engages to renew this contract with Mr. Bernard Kock, his heirs or representatives at its expiration, for the term of ten other years on the same conditions as stipulated in this contract. During the whole term of the contract Mr. B. Kock has the exclusive right to take to farm, in the form prescribed by law, whatever quantity of the land it may suit him to cultivate in provisions on the island.

Article 2d Mr. Bernard Kock engages to begin the improvement of Isle-a-vaches within six months from this day.

Article 3d Mr. Bernard Kock is bound to relinquish to the Government thirty five and one quarter per cent in kind, of the cuttings of woods, deliverable on the sea shore at a port; the woods which he needs for buildings shall be free from impost; the woods on the mountain crests shall not be cut down within a hundred paces of their declivity.

Article 4th The Government engages to facilitate as much as it can Mr. Bernard Kock in carrying out his improvements, and in granting to him during the term of his contract all the protection he will need.

Article 5. The material for these improvements, what is necessary for getting them going, the effects of persons forming part of the physical force of the enterprise, shall be free of custom house dues, throughout the continuance of the contract - Provisions intended for the subsistence exclusively of this force shall be exempt from duties during two years, beginning from the time commencing the improvement of the woods.

Article 6th The vessels which shall be loaded with woods, shall not have any tonnage duty to pay, but shall be subject to the regulations of the maritime police, and shall be regularly cleared from the nearest custom house.

Article 7. During the continuance of this grant no duty or impost of any kind shall be imposed by the Government

on the woods taken from the clearing of Bernard Kock. The Government grants to him, free of imposts, all the lands he will need for the production of alimentary articles for the use of his laborers.

Article 8. The laborers brought to Haiti for the clearing of the woods shall be of african race, or indian, and shall be bound to become naturalized Haitiens immediately after their arrival in the Country. These laborers shall be considered as Immigrants, and it is upon this condition that they may be brought into the Country under this contract for the clearing off of the woods. Mr. Bernard Kock shall be privileged to introduce at the places of such clearings besides the number of these laborers, one tenth in number of workmen, or managers of the works, of white race.

Article 9. The contracts between Mr. Bernard Kock and his laborers shall only last during the term limited for the farming of said Island, and the contracts shall be in conformity with the Haitien laws.

Article 10th. The Government reserves the right to establish at its own cost military posts or garrisons for the police of the Island, and to locate thereat all authority - civil and military for the government of the improved district.

Article 11. The laborers of african or indian race, being bound to become naturalized Haitiens on their arrival in the country shall be entitled after the expiration of their engagement to become farmers or owners of land, and after the expiring of Mr. Bernard Kocks term, they shall have the preference for the lands which shall have been improved by him.

Article 12. The Government reserves the power of exercising at its own cost such control as it may deem proper over the clearing off of woods for the purpose of securing the returns and the portion that will fall to it.

Article 13. If any differences should supervene between the Government & Mr. Kock out of the various articles of the present contract, they shall be arranged without the intervention of any foreign power, by arbitrators who shall be chosen by the parties, of even number in either side, in conformity with the laws on arbitrations. In cases of differences of opinion they shall choose an Umpire who shall decide between them.

Article 14. The name and the rights of the grantee extend as well to the representatives or heirs of Mr. Bernard Kock as to him.

Article 15. Mr. Bernard Kock cannot concede wholly or in part his right of improvement without the consent of the Government.

Article 16. The Senator Mr. Surville Toussaint guarantees to the Government that Mr. Bernard Kock will faithfully fulfill the conditions of this contract.

Done in good faith in duplicate originals between the parties at Port au Prince the day, month and year above stated.

Signed. J. Bance. - Bernard Kock.

Surville Toussaint.

SEAL

Taken from Slave Trade Collection, reel 9.



Contract, Bernard Kock and the United  
States of America

This agreement between the United States of America and  
Bernard Kock of the Island of A'Vache under the Republic of  
Hayti, witnessith:

First. The said Bernard Kock agrees to provide for the emigration of five thousand (5000) free persons of color of African descent who may voluntarily enter into contract with him for that purpose from the city of Washington, D. C. or other places within the United States, to the said Island of A'Vache, and that such emigration shall so far as the interest and well being of said imigrants are concerned, be conducted in accordance with the terms expressed in the letter of Secretary Seward to Mr. Adams, of the 30th of September 1862, a copy of which is here annexed marked, "C." Said Bernard Kock shall be obliged to accept and provide only for such emigrants as shall have entered into an agreement with him to render service on his plantation on said Island, according to the terms of certain articles of agreement between him and the emigrants marked A and B hereto annexed.

Second. He will give each family a comfortable house, furnished, with a garden plot attached. He will subsist them in the American manner, furnishing them with good, substantial and sufficient food, consisting partly of pork, beef, fish, cornbread and vegetables.

Third. He agrees to give single persons good and comfortable quarters, with subsistence as above.

Fourth. He agrees to provide medical attendance and medicine for the sick and will erect a hospital for their accommodation.

Fifth. He agrees to erect a church and pay a minister, furnish schoolhouses and employ schoolteachers for the children.

Sixth. He agrees that as soon as the capital invested by him in buildings, machinery, agricultural implements and other materials necessary to the business of his plantation on said island and the cost of labor and management shall have been refunded, that ten per cent of the net profit of each year shall be distributed pro rata among the laborers according to the number of days each one has served during the year and in proportion to their respective class of wages. Said distribution to take place on the 1st day of January.

Seventh. In addition to the above he agrees to pay the following wages in money for the said term of 4 years at the following rates;

For the 1st year \$60 haytien per month.

For the 2nd. year \$75 per month. For

the 3rd and 4th year \$100 month. He will pay the women in the several above periods respectively, \$40, 50 and 75 haytien per month. He will pay minors, from 15 to 20 years old, half the above wages. The period of labor shall be ten hours per day, for all extra work he shall pay at double the rate of the above wages.

Eighth. And said Bernard Kock agrees for himself, his agents, and representatives that in the removal of all colored emigrants from the United States a correct list of their names shall be returned to the Secretary of the Interior, stating their ages, condition in life, whether free or bond in former life, to whom service was due and he shall not knowingly remove any who have not a legal right to dispose of themselves.

Ninth. To secure a perfect civilization he agrees to recommend a respect for the 10 great precepts of the moral law.

Tenth. He agrees to receive and to entertain free of expense an agent, who may be appointed by the President of the United States, and for the more perfect observance of the stipulations herein contained for the benefit of said emigrants, it shall be the duty of said agent to see that the stipulations of this agreement are faithfully kept by the said Bernard Kock. He shall have access to the books and accounts of the colony, when necessary to ascertain for the said emigrants their interest therein of the 10% of the net profits and he shall have access to all parts of the colony and to all dwellings and buildings occupied by the said emigrants. And it shall be his duty, in case of any infraction of this agreement to the injury of said emigrants, to make representations to the American minister resident in Hayti to bring the matter to the notice of the haytien government.

