ANSWER
OF THE
AGENT
OF THE
INDIANA COLONIZATION SOCIETY
TO THE
RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY ON THE SUBJECT
OF
AFRICAN COLONIZATION,

PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF INDIANA, ON THE
26 OF FEBRUARY, 1832.

INDIANAPOLIS:
J. P. CHAPMAN, STATE PRINTER.
1832.
2 D S1
Rev. J. Moraviana,
Agent of the American Colonization Society.

I have the honor to communicate to you the enclosed copy of a resolution, this day adopted by the House of Representatives, in which it is asserted, that only such laws are necessary which are strictly required by the real and permanent welfare of the people. I enclose, with respect,

WILLIS D. BEALS,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That the Rev. J. Mitchell, Agent of the American Colonization Society, be respectfully requested to facilitate the House in its efforts to promote colonization, answering the following questions, viz:

1st. Would the climate of Liberia be favorable to the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa, for the accommodation of the colored people, there will be the best point?

2d. What will be the probable cost of preparing the soil of any country selected for the purpose? What was索尼, land, fertility, natural productions and advantages for such a settlement?

3d. What is the character of the soil of Liberia, nature of climate, character of its inhabitants and government?

4th. What are the advantages for making our colored population to Liberia?

5th. How much does it cost to transport emigrants to Liberia each?

6th. What is the number of colored people in Liberia at this time, and what proportion of these would probably be induced to emigrate to the land of their fathers? and in forming any other information precisely in the subject in his judgment, and then a copy of the resolution be immediately transmitted to the Rev. J. Mitchell, by the clerk of the House.

Adopted February 3, 1839.
Hon. J. W. Davis,
Speaker of the House of Representatives
of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the resolution of inquiry, in relation to our State colonizing our colored people on the Western coast of Africa, which was adopted by your branch of the General Assembly on the 3d inst.
And I herewith respectfully submit an answer thereto.
Your with great respect,
JAMES MITCHELL,
Agent Colonization Society.

To the Hon. Speaker of the
House of Representatives,

Gentlemen:
The privilege of inquiry rendered to your clerk, I answer the bill you desire.
You desire to see an one who, by the
land the soil of Liberia
Aboriginal, and
And I believe will likely go to Africa, and die in Africa.
In my opinion, the country being large, and gradually to be given to the
state of the island, where the
Say another first class, and another

February 21, 1852.
ANSWER.

INDIANAPOLIS, February 21, 1856.

To the Hon. Speaker and Members of the
House of Representatives of the State of Indiana:

Gentlemen:—I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your resolution of inquiry in relation to African colonization, communicated by your clerk on the 4th last. And with great pleasure, I will try and answer the inquiries found therein to the best of my ability.

You desire to know the proper point for a new settlement should such an one be formed by your State; what the location, cost, fertility and health thereof, together with the general character of the soil of Liberia, natural productions, climate and character of the inhabitants, and nature of their government.

And likewise the cost of transporting emigrants, the number that will likely go from our State, the number of colored persons in this State, and the inducements or reasons for sending our colored people to Africa.

Ist. In answer to your first question we will say, that should you resolve to found a new settlement on the western coast of Africa, in my opinion, Grand Cape Mount is the best place for such a settlement. This is one of the most prominent points on that coast, the country around is high and rolling and remarkably well watered, being likewise very fertile. Cape Mount is a bold head land, rising gradually to an elevation of 1,000 feet above the level of the sea; those high lands are covered with a heavy forest. Within a few miles of the Cape the Passoc, or Cape Mount river discharges itself into a small bay, formed by the projection of Cape Mount on the south and Martin point, eight miles above on the north; into this bay another river, the Sugarly flows. These streams are not of the first class, but they are navigable for boats some distance from the mouth.
The most western point of this cape is in latitude 6 deg. 64 min. 25 sec. north, and in 11 deg. 28 min. 16 sec. west longitude, and it is about 50 miles west north-west of Monrovia the capital of the Republic of Liberia.

Grand Cape Mount is generally the first point of land that meets the eye of our emigrants as they approach the African coast, on their voyage to Liberia, and from its location and natural advantages, it must become one of the most important commercial points in Liberia. Indeed it has always been a place somewhat noted for trade, and thousands of dollars have changed hands annually at that point; it being a few years ago a noted and successful slave mart; costing the United States, England and France, much trouble to watch it.

Of the country, J. M. Lewis then Secretary of State for Liberia, writes in the following strong terms—"Should we ever succeed in making a purchase of that country it will be at a very dear rate, the people are far more intelligent than any of the tribes within our jurisdiction; their state of living is very expensive, and I am quite certain that they would charge $5,000 at least for it—and so it will be for any of the territories lying between it and the Liberian river." (which borders the English settlement on the south,) "we cannot say how far it extends into the interior, it is a very large and beautiful country, and I presume the people near the sea will say that it extends back a great distance."

About two years ago President Roberts negotiated with the owners for this country, and closed a contract with them; but we have good reason to suppose that he has not been able to furnish all the money necessary to pay the price stipulated; if these and grounded suspicions are correct, we have to doubt, but arrangements can be made by which Liberia can become a party to the purchase, and secure a good position on the last register of Liberia, to be set to the credit of emigrants from the State, on which our State authorities may draw from time to time, by issuing certificates, or land warrants, to such of our colored people as may emigrate.

Of the above information President Roberts thus writes to us—"There are several locations within our jurisdiction between this place and Sifnor Lewis for settlements, and may be occupied at the shortest notice. I would recommend Grand Cape Mount which is a fertile and well watered country, and may possess many inducements or natural advantages to new emigrants, and the natives are exceedingly anxious to have an American settlement near them. I presume there will be no difficulty in obtaining these, or at any point in that district, any quantity of land you may wish for emigrants coming from Indiana."

In addition to the above I will adduce some extracts of letters addressed to me by W. W. Playle, a colored man who emigrated from this State, and M. H. Smith, who has been in Liberia two years, and is now a member of the Liberia Legislature. These state—
say in a joint letter, written August 30th, 1851,—"we had contemplated recommending an interior settlement, but we have changed our views, as there is not a sufficient water passage; therefore we would recommend Grand Cape Mount, as there is land in abundance for all the western States, to have their different settlements and name them after each State; that is the best place on the coast according to our view, as it is high and healthy, the land being fertile, there being likewise a fine river, and a good harbor. This point is sufficiently distant from Monrovia to form a new county."

Mr. J. Ashmon, represents the inhabitants of this country as superior to their southern neighbors "in intellectual endowments, urbanity of manners, profound disinterestedness," and because of "their profession of the Mohammedan faith, they being the dividing tribe between Mohammedan and pagan Africa," he represents them as remarkable for sobriety, perseverance, activity and averseness, and alike for extreme jealousy of the interference of strangers either in their trade, or in their territorial jurisdiction, or their civil affairs." The name by which this tribe is known is the Pay or Veve nation, and their number is about ten or fifteen thousand. A nation called the Day tribe occupies the territory between Cape Mount and Monrovia, who are far inferior to the Veve in every respect; they are a pagan tribe about ten thousand in number.

