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THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY IN ALABAMA  
1825-1833

by  
Robert E. Perry

BACKGROUND

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a growing number of thoughtful Americans was becoming concerned about slavery as well as the presence of large numbers of free Negroes. Out of this concern grew several proposals to deal with the question. Thomas Jefferson, Ferdinando Fairfax, and St. George Tucker of Virginia had suggested settling free Negroes in areas far removed from the United States. Others believed settling them in an area of the newly acquired Louisiana territory would be a better course. Nothing came of either of these suggestions.

At the same time a successful effort was being made by English humanitarians to settle Negroes from the British Isles in Africa. Beginning in the late 1780's, several shiploads of Negroes were settled in what is today Sierra Leone. The colonization attempt, however, resulted in a great deal of hardship and death for the colonists and as a result the British government assumed the responsibility in 1808.

It was to this African colony that the first American Negroes were sent in 1816 by Paul Cuffee, a half-Negro, half-Indian shipping merchant from Cuttyhunk Island, Massachusetts. Cuffee proposed to transport skilled artisans, farmers, and mechanics to Sierra Leone in return for trading privileges in the colony. He secured the backing of several prosperous free Negroes, formed miniature African Institutions which were replicas of the parent society in England, and petitioned Congress for special permission to trade with Sierra Leone. His

petition was not granted because of the war with England at that time. After it ended, he landed 38 free American Negroes at Freetown, Sierra Leone. He died shortly afterwards before he could carry out his dream of shipping large numbers of Negroes to the land of their forefathers.<sup>1</sup>

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

The American Colonization Society was organized in Washington, D.C. in the winter of 1816-1817 under the direction of Robert Finley. Its exclusive purpose as stated in article two of its original constitution was:<sup>2</sup>

.....to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

The Society drew its support from all classes of men: from slaveholder and non-slaveholder and from all sections of the country. It included among its original founders Senator Henry Clay, Senator Daniel Webster, Senator Robert H. Goldsborough, John Randolph of Roanoke, Ferdinando Fairfax, Francis Scott Key, Richard Lee, Bushrod Washington, and Edmund I. Lee.<sup>3</sup> Within a few years it added other distinguished names to its membership such as John Marshall, Charles Carroll, and Roger Taney.<sup>4</sup>

The Society failed in its early years of existence to persuade Congress to make colonization a national policy. The Reverend Samuel J. Mills was sent to explore the west coast of Africa to gather more information for Congress and to choose a possible site for a colony.<sup>5</sup> Mills reached the coast of Africa in March, 1818, traveled to prospective sites, met with several chiefs, and finally recommended that Sherbo Island be chosen as the place for the future colony. He died at sea enroute back to the United States.<sup>6</sup>

The following year Congress passed Mercer's Slave Trade Act which authorized President James Monroe to send a squadron to the west coast of Africa to establish a station for settling rescued victims of the slave trade. Although reluctant to apply this law to the colonization of free Negroes, Monroe eventually acquiesced to allow the Society's agents to become government agents, and gave them some assistance in establishing the colony. The first expedition sailed from New York in 1820, but it was not until 1821 that land was purchased that was to become Liberia, the colony for free Negroes from the United States.<sup>7</sup>

By 1823 the Society was in difficult financial circumstances both in Liberia and in the United States. Its plan of securing further government support for its colonization work did not materialize. Because there was no organized plan for establishing and maintaining new local societies the Society faced an early death.