In consideration for the above stipulations the President of the United States thru his agent or agents shall pay to the said Bernard Kock or his order, for the removal of said emigrants \$50 per capita in the following manner:

Half of the said sum per capita of the number of emigrants actually engaged for an expedition on the presentation of the necessary documentary evidence that the vessel or vessels for the conveyance of said emigrants have been chartered and are being loaded with the provisions and the material as the expedition, and the other half of the said sum, as soon as documentary evidence is furnished that the emigrants engaged are shipped on board their conveyances, duly provisioned, for

A'Vache island; but no payments of money to be made in advance or in excess of the actual expenditures of the said Bernard Kock or on an account of said emigration.

Concluded at Washington, D.C. this thirty-first day of December eighteen hundred sixty two.

In behalf of the United States

Abraham Lincoln, President  
[signed]

Bernard Kock.  
[signed]

Contract: United States of America and Paul S. Forbes  
and Charles K. Tuckerman

Know all men by these presents: That this agreement between the United States of America by John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, on the one part and Paul S. Forbes and Charles K. Tuckerman of the city of New York, on the other part.

Witnesseth:

Whereas, by the Act of Congress of the United States approved the sixteenth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty two, entitled "An Act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia," the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to be expended under the direction of the President to aid in the Colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent residing in said District including those to be liberated by that Act, as might desire to emigrate to the Republic of Hayti or Liberia or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President might determine, provided the expenditures for that purpose shall not exceed one hundred dollars for each emigrant:

And whereas, by the Act of Congress approved the sixteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and sixty two, entitled "An Act making supplemental appropriations for such sundry civil expenses of the Government for the year ending June thirtieth eighteen hundred and sixty three and for the year ending June thirtieth eighteen hundred and sixty two and for other purposes," the sum of five hundred thousand dollars was appropriated "to enable the President to carry out the Act of Congress for the emancipation of the slaves of the District of Columbia and to colonize those to be made free by the probable passage of a confiscation bill:"

And, whereas, the Secretary of State, pursuant to the directions of the President did in an instruction of the 30th of September 1862, to Ministers of the United States accredited to governments having possessions in tropical regions, set forth the policy by which this government would be actuated, and the rules which it would expect to be observed in carrying such emigration into effect, a copy of which for greater certainty is hereto annexed:

Now therefore be it known that we, Paul S. Forbes and Charles K. Tuckerman of the city of New York, the party of the second part, for and in consideration of the sum of fifty dollars for each person, engage to undertake the transportation to and settlement in the Republic of Hayti of the persons not exceeding five hundred in number, referred to in the Acts of Congress aforesaid upon the

condition named in the instruction aforesaid to wit:

The said party of the second part engage that they will produce the written consent of the proper Haytian authorities to receive the persons whom they propose to transport to and settle in the Republic of Hayti; that those persons being adults shall give their free consent to the same, and being minors or wards, shall obtain the free permission of their parents or guardian, or of some Justice of the Peace, or other civil magistrate of a State, District, or Territory or Military Commandant; that they will present to the Secretary of the Interior satisfactory evidence of the names, ages, sexes, and conditions of the said persons and that they are of class of persons referred to in the aforesaid Acts of Congress, and none other, and a statement of their proposed places of embarkation and destination, in all respects duly attested and verified. They will cause them with their personal effects to be received on board of seaworthy vessels which shall afford them healthful accommodations of space, air, food, water and other necessaries for their voyage, and will in all cases suffer no cruelty, inhumanity or unnecessary severity to be practiced upon them.

And they further engage that families so transported to be settled, shall not be separated without their consent; that, on arriving at the place of debarcation, such emigrants shall be furnished with plain, but comfortable dwellings, one for each family or with comfortable homes in the families of resident-inhabitants of the country and with lands to be owned or occupied by themselves, adequate to their support and maintenance, they practicing ordinary industry in cultivating the same, or else with employment on hire, with provision for their wants and compensation adequate to their support, clothing and medicines and an education of the children in the simple elements of knowledge, which provision shall continue for the terms of five years, minor and infants being permitted to reside with their parents and guardians during their minority, unless apprenticed with the consent of their parents and guardians. All such emigrants and their posterity shall forever remain free, and in no case be reduced to bondage, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime; and they shall especially enjoy liberty of conscience and the rights to acquire, hold and transmit property and all other privileges of persons common to the inhabitants of the country in which they reside.

On cases of indigence resulting from injury, sickness or age, any of such emigrants who shall become paupers, shall not thereupon be suffered to perish or to come to want, but shall be supported and cared for as is customary with similar inhabitants of the country in which they shall be residents. And on the presentation of the Secretary of State of the United States, by the party of the second part of satisfactory assurance from the proper Haytian authorities that when the persons aforesaid shall have been landed in that Republic, they shall be received and thence forward

provided and cared for, protected and guaranteed in the manner above specified in the instruction of the Secretary of State above referred to, the party of the first part engages to pay the party of the second part the sum mentioned for each person transported and settled as aforesaid, on receiving from the Consul or other officer of the United States in that Republic nearest to the port of destination of the emigrants, a certificate of their having been landed there in accordance with this agreement.

Done in duplicate at the City of Washington this sixth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred and sixty three

J. P. Usher, Secy of Int.

[signed]

Paul S. Forbes

[signed]

Chas K. Tuckerman

[signed]

On presence of

E. Delafield Smith [signed]

United States District Attorney

Robt Murray [signed]

US Marchal

Note on Cover: The within contract has been examined by me and is approved. The Secretary of the Interior will execute the same in behalf of the United States.