In the time of Ashmon the trade of Cape Mount and country adjoining was stated at "fifty thousand dollars.

2. The coast of territory at Grand Cape Mount, or in the neighborhood, must be governed by the first cost and contingent expenses.

We find a letter from President Roberts, stating the terms of purchase, published in the Appendix to the Report of the Naval Committee on the subject of the contemplated time of transports to Africa. We will give a few extracts from that letter:

"Monrovia, May 17th, 1850.

"I have just returned from the windward coast, and I avail myself of the opportunity to send you a hasty note, to say that we have at length succeeded in securing the famed territory of Gallinas to this government, including all the territory between Cape Mount and Shoal, excepting a small strip of about five miles of coast in the Kollis country, which will also soon fall into our hands.

"For these tracts, we have incurred a large debt, and we confidently look to you to aid us in meeting these liabilities at maturity. Had I not deemed it absolutely important to secure the Gallinas, to prevent the revival of the slave trade there, I would not have paid the price demanded. The purchase of Gallinas and neighboring tracts will cost us about $8,500.

"The chiefs were aware of the object of the purchase, and urged strenuously the sacrifice, as they considered it, they must make in abandoning forever the slave trade—and demanded a large sum as
an equivalent. In addition to the amount stated above, we have
obliged ourselves to appoint commissioners immediately to settle
the wars in the country, (should any occur,) and open the trade in cam-
wood, ivory and palm oil, with the interior tribes; and also make
ammunition for them, as soon as convenient, persons capable of doing
them in the arts of humanity. This will also cost us a considerable
sum, which will, no doubt, be returned in the end by the advantages
the trade will give. Still, the present outlay will be, I fear, more
than equal to our ability."

The section of country thus purchased, from its southern limits,
on the confines of the old settlements, to its northern limits on the
border of Sierra Leone, is about 800 miles in extent along the coast,
and about 50 miles back. If we state the first cost at $10,000, the
cost per mile will be $50. Nor is this much higher than has been
paid in former contracts with the natives. We have just exami-
ned the copies of three deeds made to the authorities of Liberis, in 1848,
by tribes living south of Monrovia; and the following is the rate of
purchase per mile coast-ways and forty miles deep: one section at
$30 40 per mile; another at $75 per mile; and the third at $80
per mile. From this statement it will be well to calculate on pay-
Ing something over $50 per mile for such as you may buy.

3. The third point—the fertility of the country; around Cape
Mount—has been fully avowed in the above communications of
Roberts, Lewis, Finlay and Smith, all who concur in representing it
as a delightful and desirous country.

4. On their evidence, likewise, we must believe it to be a healthy
region, and that the native tribes who formerly owned the
country, were the most warlike, robust and intelligent of all tribes
on that coast, in strong proof that the climate at that point is con-
genial to human life, health and vigor of mind.

5. The next point presented is the character of the soil of Liberia.
Liberia, extending as it does, about 600 miles along the coast, from
the southern limit of Sierra Leone, to the southern limit of the Cape
Palmas, or Maryland Colony, must needs embrace quite a variety
of soil, differing in appearances, quality and productive powers.

That of the uplands, though generally much inferior to that of
the low lands, is better adapted for some articles. The upland soil
usually consists of a reddish clay, more or less mixed with soft rocks
and stones, containing considerable quantities of iron. There are
three kinds of lowland soil, one of which is that on the banks of the
rivers, within a few miles of the sea; this consists of a loose, deep,
black soil, which is peculiarly adapted to the growth of these
kinds of vegetables which thrive best during the dry season. An-
other variety is that which is generally found extending back from
the banks of the rivers, further from the sea than the first named;
as a light clay, more or less tempered with sand, and is
adapted to almost every kind of vegetable which thrive in
tropical climates; it is really astonish-
tropical climates. The third quality is that of the low lands, in the
immediate vicinity of the ocean, consisting principally of sand, and
it is really astonishing to perceive how well many vegetables will
grow in this kind of soil, even within fifty yards of the ocean in
some places.16

The above remarks are drawn from a series of articles, published
a short time past by Dr. J. W. Loganbell, who for many years was
the principal physician in Liberia, and likewise acted as American
agent for the case of recaptured Africans. His statements on these
points are founded on careful and long observation.

In addition to these remarks, we will give an extract from a com-
munication of Mr. Ashton, one of the First Agents of the Colono-
sion Society, who spent many years in Liberia, and was the principal
instrument in giving stability to the foun-
dations of the colony. The communication referred to, is a manual
called the Liberian Farmer, or Colonist's Guide, addressed to the col-
onists, the truthfulness of which has never been questioned. He says:

"The soil of Liberia depends for its quality much on the situation
of the lands. The uplands have two varieties of soil. The first is
that strong and deep mould which is always found where the hard,
brown granite rocks are most numerous. This soil is certainly very
capable of being turned to a very profitable account. Observe
everywhere in the beds of those rocks, the thirsty and strong growth
of timber. The largest trees are commonly found in such situations.
This is, however, a wet season soil, and must not be expected to give
you a crop in the dry months. I shall call this the strong upland
soil.

"The other species of upland soil is of a much inferior quality.
It consists of a reddish, clayey earth, everywhere more or less mixed
with soft, rust-colored rocks, stones, and gravel. The red color of
the soil and rocks is caused by the rust of the iron particles inter-
mingleing with it. Usually may in time render it productive; but the
best mode yet discovered to fertilize this soil is to burn over the
surface in clearing the land, and to spread small quantities of ashes or
lime over it, after the first crop. I shall distinguish this as the weak
upland soil.

"There are three sorts of lowland soil. The first and richest is
that formed on the sides of the rivers, and from the wash of the up-
lands it is always wet during the rains, and consists of a loose, dark
black mould, and is entirely free from rocks and gravel. This soil
will produce any crop which you choose to plant, but is especially
adapted to early rice, and to all those vegetables which thrive in dry
seasons. I shall call this the black loam containing soil.

"The second variety of soil in the bottom land I shall name the
stiff clayey soil. It consists of a lightish colored clay, sometimes a
little tempered with coarse sand. It is the subject of the extremes
of wet and drought; but produces good crops, and may be much
improved by hoeing."

"The sandy soil is the third variety found in the level country. It is most prevalent wherever the land has, in course of time, settled upon the ocean, or channels of rivers. It is light, warm soil, and will yield only slender crops without manure. Sweet potatoes, beans, cassava, and succulent fruit trees, will succeed best in it."

In another part of the manual on agriculture, from which the above is taken, Mr. Ashmun thus addresses the colonists:

"The flat lands around you, and particularly your farms, have as good a soil as can be met with in any country. They will produce two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables, in the year. They will yield a larger crop than the best soils in America, and they will produce a number of very valuable articles, for which in the United States, millions of money are every year paid away to foreigners. One acre of rich land, well tilled, will produce you three hundred dollars' worth of indigo. Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrow root. Four acres laid out in coffee plants will, after the third year, produce you a clear income of two or three hundred dollars. Half an acre of cotton trees will clothe your whole family, and, except a little hoeing, your wife and children can perform the whole labor of cropping and manufacturing it. One acre of cane will make you independent of all the world for the sugar you use in your family. One acre set with fruit trees and well attended, will furnish you the year round with more plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, guavas, paw-paws, and pine apples, than you will ever gather. Nine months of the year, you may grow fresh vegetables every month, and some of you who have large plantations may do so throughout the year."

