

ANSWER

OF THE

A G E N T

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  
3d OF FEBRUARY, 1852.

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INDIANAPOLIS:  
J. P. CHAPMAN, STATE PRINTER.  
1852.

HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
February 3, 1852.

REV. J. MITCHELL,  
*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 Indiana House of Representatives, to which an answer, at an early date is most respectfully solicited.

I am sir, with respect,

GEORGE L. SITES,  
*Clerk of House of Representatives.*

*Resolved*, That the Rev. J. Mitchell, Agent of the American Colonization Society, be respectfully requested to furnish to this House at his earliest convenience, answers to the following questions, viz :

1st. Should the State of Indiana determine to establish a settlement on the coast of Africa, for the accommodation of her colored people, where will be the best point ?

2d. What will be the probable cost of procuring an extent of territory sufficient for the purpose ? what its location, health, fertility, natural productions and inducements 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 inducements for sending our colored population to Liberia ?

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

6th. What is the number of colored persons in Indiana at this time, and what proportion of them could probably be induced to emigrate to the land of their fathers ? and to furnish any other information pertinent to the subject in his possession ; and that a copy of this resolution be immediately furnished to the Rev. J. Mitchell, by the clerk of this House.

Adopted February 3, 1852.

INDIANAPOLIS, Feb. 21, 1852.

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.*

## A N S W E R .

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INDIANAPOLIS, February 21, 1852.

*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 inst. 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*.

1st. 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 Cake 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 1,060 feet above the level of the sea; those high lands are covered with a heavy forest. Within a few miles of the Cape the Passou, or Cape Mount river discharges itself into a small bay, formed by the projection of Cape Mount on the south and Manna point, eight miles above on the north; into this bay another river, the Sugary 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. 44 min. 25 sec. north, and in 11 deg. 23 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 northern 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 notorious and successful slave mart; costing the United States, England and France, much trouble to watch it.

Of this country, J. N. 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 Sherbro 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 those *well grounded* suppositions are correct, we have no doubt but arrangements can be made by which Indiana can become a party to the purchase, and secure a given section on the land register of Liberia, to be set to the credit of emigrants from this 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 location President Roberts thus writes to us—"There are several locations within our jurisdiction between this place and Sierra Leone 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 possesses 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 direction, any quantity of land you may wish for emigrants coming from Indiana."

In addition to the above I will subjoin some extracts of letters, addressed to me by W. W. Finley, a colored man who emigrated from this State, and M. H. Smith, who has been in Liberia nine years, and is now a member of the Liberia Legislature. Those men

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 dissimulation,” and because of “their profession of the Mohomedan faith, they being the dividing tribe between Mohomedan and Pagan Africa; he represents them as remarkable for sobriety, perseverance, activity and avarice, and likewise 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 Fey or Vey 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 Veys 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 cost* 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 Shebar, excepting a small strip of about five miles of coast in the Kellou 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 \$9,500.*

“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 camwood, ivory and palm oil, with the interior tribes; and also settle amongst them, as soon as convenient, *persons capable of instructing them in the arts of husbandry*. 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 borders of Sierra Leone, is about 200 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 examined the copies of three deeds made to the authorities of Liberia, 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 \$96½ per mile. From this statement it will be well to calculate on paying 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 answered in the above communications of Roberts, Lewis, Finley and Smith, who all concur in representing it as a delightful and desirable country.

4. On their evidence, likewise, we must believe it to be a *healthy region*; and the fact that the native tribes who formerly owned the country, were the most warlike, robust and intelligent of all tribes on that coast, is strong proof that the climate at that point is congenial 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 appearance, quality and productiveness.

"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 mould, which is peculiarly adapted to the growth of those kinds of vegetables which thrive best during the dry season. Another variety is that which is generally found extending back from the banks of the rivers, further from the sea than the first named: this consists of a light clay, more or less tempered with sand, and is adapted to almost every kind of vegetables which thrive in

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."

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

In addition to these remarks, we will give an extract from a communication of Mr. Ashmun, one of the first Agents of the Colonization Society, who spent many years in Liberia, and was the principal instrument, under a wise Providence, in giving stability to the foundations of the colony. The communication referred to, is a manual called the *Liberia Farmer, or Colonist's Guide*, addressed to the colonists, 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 thrifty 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 intermingled with it. Manure 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 uplands it is always wet during the rains, and consists of a loose, deep, 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 lowland 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 manuring.



