

REPORT
OF
REV. JOHN M^CKAY,
COLORED AGENT OF THE
STATE BOARD OF COLONIZATION.
ON LIBERIA.

INDIANAPOLIS:
AUSTIN H. BROWN, STATE PRINTER
1854.

STATE BOARD OF COLONIZATION.

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REPORT.

To the President and Members of the Indiana State Board of Colonization:

GENTLEMEN:—We respectfully submit the following as our report of our late visit to the Republic of Liberia:

We sailed from Norfolk, in the ship *Banshee*, on the 13th of November, and reached the African coast in twenty days; and in fourteen days more we came in sight of Grand Cape Mount, a bold promontory jutting out into the ocean, and gradually rising to an elevation of 1,060 feet above the level of the sea—having a base of at least fifteen miles, and capped by a broad table land, extending back into the country forty miles, terminating at a chain of still higher and more broken hills. The Cape and country adjoining appeared to me the most beautiful scene I ever beheld. Like many others, I had regarded that country as a barren and desolate waste; but I found myself much mistaken on this point, as the whole country was covered with a heavy forest of fine trees, of great variety and excellent quality for timber, springing up from a soil of great fertility. After a run of thirty-six hours, we reached Cape Mesurado, the elevated site of the town of Monrovia, the Capital of the Republic, in the harbor of which we cast anchor on the 19th of December, making a passage of thirty-five and one-half days from Norfolk to Monrovia.

The passage was an agreeable one to me, as I was not disturbed with the sea sickness, and the termination of the voyage found me in as good health as I have ever enjoyed—this was fortunate, as I wished to improve the opportunities of the visit to the utmost. I am much indebted to Mr. Wingate, the captain of the ship, for his kind attention and respect for which I shall ever feel grateful.

I remained in the country *eighty-three days*, and sailed for New York in the Brig Harp, from Sierra Leone, on the 11th of March, in which we had rather a tedious passage of fifty days, owing to adverse winds. We have been informed that ocean steamers can make this trip in fourteen days or less.

I had expected to see a respectable town in Monrovia, as it is the capital of the Republic; but my expectations were more than realized, for I found it making just pretensions to the character and position of a commercial city; containing a population of about 2,000 inhabitants—its buildings, presenting rather an imposing appearance, consisting of stone, brick, and frame edifices, of excellent style and workmanship. The inhabitants are contented and happy; and whilst many of them are quite wealthy, they are all, as a general rule, doing well. They are decidedly a religious people, a greater proportion of them being adherents of the different churches than are usually found in any other community. And the state of morals is superior to that of any other place I have ever been in. I heard no profane swearing among the Monroviaans, nor did I witness any intemperance.

On landing in company with our emigrants, I was introduced to President Roberts, and other citizens, who received me with much cordiality. I took the first occasion to state the object of my visit, in regard to the proposed settlement of colored persons by this State, and presented the communication relating thereto, with which I had the honor of being intrusted by the State Board, the answer to which we herewith submit.

I visited Milesborough, on the St. Pauls river, White Plains, Clay Ashland, and the adjoining settlements; likewise Grand Cape Mount, and the settlement and city of Sierra Leone, in which I spent one week. Sierra Leone is a well built city of at least twenty thousand inhabitants, of which a small fraction are white, but that fraction are the privileged class, who hold the offices of government, and control the lucrative professions and pursuits, to the partial exclusion of the man of color. On seeing this state of society, I was enabled to understand the reason why the people of Liberia, by a constitutional regulation, deny the privileges of citizenship to white men.

In the rapid survey that we made, we became convinced that the most desirable location for a settlement is Grand Cape Mount; which is very correctly described in your Colonization Report of 1852. I have been informed that the late President of the Colonization Society, Mr. A. A. Phelps, was an old citizen of

Monrovia, Mr. R. Mocre, who has traded a great deal at Grand Cape Mount, and who is desirous to aid in the settlement.

Monrovia, February, 1834.

Rev. Mr. McKAY,

DEAR SIR:—According to your request, for definite information with a view to establish a settlement at Grand Cape Mount, I unhesitatingly furnish you with the following description of the aforesaid place.

As regards the locality, I conceive it to be in many respects superior to Monrovia, from the fact of the promontory being considerably more elevated than Monrovia, and the fecundity of the soil being equal to any in the Republic. The land is mountainous, well timbered and watered, with a fine lake of ten or more miles in width, abounding with every variety of fish. The harbor is an excellent one for vessels to lie in safely.

In addition, Mr. MITCHELL permits me to use the following extract from a letter of Wm. W. Findley dated Feb. 22d :

SIR:—I am much pleased to hear from you, and to learn that you are still laboring for the good of Liberia. The friends sent out are doing as well as could be expected ; and they much desire to go to Grand Cape Mount. I hope you will do all you can in regard to having that place settled as soon as possible. I do think the emigrants should be landed at that place at once, and let them go through the acclimating process there, and by the time the public supply of provisions is ended, they will have something raised to eat ; but if they should be brought to this place, to be acclimated, a second move would be disadvantageous. There is a physician here who desires to settle at the Cape, so the sooner you commence the better.

The writer of the above was the first emigrant your State Society sent out, and should you conclude to accommodate the slight misunderstanding which exists between this Board and the Government of Liberia, in regard to territory, so as to follow your first intentions, of settling Grand Cape Mount, in that event Mr. Findley is the best person you can select to superintend the location of the settlement. He has shown his capacity for enterprise, by acquiring, since his emigration in the spring of 1850, a good farm of 40 acres of fine land, on which he has now a neat frame farm house erected, two stories high, surrounded by a young grove of tropical trees. This farm is on the bank of the St. Pauls river, and the pretty white-house surrounded by green trees, presents a beautiful appearance as you sail towards it. He has about 20 acres of coffee trees, many of which yield him annually on an average, about one dollar's worth of coffee per tree. He has had no deaths in his family, and but little sickness—indeed but few deaths have taken place among the emigrants from Indiana, and I am convinced that the mortality has not been much greater than if they had remained in this country. Mr. Findley's property, I consider worth at least \$3,000, and he is said to be out of debt. This rapid accumulation of wealth in the hands

of enterprising emigrants, was almost unaccountable to me, at first but when I had a little leisure to observe, I discovered that the commercial advantages of the country are unprecedented, and its tropical productions command the gold in every market of the world.

Before closing this statement, I should mention that the chiefs of the Vay Vay nation, who live at Grand Cape Mount, learning the your State had it in contemplation to form a settlement some where in Liberia, sent a deputation of two of their number to Monrovia whilst I was there, to express their desire and willingness to have such a settlement effected amongst them.

As to the state and circumstances of the Republic, permit me to present the comprehensive view, found in the last annual message of President Roberts, to their Legislature, a copy of which we here with submit.

We will notice briefly the state of agriculture in Liberia. The soil, although differing in degrees of richness and quality, must be classed with the richest soils—and not excelled by that of this country, and a man who makes a change of location from this country to that, loses nothing on this point, but, in my opinion, is the gainer.

The productions are very numerous, and many of them are valuable as articles of exportation. Amongst these coffee, rice, cotton, sugar, tea, arrow-root, ginger, pepper, and ground-nuts, (from which an excellent oil is extracted) are the most valuable as articles of commerce, and some of them are now produced in considerable quantities, and will, in a short time, be produced in very large quantities, for the Liberians are giving renewed attention to agriculture, in which will consist their greatest wealth.