The general correctness of the above remarks is thus endorsed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who was sent out by President Taylor to obtain information in regard to Liberia. After quoting, in his report, the above paragraph, he says:

"My observations on the banks of the rivers of the Republic, (especially the St. Paul's, the St. John's, and the Simon,) along both sides of Stockton Creek, and among the gardens of Moyneville, and the plantations in its vicinity, confirmed my belief in the general correctness of this statement."

6. Your next inquiry relates to the natural productions of Liberia. We will answer this, partly by quoting the language of Mr. Legonball, and partly that of Ashmun.

"Nearly all the different kinds of grain, roots, and fruits which are peculiar to either tropical climates thrive well in Liberia; and many garden vegetables which belong more properly to temperate climates may be raised, in quality not much inferior to the same kind of articles produced in climates particularly adapted to their growth. But the principal article of produce, and which are destined to be the great staples of that country are rice, cotton, sugar, and coffee, to which must be added, "corn, capado, yams, sweet potatoes, arrow root, Lims and other beans, peas, cabbages, turnips,
bines, carrots, tomatoes, cabbages, chives, cabbages, onions, cabbages, many varieties of pepper, ground nuts, nutmeg, cinch, the Indian safron, the coriander tree, the cumin oil tree, and the palm tree, and among their fruits the Lychee nut, the orange, lemon, lime, and, pears, blue apples, peaches, plums, mangos, pears, mango, bread fruit, strawberries, and various valuable vegetables and fruits of the tropics. Most of these here I myself have grown luxuriantly in the gardens and farms of the republic.

According to the late Mr. Buxton, whose researches on the subject of the agricultural and commercial resources of Africa were very accurate and extensive, of dye-woods there are an abundance, yielding carmine, crimson, red, brown, brilliant yellow, and deep orange; teas, there are copal, cinnabar, maize, and India and Turkey gums. The she-oil obtained is rarely less valuable than the palm nut. The tree producing it is said to extend over a large portion of the continent. Park thought the best made from it superior to that made from pear's milk.

No country in the world is more amply endowed than this with the chief productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The cotton yield is one of golden colored oil of a pleasant taste, and has been sold at as high as 500 per ton, (about $300) The essential oil grows wild on the banks of the Gambia, and elsewhere. The ginger of Africa is particularly fine and high-priced; it yields above sixty for one, and the people only want method for preparing it for the European market.

The woods of the continent are extremely valuable. Travelers estimate not less than forty species of timber, which grow in vast abundance, and are easily obtained; such as mahogany, lignum vitae, rose wood, &c., &c.

With few exceptions the whole line of coast in Western Africa accessible to trading vessels, presents immense tracts of lands of the most fertile character, which only require the hand of industry and commercial enterprise to turn into inestimable masses of wealth.

The rivers of Liberia are the St. Paul's, St. Joseph, the Zambesi, Half Cape Mount, Macabba, the New Cano, the Grand Cano, the Susquehanna, the Nile; and in the new purchases there is the Gallina, Salima, Mano, Sigara, and Grand Cape Mount river; to which we may add the Shomolu. The rivers of Liberia are not very large, although most of them are from one-quarter to three-fourths of a mile wide, for forty miles or more from their sources into the ocean.

A graphic description of the general aspect of the country is given in the following language by Rev. J. Day, the superintendent of the Southern Baptist Mission, who resides in Buxley on the St. John's and who has explored the interior for seventy or seventy-five miles.

"From seven to twenty miles, the country is beautifully undula-
long, and interspersed with the most lovely rills of excellent water, clear as crystal, foaming and trickling among the rocks, promising a thousand milk seats. The air in this region is exhilarating and bracing, the soil deep and rich, covered with a forest which, for the height and size of the trees, I have never seen equalled. From twenty to thirty miles is a region of small mountains, of three to five hundred feet in elevation. These mountains are covered with a rich forest, and may be cultivated. I have stood on the summit of one of these cultivated to the top, and found the scene delightful and pleasant. Beyond these hills of mountains as we call them, the land becomes generally more level to the distance of seventy miles, the aspect of my interior travels. I am told by the natives that a day's walk beyond are lofty mountains, which it will require a whole day to ascend, and very steep. If this is the case, the country I speak of is a valley. The soil of the whole district is rich, water abundant and good, and the cause of climate is very apparent than in low lying regions in America. If our people went health, they may as steadily obtain it in the mountainous region as by trans-Atlantic trips. I have left home in bad health, en prancing tours of two, or three weeks, and returned vigorous and strong. The birds sing more sweeily here, and the flowers are more beautiful and fragrant than in the marshy region bordering the sea. The natives are more industrious, honest, happy, and hopeful every way in this region. To thousands in that forest-clad region have I preached while they were as attentive even as congregations in America.

The principal domestic animals in Liberia are cows or black cattle, sheep, swine, geese, turkeys, ducks, and chickens. Horses are plentiful in the interior, within three hundred miles of the coast, but they do not thrive in the settlements, in consequence, principally, of the want of proper management.

7. The climate is congenial to those who inhabit that country, and there is nothing essentially destructive to life or health therein, but the general testimony is that the native tribes, and those American settlers who have been accustomed, enjoy good health.

Mr. Garvey, in his report, says: "From my own experience of two months on the coast of Liberia, I may be allowed to say that my impressions of the African climate are more favorable than those I have derived from books; for though our arrival occurred during the latter portion of what is called the rainy season, and we continued on the coast during most of the transition period from this to the dry season; the weather was generally clear and pleasant, and we were seldom deterred an entire day from visiting the shore, or from moderate physical exertion."

"No one can look upon the值得, finely proportioned and developed forms of native Africans, or upon a congregation of the inhabitants of Monrovia, or of the other towns and villages of this Liberian Republic, and retain the idea that health cannot be enjoyed on the African coast. The general aspect of the people of Liberia
is healthy, and I am convinced, from much observation, and many inquiries, that the dangers of the climate to colored emigrants are becoming less and less formidable, and that soon they will, to a good degree, be averted by the cultivation of the soil, an appropriate regimen, and increased medical experience and skill.”

To the above we will add the testimony of Dr. Lagella.

“On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant, notwithstanding the searching rays of the tropical sun, and the ‘abundance of rain’ which falls during the year, especially during the months of June, July, September, and October. So far as the pleasantest climates and weather is concerned, I would decidedly prefer a residence in Liberia to any in any part of the United States.”

“The extreme of the thermometric state of the atmosphere may be set down at 85 degrees and 80 degrees. I have never been in the mercury in a thermometer having sunk below the freezing, nor often above the upper point in the shade. The average height of the mercury during the rainy season, may be set down at about 70 degrees, and during the dry season at 84 degrees. The mean temperature for the year is about 90 degrees.”