A Lincoln [signed]

Executive Mansion

April 13, 1863

"Corrected List of Emigrants to Ile A'Vache, Hayti"

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
1 Anderson, Kent	45	Hampton, Va.	Clay Whiting
2 Anderson, George	23	Madison Co., Ala.	Lewis Cantils
3 Armstead, Marcus	30	Elizabeth City, Va.	Rachel Booker
4 Bates, Randall	23	New Kent Co., "	Chas. Tervillion
5 Baker, Anthony	23	Gates Co., N.C.	Wilder Reddick
6 Bash, James	25	Northampton, Va.	James Reed
7 Barnard, Ned	30	Blackwater, "	Harrison Pope
8 Benn, Joseph	21	James City Co., Va.	Jno. Bedgood
9 Bird, Walkers	23	Matthews Co., "	Andy Brown
10 Billups, Peter	25	" "	Jno. R. Billups
11 Billups, Lewis	22	" "	" "
12 Billups, Essex	20	" "	" "
13 Billups, John 2nd	26	" "	" "
14 Bonner Richd.	24	Quimmins ", N. C.	Jas. Nebree
15 Bonner, Isaiah	27	" "	Wm. Bo (manuscript)
16 Borgan Levi	21	Surry Co., Va.	Lucy Ha ... torn)
17 Branch Wm.	23	Charleston, S. C.	Wm. Jon ...
18 Brabble Robt	20	Quimmins, N. C.	Benj. Dye ...
19 Bryan, Jack	21	Southampton, Va.	Lewis Ryan
20 Brister Bright	21	Richmond, "	Wm. W. Ives
21 Brown Charles	28	" "	Abner Harold
22 Brown George	22	Hampton, "	Saml. Howard
23 Burton Joseph	15	Norfolk, "	H. Garrett
24 Burton, Joseph I.	30	" "	Edwd. Randall
25 Benjamin Burton	32	Bertie Co., N. C.	Wm. Burton
26 Butt John	26	Hampton, Va.	Elijah Burt
27 Buxton Edwd.	27	Nanseming Co., N. C.	Jno. W. Ames
28 Buxton James	26	" "	" "
29 Bush, Jesse	21	Norfolk, Va.	Edwd. Bradford
30 Campbell Wm.	32	Northld. Co., Va.	Jas. Ball
31 Jas. Williams 2nd	21	Princess Anne, "	Joseph Reed
32 Winder, Isaiah	21	Lancaster, "	Wm. Henderson

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
33 Cobb, Jacob	20	Hampden, Va.	Wm. Manning
34 Gaskins James	22	Lancaster, "	Saml. Booker
35 Granger Richd.	40	Charles City, Va.	Doctor Wilcox
36 Gooding Henry	21	Isle of Wight, "	Esau Barcan
37 Grunes Charles	18	Rappahannock, "	Jas. L. Ellwell
38 Grundy Henderson	21	Camden, N. C.	Thomas Grundy
39 Fautus Deering	31	Norfolk, Va.	Lieut. A. Simmons
40 Fitchett Tony	20	Elizabeth City, N. C.	David Fitchett
41 Foreman Joseph	22	Richmond, Va.	Jno. Foreman
42 Foreman John	27	Blackwater, "	" "
43 Hester Jacob	21	Hampden, "	Johnson Thompson
44 French Burdock	25	Hampden, Va.	Wm. T. Mitchell
45 Fuller Lewis	25	Princess Anne, Va.	Isaac Davis
46 High Soloman	23	Petersburgh, "	Capt. B. C. Drew
47 Bates Fanny	19	New Kent Co., "	Rodman Christian
48 Brown Anne Liz.	18	Hampden, "	Comfort Tiffany
49 Butler Mary Fr.	21	Dist. of Colombia	Freeborn
50 Church Julia	50	Northampton, Va.	Lewis Heath
51 Church Susan	23	" "	" "
52 Cooper Mary	25	Norfolk, Va.	Wilson Capps
53 Delia Eddy	20	Eastern Shore, "	Edwd. Winn
54 Dennis Lucy	55	Richmond, "	Gilbert Myers
55 Evans Caroline	30	Warrick Co., "	Bill Walden
56 Foreman Mahalory	18	Richmond, "	Isaac Flory
57 Hammerson Lonida	30	Northampton, "	Thomas Grey
58 Hill Alice	20	New Kent, "	Rod Christian
59 Jackson Fanny	21	Hampden, "	Bill Myers
60 Jordan Charity	30	Eastern Shore, "	Philip Biddle
61 Ring Mary	53	Hampden, "	Frank Lee
62 Harold David	59	Suffolk, "	Wm. H. Harold
63 Herkham Edwd.	26	Northampton, "	Wm. Harden
64 Henry Robert	24	" "	Lieut. Bradford
65 Henry William	26	New Kent, "	Jeff. Green
66 Hill Wilson	43	Richmond, "	Col. Geo. Blow
67 Hollyer Saml.	21	Lancaster Co., "	Bale M. Kinney



Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
68 Hinton Henry	22	Gates Co., N. C.	Jacob Hinton
69 Hooke John	18	Eastern Shore, Va.	Nathl. Wallace
70 Hopper Richd.	20	Backwater, "	Josephus Foreman
71 Horton Horatio	20	Norfolk Co., "	Linkney Kilbourn
72 Hovy Joseph	21	Quinnmins, N. C.	Alex. Elliott
73 Hughes Geo.	21	Eastern Shore, Va.	Jo. Hughes
74 Ives Deacon	21	" "	Thos. Hammins
75 Jackson Bessick	21	Northld. Co., "	Luce Holly
76 Jackson Saml.	22	" "	" "
77 James George 1st	22	Princess Ann Co., Va.	Jas. Nichols
78 James George 2nd	18	" "	" "
79 Jefferson Thos. 2nd	27	Southampton, "	Mills Barnett
80 Johnson Ilam	21	Hampton, "	Thomas Fulgim
81 Jones Benjamin	21	Prince Geo. Co., "	Daniel Epps
82 Jones Calvin	24	Southampton, "	Abram Gardner
83 Jones Josephus	23	Prince George's, "	James Smith
84 Jones Lazarus	40	Richmond, Va.	Lieut. Redman
85 Jones Saml.	27	Hampden, "	Richd. Hopes
86 1st Jones William	36	Lancaster Co., Va.	Jasper Scott
87 Jones Washington	25	Surry Co., "	Joseph Jones
88 Jordan Andw.	22	Gates Co., N. C.	J. P. B. Jordan
89 Jordan Wells	37	" "	Arthur Jordan
90 Keemer Hiram	25	Richmond, Va.	Saml. Blackwell
91 Kelly Mack	24	Lancaster, "	Chas. Conditt
92 King Willis	27	Nunseming, N. C.	Daniel Hutton
93 Lane Thomas	20	Princess Ann, Va.	James Cannen (r?)
94 Lee Isaac	20	Western Shore, "	L. G. Harvey
95 Lee Moses	45	Northld. "	Lansing Harwell
96 Lewis Griffin	24	Hampden, "	James Thomaston
97 Locker James	23	Princess Anne Co., Va.	Jesse Jones
98 Logan Simeon	20	Northld Co., "	James Hurst
99 Mason Rodney	18	Isle of Wight, "	Capt. Jas. Coker
100 Miller George	18	Richmond, "	James R. Olds
101 Miller Nat	27	Princess Anne Co., "	Alfuss Halsted