I have seen thousands of coffee trees, and large quantities of coffee of the first quality, which meets with a ready sale. The manufacture of sugar was yet in its infancy, but that produced is a superior article. Being raised in one of the southern States, we claim some little knowledge of the quality of cotton, and we must say that the Liberian cotton is as fine in quality, and more abundant in quantity than the cotton in the southern States, and I am convinced that an equal amount of labor bestowed in the cultivation of this article in the respective countries, will give a yield of raw material, of more than fifty per cent in favor of Liberia.

Rice and Indian corn or maize, are produced in large quantities,

and are mainly consumed by the inhabitants; nevertheless the exportation of rice is gradually increasing.

The tea tree or plant, can be grown in any quantity, and the quality of the article produced is superior.

But one of the most important articles of production is the palm tree, and the oil extracted from the nut. Palm oil is the leading article in the commerce of Western Africa at this day, and the Liberians will soon command the most of that trade.

The croton-oil nuts, castor oil plant, and india rubber tree, are likewise sources of wealth.

The forest trees of Liberia are valuable for many uses, timber for building ships and houses, dye woods that command a ready market and high prices, and such timber as is used by cabinet makers for the finest furniture; amongst such may be named the cam-wood, teak, ebony, lignumvitæ, rosewood, mahogany, &c.

Spices, aromatic drugs, and valuable gums, are the common products of the country.

Indigo is found as a common weed, and may be manufactured in any quantity. The fruits are numerous and delicious. I have seen oranges of the finest flavor, pine apples of a large size, guavas, lemons, limes, plantains, bananas, tamarinds, rose apples, pomegranates, cherries, cocoa-nuts, paw-paws, mango-pums, alligator pears, patango, melons, sour-sop, chota, and ohra ale in great abundance.

The vegetables are equally numerous and well flavored. We have seen and used sweet potatoes of the finest quality, and likewise cabbages, turnips, tomafoes, cassadas and yams; and the beets, radishes, carrots, cymplings, butter beans, snap-beans, peas, cucumbers, and mellons are superior.

The domestic animals and barn yard fowls, are the same as those of this country, excepting the difference caused by the improvement of American stock, and a little attention to this matter will enable the Liberians, to raise in any desired quantity, a good class of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, hogs, and the various kinds of fowls now found in this country.

The wild game is abundant, including deer of several varieties, which are very plentiful. The rivers and lakes abound with fish; in those, and along the coast, an abundance of salmon, mackel, perch, &c. are found, whilst the water, flowing from the springs, and found in the wells of the country, is pure and good.

From this brief review it will be seen that Liberia is a land of

plenty, and the industrious citizen may with ease secure, not only the necessities of life, but its luxuries; and with no more exertion than is used in this country, by the man of color, to procure a scanty subsistence, he may become a man of wealth.

The mineral wealth of Liberia, is yet unknown, but we may safely suppose that from the indications of mineral found scattered over the surface of the country, that copper, iron, and coal abound. I secured and brought home with me, a few specimens of copper and iron ore, and gold is known to abound in Africa, of which I was shown several specimens. Those undeveloped mines of wealth may be made to yield their treasures with ease to the well directed efforts of the miner.

Mechanics are in good demand in Liberia, house builders, bricklayers, carpenters, ship builders, blacksmiths, shoe makers, &c., &c., and such will receive from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per day.

The climate to me was pleasant and agreeable, and I presume the following statement of Dr. Lugenbeel, who resided in that country a number of years is strictly correct.

"On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant. The extremes of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65° and 90°. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, is about 76°, and during the dry season about 54°. The mean temperature for the year is about 80°

The only recognized division of the year into seasons is the wet or rainy, and the dry season, or in common parlance, the 'rains' and the 'dries;' the former of which answers nearly to our summer and autumn, and the latter to our winter and spring. During the half of the year commencing with May, much more rain falls than during the other half, commencing with November. As a general rule, however, it may be stated, that some rain falls during every month in the year; and in every month there is some fine, clear, pleasant weather."

The acclimating fever has been regarded by many as one of the great hinderances to the rapid growth of Liberia, and a cause of terror to emigrants. From our observation and experience, we are convinced that the terrors of this disease have been magnified, and we know that it is neither so painful nor so dangerous as represented. Like others, we had to pass through this ordeal, but we were not incommoded by it more than ten days, nor were we confined to the house more than one third of that time.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN MC KAY.

APPENDIX.

[A.]

STATE DEPARTMENT.
Monrovia, February 13th, 1854. }

His Excellency JOSEPH A. WRIGHT,

Governor of the State of Indiana, United States of America.

SIR:—I am directed by President ROBERTS, to inform you, that your favor of September 27th, 1853, has been received, and its contents particularly noticed.

As President ROBERTS expressed to your Excellency, the Government and people of Liberia will do all in their power, consistently with their interests, to further the views of the Legislature of the State of Indiana, and of the State Colonization Board, for colonizing the free colored people of that State, in Liberia, but, for reasons explained to your Excellency in President ROBERTS' communication of 5th July last, the Government does not think it politic to swerve from the usages which have always regulated its intercourse with respect to emigrants coming to Liberia.

The President laid before the Legislature at its last session the correspondence he had on the subject with you; and I now have the honor of enclosing a copy of the resolve of the Legislature, which, you will discover, sustains the view at first taken in the premises.

The Rev. Mr. Mc Kay, agent of the Indiana Colonization Board, now in Liberia, and who proposes to return to the United States in the vessel which conveys this letter, will be able to give Your Excellency full information with respect to the views and feelings of this Government, in regard to a settlement at Grand Cape Mount.

I beg to enclose to Your Excellency a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Mc Kay by President ROBERTS, upon this subject, which embraces the views of this Government, and which I trust will meet the concurrence of the Indiana Colonization Board.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

J. N. LEWIS, Secretary of State.

[B.]

[corr.]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.
Monrovia, February 7th, 1854. }

SIR:—I have had the honor of your favor of the 26th ultimo, communicating the desire of the Indiana State Colonization Board to obtain, by purchase from this Government, a grant of land, "for 7 miles square, bordering on the sea, at Grand Cape Mount, for the use of emigrants from the State of Indiana, &c., &c."

In reply I have the honor to inform you, that during the last session of the Legislature, I availed myself of the occasion to lay before that body the correspondence had between His Excellency

Governor Wright and myself, on the subject of your letter. Accompanying is a copy of the resolve of the legislature, sustaining, as you will observe, the view I had taken of the question, in my letter to Governor Wright.

The subject has been one of anxious thought; and I scarcely need remark, sir, that the government and people of Liberia are sincerely desirous of meeting, as far as appears to them compatible with their interests, the wishes of the Indiana State Colonization Board. But for reasons already stated in my communication to Governor Wright, July 5th, 1853, and which I need not repeat here, as also in view of other considerations which I have had the honor of stating to you verbally, the Government feel that the proposition of the Indiana State Colonization Board, for the purchase of a tract of land at Grand Cape Mount, for the exclusive use of emigrants from that State, cannot consistently be entertained.

It is earnestly hoped, however, that some arrangement may be concluded to secure co-operation between the Government here and the Indiana Board, in the object contemplated.

If I understand correctly, the object of the Indiana State Colonization Board is to hold out additional inducements to the colored people of the State to emigrate to Liberia, by granting to each family so emigrating, one hundred acres of land. Now sir, it strikes me that this might be effected in a manner agreeable to all parties.

The Government of Liberia will readily allot a section of land in the Grand Cape Mount district for the location of emigrants from the State of Indiana; and will assign to such emigrants town or farm lots, under existing regulations of this Government; which may be increased in quantity, at the pleasure of the Indiana Board, by purchase from the Government at the established rates for public lands, or at prices agreed on between this Government and the Indiana Board; and the title from the Government, vested immediately in the citizen immigrant.