From these figures it will be seen that the heat of Liberia is not excessive, nor is it so great as that at some points in the north of our own country, where the thermometer frequently stands as high as 100 degrees; add to this the fact that cold winters, cold nights, and the cold and snow which this country are unknown there, and we will be able to comprehend the reason why those who have visited Liberia consider the climate desirable.

3. As to the character of the inhabitants of a country, we generally form a correct opinion by examining their institutions; and if we are thus to judge the Liberians, we may form a high opinion of them; for their institutions, so far as formed, are of the most liberal and enlightened character, and the people themselves have made a very favorable impression on the minds of those who have visited them. In evidence of which, I will quote a few extracts:

“They (the colonists) considered that they had started into new existence, felt proud of their situation, and seconded, their wishes into founders of a new empire, they were presenting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers. I was pleased to observe that they were impressed with the importance of education, not only for their own children, but for those of the natives. That there are many vast resources yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can doubt; and that they will soon be brought forth and made available by the enterprise and intelligence of the colonists, is equally unquestionable.”—Capt. Kennedy, U. S. Navy.

“Nothing seems to me so more remarkable than the great superiority in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their colored brethren in America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane oath.”
uttered by any one. I know of no place where the Swiss rule appears to be more respected than in Monmouth. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property."—Cary, Abbot, Emigrant Ship.

The youth of the colonies discover an eager desire for improvement; and their progress, considering their opportunities, is almost incredible. Among the young men of Monmouth there is a larger proportion of good accounts and elegant pens, than in any town (American) of his acquaintance.—Ore. Duchesne.

The character of these industrious colonies is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous; and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. The complete success of this colony is a proof that religious men, by proper care and attention, are susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of moral life, as any other race; and that the civilization of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not impossible.—A British Naval Officer.

2. "The Government of Liberia is based on the principles of republicanism; and in every essential particular it may be regarded as a miniature representation of the Government of the United States. The only particular point of difference being in the name of the national assembly, which is styled Legislature instead of Congress. In the time of service of the principal officers of the government. The President is elected by the popular vote for two years; and he is eligible to re-election. The Senators, of whom there are ten from each county in all—are elected for four years, and the Representatives, of whom there are eight in all, are elected for two years. The only cabinet officers have yet been commissioned are the Secretary of State and of the Treasury. The Attorney General. The officers of justice are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The judicial power of the republic is vested in a Supreme Court, a court of quarter sessions in each county, and magistrates courts, which meet monthly. No white person is allowed to become a citizen."—Dr. Legnald.

Such is the country, and such are the institutions of the land to which you are about to transfer your people of color.

10. The cost of transporting emigrants and finding them in provisions for six months, will average about $30 per emigrant. This has been the case of this voyage, and sufficient to provision them during the voyage and give them a reasonable start in Liberia. But sound policy will dictate a liberal course in regard to such as go from this State, and therefore we should raise the above estimate as much as possible.

11. The number of colored persons living in Indiana at this time is about 6000. If these people would remove to Liberia, they are sufficiently strong to lay the foundation of a new State of respectable size; and amongst them they can number some men of decided ability, who would control a republic much better than some of our French neighbors.
19. As to the number that will likely go to Liberia, I will just say that the number is great in Indiana, and becoming greater every year. I have letters of application for a passage to Liberia from colored men who most represent at least over 75 individuals. In all cases I have requested the applicants to abide the action of the State in the case, as I believed there was benevolence enough in our statement to meet their reasonable demands for a removal. I will subjoin a few extracts from letters on the subject: "I write," says one, "to inquire where, and from where the Liberian emigrants embark for Liberia, and all the particulars for an outfit for the trip, as I and several others have determined to go the first opportunity."

"Davies county, Jan. 30th, 1850."

"This is to inform you of my intention to leave this place for the coast of Africa, and not knowing to which point I shall go, I would like you to give me some information as to the situation of places in Liberia, as well as the necessary preparations and provisions to be made for a journey to that country, the time of sailing of the next vessel, and where from."

"Tippecanoe county, July 23rd, 1850."

Another thus writes: "I am determined, if life lasts, to be ready to start in the next expedition. I have about closed up my business here."

"Lafayette, March 14th, 1851."

A fourth thus closes an appeal to the writer, begging a passage to Liberia: "I submit this letter to your judgment and consideration, and hope that the friends of Liberia will lend us a helping hand, and enable those that have the desire to emigrate, to go; and be assured that I for one appreciate the efforts you have made."

"Vincennes, June 3d, 1851."

We have no doubt that the number of such applications will increase from year to year until the tide of emigration is reversed, and rolls back from the new world to the old, carrying with it salvation for Africa.

As to the inducements or reasons for sending colored people to Africa; they are numerous, but they may be compressed into two arguments, which I will respectfully submit.

The first is the general degradation of the African race, and the remedy.

The second is, the separation of the white and colored races of North America is just and politic.

DEGRADATION OF THE DIFFERENT MASSES CONSIDERED IN REGULAR ORDER.

In casting the eye over the world we find, here and there, large masses of human beings of African origin; but we find little in those masses that is of an elevated character. Few, very few, are the bright spots found under African rule, which can relieve the general scene of negro degradation.
Another thing that meets the eye of the casual observer in the indifference of the civilized world to this state of degradation, but especially the indifference of our own nation to this subject, with coldness and indifference we behold over one hundred and fifty millions being sunk in ignorance and servitude; and too many of us are disposed to let them sit in the shade of their degradation, rather than put forth the hand of the American, or drop one tear of pity over their wrongs.

It is true there is an advance in public feeling and opinion, which is favorable to the colored race; but it has been forced upon us by a severe necessity that we could not shun. No nation or party should shrink from the honor of the state of things, for the sake it belongs to another—to that Being whose providence controls all things and who will that Africa should standing "watch out her hand to God." We fear that most of the efforts of the negro wrongs are natural by party and political motives, and not by a sense of responsibility. This is evident from the fact that little effort has been made to rescue the colored man from actual degradation, and that the twelve thousand very considerable step in the work of negro elevation; but that day has yet to be made men—a free men.

Americans are responsible for each of the African degradation of our day, and should God inspire of us as he did of Cain, "Where is thy brother?" what answer could we give to this? Not as we have had charge of our brother, or stood reduced to him, as we point to a proverb man, upon whose neck rests the load of oppression, and say, "There is our brother!" But let us inquire honestly how far we are responsible for the existing state of things; and in doing so we will review the stages of Africa's, in ascending order.

THE RIGHTS OF AFRICA

are the most degraded of the race, as any mankind will admit, upon examining the narratives of travelers or the reports of missionaries. They tell us that in the Bushmen it is a custom from the head of the lowest, and the men, invaders to the slavers, and that the Ashanti and surrounding nations worship death, and offer many human sacrifices by the thousands. Many of these more powerful tribes make human slave laws, in order above for the slave market. In these wars, order to take captives or slavery, that as many warriors and people are killed as there are slaves captured; for the victors kill all the old men who are not fit for the slave market, and permit the little children to perish, poisoning the youth and sickness make the country. This is a true picture of the Ashanti tribes. There may be a few exceptions among the native tribes, but the exceptions are so inconsiderable that they cannot vitiate our statement. Africa is exposed to captivity over one hundred million souls; and the Aware of their case is the fact that they
know not God, but are covered with a darkness deeper than night, and have actually dated the devil, and worship him as their god. Is no part of the world has Satan obtained such a complete triumph over poor men as in Africa.