During a careful examination of the Society in 1823 by the managers, a proposal was put forward by Leonard Bacon of Andover Seminary to begin a spirited propaganda campaign to include a national magazine, traveling agents, and establishment of societies in every state. After some debate the managers decided to accept Bacon's ideas. Their first step was to appoint Ralph Gurley as secretary. His choice was a decisive factor in the Society's success during the next few years, and he was the guiding force behind it for 50 years. For the first time agents were appointed to tour various parts of the country enlisting members and financial support and organizing state and local societies.<sup>8</sup>

One of Gurley's most important acts was the establishment of The African Repository and Colonial Journal in 1825. Under his editorship it became a tremendous asset for the Society. It boosted Liberia and encouraged contributions by printing and praising the names of contributors. A wealth of information about Africa was provided and letters published from those who settled there. Gurley gained a great deal of publicity for the Society by persuading American newspapers to reprint articles from The Repository concerning colonization and Liberia.<sup>9</sup>

## FIRST CONTACTS OF THE SOCIETY IN ALABAMA

Although no official agents of the Society reached Alabama until 1830, The Repository did. A Huntsville resident, James Gillespie Birney, who later became the most noted member of the Society in the State, first contacted the Society through its magazine in 1826. He was so impressed with the aims of the Society that he sent a donation and persuaded the local Presbyterian Church in Huntsville to take an annual collection for it on July 4. <sup>10</sup>

Other evidence of The Repository's circulation in Alabama comes from two letters printed in the June, 1827 issue. The first was "From a gentleman in Alabama" who lamented the fact that he had been unable to establish an auxiliary society in his area but did send contributions and subscriptions totaling \$17.00. The second letter commended the magazine for dispelling misconceptions of the Society which the writer had held and which he said were common in the area. The language and tone of the letter suggest the possibility that it may have been written by Birney.<sup>11</sup>

Both of these letters reveal misunderstanding and resentment of the Society and its aims. This may have been due to resolutions addressed to the Alabama legislature from the legislature of Ohio. In 1824, when the Society was seeking endorsement from the state legislatures, the Ohio lawmaker adopted a petition calling on Congress to adopt colonization as a means of eradicating slavery. This declaration was sent to other states, where it was commended by the legislatures of Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and Kentucky, but soundly criticized in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Missouri.<sup>12</sup>

Before any official agent of the Society came to Alabama, the Methodist Conference of Mississippi appointed one of its ministers as an agent to travel throughout Mississippi and Alabama to raise money for the Society. The minister chosen in 1829 was the Reverend William Winans who reported a collection of \$15.68 in Alabama that year. A second minister, the Reverend John C. Burris, was appointed by the Conference in 1831.<sup>13</sup>

A society, whose origin is obscure, was organized in La Grange on May 3, 1829. No mention of its organization was made in The Repository but its first anniversary meeting was reported in the Southern Advocate of Huntsville in May, 1830. At the meeting the Reverend Daniel Bestor, pastor of the Baptist Church and president of the society, gave a glowing report of the progress of Liberia and urged local support for the Society. It had a total of ten officers which may also have been the number of members.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY IN ALABAMA

In January, 1830, the first official auxiliary society was organized in the state. In December, 1829, Birney, a prominent citizen and former mayor of Huntsville had received a letter from Henry Clay introducing Josiah F. Polk, agent of the Society for the southwestern states. Polk spent several days in Huntsville with Birney who introduced him to leading citizens and assisted him in organizing the Madison County Society.<sup>15</sup> The meeting was advertised in the local paper and met on January 2 at the First Presbyterian Church where Birney was an active member. Polk spoke on the interests of the Society and noted in his report that he received a friendly reception. Dr. M. S. Watkins was elected president and Birney was named one of the managers.<sup>16</sup>

Polk was approached twice during his visit to Huntsville by free Negroes who inquired about emigrating to Liberia. The first, John Robinson, a mulatto told him that several free Negroes had formed a society to devise means and raise funds to go to Liberia, but had been frustrated by whites who suspected them of seditious purposes. The second also inquired about Liberia, mentioning that he had received letters from a colored man in the North warning him about the severe climate and deaths among the colonists in Liberia. Polk left Huntsville in high hopes that there would soon be a number of emigrants ready to leave Huntsville and other nearby areas in Alabama.<sup>17</sup>