Grand Cape Mount is a desirable location for a settlement. But I may not omit to remind you, sir, of the necessity, in forming a new settlement there, of taking proper precautions against the treachery of the natives.

I have now, sir, only to add—waiving the proposition for a grant of land—that the Government of Liberia will be most happy to co-operate with the Indiana State Colonization Board, in any measures it may think proper to adopt for carrying out its benevolent objects, in reference to securing a home in Liberia for the colored people of that State.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

(Signed)

[C.]

WHEREAS, His Excellency the President has laid before the Legislature for its consideration certain documents, a request of His Excellency Joseph A. Wright, Governor of the State of Indiana, United States of America, for a grant of the territory of Grand Cape Mount, in favor of said State, for a location for settling the free people of color, emigrating from said State to Liberia, it is therefore

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia, in Legislature assembled, That we concur in the proceedings of His Excellency the President in his reply to the correspondence of His Excellency Joseph A. Wright, Governor of the State of Indiana, United States of America.

Further, that it would be impolitic for this Government to grant to any Government, Society or parties, land with an exclusive right to apportion said land or territory as they may deem proper,

to the exclusion of any company of emigrants emigrating to Liberia, or to give any Government, Society or parties jurisdiction of whatever nature, over any portion of our territorial limits.

Further, that the President be and he is hereby requested to extend every facility and favor he may deem justifiable in the premises, to the request of His Excellency Governor Wright, for carrying out the act of the State of Indiana for the colonization of free people of color from that State, in Liberia.

B. V. R. JAMES,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

A. D. WILLIAMS,

Vice President Republic Liberia.

Approved 28th December, 1853.

J. J. ROBERTS.

A true Copy,

J. N. LEWIS, *Secretary of State.*

[D.]

ANNUAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT ROBERTS.

*Gentlemen of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives:*

It is my duty on the present occasion of your meeting to inform you of the condition of the Republic. And I cannot, perhaps, commence in a manner more appropriate than by erecting another Ebenezer, saying, "*Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.*" Every revolving year brings with it cause of congratulation and thankfulness to God that the great work in which we are engaged, of rearing up on these barbarous shores a Christian State, is onward in its march, by gradually developing its practicability and excellence.

During the year that has just passed, a kind Providence has watched over us for good, and our country has been signally blessed in all its relations. Every important interest of the government and people seems to bear the marks of Divine favor and approbation. No pestilence has afflicted our land; but, on the contrary, an unusual degree of health has been dispensed to its inhabitants. The agricultural prospects of the country were never more encouraging than at the present time—in no year of the Republic have the labors of the husbandman been more abundantly rewarded. The mercantile interests of the country seems to be in a healthful state; our merchants are extending their operations by opening up new sources of commerce; and their efforts are producing very satisfactory results, not only in reference to products and trade, but the prosperity attending these branches of industry and enterprise has given an impulse to general improvement decidedly encouraging. Our educational interests have also been blessed—the educational facilities extended to the people through missionary enterprise and the benevolence of private individuals in the United States, are now more extensive than ever before, and promise much good to the youth of our several communities—who, I am glad to say, are

availing themselves of these advantages, and are making gratifying advancements in the various branches of useful knowledge. But above all, God has been pleased to bless the people with a gracious visitation of his churches—inspiring them with a spirit of pure and undefiled religion—thereby wonderfully extending the inestimable benefits of christianity among the idolatrous tribes of this land, and dispelling the gloom of moral night which has so long overshadowed them.

These blessings, gentlemen, are not fortuitous, but sure indications of Divine protection and favor, and should create in the minds of our fellow-citizens, generally, as I doubt not they do, feelings of devout gratitude and praise to that beneficent Being who, in his goodness, continues to favor us with such distinguished mercies. And in this connection I am impressed with the belief, and there is certainly nothing in it presumptuous or extravagant, that the prosperity of our country, resulting from these blessings of Providence, has a relation to something out of it, and beyond itself. Its meaning, evidently, is subservience to the good of Africa; and to my mind is sufficient proof that God is forming this people for himself; that He has raised up Liberia to exert a special agency in the great work of redeeming this vast peninsula from barbarism, superstition, and idolatry.

I maintain fully the doctrine that "God has just as really a work for nations to do as he has for individuals;" and that there may be just as much of speciality in one case as there is in the other. If diversity of position, gifts, and social relations, lays the foundation for a difference of action and influence as it respects individual persons, why may not the same diversity, existing as it does among the great masses of men, present a reason for special exertion and influence, as it respects particular nations? And this appears to me to be consistent with the history of nations in all ages. In the wise economy of God each nation has its particular work assigned it, and is responsible for its performance. Many considerations lead to this conclusion. And, in relation to Africa, it would seem that the past history of Liberia clearly indicates some special design in Providence, some intimation that through her the conflict between truth and error; between freedom and slavery, is to be decided, and the victory given to eternal righteousness in the elevation of down-trodden Africa. A single glance at the past and we readily see there was something in the first planting of these settlements, something

in the character of the men who formed the nucleus of this Commonwealth, which is altogether peculiar, and seems plainly to indicate some special design. Perhaps no other nation began its existence under circumstances so peculiarly embarrassing as ours. But the men who laid the foundation of Liberia's existence were chosen and precious. They were not men of extensive learning, or of great wealth, but enterprising, conscientious men, imbued with the principles of freedom. Keenly alive to the wrongs they were suffering, they fled from grinding oppression to this, their fatherland, to establish and enjoy, in government and religion, what is set forth in the Bible as the birth-right of all men, and the foundation of all advance in human well-being.

The settlement of Liberia by such a class of men was a great event in the Providence of God, and seemed most clearly to point out His purposes; and to our election for some special and mighty agency in the work of rescuing this continent from the iron grasp of ignorance and sin. And, gentlemen, do we not see indications also of the same design in the training to which the infancy of Liberia was subjected. Means and ends have a connection:—by the character of one we are led to look for something answering to it in the other. A remarkable antecedent in the Providence of God foreshadows to us peculiarity of design in the sequence. And this is clearly illustrated by the strange facts in the early history of Israel. The wonderful providence in reference to that people must have made a deep impression on all reflecting minds that God was forming them for some great end, that He was training them for some mighty agency in the work of his mercy to man.

The beginning betokened the design. And so we may reason in reference to Liberia. In the annals of no other country, Israel alone excepted, is there to be found such a series of trials; such a wrestling with difficulties, such scenes of imminent peril, and of signal deliverance. At every step we have been made to see our danger, and the hand of God in our rescue from it.

And, gentlemen, what could be more remarkable than that Providence, which, notwithstanding our feebleness, advanced us so rapidly to the position of acknowledged nationality? and gave to our institutions a character so simple and free, at the same time wholesome and efficient, admirably calculated to develop the energies of the people, and to exalt them in intelligence and virtue; institutions whose influence, like the congenial atmosphere we breathe, pervades

all, sustains all, and yet interferes with no act that is right; allows the fullest, freest exercise of thought and feelings, of everything compatible with the existence of virtue—the foundation of all freedom.

Here government is purely a benevolent arrangement, looking to the good of Africa, affording encouragement to the process of civil, social, and religious improvement among her children, leading them to the elevation where, in the Providence of God, I believe they are destined to rise—"that they may see good days wherein they have seen evil."