For the degradation of the native African in past time we are not responsible. But we shall be responsible for his degradation in the future if we neglect to use such means of elevation as God has placed at our disposal. We will consider these means in another place.

**THE SLAVERY OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA**

constitute the next case of degraded Africans. It is needless for us to spend time in depicting the horrors of American slavery: they are all well known, and are becoming more obvious every day. But of the two continents, slavery in the northern is more inhuman than in the southern continent, because of the civil and religious institutions which surround the slave in the United States. Indeed, it is to be feared that the slaves of South America are not far removed from the state of the rude barbarian; but for the slaves of the United States we must claim a gentler pre-existence above the native African; in intellectual culture, in morals, and in manners, the slave of the United States is infinitely the superior of the barbarian, as is shown by bringing them together on the coast of Africa, where the schoolman colored man above the talents of a master mine; and the native, exorbitant of his inferiority, submits to direction and control, as in the case of Libois and the surrounding tribes. This serves the fact, that slavery has been a school for the barbarian, in which Divine Providence permitted him to be placed that he and his children might be elevated. Thus God overlooks the stupidity and wickedness of bad men for the good of a large portion of the African race; and we suppose this to be propitiatory to another great step in the history of their elevation.

If all this is true, where, then, lies our crime—the crime of enslaving them? we are...
Our free people of color are the most respectable class of Africans. They are much nearer the level of free and refined society than England's colored colonists, being free one remove from the level of republican society, while England's colonist is many removes. But notwithstanding that our free people of color are superior to all the classes before enumerated, they are a degraded people, and for their degradation we are responsible.

Let us consider their state. The free colored man of the United States has only the shadow of freedom; the substance is not his. He rests under a load of civil and social disabilities—the first created by positive law, the last caused by the prejudice with which an independent people regard a servile race. In most, if not all, of the states the colored man has no part in making those laws by which he is governed, or in electing the magistrate who shall administer those laws. He is taxed to support the State, and that State hardly renders him protection from the violence of the rude and uncivilized. Again: he is forbidden the right of lodging his evidence in a court of justice, provided that testimony implicates a white man; and stringent laws forbid his forming an alliance with the families of the land. Thus positive enactments chain and bind him, while he is apparently free. But suppose we erase those laws from the statute book of our States—will that redeem the poor colored man? No; we would only have lifted off the chains of the evil that afflicts him. The truth, in the form of humanitarian prejudice against the colored race, would stand there, tall, vigorous, and unshaken. This is the great evil for which we should find a remedy.
THE REMEDY.—THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND ARE THE AMBASSADORS OF TRUTH AND THE PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.

Having reviewed the almost complete and universal degradation of the African family, which is only relieved by a few small communities of colored men, who are independent and civilized, of which we will speak in another place; we will now inquire after a remedy for this degradation, and in doing so we shall seek for that one which will meet the greatest number of cases.

Let us begin with the many millions of native Africans. What will meet their wants and redeem them from degradation? We know of but one way of elevating them; give them the Gospel of Christ, which carries in its train the institutions and blessings of civilized life. This will prove their salvation; for the power of God to the salvation of nations, as well as individuals. But whose is the duty to send the Gospel to Africa? It is the duty of those Christian nations which are best prepared for the work, who, having moral power, correct theology, men and means, are thereby constituted the ambassadors of the world of life. But in which of the civilized nations can we find those elements of wholesome influence and power? Look over the map of the world, and you will find that the greater part of the Christian nations are disabled by some defect. They lack purity of faith, or are shackled by oppressive civil institutions, or are too poor in men or means to do much for the heathen world. But in the midst of those heathen nations we find two nations towering up, possessing all these elements of influence, power, purity, and wealth, who, having borrowed the light of revelation, and received the imprint of the Gospel of Christ on all their civil institutions, are thereby qualified to be the light of the world. These are England and the United States, and they are the hope of the world; on them rests the responsibility of giving the gospel to Africa.

England is conscious of the honorable place Providence has assigned her; therefore we find her foreseen in all benevolent and world-saving enterprises. This consciousness of a great mission to the world gives an Englishman an elevated tone and bearing which is not very agreeable to people of other lands; but unpleasant as it is, it proclaim to the world the position of the Englishman, who seems to say thereby, "Come up to me; I cannot come down to you." The statements of England are always ready to spend millions of money, and her philanthropists to sacrifice their lives in the cause of humanity and God. And what is more remarkable, England does all this while combined with a load of feudal customs, which, were it not for the mighty volume of moral power which is deeply imbeded in the heart of the nation, would make her energies, and make her as weak for good as her neighbors on the continent. Yet, with all her civil and ecclesiastical liabilities, she does
more for moulded than her more favored condition, the United States.

This republic is well qualified to be "the light of the world." Her civil institutions are united, and the European world is now freshly essaying to copy after them; her churches are pure and unlettered, and her word is great, and rapidly accumulating from year to year. We suppose that the United States has more wealth to devote to benevolence than England has. Britain's civil list is so extensive here and her poor at home and in her dependencies are a standing tax on her people. The government costs more than it will ever be able to pay. All things considered, we think the United States can render more of a surplus for benevolent enterprises than the mother country. However, be that as it may, it is enough for us to know that God has placed us in a position to be "the light of the world," and that when all the elements of influence are considered, it is our privilege to range even above England. This is no foolish boast, but a wise consideration of our responsibility, which brings with it a number of consequences that our good and great men should consider.

We take it for granted that each church in this land should do something for the evangelization of Africa; that each church should have its kind of missionaries at work in that great field; but we would suggest these missionaries should be colored men, if pure and well-qualified colored men can be procured for that work; for many parts of Africa are forbidden ground to the white man, where a residence for any length of time would provoke war, while his colored brother can live, labor, and enjoy good health; observation having demonstrated that the longevity of an individual is governed somewhat by the texture, color, and general character of the skin. Be this true or false, many of our white missionaries have sickened and died, while their colored brethren yet live and are doing well.

The most efficient way of elevating the native African tribes is, to plant among them settlements of colored Christians, who shall teach the sons of the children of the nation into their families and thus instruct them; who shall teach the barbarians the arts of civilized life, but especially the way of salvation from sin. This is the plan which Boston proposes to the English people; for this object the ill-advised "Niger Expedition" was projected by the British government, and to effect this desirable end the "African Civilization Society" was formed in England. But it has been the will of Providence that England's plans should fail, while the American people have succeeded in effecting the same object by similar plans, and at much less expense. May we not suppose that the necessities of our case was the cause of the difference?