"*The sandy soil* is the third variety found in the level country. It is most prevalent wherever the land has, in course of time, gained upon the ocean, or channels of rivers. It is a light, warm soil, and will yield only slender crops without manure. Sweet potatoes, beans, cassada, 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, pawpaws, 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 lowland 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 Sinou,) along both sides of Stockton Creek, and among the gardens of Monrovia, 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 Dr. Lugenbell, and partly that of Ashmun.

"Nearly all the different kinds of grain, roots, and fruits which are peculiar to inter-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 peculiarly adapted to their growth." But the principal articles 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, capada, yams, sweet potatoes, arrow-root, Lima and other beans, peas, cabbages, turnips,

beets, carrots, tomatoes, cymplings, chiota, ochra, cucumbers, many varieties of pepper, ground nuts, palma christi, the India rubber tree, the croton oil tree, and the palm tree, and among their fruits the Liberians number the orange, lemon, limes, guava, pine apple, plantain, banana, tamarinds, rose apples, pomegranates, cherries, cocoa nuts, pawpaws, mango plums, alligator pears, patango, bread fruit, arellous, and various valuable vegetables and fruits of the tropics. Most of these have I myself seen growing 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 blue; of gums, there are copal, senegal, mastic, and sudan or Turkey gum. The she or butternut is hardly less valuable than the palm nut. The tree producing it is said to extend over a large portion of the continent. Park thought the butter made from it superior to that made from cow's milk."

"No country in the world is more amply enriched than this is with the chief productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The ground nut yields a pure golden colored oil of a pleasant taste, and has been sold as high as £50 per ton, (about \$240.) The castor nut grows wild on the banks of the Gambia and elsewhere. The ginger of Africa is particularly fine and high-flavored; it yields about sixty for one, and the people only want method for preparing it for the European market."

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

"With few considerable 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 inexhaustible mines of wealth."—*Gurley's Report*.

The rivers of Liberia are the St. Paul's, St. John's, the Junk river, Half Cape Mount, Mechlin, the New Cess, the Grand Cess, the Sanguen, the Sinon; and in the new purchase there is the Gallinas, Solyman, Manna, Sugury, and Grand Cape Mount river; to which we may add the Shebar. The rivers of Liberia are not very large, although some of them are from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile wide, for fifty miles or more from their entrance 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 Bexley, 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-

ting, and interspersed with the most lovely rills of excellent water, clear as crystal, foaming and scolding among the rocks, presenting a thousand mill seats. The air in that region is salubrious 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 from 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 them cultivated to the top, and thence beheld a delightful prospect. Beyond these hills, or mountains as we call them, the land becomes generally more level to the distance of seventy miles, the extent of my interior travels. I am told by the natives that a day's walk beyond are loftier 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 distance is rich, water abundant and good, and the cause of disease is no more apparent than in level regions in America. If our people want health, they may as surely obtain it in the mountainous region as by trans-Atlantic trips. I have left home in bad health, on preaching tours of two or three weeks, and returned vigorous and strong. The birds sing more sweetly there, and the flowers are more beautiful and fragrant than in the marshy region bordering on the sea. The natives are more industrious, honest, happy, and hopeful every way in that 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 well 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 acclimated, enjoy good health.

Mr. Gurley, 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 had 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 that to the dry season; the weather was generally clear and pleasant, and we were seldom deterred for an entire day from visiting the shore, or from moderate physical exertion."

"No one can look upon the athletic, 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 the 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. Lugenbell.

"On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant, notwithstanding the scorching 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 pleasantness of the climate and weather is concerned, I would decidedly prefer a residence in Liberia to one in any part of the United States.

"The extreme of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65 degrees and 90 degrees. I have never heard of the mercury in a good thermometer having sunk below the former, nor arisen above the latter point in the shade. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, may be set down at about 76 degrees, and during the dry season at 84 degrees. The mean temperature for the year is about 80 degrees."

From these figures it will be seen that the heat of Liberia is not excessive, nor is it as great as that of some points in the south of our own country, where the thermometer frequently stands as high as 90 deg.; add to this the fact that cold winters, cold nights, and the cold and snow of this country are unknown there, and we will be able to comprehend the reason why those who have visited Liberia consider the climate desirable.