That Liberia has been trained in the school of a particular providence, and has been raised up for a particular work, in my mind scarcely admits of a doubt. And the character and extent of that particular work seems to me equally clear. And, gentlemen, those wonderful providences towards us should lead us to feel secure in God while we walk in the path which He hath marked out for us.

I am sensible, gentlemen, that this subject has long engaged your attention, and that you are deeply interested in the welfare of the heathen around us, and especially those, in the Providence of God, placed under our immediate care; and I doubt not, you will adopt such additional measures within your reach, as will bring them more speedily to the enjoyment of all the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

Considering the state of these people—so debased and degraded, through long ages of neglect and misery—it is exceedingly gratifying to observe the great and important changes which are now so rapidly being wrought in the social and moral condition of many of them. And these changes are steadily going forward, affecting not only the tribes immediately within the bounds of the government, but their influence is penetrating into the interior, and will ultimately and speedily be felt by those at the remotest distance. So far, certainly, the end has been commensurate with the means. And it is a matter of great encouragement to know that there is still an increasing willingness, on the part of the natives, to accept the benevolent offers of instruction held out to them by the government, and by Christian associations. "Do good and communicate to all men as you have opportunity," I may repeat here is a Divine command, and strictly applies to us in reference to the improvement of the aborigines of this land. And I know this to be your most earnest desire.

Gentlemen, I feel great satisfaction in being able to inform you

that since the last meeting of the Legislature nothing has occurred to disturb the friendly relations happily subsisting between this government and foreign powers. No cause of complaint seems now to exist, on the part of foreign merchants and traders, in relation to our commercial regulations; but their intercourse with the citizens of the Republic, as far as have come to my knowledge, is harmonious and conciliatory.

We continue to receive from her Britannic Majesty's Government assurances of friendly concern for our welfare. From the French Government we are also receiving tangible proofs of the interest his Imperial Majesty feels in the future prosperity of this infant State. As a present to this government, the French Minister of War has forwarded, recently, one thousand stand of arms, to be followed shortly—as advised by our agent in Paris—by an equal number of equipments for our militia. I am happy also to inform the Legislature that, during the year just passed, the independence of Liberia has been formally recognized by his Belgian Majesty—accompanied with expressions of friendship, and warmest wishes for our success and happiness. By recent intelligence from the United States I am assured that the cause of African Colonization, and of Liberia, is rapidly growing into public favor in that country. I regret, however, to have to acquaint the Legislature that the contemplated exploration by Commander Lynch, of the country lying east of this Republic, is, for the present, at least, given up.

I am aware that our fellow-citizens entertained encouraging hopes that this benevolent enterprise, on the part of the United States Government, would be carried into immediate execution. I know of no project—whether considered in relation to the development of the resources of the country, and the extension of commercial enterprise, or whether with a view to the spread of civilization and Christianity—that promises more real good to Liberia and to Africa in general, than an exploration of the interior just at this juncture. Unfortunately for us, our limited pecuniary resources will not allow us to undertake the work. We will, therefore, hope that the enterprise will not be wholly abandoned by the government of the United States.

I am gratified in being able to inform the Legislature that, with one or two exceptions, the public peace among the native tribes within our jurisdiction, has been steadily maintained, and among

the tribes by whom we are surrounded, I am happy to say, the best feeling towards this government prevails.

I have to state, and it is a matter of regret, that the efforts of the government to produce a reconciliation between certain Vey and Golah Chiefs, and restore peace to the country bordering on our northwest frontier, have not been as completely successful as could be wished. Notwithstanding every effort on the part of this government to accommodate the differences between them, in the early part of the present year their affairs grew worse, and assumed an aspect which threatened the most fearful consequences. The Vey Chiefs were obstinate—received our commissioners coldly—and disregarded every overture made to them for an amicable adjustment of the disputes and difficulties which were distracting the country. Nothing but war could satisfy their claims. Indeed, one of their chieftains, Boombo, encouraged by George Cane, of Grand Cape Mount, became so emboldened as to extend his depredations into the Dey country—sacking and burning towns and villages—murdering scores of the inhabitants, and carrying off hundreds of others into captivity.

Matters being driven to this extremity, no alternative was left the government but to take immediate, decisive, and coercive measures to check—nay, to put an end to these acts of aggression and cruelty. Therefore, in conformity with a resolution of the Legislature, adopted at its session in December last, “authorizing the Executive to employ the most feasible, and if necessary, forcible measures, for the purpose of bringing about a speedy termination of the existing difficulties and wars in the vicinity of Grand and Little Cape Mount;” early in the month of March a detachment of two hundred and fifty men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel McGill, was ordered to proceed to Little Cape Mount—to afford protection to the peaceable inhabitants of that district—to maintain the authority of the government—and to apprehend the offending chiefs, that they might be brought to answer for the gross violation of their solemn engagements with this government, to abstain from all wars; and that they be required to make reparation for the wrongs they had committed on unoffending tribes.

On the arrival of the troops at Little Cape Mount—after some delay—all the principal Chiefs on both sides—except two—were assembled, and an investigation commenced of the matters in dispute

between them, and of the chiefs who were implicated in the outrages committed on the Dey tribe. These matters, however, were found to be exceedingly complicated, and likely to consume much time in their adjustment; it was, therefore, thought advisable that the chiefs, who readily consented, should repair at a time fixed, to Monrovia, where the investigation would be resumed, and a final settlement of all the difficulties between them. In the meantime the atrocious criminality of Boombo being clearly apparent, he was arrested, and conveyed to this place, and handed over to the civil authority for judicial examination.

He has been tried and found guilty, on the fullest testimony, of all the charges alledged against him, and is now in prison undergoing the penalty of the law. With apparently deep humility and contrition, he acknowledges the enormity of his crime, and admits the justice of the punishment awarded him. Several Dey Chiefs have recently joined, under assurances for his future good conduct, believing, as they say, he was influenced wholly by George Cane, who has now abandoned his interest, to ask the clemency of the Government in his behalf. I submit their request to the consideration of the Legislature, simply remarking, gentlemen, that perhaps under all the circumstances, some commutation of his sentence might possibly be a matter of policy consistent with prudence.

I have the satisfaction to inform the Legislature that the measures taken by the Government, in reference to the Vey Chiefs, residing at Little Cape Mount, though not producing all the good effects desired, proved very beneficial by restoring peace to that neighborhood, and enabling the natives—especially of the Dey Country—to resume their agricultural pursuits, which in consequence of the disturbed state of the country had for some time been neglected; and but for the timely interference of the Government, another year would have found them almost wholly destitute and in great distress.

George Cane failed in his promise to meet the other chiefs here in April last, and I have reason to believe he has united with the Chief of Gorrnamra, and has recently made one or two predatory incursions into the eastern section of the Golah country. The intelligence, however, is not certain. I shall nevertheless be able, doubtless, during your present session, to give you further and more definite information in regard to him. With George Cane, war

seems to be a ruling passion. No persuasion, I fear, will restrain him from shedding the blood of his defenseless brethren. But that he must be checked, gentlemen, is certain. Common safety requires it, justice and humanity demand it, and these claims are not to be resisted. If, therefore, it shall be established that George Cane is yet carrying on his predatory wars, some measure should be speedily adopted to restrain him. I am happy to inform the Legislature, that with this exception, no serious discord seems to exist among the tribes within the jurisdiction of the Republic.