A civilization such as Liberia, considered of instructive, moral, and religious colonists, among whom teachers and ministers abound, are the very things that Africa require—each settlement becomes a great missionary of civilization, republicanism, and Christianity; and a colonization that can, Christian settlements & in evidence of which y Lillias Herold" last

**Measures.** Civilization in your last Calm. The subject among the heartstrings is a matter which I am often of duty to bring the ill effects of Ch. The interests of the nation of our duty result for the enlighten great similar view in communication; with the objects I read into the into moral side by old nationalistic and the they are under ps say a word that ter in general's in vacuums may. Drayton is known for the conversion he once in. At this it circumstances, I allow societies in the I be depended up I say it is for to believe it. This serves as more Christianization operation of a.

- 1 make no number some c deeply interested watch every m
and Christianity; and so manifest has been the good produced by colonization that many of the colonists consider the formation of
Christian settlements all-sufficient to meet the wants of the heathen;
and in evidence of which we submit part of an article published in the
"Liberia Herald" last September. We find that the writer is op-
posed to isolated mission stations; denies the utility of such stations,
and maintains that the colony is the proper school for civilization
and Christianity.

Mzima. Editors,—Sirs, I read with much attention the commu-
nication in your last number, (July,) from Rev. B. J. Drayton, Cape
Palms. The subject of introducing civilization and Christianity
among the heathen, particularly those in the neighborhood of Liberia
is a matter which I take a lively interest in; indeed, I hold it to be
the bounden duty of our government to adopt every practicable ex-
pedient to bring the surrounding tribes, as speedily as possible, under
the influences of Christianity and civilization. It is policy to do so.
The interests of the State demand that it should be done, to say
nothing of our duty as individuals, to foster every means within our
reach for the enlightening of our race. Mr. Drayton seems to ex-
tend similar views, and hence the recommendations he makes in
his communication. He says, that "the more ready way to accom-
plish the objects in consideration, is for the government to make
roads into the interior, and the missionary and the merchant may
travel side by side, &c. And that there will be security for the
missionary and the merchant, because the Africans well know that
they are under protection of government, &c." I do not wish to
say a word that will detract the least from Mr. Dr's views: his let-
ter in general is worthy of being attentively perused, and it will ad-
antage many, if the principles it contained are adhered to. Mr.
Drayton is known to be a consistent minister of the Gospel, zealous
for the conversion of his fellow-creatures to Christianity, and it is
believed that he is truly sincere in all his propositions for that effect.
I must, notwithstanding decline falling in with his views; and so
well every one, I think, who has given the matter mature considera-
tion. At this time of day, it is preposterous to imagine that mi-
missionaries, (I allude to those persons who are employed by religious
societies in the United States to teach and preach in Liberia,) are to
be depended upon to effect this most important and desirable object.
I say it is perfectly absurd to imagine such an idea, much more to
believe it. Daily observations teach the people of Liberia that them-
selves do more in their families in furtherance of civilization and
Christianization of the heathen, a hundred-fold more, than do the
operations of all the different missionaries combined.

"I make no charges against the 'missionaries'—among them I
number some of my warmest friends—but I am a liberian, and feel
deply interested in every thing that concerns it. It is our duty to
watch every movement that is made for the advancement of our
country, and when conclusions are assumed and advocated, that will not bear fairly on subjects affecting the interests of the country, we ought to speak out. I take the liberty of doing so. In denying in plan terms that any material advantage is to be derived from mis-
signies in Liberia. The missionaries know this themselves. If any purpose I have even in what I have had, I would suggest, that at once, without delay, the number of African children in the different families in Liberia be counted—those of them who can read, those who have learned some useful occupation, and those who have made a profession of religion. Let each class be added up separately, and then send some persons who are entirely disinterested, to the mission stations to make similar counts, and every body will see that no exaggeration when I say that no material advantage is to be derived from the employment of persons as missionaries in the African in Liberia. And the money thus lavishly expended for their support is wasted. But this state of things can be aloud— altered for great good in many respects—but I will not now enter into full particulars. I may do so hereafter. It’s sufficient for the present, that a suggestion be made for the different missionary societies in the United States to place into the hands of the government of Liberia the money they expect annually in Liberia for missionary purposes, with the understanding that the government will employ it for the civilization of the aborigines of the country. It cannot be doubted that the government have greater interest at stake in wishing the civilization and Christianization of the Africans, than the missionary societies can possibly have. As Liberia marches onward, she ought her sons; if they are permitted to live on in their untutored state, the country will not, cannot advance with that strength which it should. In fact the Executive of Liberia and its Legislature will be much more adequate to form plans for successfully bringing to the heathen under the folds of Christianity than any body or institution can be.

"ALPHA."

We have italicised the words "missions ancient," and "Africans in Liberia," which gives us a key to the object of the writer. He is not anti-missionary or anti-Christian; but he is an anti-tutusion man, or a colonization man and will, that is all. His error is, he forgets that our missionaries in the colonies constitute the moral and existing power of the settlements. Notice our missionaries out of existence, and the colony will soon lose its influence for good; but keep the missionaries there, and let them work as ministers of Christ, and the colony must burn all over with a holy, saving influence, and each family within the pastoral charge of the missionary will be a safe hold to the heathen child or servant. For the redemption of Africa an extensive system of colonization, should be devised by the good men of this nation—a colonization of colored Ultr of the moving on
colored Christian men and their ministers and school teachers, and the moving spring of the whole system should be philanthropy.

CONCLUSION A PROVINCIAL ARRANGEMENT—BY ORDER—BRIEF HISTORY OF LIBERIA—LIBERIA MUST EXTEND—IT IS WRONG TO OPPRESS HER GROWTH—SHE WILL GIVE CHARACTER TO THE COLORED RACE.

African colonization is an arrangement of Divine Providence, whereby its instruments and elements of civilization and evangelization may be transplanted from this country to Africa, where they are destined to expand and redeem that continent. All the circumstances connected with its history show that “it is of God.”

It was originated by benevolent men for the relief of the oppressed, by being the creature of skilful design. African colonization originated in the minds of true philanthropists; and the American people merited not the reproach often of originating this great movement, for its authors were not Americans, but Englishmen. The great leaders of the abolition party of Great Britain were its progenitors, and the occasion that called out this exercise of their wisdom and benevolence was the following:

A large number of blacks having run away from their masters during the Revolution, joined the British army, and, on the conclusion of the war, sixteen hundred of them were taken to London and about ten hundred of them were sent to Nova Scotia.

These taken to England had been there but a short time, before it was discovered, such was the repugnance in a white community to mixing into its bosom a race as distinct as that of the African, and give them equality in all respects, it was wholly impracticable to attempt it; and, to make them was to degrade them and render their condition miserable. Under the state of things, Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and others, conceived the plan of colonizing the whole manner on the western coast of Africa. This was the origin of the colony of Sierra Leone. To this place also, these men to Nova Scotia were brought, and in this statement the negroes that have been rehoused by the British cruisers have been placed. So we find that good men, many, many more, and slavery men were the fathers of the white scheme.

Like causes will produce like effects. Good men in the United States were echoed in with pity when they considered the state of the free colored people of this land, who, being rejected by white society, must remain a distinct, subordinate race as long as they remain with us. And these men, being desirous to save them from degradation, followed the example of the English, and placed the colony of Liberia, in the year 1822, since thirty years after the foundation of Sierra Leone. The following is a
In the year 1820, the American Colonization Society sent out to Africa eighty-eight emigrants, under the care of Rev. S. Bancroft, principal agent of the United States, and Dr. S. A. Crozer, agent of the American Colonization Society. The ship Elisabeth, in which they sailed, was chartered by the General government.