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
102 Minkins Augus.	21	Northampton, Va.	Joseph C. Ribbell
103 Moore Armstead	38	Richmond, "	Lewis Hall
104 Moore George 1st	18	Sussex, "	Jno. Moore
105 Moore George 2nd	21	Eastern Shore, Va.	Perry Moore
106 Moore Haly	30	Lancaster, "	L. George
107 Moore James	35	Norfolk, "	Colonel Noe
108 Moody Albert	19	Richmond, "	Anson S. Goodrich
109 Morgan William	22	Faulkner Co., "	Torry Lee
110 Morris Henderson	22	New Kent ", "	Morris Tuneton
111 Morrison Isam	40	Hampton, "	James Common
112 Morton Charles	22	Mt. Pleasant, "	Evans Smith
113 Mosely Edward	22	Sewall's Point, "	Lieut. Biddle
114 Munday George	29	Princess Anne, "	Napoleon Coffis
115 Myers Henry	33	Southampton, "	Hanson Moore
116 Melson Wm. N.	35	Westmoreland, "	Capt. Jennings Coker
117 Nicholson Jerry	21	Richmond, "	Chas. Drummond
118 Nimmo Issac	20	Princess Anne, "	Peter Dyer
119 Page Felix	24	Hampton, "	James Muster
120 Page Jas. H.	36	Matthews Co., "	Henry Fleet
121 Parker Geo. J.	30	Eastern Shore, "	Elijah Whittaham
122 Robt. Casy	20	Northld. Co., "	Warren Hurst
123 Carter Alfred	22	Hampden, "	James R. Thompson
124 Casty Moses	26	Northld. Co., "	Raleigh D. Carter
125 Chase John	23	Richmond, "	Chas. Drummond
126 Church John	26	Northampton, "	Lewis Heath
127 Collins Severn	18	Northampton, "	Robt. Hallet
128 Colston Frank	24	York Co., "	Tom Minto
129 Cook Alfred	27	Northampton, "	Geo. Dunn
130 Cowen Thomas	28	Pasquotuck, N. C.	Jos. Becower
131 Crosby Saml.	35	Summers Co., Va.	Jos. C. Palmer
132 Curry John	25	Northld. ", "	Jas. Boll
133 Dillyer Edwd.	35	York Co., "	Edwd. Winn
134 Dillyer Francis	45	Surry ", "	Helen McKinny
135 Dixon Jerry	21	Smithfield, "	George Purdy

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
136 Dorty Charles	35	Gates Co., N. C.	Wm. M. Dorty
137 Drummer Peter	21	Northampton, Va.	John Narner
138 Edwards James	21	Rappahannock, "	Sally Stoll
139 Elliot Soloman	62	Quimmins Co., N. C.	Alex. Elliott
140 Eldridge Simeon	21	" "	Henry Eldridge
141 Evans Andw.	21	Yorktown, Va.	Doctor Cobbitt
142 Evans Charles	23	Quimmins Co., N. C.	" "
143 Evans Randall	25	" "	" "
144 Fuller John	22	Princess Ann Co., Va.	James Nichols
145 Gaines Robt. H.	27	Hampton, "	Thomas Wilson
146 Gary Dennis	20	Lancaster " , "	Capt. McHenry
147 Gray John	45	Orange " , "	Mrs. Tucker
148 Gregory Charles	19	Quimmins " , N. C.	Thomas Banks
149 Hallet Alfred	21	Northampton, Va.	James Hallet
150 Hall Parker	20	Hampton, "	Thomas Simmons
151 Hammerson Abrm.	31	Richmond, "	Wm. S. Smith
152 Hammerson Wash.	33	Northampton, "	Benj. F. Nottin
153 Harris Beverly	23	Richmond, "	Robt. Montague
154 Harrison Richd.	22	Lancaster, "	Elias Carter
155 Mary F. Robinson	21	New Kent Co., Va.	Jno. E. Reeson
156 Smith Francis	16	Nunseming, "	Justus Rolls
157 Stephens Katy	50	Eastern Shore, "	Nathl. Wallace
158 Stratton Jane	20	Northampton, "	John Tazeway
159 Taylor Caroline	23	Richmond, "	Col. Geo. Blow
160 Taylor Mary A.	21	Richmond, "	Jesse Parker
161 Teemer Hannah	45	Hampden, "	Geo. Drummond
162 Valentine Nancy	18	Wmsburgh, "	Col. George Blow
163 Walker Milly	25	Hampden, "	John T. Mason
164 Walker Susan	40	" "	" "
165 Williams Ann	30	Camden, N. C.	Thomas Johnson
166 Wright May J.	17	Richmond, Va.	Danl. S. Wright
167 Fantus Sarah E.	18	York Co., "	John L. Hutchings
168 High Harriet	19	Petersburg, "	Capt. B. C. Drew
169 Parker Mary J. F.	19	Hampden, "	Thomas S. Jenkins

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
170 Allen Jack	34	Hampden, Va.	Emanuel Thomas
171 Allen Sally	30	" "	" "
172 Allen Joseph	10	" "	" "
173 Anderson George	23	Madison Co., Ala.	Lewis Cantils
174 Anderson Jane	22	North Carolina	Wm. David
175 Armstead Reemer	50	Richmond, Va.	James Roane
176 Armstead Mary	30	" "	Harry Whiting
177 Armstead Davis	19	" "	" "
178 Armstead Rose	13	" "	" "
179 Armstead Chas.	8	" "	" "
180 Armstead Marcas	2	" "	" "
181 Ash Randall	25	Dist. of Colom.	Freeborn
182 Ash Diana	25	Warrick, Va.	James Gammer
183 Bale George	50	Lancaster, Va.	Joseph Phillips
184 Bale Lucinda	45	Gloucester, "	George Lee
185 Bale James	23	Northld. Co., Va.	Warren Hass
186 Bale Martha	18	King Wm. Co., "	Wilk Johnson
187 Bale Mary E.	3 mos	" "	" "
188 Banks Robt.	20	Petersburgh, "	John Bland
189 Banks Frank	14	Blackwater, "	Dick Crane
190 Perry Simons	19	Hampden, Va.	John T. Surrick
191 Powers Moses	24	Norfolk, "	Jas. Miller
192 Pryor Robert	20	New Kent Co., Va.	Henry Sherman
193 Purdy Jefferson	24	Hampden, "	Geo. N. Bates
194 Richardson Wilson	20	Richmond, "	Andy Henderson
195 Read Levi	29	Northampton, "	Thomas Wilkins
196 Reddick March	25	Quimmins, N. C.	Sarah Reddick
197 Reddick Oscar	21	Gates Co., N. C.	Wiley Reddick
198 Reddick Sand	23	Southampton, Va.	Richd. G. Barnes
199 Redman Alfred	28	Hampden, "	Comfort Jones
200 Robt. Benjamin	26	Newbern, N. C.	John Mann
201 Robinson Fielding	21	Rappahannock, Va.	Jas. A. George
202 Robinson Thomas	20	Lancaster, "	Hasford Anderson
203 Roy James	18	King Queen Co., "	Thomas Grassup