The state of affairs in relation to Trade Town remains unchanged—excepting, which was very desirable, that a reconciliation between Boyer and Jim Flo of Trade Town Point, has recently been effected. Boyer, however, has not yet fulfilled all his engagements with the government—especially in not having secured and delivered up for trial the person of Grando—whom he aided in the attacks upon our settlements in the county of Grand Bassa, in the year 1851. He has paid five hundred dollars in consideration of his misconduct on that occasion; but protests his inability, in consequence of Grando having escaped out of the country, to apprehend him. In every other respect he promises implicit obedience, and is constant in his assurances of fidelity to the government, and earnestly entreats that its ban upon him, in relation to commercial intercourse, may be removed. And perhaps it is due to him that I should state that notwithstanding the dubiousness of his motives, in one instance, certainly, he has demeaned himself in a manner which entitles him to some credit. A few months since a Portuguese slaver attempted to revive the slave trade in that district, and Boyer, with some others, engaged to deliver him, within a certain number of days, two hundred slaves, and received in advance a portion of the purchase money; in the mean time, however, Boyer communicated to the authorities at Grand Bassa, information of what was going on, which enabled the government to take measures to frustrate the whole design.

But, gentlemen, with respect to Boyer, I may also state that hitherto, than he, no chiefs within the bounds of the Republic, George Cane and Grando perhaps excepted, has been guilty of grosser deception and unblushing duplicity in all his intercourse with the government. For this reason, in connection with his failure to arrest Grando, whose escape from Trade Town, there were good reasons

to believe, he favored, indeed advised, I have not thought proper to withdraw the interdict prohibiting trade and intercourse with that territory.

It will now rest with the judgment of the Legislature to decide how far his recent conduct merits future confidence; also to determine whether any other demand shall be made in lieu of the stipulation for the delivery of Grando—which was a covenant of the first importance—and also whether the interdict, in reference to trade, shall be raised.

I am gratified in being able to state, gentlemen, that no measure hitherto adopted by this government for the punishment of gross misconduct on the part of native chiefs, especially those residing near the coast, has produced more satisfactory results than the interdiction, and the firmness with which it has been maintained, of commercial intercourse with Trade Town. I am satisfied it has given a stability to the authority of the government which no other measure could have produced in so short a time. And I am clearly of opinion that a similar policy, in reference to Grand Cape Mount, or the establishing of a settlement there, will have to be adopted to restrain George Cane from indulging that indomitable propensity for war which seems to possess him. The natives of that neighborhood report that he boasts of his intention to continue the war, and should the government send troops to chastise him, he has only to retire for a few weeks into the interior, beyond their reach, and when the troops shall have left the country he will return to prosecute his designs. Such, doubtless, are his reasonings, as he is aware of the impracticability of maintaining a military force in the country for any length of time. The antidote, however, is an interdict of commercial intercourse with Grand Cape Mount.

Close up the channels through which he obtains his supply of arms and other munitions of war, and in a very short time he will be powerless, and, like Boyer, will return to his allegiance to the government.

In this connection, gentlemen, I am happy to state that the successful attack, by the troops of the Republic, in 1852, on Boyer's fortified town, which was supposed by the natives to be impregnable, has, I am persuaded, fully established, in regard to the natives, the invincibility of our arms, and that in future the authority of the government is not likely to be opposed by open force.

Nevertheless, I beg to remind the Legislature of the importance

of continuing a well organized militia, which, in reference to the natives, seems to be the only thing that can give them an idea of the power of the government. And, gentlemen, this is not the only consideration which should draw the attention of the Legislature to the necessity of cherishing and maintaining an efficient military force. We have settlements remote and weak, surrounded on all sides by savage tribes who delight in war, and whose cupidity is easily excited, and which, in many instances, is only restrained by a knowledge of the readiness and power of the government to punish their temerity. It becomes us, therefore, to be prepared for any emergency. Our citizens should be thoroughly trained in the use of arms, and for acting together if called into the field. But to effect this satisfactorily, our present militia system requires revision. And I would recommend it, gentlemen, to your careful attention, with the hope that you will adopt such improvements as shall give promise of greater efficiency to this arm of public defense.

It has been suggested, gentlemen, in respectable quarters, that the Legislature, at its present session, should take into serious consideration the necessity of recommending to the people some amendments to the Constitution, which the times seem to demand.

An amendment to the 11th section of the 1st article, which defines the right of suffrage, is suggested as being particularly desirable. The object of this amendment, it appears, is to provide against abuses of the elective franchise; as also against evils which it is supposed are likely to arise in the event of a large influx of immigrants on the eve of an election, who, according to existing regulations, are permitted, immediately on their arrival in the Republic, to draw lands under a certificate; which certificate, as expressed in the law, gives only an "imperfect right" in the land until certain improvements shall have been made on it, when said certificate may be exchanged for a deed in fee simple.

The section of the constitution referred to provides that "every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage." By some it is held that persons holding land under certificate come within the meaning of this section; others maintain that the word possession, as employed in this connection, was intended to imply absolute right or title—a freehold estate in one's own right, subject to no conditions; therefore, the party holding land by certificate only, cannot claim under it the privilege of voting. This subject, by some means, came up before

the Legislature at its last session, when the following Bill, entitled "An Act defining the right entitling male citizens to suffrage," was adopted, viz:

"That from and after the passage of this Act, all male citizens of twenty-one years of age, who have drawn lands, and holding a certificate, showing the time at which said lands were drawn, thereby giving the drawer possession, shall be considered possessors of real estate, and allowed the right of suffrage during the term which is allowed by law for the improvement of said lands." This definition of the Legislature, however, though observed at the late general election, does not settle the question at issue. Indeed, instead of satisfying the objections that had been raised, it has given rise to new grounds of complaint, and has also excited no little animadversion among the people. It is contended that the act of defining is in itself unconstitutional, and though adopted possibly as a fiction of policy, it is calculated to establish a precedent of a most dangerous tendency, at once repugnant to, and subversive of the first principles of the Constitution. And, gentlemen, it must be admitted that the arguments carry with them some weight. It is too well known, scarcely to require mention that in forming the Constitution no one principle was kept more prominently before the Convention than a division of the three great powers of the government, legislative, judicial, and executive; that they should be independent of and separate from each other—each confined to the discharge of the proper and legitimate functions assigned it. Under this wise and judicious arrangement it is for the Legislature to make laws, not to interpret them—those even of the least importance, much less the fundamental law of the Constitution. To weigh words and sentences, to define their distinct and legal meaning, especially in reference to the provisions of the Constitution, is for another department of the government, not the Legislature.

However, it was this action of the Legislature principally, I believe, that suggested the idea of amending the Constitution. But, gentlemen, while I confess that in my opinion, some amendments to the Constitution, consistent with the interests of the people, and perhaps at the present time demand, are desirable, I am also of opinion that no such necessity exists for the purposes contemplated, in regard to the section referred to. It is, nevertheless, quite plain that the subject which has led to these reflections is one of much importance, and is entitled to the serious and candid consideration of the

Legislature. The abuses complained of, and the evils likely to arise from the causes to which I have alluded, are such, gentlemen, as should be remedied and provided against. And the remedies to be applied are clearly within the scope of the powers of the Legislature. A slight revision of the law regulating elections will correct the one, and the passage of a naturalization law will secure the object desired in regard to the other.

Gentlemen, in a young and prosperous State, where with each revolving year, the power and resources of the Government and the energies of the people are being rapidly developed, it becomes frequently expedient to make new laws, or modify old ones, to meet the exigencies of affairs growing out of these changes; hence the frequent recurrence of your meetings.