8. 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 must 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 attitude, and seemed conscious that while they were founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting 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 enterprize and intelligence of the colonists, is equally unquestionable."—*Capt. Kennedy, U. S. Navy.*

"Nothing struck me as 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 Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property."—*Capt. Abels, 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 Monrovia there is a larger proportion of good accountants and elegant penmen, than in any town (American) of his acquaintance."—*Gov. Buchanan.*

"The character of these industrious colonists 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 negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race; and that the melioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical."—*A British Naval Officer.*

9. "*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, and 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 two from each county—six 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 who have yet been commissioned are the Secretaries of State and of the Treasury, and the Attorney General. All 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 magistrate's courts, which meet monthly. No white person is allowed to become a citizen."—*Dr. Lugenbell.*

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 \$50 per emigrant. This has been considered all 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 ten thousand. If those 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.

12. *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 must 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 statesmen to meet their reasonable demand for a removal. I will subjoin a few extracts from letters on the subject: "I write," says one, "to inquire when, 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."

"Daviess county, Jan. 26th, 1852."

"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 preparation 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 23d, 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 23d, 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 is the indifference of the civilized world to this state of degradation, but especially the indifference of our own nation to this subject. With coolness and indifference we behold over one hundred and fifty million human beings sunk in ignorance and servitude; and too many of us are disposed to let them riot in the mire of their degradation, rather than put forth the hand of the samaritan, 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 series of providences that we could not check. No faction or party should claim the honor of this state of things, for the glory belongs to *another*—to that Being whose providence controls all things, and who wills that Africa should ere long “stretch out her hands unto God.” We fear that most of the agitators of negro wrongs are actuated by party and political motives, and not by a pure benevolence. This is evident from the fact that little effort has been made to rescue the colored man from actual degradation; for cutting off the chains of the slave is but an *inconsiderable*, very inconsiderable step in the work of negro elevation; he has yet to be made a man—a *free man*.

Americans are responsible for much of the African degradation of our day; and should God inquire of us, as he did of Cain, “Where is thy brother?” what answer could we give to this? So far as we have had charge of our brother, or stand related to him, we can point to a prostrate man, upon whose neck rests the heel 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 masses of Africans, in ascending order.

#### THE NATIVES OF AFRICA

are the most degraded of the race, as any candid man will admit, upon examining the narratives of travelers or the reports of missionaries. They tell us that the Bushman is but a remove from the beast of the forest, and far more unnatural to his offspring; and that the Ashantee and surrounding nations worship devils, and offer human sacrifices by the thousand. Many of the more powerful tribes make annual slave hunts, to procure slaves for the slave market. In these wars, made to take captives for slavery, about as many warriors and people are killed as there are slaves captured; for the victors kill all the old people who are not fit for the slave market, and permit the little children to perish, reserving the youth and able-bodied for the market. This is a true picture of the African tribes. There may be a few exceptions among the northern tribes, but the exceptions are so inconsiderable, that they cannot vitiate our statement. Africa is supposed to contain over one hundred million souls; and the worst of their case is the fact that they

know not God, but are covered with a darkness deeper than night, and have actually deified the devil, and worship him as their god. In no part of the world has Satan obtained such a complete triumph over poor man 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 SLAVES OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

constitute the next mass of degraded Africans. It is needless for us to spend time in depicting the horrors of American slavery; they are well known, and are becoming more odious every day. But of the two continents, slavery in the northern is more *tolerable* 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 great pre-eminence 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 schooled colored man shows the talents of a master mind; and the native, conscious of his inferiority, submits to direction and control, as in the case of Liberia and the surrounding tribes. This develops 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 overruled the cupidity and wickedness of bad men for the good of a large portion of the African race; and we suppose this to be preparatory 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? says one. It lies in withholding knowledge from our pupil, and by legal enactments shutting him up in ignorance; it lies in our making a slave out of an apprentice, and keeping him beyond the time of release; it lies in our demoralizing policy, in regard to the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, which casts the morals of the Gospel of Christ to the winds; it lies in our trafficking in his flesh and blood, and bones, for filthy lucre, when we should have returned him to the land of his fathers. For the above crimes God will hold *the guilty* responsible, in the day of judgment.