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
204 Rivers Peters	22	Richmond, Va.	George Rule
205 Sayles Robt.	30	Nunseming, "	Jno. W. Ames
206 Saunders Nat	19	Hampden, "	Thomas Jennings
207 Saunders Harry	24	Northampton, Va.	John Saunders
208 Sharp Hardy	26	Hereford, N. C.	Jacob Sharp
209 Simpson Isaiiah	38	Sherman, "	Hend. Simpson
210 Simpson Levi	30	Chowdan Co., N. C.	H. Simpson
211 Simpson Wylie	27	Richmond, Va.	Anderson Simpson
212 Small Benj.	18	Edenton, N. C.	John Bing
213 Smith Alfred	26	Princess Ann, N. C.	Cato Older
214 Smith Edmund	18	Richmond, Va.	W. Russell
215 Smith Isaac	17	Lancaster Co., Va.	Saml. Blackwood
216 Smith Joseph	25	Richmond, Va.	Ed. Parrish
217 Smith James	27	Quimmins Co., N. C.	Joseph Foreman
218 Smith Wilson	23	Backwater, Va.	Saml. H. Hall
219 Spencer Allen	21	Pasquetock, "	Saml. Blackwood
220 Spivy Aaron	24	Berty Co., N. C.	Wm. Spivy
221 Spencer Jack	26	Wmsburg, Va.	Richd. Crandall
222 Statia Mills	19	Hertford, N. C.	Jacob Sharp
223 Stratton Jacob	30	Northampton, Va.	Jno. Tazewell
224 Sutton Samuel	30	Quimmins Co., N. C.	Matew Ferby
225 Talbot, James	22	Nunseming, Va.	Jno. W. Ames
226 Tasco, Spencer	22	Northld., "	Thomas Coles
227 Tascom Henry	23	Eastern Shore, Va.	Nath. Wallace
228 Taylor John	29	Richmond, "	James Cassard
229 Taylor Wyatt	21	James City, "	Colonel Blow
230 Temple Jacob	33	Pasquetuck, "	D. J. Richardson
231 Teemer John	50	Hampden, "	George Drummond
232 Thompson Henry	23	Westmoreland, "	Richard Dane
233 Thurston John	19	Wmsburg, "	Dr. George Tucker
234 Treadwell James	25	Edenton, N. C.	James Idle
235 Valentine Beverly	19	Wmsburg, Va.	Dr. Geo. Tucker
236 Washington Geo.	22	Nunseming, "	Justin Rolls
237 Washington Jos.	21	Hampden, "	Thomas Johnson

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
238 Washington Wm.	19	Gloucester, [Va.]	John Hughes
239 Watson Harrison	20	Northampton, "	John Tazewell
240 Weaver Isaac	30	Northld. Co., "	Warner Hunt
241 Weejen George	18	Richmond, "	Joshua Fitchett
242 Weeks Robert	20	Northampton, "	Thomas Sparly
243 Wells Peter	32	Surry Co., Va.	Thomas Barron
244 White Charles	30	Pasquetock, "	Add White
245 White Quinton	24	Quimmins Co., N. C.	Addison White
246 White Albert	22	Hertford, "	John White
247 White Gustus	22	N. Carolina	Geo. H. White
248 Wiggins David	30	Elizabeth City, "	Col. Higgins
249 Wilson Edwd	25	Princess Anne, Va.	Cato Olds
250 Wilson John	40	Richmond, "	Jas. Jones
251 Wilson Powhattan	17	Surry Co., "	Robt. Wilson
252 Wilkins Gilbert	27	Northampton, "	Billy Wilkins
253 Williams Jas. 1st	25	Princess Anne, "	Thomas White
254 Christian Mary	10	New Kent Co., Va.	Jno. Atkinson
255 Christian Martha	8	" " " "	" "
256 Christian Willy	10 mos	" " " "	" "
257 Clark Peter	40	Isle of Wight, Va.	Geo. Reynolds
258 Barbara Clark	35	" " " "	" "
259 Custis Ann	30	Hampden, Va.	Chas. Drummond
260 Custis Rachel	13	" " " "	Geo. Drummond
261 Custis Marshall	9	" " " "	" "
262 Davenport Louis	25	Northampton, "	Garrett Hewlett
263 Davenport Phillis	20	" " " "	" "
264 Davenport Sussanna	2	" " " "	" "
265 Deal Stephen	34	Quimmins Co., N.C.	Nat Madson
266 Dickinson Henry	18	Smithfield, Va.	Geo. Purdy
267 Dennis James	45	Richmond, Va.	Gilbert Mayers
268 Dennis Celia	30	" " " "	" "
269 Dennis Fanny	18	" " " "	" "
270 Dennis James	16	" " " "	" "
271 Dennis Robert	12	" " " "	" "

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
272 Dennis Thomas	7	[Richmond, Va.]	[Gilbert Mayers]
273 Dennis Lucy	4	" "	" "
274 Elliot Solomon	24	" "	" "
275 Elliot Sarah	19	Dist. of Colombia	Freeborn
276 Ellis Geo W.	32	Alexandria, Va.	Geo. Anderson
277 Elvina Ellis	18	" "	Thomas Moore
278 Ellis John	38	Spotsylvania, "	M.J. Wallace
279 Ellis Sarah	37	Richmond, "	James Jones
280 Ellis Richard	7	Norfolk, "	Jack Store
281 Ennis Edwd.	24	Hampden, "	Owen Corblin
282 Ennis Eliza.	27	Richmond, "	" "
283 Bayne Martin	23	Princess Anne Co., Va.	Charles Drummond
284 Bayne Mary	19	" "	Thomas Stepney
285 Benn James	30	James City Co., "	Jno. Bedgood
286 Benn Patience	38	" "	Wm. Morrison
287 Benn Willis	13	" "	" "
288 Billups Jno. 1st.	25	Matthews Co., Va.	Jno. R. Billups
289 Tow Dempsey	16	Quimmins Co., "	Martin Tow
290 Bolden Henry	30	Chas. City, "	George Walker
291 Bolden Molly	25	New Kent Co., "	Wm. Hile
292 Brace Jordan	27	Richmond, "	Joseph Hutchings
293 Brace Ann	18	" "	Andrew Jackson
294 Bright John	24	Princess Anne, "	James Miller
295 Bright Louisa	20	" "	Philip Biddle
296 Brown James	25	Petersburg, "	Jno. Bland
297 Brown Rebecca	18	" "	Jno. R. Bland
298 Brown Sarah	18	Richmond, "	Wm. Wurl
299 Brown Martha A.	10	" "	" "
300 Brown Eliza	2	" "	" "
301 Brown Joseph	25	Lancaster, "	Boardley James
302 Cammels John	49	Northld. Co., "	James Kelly
303 Chapman Danl.	15	Matthews Co., "	Richd. Eborrrs
304 Church Harriet	30	Eastern Shore, "	Elijah Whittlehand
305 Church Severn	5	" "	" "



Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
306 Church Martha	8	[Eastern Shore, Va.]	[Elijah Whittlehand]
307 Church James	23	" "	" "
308 Church Ada	23	" "	" "
309 Church Marg	10 mos	" "	" "
310 Christian Sally	28	New Kent Co.,	Jno. Atkinson
311 Christian Henry	12	" "	" "
312 Ely Isaac	32	Nunseming, N. C.	Joseph Meansfield
313 Ely Louisa	23	" "	" "
314 Ely Harrison	17	" "	" "
315 Ely John	7	" "	" "
316 Ely Henry	5	" "	" "
317 Ely Lucy Ann	8 mos	" "	" "
318 Enos London	36	Hampden, Va.	Owen Corblin
319 Enos Lucy	25	" "	" "
320 Enos Nancy	14 mos	" "	" "
321 Fisher Lance	53	Richmond, Va.	James Jones
322 Fisher Nancy	38	Charleston, S. C.	Thomas Jenks
323 Gaynor Louisa	18	Hampden, S. C.	Wm. T. True
324 Gaynor Marg.	12	" "	" "
325 Gillam James	30	Quimmins Co., N. C.	Lieut. Thos. Gillam
326 Blanchdl. Jerry	15	Hampden, S. C.	Thomas S. True
327 Hall Merrit	22	Isle of Wight, Va.	Wiley Hall
328 Hall Henrietta	20	" "	Washington Womble
329 Harris Sarah	19	Surry Co., Va.	Benj. Drew
330 Harris Jackson	18 mos	" "	" "
331 Holly Jerry	42	Berty Co., N. C.	Augustus Holly
332 Hunter Jim	11	Suffolk, Va.	Alex Moore
333 Hopper Henry	21	Backwater,	Josephus Foreman
334 Sheppard Robt.	15	Quimmins Co., N.C.	Matew Ferby
335 Hopkins Stephan	35	Northampton, Va.	Wm. Goffgore
336 Hopkins Calhon	25	" "	" "
337 Hopkins M.J.	13	" "	" "
338 Hopkins Maria	9	" "	" "
339 Hopkins John	8	" "	" "



Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
340 Hopkins Ephraim	7	[Northampton, Va.]	[Wm. Goffgore]
341 Munroe Mary J.	30	Hampden, Va.	Chas. Mallory
342 Moran Warren	35	King Wm. Co., "	Capt. Carr
343 Moran Lucinda	30	King " "	" "
344 Moran Henry	14	" " "	" "
345 Nickerson Anderson	26	Norfolk, Va.	Geo. Statton
346 Nickerson Ann	26	" "	Philip Biddle
347 Nickerson Martha	6	" "	" "
348 Nickerson Napo'n	1 mo	" "	" "
349 Pollard Fleming	35	New Kent Co., Va.	Henry Sherman
350 Pollard Julia	30	" " "	Robt. Hill
351 Lewis Joseph	12	Hampden, Va.	Jno. Remerest
352 Pollard Moses	50	New Kent Co., Va.	Robt. Hill
353 Pollard Lizzie	50	" " "	" "
354 Pollard Martha	15	" " "	" "
355 Pollard Cornelia	10	" " "	" "
356 Pryor Thomas	21	Gloucester, "	Robt. Gwynn
357 Pryor Mary	22	" "	" "
358 Ricks Saml.	22	Hampden, Va.	Thos. Smothers
359 Joanna Ricks	19	" "	" "
360 Robertson Martha Ann	23	" "	" "
361 Robertson Jno. Henry	4	" "	" "
362 Robertson Sterling	2	" "	" "
363 Shoals Susan	36	Richmond, Va.	Benj. Hubbard
364 Shoales Patsy	13	" "	" "
365 Shoales Randall	37	" "	" "
366 omitted in manuscript			
367 Shoales Louisa	23	" "	" "
368 Shoales Oceana	6 days	BORN ON PASSAGE	
369 Scott Alesc'r	30	Norfolk, Va.	Josephus Scott
370 Scott Phebe Ann	35	" "	Jno. Dreny
371 Albert W. Scott	24	Norfolk, Va.	" "
372 Simpkins Wily	24	" "	Thos. Inkers
373 Simpkins Morena	20	Northampton, "	John Simpkins

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
374 Smith Joseph	25	Richmond, [Va.]	Ed. Mitchell
375 Smith Marthae	20	Gloucester, "	Wm. Hunter
376 Smither John	27	Northampton, "	Chas. Carter
377 omitted in manuscript			
378 Smither Louisa	20	Charleston, S. C.	Thos. Fanteroy
379 Smither Martha	12	" "	" "
380 Smither Amelia	10	" "	" "
381 Smither Thomas	1 mo	" "	" "
382 Taylor Stepney	23	Northld., Va.	Garret Hewlitt
383 Taylor Josephus	20	Hampden, "	Wm. J. Johnson
384 Taylor Jesse	9	" "	" "
385 Trotman Harriet	30	Gates Co., N. C.	J. C. Trottmann
386 Trotman Charles	6	" "	" "
387 Tucker Ediom	49	Warrick, Va.	Joshua Fitchett
388 Tucker Martha	18	" "	" "
389 Ward Lewis	38	Beaufort, S. C.	Jacob S. Rumly
390 Ward M. A.	28	" "	" "
391 Ward Maggi	10	" "	" "
392 Washington Judah	35	Hampden, Va.	Geo. Booker
393 Washington Benj.	11	" "	" "
394 Washington Lee	30	Rappahonock, Va.	Barclay James
395 Washington Bess'd	13	" "	" "
396 Waters Isaac	25	Northld., "	James Kelly
397 Waters Martha	18	" "	" "
398 Wiggins Henry	21	Rappahanock, "	Chas. Lansing
399 Wiggins Emma	18	" "	Bald. McKinny
400 Washington Wm.	19	Gloucester, "	Jno. Hughes
401 Wilkins Nathl.	22	Northampton, Va.	Geo. James
402 Wilkins Harriet	24	" "	Wm. Riley
403 Wilkins J. Brown	1	" "	" "
404 Willis Humphry	26	Richmond, "	John Jones
405 Willis Harriet	24	" "	" "
406 Willis Henry	5	" "	" "
407 Willis Harriet	3	" "	" "