And coming, as you do, from all parts of the Republic, it is presumed that you are acquainted with the particular wants of the people, having learned from them the practical operations of old laws and the expediency of enacting new ones. It is, therefore, expected, gentlemen, that your attention will be drawn to a review of the present code, in all its branches, and that you will make such additional laws or amendments as the general good may require or that circumstances may justify. I may, however, be permitted to invite your particular attention to the navigation, commerce, and revenue law, which, in view of the extension of trade, requires, in my opinion, some alterations, which I will take occasion at an early day to lay before you, necessary to its efficiency, and at the same time will be affording greater facilities and encouragement to commercial enterprise.

I am not aware, gentlemen, of any very important changes necessary to be made in the Judiciary. The present system, though susceptible of improvement, works well, except, perhaps, so much as relates to the probate court, whose power should be increased to enable it to act with more promptness in the settlement of estates. I recommend the whole system, however, to the careful attention of the Legislature. Nothing, certainly, is more interesting to the public happiness, than the faithful administration of justice. To this branch of the political organization the citizen looks with confidence for the protection and security of his rights, and for the redress of grievances. Before the court he presents himself, with full assurance that just recompense will be awarded him for wrongs which he may have suffered from the hands of others. It is, therefore, important

that every facility for carrying the laws into prompt and faithful execution should be provided. And I may also add, that it is equally important that the rules of legal proceedings before the several courts should be made as simple as possible, stripped of all unnecessary technicalities, and brought within the comprehension of every citizen.

I beg also, gentlemen, to draw your attention to the subject of education, than which no subject is more vitally important to the future welfare and prosperity of our infant State. The government being immediately under the influence and control of the people; wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among them, are as absolutely necessary to the support and stability of the government, as for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, it is the duty of the Legislature to cherish and sustain, by every possible effort, this great interest. I am sensible, gentlemen, of the deep solitude you feel in regard to this subject; I am well aware that the limited state of the public finances, at the present time, will not allow you to appropriate much money to this object. I doubt not, however, that you will encourage, to the extent of your ability, those missionary societies and other institutions which are promoting among us the means of education, as well as true religion; and are preparing many of the youth of the Republic for useful employment both in Church and in State. I have the satisfaction to inform the Legislature that the Act of incorporation for "Liberia College" has been accepted by the gentlemen therein named as Trustees; that they have organized themselves into a body corporate; and though their plans, I believe, are not fully digested, we may hope that they will be able soon to carry the contemplated college into operation. It has been suggested, however, that some of the provisions of the charter are not as clear and as well defined as could be wished, therefore doubts might arise in regard to their true meaning, which it would be well to prevent by an amendatory act—a draft of which has been handed to me, and is herewith submitted for your consideration.

Another object of general interest which deserves the fostering care of the government, and which cannot fail to suggest itself to your attention, is agriculture. There are but few subjects that can enter with greater force and merit into the deliberations of the Legislature than a consideration of the best means of promoting, es-

pecially among the native tribes, the agricultural interests of the country. This source of national independence and wealth I recommend to the constant guardianship of the Legislature.

The land along the banks of the St. Paul river, as far as Millsburg, having been all taken up, it has occurred to me, gentlemen, that great advantages might be secured by opening an avenue or road from the river, at some suitable point, leading into the interior; on each side of which farm lots may be laid out for the accommodation of new settlers. I have conferred with the gentleman who has charge of the Colonization Society's affairs, and the location of immigrants coming out under its auspices to this country upon this subject. He approves the plan, and thinks the society would not object to defray a portion of the expense thus incurred. I recommend the subject to the favorable consideration of the Legislature.

Perhaps, gentlemen, of all the evidences of the prosperity of the country, the increase of population is the most unequivocal. And with respect to Liberia, the constitution requiring that the first enumeration under it shall be ordered by the Legislature, this has not been ascertained since the year 1843. I beg, therefore, to recommend to the particular attention of the Legislature the propriety of making provision, at the present session, for taking a census or reenumeration of the whole inhabitants of the Republic, including the entire aboriginal as well as the Americo-Liberian population.

Gentlemen, I have the honor of laying before you a communication from Governor Wright, enclosing an Act of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, in reference to the purchase of a tract of land in Liberia, as a location for emigrants from that State. You will observe, gentlemen, that one of the provisions of the Act is opposed to the existing regulations of this government with regard to the allotment of lands to emigrants, and which, in my opinion, it would be impolitic to adopt. I have communicated to Governor Wright my views respecting that provision, and have stated some of the reasons which make it inexpedient for this government to entertain it, and at the same time suggested a plan which I thought might meet the wishes of the General Assembly. Accompanying is a copy of my letter. No further communication from Governor Wright, however, has been received. Nevertheless, in the meantime, I would ask an expression of the Legislature in regard to this subject, that the Executive might be prepared to act definitely should the question be revived.

I have an intimation, gentlemen, that a subject of much delicacy will probably be submitted to your consideration during the course of the present session. I allude to a petition which I understand will be laid before the Legislature by Mr. Jacob Vonbrum, and others, his relatives, of Grand Bassa, who claim the right of property in a certain tract of land in the aforesaid county, lying along the beach between the old settlement of Bassa Cove and Fishtown Point. They rest their claim on a purchase alleged to have been made many years ago of King John, by their father, to secure the right of way to the coast. This being a subject of much importance, I may state, for the information of the Legislature, that a portion of the tract claimed was purchased—whether before or after the purchase alleged to have been made by Mr. Vonbrum's father is uncertain—of King Joe Harris, by the New York and Pennsylvania Colonization Societies;* and was occupied in the year 1834 by the immigrants landed from the ship *Ninus*, whose melancholy fate forms a part of the history of Liberia. And subsequently, in 1836, a council of the chiefs of the whole country, attended by Governor Buchanan and Dr. Skinner, was assembled at Fishtown, when, as appears from the document executed on the occasion, not only the purchase made of King Joe Harris was confirmed, but the remaining portion of the territory lying around the sweep of Bassa Cove was ceded to the Commonwealth. It also appears, from what I can learn, that Mr. Vonbrum's father was represented in this council, but no claim was set up in his behalf, or any reservation made in his favor. I beg, however, to add that while the rights of the government should be strictly guarded and looked after, individual rights are no less sacred, and that justice to Mr. Vonbrum and those connected with him in the claim referred to, demands that a candid and careful investigation of the whole matter be had by the Legislature, and if the claim can be established, that their rights be secured.

I have the satisfaction to inform the Legislature that the progress of repairs and improvement of public buildings has been as favorable as circumstances have permitted. For want of funds, no measures have yet been taken to commence the building ordered to

* This territory was negotiated for by Robert McDowall, M. D., on the part of the "YONG MEN'S COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA." The Deed bears date December 2, 1834. The first settlement on said land was made by the Pennsylvania Society with money contributed principally by citizens of Philadelphia. The New York State Colonization Society was not known in the purchase or the purchase considerations.—*Editor Col. Herald.*

be erected in this city for the Executive residence. I am happy to say, however, that the prospects are now more favorable, and that the work may be commenced, during the present season, under a fair prospect of being prosecuted to completion within a reasonable time. I would also invite your attention to the dilapidated condition of the light-house on Cape Mesurado, which is almost entirely unfit for use. I recommend that provision be made for the erection of a new house, more suitable to the purpose, and for supplying a camp better adapted to the wants of the mariner. A further appropriation for the erection of the prison in the county of Grand Bassa is found to be necessary, and to which I would ask your particular attention. Your consideration is also invited to the accompanying communication from Mr. Edward Hall, of Greenville, Sinon, requesting, on behalf of the proprietors of the saw-mill in that county, that the Government will extend to them such aid as will enable them to carry forward more successfully their operations.