#### ENGLAND'S EMANCIPATED SLAVES

are the next remove in the ascending scale. Her emancipated colonists are supposed by many to be better circumstanced than our free people of color; but this is a mistake which arises from an ig-



norance of the structure of English society, which is divided into several unchanging classes or castes. The titled few, and gentlemen of noble families, constitute the first class; the professions and men of fortune come next; the merchants, manufacturers, and farmers next; and, last of all, the laborer, or poor white man, whose children seldom escape from the state of their father, but continue laborers from generation to generation. Under all these ranks, which are more carefully observed in English society than in any other nation of Saxon stock—we say, under all these ranks, which tower one above the other, lies the emancipated colonist, who, although apparently free, and having some advantages in common with poor white men, is still a social slave. He is but the serf of the English planter. He forms the substrata of English society, from the etiquette of which we pray to be delivered. From our knowledge of the structure of English society, we have been led to question the wisdom of sending colored men into Canada.

#### 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 but 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, 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 unprincipled. 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 lopped off the branches of the evil that afflicts him. The trunk, in the form of hereditary 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 ALMONERS 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 almoners of the word 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 imbecile nations we find two nations towering up, possessing all those 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 foremost in all benvolent 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 proclaims to the world the position of the Englishman, who seems to say thereby, "Come up to me; I cannot come down to you!" The statesmen of England are always ready to spend millions of money, and her philanthropists to sacrifice their lives in the cause of humanity and of God. And what is more remarkable, England does all this while cumbered with a load of feudal customs, which, were it not for the mighty volume of moral power that lies deeply imbedded in the heart of the nation, would shackle her energies, and make her as weak for good as her neighbors on the continent. Yet, with all her civil and ecclesiastical disabilities, she does

more for mankind than her more-favored coadjutor, the United States.

This republic is well qualified to be "the light of the world." Her civil institutions are unrivaled, and the European world is now feebly essaying to copy after them; her churches are pure and unfettered, and her wealth 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 an expensive bill, and her poor at home and in her dependencies are a standing tax on her people. The government owes 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 boasting, but a calm 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 band of missionaries at work in that great field; but we would suggest these missionaries should be colored men, if pious 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 prove fatal, 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 effectual way of elevating the native African tribes is, to plant among them settlements of colored Christians, who shall take some of the children of the natives into their families and there instruct them; who shall teach the barbarian the arts of civilized life, but especially the way of salvation from sin. This is the plan which Buxton proposed to the English people; for this object the ill-fated "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 multiplication of such settlements as Liberia, composed of industrious, 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 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; in evidence of which we subjoin part of an article published in the "Liberia Herald" last September. We find that the writer is opposed to isolated mission stations; denies the utility of such stations, and maintains that the colony is the proper school for civilization and Christianity.

"*Messrs. Editors*,—Sirs, I read with much attention the communication in your last number, (July,) from Rev. B. J. Drayton, Cape Palmas. The subject of introducing civilization and Christianity among the heathens, 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 expedient 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 entertain similar views, and hence the recommendations he makes in his communication. He says, that 'the most ready way to accomplish the objects in consideration, is for the government to make roads into the interior, that 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. D.'s views: his letter in general is worthy of being attentively perused, and it will advantage 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 will every one, I think, who has given the matter mature consideration. At this time of day, it is preposterous to imagine that *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 themselves 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 deeply 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 plain terms that any material advantage is to be derived from missionaries in Liberia. The missionaries know this themselves. If any suppose I have erred in what I have said, 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 count, and every body will see that I make no exaggeration when I say that no material advantage is to be derived from the employment of persons as missionaries to the *Africans in Liberia*. And the money thus lavishly expended for their support is wasted. But this state of things can be altered—altered for great good in many respects—but I will not now enter into full particulars. I may do so hereafter. It is 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 expend annually in Liberia for missionary purposes, with the understanding that the government will employ it for the civilization of the aboriginals of the country. It cannot be doubted that the government have greater interests at stake in wishing the civilization and Christianization of the Africans, than the missionary societies can possibly have. As Liberia marches onward, so 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 the heathen under the folds of Christianity than any body or institution can be.

“ALPHA.”

We have italicised the words “missions stations,” and “Africans in Liberia,” which give us a key to the object of the writer. He is not anti-missionary or anti-christian; but he is an anti-station man, or a colonization man run wild, that is all. His error is, he forgets that our missionaries in the colonies constitute the moral and saving power of the settlements. Strike 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 Christian school for 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 Christian men and their ministers and school teachers, and the moving spring of the whole system should be philanthropy.