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
408 Willis Netty	2	[Richmond, Va.]	[John Jones]
409 Wilson John	40	" "	" "
410 Smith Hiram	15	" "	James Jones
411 Wright Jno.	25	Dist. of Colom.	
412 Wright Maria	25	Richmond, Va.	John Kent
413 Wright Josephine	18	" "	" "
414 Young Kitty	15	Isle of Wight,	Jas. H. Rinson
415 White Malaga	33	Princess Anne,	Calvin Jones
416 White Susan	30	" "	Maj. Ed. Bradford
417 White Solomon	8	" "	" "
418 White William	6	" "	" "
419 White Thomas	4	" "	" "
420 Fisher Solomon		Northld.,	Jas. Hurdler
421 Fisher Hannah		" "	Warner Hurst
422 Fulgum Henry		Isle of Wight,	Hardy Chapman
423 Fulgum Eliza		" "	" "
424 Branch Frank		Hampden, Va.	" "
425 Hopkins Wm.	3	Eastern Shore,	Nathl. Wallace
426 Hopkins Don.	1 mo	" "	" "
427 Hubbard Louisa	50	New Kent Co.,	Jeff Green
428 Hubbard Morris	7	" "	" "
429 Jackson Joseph	25	Northld., Va.	Lewis Harvey
430 Jackson Lavinia	19	Warrick Co., Va.	Wm. Marrow
431 Jarvis Henry	27	Northampton,	Robt. Norrigand
432 Jarvis Nelly	21	Richmond,	Parker Nest
433 Jefferson Thos.	27	Southampton,	Mills Barrett
434 Georgiana Jefferson	22	" "	Peter Holmes
435 Jenkins Wm.	22	Petersburg,	John Bland
436 Jenkins Harrn.	15	" "	" "
437 Jones David	22	Rappahannock,	Geo. E. Lee
438 Jones Winnie	20	Hampden,	Thomas Small
439 Jones Louis	2	" "	" "
440 Jones Edwd.	30	" "	Ricd. Thomas
441 Jones Bella	29	Wmsburg,	Col. Geo. Blow

Names	Age	Wherefrom	Former Owner
442 Jones William 2d	35	King Wm. Co., [Va.]	Jas. Johnson
443 Jones Cathar	20	" " "	Bob Hill
444 Johnson Steph.	45	Chas. City,	Walter Haxham
445 Johnson Mary A.	22	" "	John Roy
446 Johnson Warren	2	" "	" "
447 Johnson Wm.	25	Matthew Co.,	Wm. Richardson
448 Johnson Louisa	20	Gloucester Co.,	Chris Duncan
449 Lee William	21	Northld Co.,	Lansing Hammell
450 Lee Lena	19	York Co., Va.	Lewis Hammell
451 Mitchell Bladen	25	Hampden,	Thomas Williams
452 Mitchell Mary	20	Westmoreland,	Ricd. Bayne
453 Monroe Isaac	25	Hampden,	Chas. Mallory

Taken from Letter, Tuckerman to Usher, New York, July 7, 1863, in Slave Trade Collection  
reel 9.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Manuscript Collections

Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln. 194 vols. microfilm edition. Washington: Library of Congress, 1947.

United States. Department of the Interior. Records of the Secretary of the Interior Relating to the Suppression of the African Slave Trade and Negro Colonization, 1854-1872. 10 reels. Washington: National Archives, 1949.

### Diaries and Collected Works

Basler, Roy Prentice (ed.). The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. 9 vols. New York: Rutgers University Press, 1953-55.

Bates, Edward. The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866. Edited by Howard K. Beale. Annual Report of the American Historical Association, IV, 1930.

Boyd, Julian P. (ed.). The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. 16 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.

Butler, Benjamin F. Butler's Book. Boston: A. M. Thayer, 1892.

Chase, Salmon P. Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: the Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase. Edited by David Donald. New York: Longman's Green, 1954.

Hay, John. Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay. Edited by Tyler Dennett. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1939.

Sumner, Charles. Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner. Edited by Edward L. Pierce. 4 vols.

Welles, Gideon. Diary of Gideon Welles. Edited by John T. Morse. 3 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1911.

## Government Publications

Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs: Diplomatic Correspondence, 1862.

Lincoln, Abraham. "Message on the Release of Slaves in the District of Columbia." 37 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Executive Document No. 42.

"Report on the Transportation, Settlement and Colonization of Persons of the African Race." 39 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Executive Document No. 55.

Stanton, Edwin M. "Report on Africans in Fort Monroe Military District." 37 Cong., 2 sess., Executive Document No. 85.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States: Population. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864.

U.S. Congress. Congressional Globe, 1861-1864.

U.S. Statutes at Large, XII-XIII.

Usher, John P., "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior." 38 Cong., 1 sess., Executive Document No. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Letter on the Colonization Fund." 38 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 69.

White, Albert S., "Report of the Select Committee on Emancipation," 37 Cong., 2 sess., House Reports No. 148.

## Newspapers

Daily Morning Chronicle [Washington], 1863-64.

National Republican [Washington], 1862-64.

Richmond Daily Whig, 1862.

## Texts

Adams, Alice Dana. The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831. Boston: Ginn, 1908.

Angle, Paul M. (ed.). The Living Lincoln. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955.

Barton, William Eleazar. Life of Abraham Lincoln. New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1925.

- Berwanger, Eugene H. The Frontier Against Slavery. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967.
- Blair, Francis P. Destiny of the Races on This Continent: An Address ... 1859.
- Canby, Courtlandt (ed.). Lincoln and the Civil War. New York: Braziller, 1960.
- Carman, Harry James. Lincoln and the Patronage. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.
- Cooke, Jacob E. Frederick Bancroft, Historian. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.
- Donovan, Frank Robert. Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1964.
- Ehrmann, Bess Virginia. The Missing Chapter in the Life of Abraham Lincoln. Chicago: W. M. Hill, 1938.
- Halstead, Murat. Three Against Lincoln. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960.
- Herndon, William Henry. Herndon's Lincoln. 3 vols. Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1889.
- Hofstadter, Richard. American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1948.
- Hollander, Barnett. Slavery in America. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963.
- Horgan, Paul. Citizen of New Salem. New York: Strauss and Cudahy, 1961.
- Jay, William. Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery. Boston: Jewett, 1853.
- Kempf, Edward John. Abraham Lincoln's Philosophy of Common Sense. 3 vols. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1965.
- King, Willard Leroy. Lincoln's Manager, David Davis. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Lewis, Montgomery, Smith. Legends That Libel Lincoln. New York: Rinehart, 1946.
- Logan, Rayford Whittingham. The Diplomatic Relations of the United States With Haiti, 1776-1891. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941.