The estimates of the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year, together with an account of the receipts and expenditures at the treasury will be laid before the Legislature at an early day. In the account, gentlemen, you will observe that the expenses of the year have been greatly, though unavoidably, increased by the necessity of maintaining, for several months, a garrison at the new settlement of Buchanan, as also by the expedition to Little Cape Mount, and other measures which the Government has been compelled to adopt for the purpose of settling disputes and difficulties among certain native tribes, and putting an end to their cruel and destructive wars. But we may reasonably hope that the harmony now so generally subsisting between the several tribes will continue, and that in future there will be no occasion for expending any considerable amount of money to maintain this good understanding and preserve peace.

I may not omit to mention in this place, also, that we are under renewed obligations both to the American and to the New York State Colonization Societies for pecuniary assistance rendered the Government during the year, and which arrived very opportunely to relieve it of some pressing demands.

In the report of the Secretary of the Treasury the state of the public finances will be fully shown. I have great pleasure, however, of stating here, that the condition and prospects of the revenue are decidedly encouraging—indeed, quite equal to our most sanguine expectation.

During the year just passed the revenue has been more considerable than during any former year. And from the increased, and still increasing trade, and commercial facilities, bringing into the Republic large quantities of merchandise, it may be safely estimated that the revenue which will be received into the treasury from that source during the present year, will considerably exceed the amount of receipts of the year just ended. It is, therefore, confidently hoped that with the means which the Government will have at its disposal, from various sources, during the year, not only its ordinary expenses will be met, but all its present liabilities will be discharged, and that such public improvements may be made as are thought to be particularly necessary.

The receipts, into the treasury, from all sources, for the fiscal year ending 30th September last, have been 35,093 dollars, while the public expenditures to the same period have amounted to \$32,072; leaving in the treasury on that day, exclusive of sundry merchandise in public warehouse, \$2,695. I may also add, there is now due the treasury, from various sources, the sum of \$7,963; and the present liabilities of the Government, including \$5,738 due to foreigners, amount to \$13,925; leaving a balance against the Government at the period above named of \$6,062.

It is my duty to inform the Legislature that the strictest accountability has been observed by the officers who have been charged with the management of the fiscal concerns of the Government. No delinquency has been discovered. And as the period for which many of the officers who have been associated with me in the administration of public affairs, during the present Presidential term, expires with the current year, I avail myself of this occasion to assure the Legislature that the officers, generally, have manifested their best endeavors in the discharge of their respective duties, and I am greatly indebted to them for their cordial support and co-operation in everything which has been suggested for the advancement and benefit of the public interest. But, gentlemen, in the afflicting dispensations of Divine Providence, during the year, two of our most distinguished fellow-citizens and public servants, have been removed by death. To say that Hon. H. Teage and James Brown are no more, is but to open afresh the fountain of public grief. But while we bow in humble submission to the afflicting hand of Divine Providence; the earnestness of language, the force of arguments, and the commanding eloquence of our late Secretary of State, can

never be erased from the memory of those who have listened to his patriotic appeals in this Chamber, in advocacy of Liberia's rights and national interests. Superior genius and talents were his, and his mind endowed by nature with a lively imagination, and a remarkable degree of logical strength, admirably fitted him for the many responsible public stations, which through the course of many years, he was called to fill.

And (except that his public career numbered fewer years) less may not be said in reference to the public services of the late ex-Senator Brown, whose love of country knew no bounds, whose ardour increased in proportion to the difficulties which surrounded it, and when danger threatened, no personal sacrifice was too great for him to make for the public weal. It is not for me, however, to pronounce here an eulogium on the public life and character of these eminent men. Their public deeds are identified with, and belong to the history of Liberia, and will be recorded on its pages.

Gentlemen, in the above I have submitted for your information, and have recommended to your consideration such objects of public concern as occurred to me worthy your particular attention and serious deliberation. I may, however, during the course of your session, have occasion to invite your attention to other matters of interest connected to the common weal. In the meantime, gentlemen, I am fully persuaded that your own zeal for the interest of your fellow-citizens will readily suggest to you other subjects of importance which will claim your immediate attention.

It is a matter of congratulation that the views which I have been able to lay before the Legislature of our affairs—foreign and domestic—presents gratifying and indubitable proofs of the continued prosperity of our country.

And in conclusion, gentlemen, allow me to say that I am deeply sensible of the arduousness as well as of the importance of the labors in which you are now about to engage. To your guardianship are committed the rights and interests of the whole people of this Republic; and your first care is to preserve and foster these by good and wholesome laws, thereby laying deep the foundation of Liberia's future happiness and prosperity. And, gentlemen, I scarcely need remind you that the prosperity of a nation depends much upon the purity of its patriotism—especially of its legislators. If this be founded on the broad and solid basis of right, political economy, as well as moral philosophy, pledges to it the possession

of every object which lies within the grasp of national desire. If we desire to seek our country's good; to see her people prosperous and happy; her government permanent and just; and her national character high and commanding, this is true patriotism—a passion which, if controlled by virtuous principles, leads to much that is generous in sentiment, elevated in purpose, and noble in action. Men, however, do not always distinguish between the popular and the true notion of patriotism. Local attachment is a radical principle in the constitution of man, and often leads him to that popular notion of patriotism which is selfish in its objects, and in its domestic relations devoted to sectional interests. But this is not true patriotism—that patriotism which, unbounded by county lines, or sectional prejudices, is founded upon the law of benevolence; and when exercised, extinguishes a thousand jealousies which are ever ready to interrupt public harmony. True patriotism is, in its very nature, virtuous; doing right, which is virtue itself. It aims by equal legislation, extending to the remotest angles of the country to encourage and support the interests of all.

Acting ourselves, gentlemen, upon these principles of a pure and high-minded patriotism, and inculcating them in the rising generation, then shall our patrimony be also that of our children—and Liberty, having here found a home, shall abide for ever.

Gentlemen, I have now only to assure you of my cheerful concurrence and assistance, where required, to promote the discharge of your present duties. And my earnest prayer is, that your minds may be drawn to that Almighty Being, the source of all wisdom and knowledge, and from whence come all earthly blessings, that He will enlighten your understandings, and so direct your deliberations that whatever measures you may adopt they shall tend to the perpetuity of our institutions, the improvement of society, and the spread of civilization and christianity among the barbarous tribes of this continent.

J. J. ROBERTS.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Monrovia, Dec. 6th, 1853.

It may not be out of place to re-publish the appeal of Wm. W. Findlay, in connection with this report, as he is referred to therein, and as some of his friends may wish to review it and again consider its sober truths :

Appeal of Wm. W. Findlay, to the Colored People of Indiana.

DEAR FRIENDS :—The writer being a colored man, it may be supposed that he desires the well-being of his race, not a part of the colored race, but of the whole race of Africans, in this land and in Africa. Nor do I consider myself guilty of affectation, when I say, that I ardently desire their elevation, and am willing to contribute all I can to that end. It has long been an inquiry with me, how can our race be elevated? *How can colored men be made truly independent?* After much anxious and painful inquiry, I have concluded, that to be *truly* independent, we must enjoy rights and privileges *as broad* and *as liberal* as those enjoyed by the white citizens of the United States. In other words, have the right of electing our law-makers, and our magistrates; and all the offices of State should be accessible to our color; and not only so, but we should be free to move in such circles of society as we may be entitled to by our moral worth, character, and talents; and likewise free to form alliance with those classes of society. These, in my humble opinion, are the rights and privileges *we must possess* before we can be *independent*.