Polk's next stop in Alabama was at the state capitol in Tuscaloosa where he found both the legislature and supreme court in session. There on the night of January 11 he addressed a large group in the Representatives' Hall and organized a state society. Over \$200 was pledged, \$141 paid down and several individuals became life members by paying \$10. Among the 38 persons who joined the state society, five were judges of the state supreme court. The Honorable Abner S. Lipscomb of Mobile was elected president. Other officers and managers were elected and a constitution adopted. The constitution contained a clause entitling it to nominate and select a number of emigrants proportionate to its share of the total national contributions to the Society. The local press was favorable to the Society, commending its purposes and urging citizens to give it their support.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the state society at Tuscaloosa and the auxiliary society at Huntsville, Polk organized societies at Courtland, Tuscumbia and Florence.<sup>19</sup> Among the members enrolled were many prominent judges, legislators, merchants, doctors, ministers, former members of the state constitutional convention and a future governor.<sup>20</sup> At the completion of his tour there were over a hundred members and six societies, and contributions had exceeded two hundred dollars. The Repository also gained a wider circulation in the state.<sup>21</sup>

The state's societies were visited again in 1831 by agent Henry Bascomb, a Methodist minister who later became Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Bascomb was one of the Society's most effective and colorful agents. In a few months time he traveled thousands of miles by horseback and coach throughout the western and southwestern states organizing societies, selling subscriptions to The Repository, and collecting funds amounting over \$300.<sup>22</sup>

#### JAMES G. BIRNEY AND THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY

Despite these successes, by the summer of 1832 the Society was facing an early death in Alabama due to a

lack of interest among its members. In January, 1831, the state society had held its annual meeting at Tuscaloosa which turned out to be dissentious and disorderly. Lipscomb resigned as president shortly afterwards and efforts to secure a meeting of the managers were unsuccessful.<sup>23</sup>

At this critical point James G. Birney was appointed as an agent. Birney had arrived in Huntsville in 1818 from Danville, Kentucky after having attended Princeton University and being admitted to the bar. He bought several hundred acres of land at Triana, a few miles from Huntsville, and began raising cotton with the use of slave labor. He was unable to succeed as a planter, however, so he sold his plantation and most of his slaves and moved into Huntsville where he resumed the practice of law in 1823.<sup>24</sup>

By 1832 Birney was a respected member of Huntsville society where his lucrative law practice earned him \$4,000 per year. In the intervening period he had served as a member of the state legislature, mayor of Huntsville, and as agent to select the original faculty of the newly established University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa.<sup>25</sup>

The board of managers of the Society appointed Birney as agent for the southwestern states in June, 1832.<sup>26</sup> He did not accept the offer immediately but, as was his custom, gave it very careful thought. He made a thorough study of the Society and its literature, and discussed the offer with close friends who strongly advised him against accepting.<sup>27</sup>

It was not until August 23, two months after his appointment, that Birney accepted the position. In his letter of acceptance he carefully outlined the condition and prospects of the Society in Alabama. The societies in the state, he said, were languid and decaying, but he believed that they could be revived with activity and attention. He also disclosed his plan of operation for the Society in the state: he would attend the legislative sessions, gain their good will, and present a solid case for colonization based on facts. He felt this would allay suspicions that the Society planned to interfere with the institution of slavery.<sup>28</sup>



After thoroughly acquainting himself with the policies, objectives, and activities of the Society, Birney set out with great vigor to revive the state and local societies. In the fall of 1832 he visited throughout the Tennessee Valley speaking, recruiting, and organizing societies. In addition to the old societies at Huntsville, Tusculumbia, Courtland, and La Grange he organized new ones at Somerville and Athens and reorganized the one in Florence which elected General John Coffee as its president.<sup>29</sup> He also enlisted the interest of two families of free Negroes of Limestone County in emigrating to Liberia.<sup>30</sup>

From the Tennessee Valley Birney proceeded by stage to Tuscaloosa where he met with the state society and received collection of \$45.00 but little favorable response. He did, however, enlist Henry Tutwiler in the Society. Tutwiler, whose name became increasingly prominent in the state's future, was a newcomer to the faculty of the University and had been recruited for the position by Birney himself. He wrote Birney shortly afterwards that he felt nothing would be done by the society in Tuscaloosa, and asked to be a member of the society in Huntsville.<sup>31</sup>