- McCarthy, Charles H. Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. New York: McClure, Phillips, 1901.
- McPherson, John Hanson Thomas. History of Liberia. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891.
- Monaghan, James. Diplomat in Carpet Slippers. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1945.
- Montague, Ludwell L. Haiti and the United States, 1714-1938. Durham: Duke University Press, 1940.
- Nicolay, John George and John Hay. Abraham Lincoln: A History. 10 vols. New York: Century, 1890.
- Peterson, Merrill. The Jefferson Image in the American Mind. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Pickett, William Passmore. The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1909.
- Quarles, Benjamin. Lincoln and the Negro. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Randall, James Garfield. Lincoln, the President. 4 vols. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945-55.
- Redpath, James. A Guide to Hayti. Boston: Thayer & Eldridge, 1860.
- Sandberg, Carl. Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954.
- Schulter, Herman. Lincoln, Labor and Slavery. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965.
- Staudenraus, P. J. African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Tarbell, Ida M. The Life of Abraham Lincoln. 4 vols. New York: Lincoln History Society, 1903.
- Tyler, Alice Felt. Freedom's Ferment. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.
- Villard, Henry. Lincoln on the Eve of '61. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941.
- Voegeli, V. Jacque. Free But Not Equal. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- Warren, Louis A. The Slavery Atmosphere of Lincoln's Youth. Fort Wayne: Lincolniana Publishers, 1933.

- Washington, John E. They Knew Lincoln. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1942.
- Webb, James Watson. Slavery and Its Tendencies. Washington: Buell & Blanchard, 1856.
- Wilbur, Henry W. President Lincoln's Attitude Towards Slavery and the Negro. Philadelphia: Jenkins, 1914.
- Wiley, Bell. Southern Negroes, 1861-1865. New York: Rinehart, 1938.
- Wilson, Henry. History of Anti-Slavery Measures of the 37th and 38th Congresses, 1861-1864. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 1864. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 1864.
- History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America. 3 vols. Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1872-77.
- Woodson, Carter Godwin. A Century of Negro Migration. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918.
- Zornow, William Frank. Lincoln and the Party Divided. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

#### Articles

- Abel-Henderson, A. H. "A Sidelight on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1861," Journal of Negro History, XII (1927), 128-178.
- "Abraham Lincoln on Colonization of Negroes," Nation, L (January 30, 1890), 91.
- Bancroft, Frederick. "Colonization of the American Negro," in Frederick Bancroft, Historian. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.
- Beck, Warren A. "Lincoln & Negro Colonization," The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly, VI (1950), 162-183.
- Bell, H. H. "Negro Nationalism: A Factor in Emigration Projects, 1858-1861," Journal of Negro History, XLVII (1962), 42-53.
- Blackiston, H. S. "Lincoln's Emancipation Plan," Journal of Negro History, VII (1922), 257-277.
- Cleven, Andrew N. "Some Plans for Colonizing Liberated Negroes in Hispanic America," Journal of Negro History, XI (1926), 35-49.

- Dumond, D. L. "Emancipation: History's Fantastic Reverie," Journal of Negro History, XLIX (1964), 1-12.
- Eliot, C. R. "The Lincoln Emancipation Statute," Journal of Negro History, XXIX (1944), 471-475.
- Fehrenbacher, D. E. "Lincoln, Douglas and the 'Freeport Question,'" American Historical Review, LXVI (1961), 599-617.
- Fleming, Walter L. "Deportation and Colonization: An Attempted Solution to the Race Problem," in Studies in Southern History and Politics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1914, 3-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Historical Attempts to Solve the Race Problem in America by Deportation," Journal of American History, IV (1910), 197-213.
- Goodwin, Mary F. "American's Only Foreign Colonial Settlement, Liberia," Virginia Magazine of History, LV (1947), 333-338.
- Hunt, Gaillard. "William Thornton and Negro Colonization," American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, XXX (1920), 32-61.
- Hyman, Harold M. "Lincoln and Equal Rights for Negroes: The Irrelevancy of the 'Wadsworth Letter,'" Civil War History, XII (1966), 258-266.
- Johnson, Ludwell H. "Lincoln and Equal Rights: A Reply," Civil War History, XIII (1967), 66-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lincoln and Equal Rights: The Authenticity of the Wadsworth Letter," Journal of Southern History, XXXII (1966), 83-87.
- Krug, M. M. "The Republican Party and the Emancipation Proclamation," Journal of Negro History, XLVIII (1963), 98-114.
- McPherson, James M. "Abolitionist and Negro Opposition to Colonization During the Civil War," Phylon, XXVI (1965), 391-399.
- Mehlinger, L. R. "Attitude of Free Negroes on African Colonization," Journal of Negro History, I (1916), 276-301.
- Mock, J. R. "The National Archives With Respect to the Records of the Negro," Journal of Negro History, XXIII (1938), 49-56.

- Padgett, J. A. "Diplomats to Haiti and Their Diplomacy," Journal of Negro History, XXV (1940), 265-330.
- Sherwood, H. N. "Early Negro Deportation Projects," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, II (1916), 484-508.
- Stampf, Kenneth M. "The Fate of the Southern Anti-Slavery Movement," Journal of Negro History, XXVIII (1943), 10-22.
- Toppin, Edgar A. "Emancipation Reconsidered," Negro History Bulletin, XXVI (1963), 233-236.
- Troutman, R. L. "The Emancipation of Slaves by Henry Clay, A Document," Journal of Negro History, XL (1955), 179-181.
- "Tuckerman, Charles Keating," Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VI, 178.
- Tuckerman, Charles K. "President Lincoln and Colonization," Magazine of American History, CLXI (L886), 329-332.
- Wesley, C. H. "The Concept of Inferiority of the Negro in American Thought," Journal of Negro History, XXV (1940), 540-560.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negro," Journal of Negro History, IV (1919), 7-21.
- Williams, T. H. "Abraham Lincoln--Principle and Pragmatism in Politics," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XL (1953), 89-106.

#### Unpublished Materials

- Beck, Warren A. Lincoln and the Chiriqui Improvement Company (unpublished Master's thesis). Wayne State University, 1948.
- Stowe, William M. The Influence of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic Principles Upon Abraham Lincoln's Thinking on the Question of Slavery (unpublished Master's thesis). Boston: Boston University, 1938.

## VITA

Jayne Ruth Spencer

Born in Monroe, Louisiana, November 1, 1943.

Graduated from Farmerville High School in Farmerville, Louisiana, June 1961, B.A. Louisiana State University, June 1965, M.A. University of Denver, June, 1969. Two years experience as professional librarian, Louisiana State University in New Orleans, 1969-1971.

Entered the College of William and Mary in 1965 and completed all requirements for Master's degree except thesis.