But now let us inquire in candor, do we, as a people, enjoy such independence? Do colored men, in the most liberal of the northern States, enjoy such independence? You all know that they do not—the sad reverse is the case. And will the time soon come in the history of American society, when the colored man will be permitted to enjoy such independence—independence, not only in civil things, but independence in all the more delicate matters of social equality? I must honestly confess I think not. And further, I am bold to confess that anything short of the above described independence will not satisfy me, nor should anything short satisfy the man of an independent spirit.

But such independence we cannot obtain in the United States, therefore I will seek it outside the United States. *I will seek it here I know I can find it*, and that is in the Republic of Liberia.

which is the only christian Republic where the colored man can find a quiet and secure home. Nor do I act dishonorably in thus escaping from civil and social oppression, for I am only doing what thousands of the first and best settlers of the United States did, and I think it an honor to follow their example, in seeking liberty, though like them I be compelled to seek it in a wilderness. And the object of this appeal is to invite you who love true independence, and are willing to endure some toil to obtain it, to go with us to that land of liberty, where we may likewise aid in the elevation and enlightenment of our whole race, *which duty is more obligatory on us*, than upon the white race, many of whom are willing to *sacrifice* their lives and property in the work of converting Africa.

Some of you may blame us for not staying in this land and contending for all the above rights of man. Our answer to all such complaints is this: we believe that civil slavery in this land will be abolished by Divine Providence without the co-operation of the free colored man; he requires not our aid in this work—he can and will, in his own way, sweep slavery from the civil institutions of America. But I honestly doubt whether it is the will or order of Providence to grant us perfect social equality *with the white race at this time*, nor am I disposed to strive or quarrel with them for this favor, but would follow the example of Abraham, who disliked the strife that had sprung up between him and Lot, and religiously proposed separation as a remedy for the quarrel, and a means of perpetuating peace; so we should separate from the white race, that we may be free and they enjoy peace; for, doubtless, God has given this land to them. Acting from the above religious and honorable views, we confidently expect that God will bless us in our movements.

It is the design of the writer and some of his friends, to go out to Liberia about the month of October or November next, and it is desirable to have as many emigrants from Indiana as we can muster. Liberia holds out many attractions for the man of color, but the greatest is that of liberty and independence. Thousands have gone from this land to that, and all who have been industrious have done well; many of them are becoming wealthy, but what is best, *they are all free!* Come, let us go and cast our lot in with them and be free likewise. If any of you have been cherishing the spirit of independence, and long for such freedom as the free Republic of Liberia offers, and if you desire a passage to that land, just let your wishes be known to the Agent of the American Colonization Society

in this State. Address Rev. J. MITCHELL, at Indianapolis, who will be pleased to book your name as an emigrant and procure for you a passage out, and send you all the information that you may want. No time should be lost--*act now*, act for yourselves, your children, and your race.

WM. W. FINDLAY.

COVINGTON, IND., April 6th, 1849.

[E.]

PLAN OF SETTLEMENT.

At a public meeting of the State Board of Colonization held on the 29th of May, 1854, the foregoing report and accompanying documents were submitted to the Board, and after consideration, we submitted the following statement, founded thereon, which being considered was adopted, together with the appended resolutions:

From all the evidence we can gather relating to this subject, we believe that Grand Cape Mount is the most desirable location for the Indiana settlement. "Africa would be preferable to Europe," said the French navigator, Villault, in 1667, "*if it were all like Cape Mount.*" He launches out with delight on the beauty of the prospects and the richness of the country. He says, "There you find oranges, almonds, melons, pumpkins, cherries, plumbs," and the abundance of animals was so great that the flesh was sold "for almost nothing." An unvarying line of favorable testimony has been rendered, from the above date to the present time, by voyagers, visitors, and residents in regard to that point of the African Coast, and this delightful country is the location now put at our disposal for the use and benefit of our colored people who may desire to change their place of residence.

And to secure this place for them, prompt measures have been adopted by this Board. Finding the Government of Liberia disposed to accommodate the slight difference that exists in relation to lands, by selling them at prices agreeable to this Board, the following resolutions were adopted at its last meeting:

"*Resolved*, That we will select the locality at Grand Cape Mount, on the African Coast, as the point for our Liberian settlement; and instruct the Secretary to make an appeal to the public, and to the churches, to raise the sum of *three or four thousand dollars* to meet

the wants of the case until such time as our existing law can be changed.

"*Resolved*, That the communication of President Roberts be so answered as to state the above determination of the Board, and direct him to call Wm. W. Findlay to his aid in the work of making said settlement."

To carry out the intentions of the Board it will be found necessary to adopt a plan of settlement.

A town or village should be planned, containing the following essential buildings:

A large house for the reception of emigrants, where they can be cared for during the short period of their acclimating.

A strong public store-house, so constructed as to furnish a protection to the settlers, if such should be needed.

And a large school-house which could be used as a church; for schools and churches are indispensable to American civilization, and our colored friends in Liberia are not disposed to move one step without them—to them they give their earliest and greatest attention.

Such necessary structures will cost at least \$3,000, and to erect such, we have no State appropriation; that on hand being for the transportation of emigrants and the purchase of lands. This being the case the Board, as stated above, having directed us to make a prompt appeal to the friends of colonization in the State, and place the proposition to secure the means for the erection of those necessary buildings at once before the public as an object of benevolent effort and contribution.

We, therefore, design asking our friends who have the means, and who love to see the spread of our Christian civilization, to aid in this good work; nor do we expect to ask in vain in thus laboring to give Africa an additional American colony, and in making the noble appropriation of our State available.

A town must be planted at Grand Cape Mount, and such public buildings as those named above are indispensable to the beginning of a new settlement on the African coast; for when erected they form the nucleus of a town, around which the houses of the settlers are built. The first, or temporary houses, for residence, are cheap structures, not costing over \$30 or \$40 dollars each; yet notwithstanding they afford a safe and comfortable residence until such time as the emigrant has ability to erect better.

We thus, for the first time, publicly express the hope that there are a number of men in Indiana who will give \$100 each to this object; and we hope there are a larger number still, who will freely contribute \$50, and others \$30, and \$20. Will not the friends of Findlay, who aided him to go to Liberia, aid him in doing lasting good to posterity? We think him a true and trustworthy man, and just such an one as will succeed in his enterprise.

With these preparatory remarks, we now submit the following resolutions for consideration and adoption:

Resolved, That a correct list of all who contribute to the foundation of this settlement be preserved; and that such as contribute sums over five dollars, shall have their names recorded on a parchment record, and forwarded to the Government of Liberia, to be placed amongst the future records of the town of Grand Cape Mount. Adopted.

Resolved, That we recommend this enterprise to the favorable consideration of a benevolent public. Adopted.

The following resolution was submitted for reflection, to be considered at the next public meeting of the Board, which will be called for that purpose by the call of the President:

Resolved, That we invite the churches of Indiana to unite in the establishment of a mission school at Grand Cape Mount, for the benefit not only of the children of the settler, but likewise of the Vey nation. And to this end name a receiving committee of — persons to receive from their respective denominations such sums as may be forwarded to them for this object.

The Vey nation, who reside in the Grand Cape Mount country, are an intelligent tribe, capable of much improvement. They are Mohamadans, and consequently are not degraded by the errors of paganism. They recognize the unity of the Deity; and in this age, when the delusions of the false prophet are about to be swept away, it will be an easy and agreeable work to inspire them with a love for our Christian civilization.

J. MITCHELL,
Sec. of the Board.