Proceeding on to Montgomery and Mobile by stage and river boat, Birney found a similar situation to the one in Tuscaloosa: there was little favor or response given to his appeals. In each place he had to defend the Society against attacks by the Christian Examiner. In Mobile he planned to speak twice, but the proposed second meeting was ruined by the appearance in town of a famous actress who drew almost the entire town to her performance. He decided not to take a collection or try to organize a society in Mobile as he felt it would be futile.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to defending the Society against the charge of being abolitionist, Birney had to explain its purpose against similar charges being made in state newspapers. A speech by United States Senator Clement Comer Clay was printed in the Huntsville Democrat and quoted him as saying ".....abolition is the ultimate purpose of colonization..."<sup>33</sup> Birney wrote to Clay, a personal acquaintance, pointing out that this was a

mistaken view of the Society's aims and asked him to correct his statement.<sup>34</sup> Clay examined the matter carefully and wrote the Huntsville Democrat that his statement was not intended to imply that the Society was abolitionist but only that some members (of the national society) were abolitionist. He added, "I am no enemy of the plan of transporting and colonizing our free black population, properly conducted." He felt, however, that state legislatures and the societies should finance colonization rather than appealing to Congress for assistance.<sup>35</sup> The Society, however, was hurt by Clay's printed speech, because several months elapsed between the reported speech and the correction.

Birney returned discouraged to Huntsville after his tour through South Alabama. To his friend Gurley he wrote: "There is a deadness to the subject of African Colonization in this portion of Alabama which is altogether discouraging...in countries where slave labor is valuable it requires benevolence to keep up our cause---christian benevolence,---the stock of which is small all through this region."<sup>36</sup> Despite the discouragement he forged ahead with his activities. In January, 1833, he placed a notice in the Huntsville papers addressed to free Negroes announcing the departure in April of a ship for Liberia from New Orleans. He asked local societies and other interested parties to publicize the project and assist emigrants to reach New Orleans.<sup>37</sup> He also planned to attend the meeting of the Synod of west Tennessee (which included the Presbyterian churches of Alabama at this time), where he would introduce a resolution regarding the Christian's duty concerning slavery.

In February Birney traveled by boat to New Orleans where he spent the latter part of February, all of March and part of April making preparations for the departure of 150 free Negroes for Liberia aboard the Ajax. They left on April 20 and it was a deeply moving experience to Birney. In a report to Gurley he recorded the event and his feelings.

Memory presented to me Africa, "robbed and spoiled"-  
"weeping for her children - refusing to be comforted"-  
now I saw her rejoicing at their return; - I thought  
of the shriek of phrenzy, the stifled groan of death  
in the slaveship, --now, I saw the sobered joy of the  
restored and in their countenances the beams of an  
elevating and glorious hope; --I saw Avarice dragging  
them to our shores, wringing from them cries of despair  
and tears of blood; I now saw benevolence (oh, that it  
were unmixed) conducting them to their own, their  
Fathers' land, drawing from their grateful hearts tears  
of joy, and thanks and blessings. Sir, Sir, if it  
be weakness to sympathize with the miserable made happy  
--to rejoice, even to tears, at the contemplation of this  
my country's true glory --to feel an overmastering expansion  
of heart at this practical exhibition of benevolence  
so like God's, then I am most weak indeed.<sup>38</sup>

After returning to Huntsville, Birney decided on a  
new tactic. He did not feel he was reaching enough  
people by his speeches to local societies. Perhaps  
it would be better, he thought, if he wrote articles  
for the local newspapers. In this way he hoped to  
reach thousands in the surrounding states and Alabama.