COLONIZATION A PROVIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT—ITS ORIGIN—BRIEF HISTORY OF LIBERIA—LIBERIA MUST EXPAND—IT IS WRONG TO OPPOSE HER GROWTH—SHE WILL GIVE CHARACTER TO THE COLORED RACE.

African colonization is an arrangement of Divine Providence, whereby the 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, far from being the creature of sinister designs. African colonization originated in the minds of true philanthropists; and the American people merit not the *supposed odium* of originating this great movement, for its authors were not Americans, but were Englishmen. The great leaders of the antislavery or abolition party of Great Britain were its projectors, and the occasion that called out this exercise of their *wisdom and benevolence* was the following:

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

"Those taken to England had been there but a short time, before it was discovered, such was the repugnance in a white community to receiving into its bosom a race as distinct as that of the African, and give them equality in all respects, that it was wholly impracticable to attempt it; and to exclude them was to degrade them and render their condition miserable. Under this state of things, Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and others, conceived the plan of colonizing the *whole number* on the western coast of Africa. This was the origin of the colony of Sierra Leone."—To this place, also, those sent to Nova Scotia were brought, and in this settlement the negroes that have been retaken by the British cruisers have been placed. So we find that good men, nay, orthodox, antislavery men were the fathers of the whole scheme.

Like causes will produce like effects. Good men in the United States were touched 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 planted the colony of Liberia, in the year 1820, some thirty-two years after the foundation of Sierra Leone. The following is a

## BRIEF HISTORY OF LIBERIA.

In the year 1820, the American Colonization Society sent out to Africa eighty-eight emigrants, under the care of Rev. S. Bascom, principal agent of the United States, and Dr. S. A. Crozier, agent of the American Colonization Society. The ship *Elizabeth*, 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 *Sierre 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 *Sierre 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 *Sierre Leone*, including Cape *Monteserado*. 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 steadily onward, so that *Liberia* now extends along the coast about seven hundred miles long, by fifty broad, including over one hundred thousand inhabitants. Surely, 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 foundations—ministers have been the chief builders in rearing 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-redeemers 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 an honorable 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 MUST EXPAND.

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 a name in the commercial world. Ere long the mountains of Africa must yield up their iron, copper, and golden ore to the enterprise of the Anglicized African.

Her population must increase with progressive force, for by accessions 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 our 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 attack the young republic, or longer call it "the charnel-house," "the American golgotha," etc. For the friends of the African, in looking around for some collection of colored men, whose position and character can confer respectability on the race, look in vain for such a collection till they come to Liberia; and policy compels them to respect her, that, through her, the race may be made respectable, for "few are the bright spots" on the field of Africa's degradation; and if we strike out this central sun of Africa's horizon, feeble will be the light emitted by Canadian colonies, Haytian republics, or Dominican empires; again would the skeptic cherish a doubt as to the ability of the negro to govern himself, and again would the slaveholder congratulate himself that the sons of Ham were made to be his servants, and that he is their master by divine right. But let Liberia stand, and she will make character for herself, and for the African race; she will be the true advocate of Africa's rights, and in good time the avenger of Africa's wrongs.

It is the duty of all those 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 to aid them in this peaceful and righteous course. Indeed, the work of colonization should be made a measure of national policy, and then we could pour such a flood of well-educated and religious colored people into Africa, as would leaven



the whole, and thus the continent could be redeemed from its degradation.

#### 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 number of slaves in the southern States was 2,187,455; if we add the probable increase, computed according to the ratio of the preceding 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 annexed to the United States, the number of whose slaves may now be computed at 50,000; the grand total of slaves in the United States will, therefore, be 3,090,000. According to Balbi, the number of slaves in Brazil, many years since, was 2,926,500. Notwithstanding 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, therefore, compute the number at present in Brazil to be 3,250,000. 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 800,000 and 900,000. The British Consul at Porto Rico says the number of slaves in that island, in 1838, was 44,000; allowing for the additions which may have been made since these 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 9,569; in Surinam, 52,997; at Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya, 30,000—making a total of 92,566; but, as there has been a considerable mortality among the slaves in Surinam, since 1844, perhaps the entire number in the Dutch colonies and dependencies may be reckoned at about 85,000. From the best information that can be obtained, it appears that the number of slaves in New Granada, including Panama, was, in 1835, 40,137; in Venezuela, in 1837, 37,689; in Equador, 1843, 4,960; in Peru, 1845, 20,000. From Bolivia, 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 gradual extinction of slavery; and that Uruguay, one of them, com-