This was the first expedition of the American Colonization Society, and it proved a very unfortunate one; for Sherbro Island, contiguous to Sierra Leone, was the place selected for the first settlement of the American colored people. This place proved very unhealthy, because of the low, marshy ground and bad water. All the agents died here, and about seventy of the emigrants.

In 1821 this settlement was abandoned, and all the emigrants removed to Sierra Leone till a more eligible site than Sherbro could be selected.

In the latter part of this year, Capt. Stockton, with the United States schooner Alligator, was ordered to the coast of Africa to aid Dr. Ayres, one of the new agents, in the work of locating the colony. These gentlemen selected a point on the coast, two hundred and fifty miles south-east of Sierra Leone, including Cape Montserado. On this cape the first successful settlement was made, in 1822. In the midst of some opposition from the savage natives, the town of Monrovia was founded on the very place where a large slave factory had been located, and from which point thousands of slaves had been shipped. The progress of this settlement has been steady onward, so that Liberia now extends along the coast about seven hundred miles long by fifty broad, including over one hundred thousand inhabitants. Scarcely, we do not claim too much for Liberia when we say she is a child of Providence. Could we, in our brief sketch, specify the many instances of Divine favor and protection that have been shown her, we could establish our point beyond a doubt. Suffice it to say, ministers of Christ aided in planting the first settlements—ministers have been the chief builders in erecting the superstructure. They have watched over her with much anxiety. She has been the subject of many prayers; and while the storm of opposition from good men and bad men—from the civilized and the savage—from men-promoters and men-stealers, threatened her very existence, God spread his shield over her, and, when the calm returned, and the clouds passed away, Liberia is found erect, a Christian state that commands the esteem of all mankind, and is worthy of the honor of a place in the list of nations, to which place England and France have welcomed her, and we hope the United States will soon extend the same favor.

Liberia Now Expands.

The young republic possesses all the elements of expansion, that have made the mother country the wonder of the world. Differing
but in race, she possesses the religion of the Puritans, and holds the sacred deposit with jealous care. Her language and her literature are derived from this land. Already her agricultural and commercial enterprise are making her name in the commercial world. Endowed the mountains of Africa must yield up their iron, copper, and gold, ere to the enterprise of the Anglicized African.

Her population must increase with progressive force, for by ascents of emigrants from the United States, and additions from the surrounding nations, her growth will soon rival our own; and with her territorial extension will extend the saving, moral influence of her institutions, which are more in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel than are ours own; for the organic laws of the republic require the government to make provision for the civilization of the heathen around them. We fear not to say, that if Liberia was weighed in moral scales, her moral worth would give her a title to the first place among the nations.

The man who opposes the growth of Liberia, either directly or indirectly, is no friend to his race—is no friend to Africa; nay, he opposes the extension of Christ's kingdom, and is no friend to Christ. The man who would retard the emigration of colored men to Africa, assumes a grave responsibility, and, we think, fights against divine Providence. And, indeed, there are but few men to be found who will have nerve enough to stake the young republic, or rather call it "the chariot-house," an American Golgotha," etc. For the friends of the African, in looking around for some collection of colored men, whose position and character can confer responsibility on them, whose presence can act as a check on the wrongs of the slaveholder, and whose influence can aid the slaveholder in making himself the avenger of Africa's wrongs. It is the duty of all these pious colored men, who are now suffering from the effects of prejudice, to emigrate to Liberia; there they will be free, and there they will be instrumental in doing much good; and it is the duty of the benevolent American to see that they do not go empty away, but aid them in this peaceful and righteous course. Indeed, the work of colonization should be made a measure of national policy, and we could pour such a flood of well-educated and religious colored people into Africa, as would lessen
the whole, and thus the continent could be redeemed from its degra-
dation.

THE EXTENT OF AFRICAN SLAVERY—THE REMEDY.

The following is the most comprehensive view of African slavery
that we have seen. It is taken from the "Tenth Annual Report of
the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," and
the statements may be relied on as true.

By the last census of the United States, taken in 1840, the num-
ber of slaves in the southern States was 3,187,455; if we add
the probable increase, computed according to the ratio of the preceed-
ten years, the present number of slaves in the thirteen slave States
will be about 3,045,000; but, since that period, Texas has been an-
nexed to the United States, the number of whose slaves may now be
computed at 50,000; the total gross of slaves in the United
States will, therefore, be 3,095,000. According to Balbi, the num-
ber of slaves in Brazil, many years since, was 9,920,500. Notwith-
standing the great mortality which marks the slave system of that
country, and the manumissions which have taken place, the vast
number of fresh Africans which have since been imported, must
have increased the total number of slaves considerably. We, there-
fore, compute the number at present in Brazil to be 5,250,000. The
number of slaves in the Spanish colonies is variously estimated.
Mr. Crawford, the British Consul in Cuba, states it to have been, in
1841, between 600,000 and 1,000,000. The British Consul at Porto
Rico says the number of slaves in that island, in 1835, was 44,000;
allowing for the additions which may have been made since those
periods, by importations from Africa, we may put down the slave
population of the Spanish colonies at 900,000. The total number
of slaves in the Dutch West Indies, according to the last census, was
9,589; in Surinam, 52,997; at Batavia, Sumatra, and Sourabaya,
30,000—making a total of 93,566; but, as there has been a consis-
tent mortality among the slaves in Surinam, since 1844, perhaps
the entire number in the Dutch colonies and dependencies may be
reckoned at about 50,000. From the best information that can be
obtained, it appears that the number of slaves in New Granada, in-
cluding Panama, was, in 1830, 60,137; in Venezuela, in 1837, 27,
699; in Bogota, 1835, 4,900; in Peru, 1845, 30,000. From Bol-
via, Chili, and the Argentine republic, no returns have been obtained;
but the slave populations of these republics may be estimated at
about 40,000. It should be remarked, however, that all the South
American republics have made provision in their laws for the grad-
ual extinction of slavery; and that Uruguay, one of them, com-

* According to the late census the number is this mortality is 3,180,200, and we sup-
pose the interest in other countries to be great; this would make the total about 7-
300,000.
This is an awful and damnable picture; seven millions and a
half of the sons of Africa held in bondage by nations nominally
Christian! Without hesitation we say that the remedy for their
degradation is education and emancipation. Education should be
used to emancipate, if possible; but whereas this cannot be secured,
liberty is the right of man, civilized or savage, educated or mediat-
ed; and no man has the right to deprive his fellow of liberty on
the ground of his ignorance.

But, however much we may desire to apply the remedy suggested
by foreign hands, eradicating slavery, we cannot do it, for they are be-
yond our control; however we may do something to embarrass
them, and reduce the value of the instruments of slavery by paral-
izing the productions of free labor, to the neglect of the productions
of slave labor; for, as long as we continue to buy the productions
of the southern plantations, the sugar, the coffee, etc., so long will
North America and the West India islands cherish African Slavery.