In the preface to his first article in the May 16  
edition of the Huntsville Democrat, Birney contended that  
this important question needed to be discussed publicly.  
If he and the colonizationists were wrong, they needed  
to be refuted publicly; if they were correct then appropriate,  
informed action needed to be taken.<sup>39</sup> By this  
time he had decided that "appropriate action" should  
be by state legislatures rather than by Congress.  
Appeals to Congress, he felt, tended to agitate Southerners  
and arouse their old suspicions that the Society  
was merely an abolitionist plot. He tried to enlist  
support for state action by writing to numerous prominent  
men throughout Alabama, asking them to sign a  
petition to the state legislature calling for state  
support for the colonization effort.<sup>40</sup> Several of the

state societies had made such petitions previously and some individuals, including General Coffee, felt this was the proper approach.<sup>41</sup>

The series of articles which appeared regularly in the Huntsville Democrat was reprinted in many newspapers in Alabama and the South. In them Birney clearly set forth the purpose of the Society which was the colonization of free Negroes with their consent. He consistently maintained that it was neither abolitionist nor northern in origin (these were two common objections made about the Society to Birney). He also examined and refuted charges of the abolitionists that the Society was doing harm to the free colored population.<sup>42</sup>

After publishing fifteen articles in the papers, Birney decided to suspend publication because of increasing criticism that they were offensive to local sentiment on the subject. Some persons in Huntsville had complained to the editor that too much of the newspaper was taken up with "colonizing the free colored population."<sup>43</sup> Although the newspapers in the Tennessee Valley and elsewhere had reprinted his articles, newspapers in the lower parts of Alabama were either suspending their publication or refusing them altogether.<sup>44</sup>

By late September, Birney concluded that the state provided little encouragement for the Society and decided to return to Kentucky, where his father was in failing health. He was especially appalled at the insensibility of the religious community on the subject of colonization. The slave owners were, he said, "So far from sending their slaves to Liberia the greater part are not slow to justify slavery..."<sup>45</sup> Nothing could be done, he feared, to get rid of slavery in the South unless it cured itself.

In November Birney terminated his service with the Society and left Alabama never to return. He had been the real force behind the movement and it died when he left. Its name and the names of local societies and contributors ceased to appear in The Repository, except in rare compilations of cumulative statistics. In 1852 a note appeared to the effect that since its founding a total of 49 free Negroes had emigrated from Alabama to

Liberia. Only one of these had emigrated during Birney's residence in Alabama. The reported emigrations probably refer to free Negroes sent by John Cocke of Virginia, who maintained a plantation in Alabama to which he sent his manumitted slaves for acclimation and training before sending them on to Liberia.<sup>46</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Several facts emerge about the operation of the Society in Alabama. Foremost, it was founded on an appeal to prejudice against the free Negro population. A few people supported the Society out of humanistic or religious motives. Chief among these would be Birney, Tutwiler, and the Reverend Bestor of La Grange. The Society probably failed because it was never able to overcome the suspicion that its goal was abolition, although the Society was not abolitionist and was, as a matter of fact, repeatedly attacked by the abolitionists as a plot dreamed up by slaveholders to strengthen and perpetuate slavery, by removing the threat of the free Negro population.

Another important factor contributing to the demise of the Society in Alabama was Birney himself. Although he entered the Society with a great deal of determined enthusiasm and idealism, his belief in it steadily declined and sapped his effectiveness. For a long time he had serious questions about the morality of slavery and frankly confessed to Ralph Gurley that "My mind is not at ease upon the subject of retaining my fellowcreatures in servitude.. Should I remove from this state, I will send all the slaves I own to Liberia."<sup>47</sup> He slowly came to believe some abolitionist charges that the Society's policy of emigration for free Negroes was actually strengthening slavery rather than weakening it as he had thought. In less than nine months after leaving Alabama he wrote a lengthy letter to his friend, the Reverend Thornton J. Mills, secretary of the Kentucky Society, declining the office of Vice President and stating why he could not accept it. He said: "my opinions of colonization, in some of its most essential features, have undergone a change, so

great, as to make it imperative on me no longer to give to the enterprise that support and favor which are justly expected from all connected with it."<sup>48</sup>

On June 2, 1834 in a solemn ceremony in the presence of all members of his family Birney freed the five houses of slaves he had owned in Alabama. He then paid Michael, the head of the slave family, back wages with interest for all the years he had served him. Following this action, he published and distributed thousands of copies of his lengthy letter to the Reverend Mills repudiating the Society and attacking slavery. It was the beginning of a new, life long career as an abolitionist which was to bring him to national prominence. Birney thus, was the first native Southerner and former slaveholder to come out openly and strongly against slavery.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>1</sup>P.J. Staudenraus. The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 1-11.