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\* According to the late census the number in this country is 3,198,324, and we suppose the increase in other countries to be as great; this would make the total about 7,900,000.

pletely abolished it in the year 1842. The number of slaves in the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish settlements on the western coast of Africa, is computed at 30,000; of these, nine-tenths at least are held by the Portuguese. The latter nation has, in addition, possessions on the eastern coast of Africa, and in Asia, but the number of slaves in them is unknown. Making allowance for manumissions which may have taken place in the South American republics, the following recapitulation may be taken as a correct estimate of the number of slaves in the several countries named, viz:

United States .....	3,095,000
Brazil .....	3,250,000
Spanish colonies .....	900,000
Dutch colonies .....	85,000
South American republics .....	140,000
African settlements .....	30,000
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Total .....	7,500,000
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This is an awful and humiliating picture; seven millions and a half of the sons of Africa held in bondage by nations nominally Christians! Without hesitancy we say that the remedy for their degradation is *education* and *emancipation*. Education should precede emancipation, if possible; but where this cannot be secured, liberty is the right of man, civilized or savage, educated or uneducated; 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 to foreign lands cherishing slavery, we cannot do it, for they are beyond our control; however we may do something to embarrass them, and reduce the value of the institution of slavery by patronizing the productions of free labor, to the neglect of the productions of slave labor; for, so long as we continue to buy the productions of the southern plantations, the sugar, the coffee, &c., so long will South America and the West India islands cherish African Slavery.

But you say, Where shall we find an adequate supply of those luxuries, or rather necessities of life; for the people will continue to use sugar, coffee, &c.? The answer is at hand. Africa can be made to produce, within the next thirty years, more coffee, sugar, &c., than the civilized world can consume. Africa has within her limits more coffee, sugar, and cotton lands than any other continent, and she has got one hundred millions docile and teachable negroes, who, under the control of intelligent leaders, can produce those articles 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 us a small quantity of Liberian coffee recently; it is a large, firm, white berry, said 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 indigenous 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 124,336,054 pounds of coffee; the British empire and France we will suppose consumed twice as much. The quantity consumed annually by those 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 thousand acres of Liberian coffee lands. Now, suppose that twenty thousand free people of color emigrate to that republic, and open farms, and plant three acres each in coffee trees, for the foreign market, this will give us a breadth of sixty thousand acres, the quantity necessary to supply the civilized world with coffee superior 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 hundred thousand free people of color. The first it is likely we shall secure. It remains for the free colored people to say whether we can secure the latter. All depends on their action. In one year the transports could place more men on the coast than would be necessary to form the requisite plantations, 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 actually 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 tributaries, and the tide of emigration will roll slowly to the great valley of that river. However, if the present efforts of England to press 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 reasons conspire to prompt the good and great men of this nation to adopt it; and a thousand reasons combine to prompt the enterprising colored man 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 REMEDY NATIONAL COLONIZATION.

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 exemplar 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 midst a system of oppression so dark in its character that it casts the cruel institutions of the old world into the shade. In most 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 slavedealer.

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 of all villainies"—"the buying and selling men, women and children with an intention to enslave them;" and we unhesitatingly 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 God, and never regain it till he repents and makes becoming restitution; and having thus unfitted himself for the kingdom of grace or glory, his right to Church fellowship may be questioned.

In short, we deny the chattel claim of the slavetrader 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. In saying this we speak understandingly, and we rejoice to find that the good men of the south are opening their eyes to the unholy character of such a traffic, and they now look upon the slave-trader, or seller, as a monster who is unfit for good society. To this we say amen, and pray the Lord that the time may soon come when a well-directed public opinion will break down the "American slave-trade;" for between the "African slave-trade" and the "American slave-trade," we think the African the most excusable, and doubtless it does more good to the colored race. For if the good that arises from this traffic is to be made the measure of its merits, we can prove that that abominable business—the trade in slaves from Africa—which has called forth the execrations of the civilized world, and cost the nations hundreds of millions to suppress it, is now more excusable and tolerable than the buying and selling civilized men,

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 infirmities 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 stand 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 from difference of race in the south; but we propose the remedy of continental or African coloization; 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. But as 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.