But you say, Where shall we find an adequate supply of these
beverages, or rather necessaries of life; for the people will continue
to use sugar, coffee, etc.? The answer is at hand. Africa can be
made to produce, within the next thirty years, more sugar, coffee,
etc., than the civilized world can consume. Africa has within her
limits now coffee, sugar, and cotton lands that can render similar
services, who, under the control of intelligent leaders, can produce these arti-
cles in such quantities as will flood the markets of the world.

To make this evident, I will make a few statements in relation to
the single article of coffee. A friend gave me a small quantity of
Libertian coffee recently; it is a large, firm, white berry, and to be
as good as the Java coffee, and commanding as good a price where
it is known. The Liberians raise it with very little labor; it is in-
digenous to that country; the plants are found in the forests; these are
taken and planted in orchards, at the rate of five hundred trees
to the acre. These trees will bear the third year after planting, at
the rate of twelve pounds of coffee to the tree, or six thousand
pounds to the acre. In 1846, the United States consumed 144,334,-
054 pounds of coffee; the British empire and France we suppose
consumed twice as much. The quantity consumed annually by
these nations may be set down at 350,000,000 pounds, which is a
very large estimate; and nearly all that coffee is produced by slaves.
The above quantity of coffee can be produced on about sixty thou-
sand acres of Liberian coffee lands. Now, suppose that twenty
thousand free people of color emigrate to that republic, and open
firms, and plant three acres each in coffee trees, for the foreign
market, this will give us a breadth of sixty thousand acres, the quan-
tity necessary to supply the civilized world with coffee inferior in
quality to any now produced by the slave. Then we could strike a
death-blow to slavery in all lands where coffee is produced by slave
labor.

But to carry out this measure effectually, we require a line of
transports to ply between this country and Liberia, and then we
require the above number of volunteers from among our three hun-
dred thousand free people of color. The first it is likely we shall
secure. It remains for the free colored people to say whether we
or our sons can secure the latter. All depends on their action. In one year
the transports could place more men on the coast than would be neces-
sary to form the requisite plantation, and in three years over sixty
thousand families, averaging three to the family, can be placed
on the coast, and in less than five years the plantations could actu-
ally be opened, and producing their three or four hundred million
pounds of coffee, by which slavery in South America and the West
Indies can be abolished, or broken down. Sugar will be the next
article that will claim the attention of the Liberians; but as mills,
&c., are required, it will be some time before they can command
capital enough to erect the necessary machinery. The cotton will
be the third in order of production, because the best cotton lands
are inland, on the banks and bottoms of the Niger and its tributarys,
and the idea of emigration will roll slowly to the great valley of
that river. However, if the present efforts of England to prove
the natives to the cultivation of cotton are successful, this article
may be brought into the market much sooner than we now suppose.
We will conclude this chapter by saying, that we see in a national
system of colonization the means of indirectly undermining the
foundations of slavery in foreign lands; and a hundred thousand
Americans combine to prompt the entrance colored men to go to Africa.
Let all the friends of liberty "carry the war into Africa," and the victory will soon be won.
THE EXTENT OF OUR DOMESTIC SLAVERY—A CONFLICT OF RACES TO BE APPREHENDED: THE RESEMBLY NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Domestic slavery binds over three million negroes in bonds, and robs them of all the rights of men, reducing them to the state and liabilities of chattels. This is a dark blot on the character of the American people, and made the more odious by the high claims we set up as a republic; for we profess to teach the world the lessons of liberty and equality, and are the great exemplars of the power of man to govern himself. No people censure the aristocrats of Europe more than the American people, and yet we cherish in our homes a system of oppression so dark in its character that it casts a stain on the institutions of the old world into the shade. In novel of the nations of the old world, the serfs and peasantry have been emancipated, and are no longer articles of merchandise—they are men, not chattels; while, in the republic of the United States, the African is bought and sold as the horse is bought and sold, and in the moral government of slaves there is almost as little respect paid to them as to cattle, for all the sacred relations of life are disregarded by the slaverdealer.

But the worst of the case is, men calling themselves republicans and Christians, can be found who will defend this institution, and apologize for it. God forbid that we should be of that number; but we rejoice that it is our privilege to bear testimony against "the sum we rejoice that it is our privilege to bear testimony against "the sum of all villainies"—"the buying and selling men, women and children of all nations," and we undeniably say that the Christian who buys or sells a human being with an intention to enslave, commits a sin of so grave a nature that he will lose the grace of glory, his right to Church fellowship may be questioned.

In short, we deny the chattel claim of the slave-dealer to his slaves; he has derived no right to sell man, from that Being, who is the source of all our rights, and the avenger of all our wrongs. We reject this we speak understandingly, and we rejoice to find that the good men of the south are opening their eyes to the unholy good men of the south are opening their eyes to the unholy and that the time may soon come when a well-directed public opinion will break down the "American slave-dealer;" for between the "African slave-trade" and the "American slave-trade;" we think the African the most condemnable, and doubtless it does more good to the colored race. For if the good that arises from this traffic is to be measured by the measure of its merits, we can prove that it is to be measured by the measure of its merits, we can prove that that abominable trade—the trade in slaves from Africa—that that abominable trade—the trade in slaves from Africa—that that abominable trade—the trade in slaves from Africa—cost the nations hundreds of millions to suppress it, is now more ex-
women and children, with the intention to enslave them. The sooner a corrected public opinion is poured upon it the better.

But justice requires that we distinguish between the man who will sell or buy a slave, and the true southern gentlemen who, while he hates the "American slave-trader," holds slaves, they being part of the estate he received by inheritance. It is the case of this man that most perplexes the moralist, and calls out the sympathy of the northern people. What shall such a man do with his slaves? what does God require at his hands? We think that God requires that the chattel claim to his slaves be surrendered and abandoned forever; and that, like John Randolph, he consider his slaves inalienable, but regard them as apprentices, the younger to be educated and emancipated at the age of twenty-one, and all over that age, and under the age of forty-five, to be set free at once, retaining none as bondmen but those whose age and infirmity unfit for the work of providing for themselves, and for whose support the estate on which they have expended the labor and energy of youth should be pledged. Let these doctrines obtain in the south, and emancipation will follow in good time, and in less than fifty years slavery will be but a name; its horrors shall have passed away.

But there is a fixed purpose among southern men, that the emancipated shall not be permitted to remain among them; and the reason they assign for this resolve is the danger arising from a conflict of races; and indeed there is much to fear fromdifference of race in the south; but we propose the remedy of continental or African colonization; that is, the establishment of a colored nation on this continent, or in Africa, to which all the emancipated may be sent, as well for the good of the colored man as for the safety of the nation. The location of the colony being selected, and the groundwork of the enterprise laid down, the slave states should be so organized, that in each county thereof there should be an officer, whose duty it would be to receive all the slaves offered for emancipation and transportation, and having received them convey them or have them conveyed to the commonwealth prepared for their reception, where they should be furnished with a piece of land, if they desire a country life, or a lot in town if they desire to reside in town. Let us then embrace the Providential indications are more in favor of African than continental colonization, we hope that all good and reasonable men will unite on the former.