<sup>2</sup>The African Repository and Colonial Journal (Washington: 1825-89), X, 22. (Hereafter referred to as The Repository).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>4</sup>Staudenraus, Colonization Movement, 70.

<sup>5</sup>Gardiner Spring. Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills (New York: The New York Evangelical Missionary Society, 1820), 135.

<sup>6</sup>Staudenraus, Colonization Movement, 43-47.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 50-58.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 69-79.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 100.

<sup>10</sup>James G. Birney, Letters on Colonization, Addressed to the Rev. Thornton J. Mills, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society. (New York: Office of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1834), 4.

<sup>11</sup>The Repository, III, 116.

<sup>12</sup>Staudenraus, Colonization Movement, 169-170.

<sup>13</sup>The Repository, V, 190; VI, 80; VII, 345.

<sup>14</sup>Southern Advocate (Huntsville), May 28, 1830; The Repository, VI, 129-132.

<sup>15</sup>William Birney. James G. Birney and His Times; The Genesis of the Republican Party with Some Account of the Abolition in the South Before 1828. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1890), 90.

<sup>16</sup>Southern Advocate, January 1, 1830; The Repository, VI, 170.

<sup>17</sup>The Repository, VI, 75-76.

<sup>18</sup>The Repository, VI, 75-76; Alabama State Intelligencer (Tuscaloosa) January 15, 1830.

<sup>19</sup>The Repository, VI, 379-380.

<sup>20</sup>Dwight L. Dumond, ed., Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857. 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1938) I, 43.

<sup>21</sup>The Repository, VI, 128, 179, 379-380.

<sup>22</sup>Moses Henkle, The Life of Henry Bidleman Bascomb. D. D., LL.D., Late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal South.

<sup>23</sup>Birney, Letter on Colonization, 6.

<sup>24</sup>Betty Fladeland, James Gillespie Birney: Slaveholder to Abolitionist (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955), 1-13.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 44.

<sup>26</sup>Dumond, Letters of James Birney, I, 6.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 8; Birney, Letter on Colonization, 4.

<sup>28</sup>Dumond, Letters of James Birney, 20.

<sup>29</sup>From James Birney's Account Book, excerpt in Dumond, Letters of James Birney, 32. I, 32.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 30. The Negroes had been slaves of Reuben Tillman of Madison County.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 37-40.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 48-50.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 46.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Huntsville Democrat, May 16, 1833.

<sup>36</sup>Dumond, Letters of James Birney, 48-50.

<sup>37</sup>Huntsville Democrat, January 17, 1833.

<sup>38</sup>Dumond, Letters of James Birney, 50-53.

<sup>39</sup>Huntsville Democrat, May 16, 1833.

<sup>40</sup>Dumond, Letters of James Birney, 76-79; 81-82; 88.

<sup>41</sup>Gordon Chappell, The Life and Activities of John Coffee (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1941), 214-215.



<sup>42</sup>These articles began appearing in the Huntsville Democrat on May 16, 1833 and ended on August 15, 1833. They were reprinted by many other newspapers. The first seven of the articles were reprinted in The Repository beginning in August, 1833, and ending in January, 1834.

<sup>43</sup>Huntsville Democrat, August 15, 1833.

<sup>44</sup>Dumond, Letters of James Birney, 82-83.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 89.

<sup>46</sup>Clement Eaton, The Mind of the Old South (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 36; James G. Sellers, Slavery in Alabama (University, Alabama, 1950), 240.

<sup>47</sup>Dumond, Letters of James Birney, 51-52.

<sup>48</sup>Birney, Letter on Colonization, 1.

<sup>49</sup>Fladeland, James Birney, 82-85.