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John Biddulph Esq
with the best respects
of his friend
Chas. Weston

LIBERIA;
OR THE
EARLY HISTORY & SIGNAL PRESERVATION
OF
THE AMERICAN COLONY
OF
FREE NEGROES
ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

By **WILLIAM INNES,**
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

SECOND EDITION,
WITH A COPIOUS APPENDIX FROM MATERIALS FURNISHED
BY ELLIOTT CRESSON, ESQ.

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PREFACE.

LIBERIA is the name given to a colony of free negroes who have lately been transported from America to the coast of Africa. This colony seems little known except by name in this country; but as it appears destined to hold a distinguished place in promoting the civilization and improvement of Africa, a short account of its early history cannot, I think, fail to be read with interest.

I have been enabled to furnish this account by the kindness of an American gentleman from Virginia, who supplied me with several publications relating to this subject. It is from these the contents of the following pages are compiled.* In addition to the

* Here, to prevent mistakes, the reader will recollect, that when the expressions "this country" or "our own country" occur, it is to America the expressions refer.

account of the origin and early history of the Colony of Liberia, the publications referred to contain some information respecting the state of slavery in the slave-holding states of America, which will probably be new to many readers in this country. Thus it appears that in these states a slave-holder is prevented by law from emancipating a slave, however much he may be disposed to do so, unless he at the same time send him out of the country. The reason is, that in many cases the free negroes are a great annoyance to the community, often living by pilfering the property of their neighbours. This circumstance has proved so far favourable to the Colonization Society, as it has been found that several persons have been willing to emancipate some of their negroes, if the Society will take upon them the expense of transporting them to Africa. In addition to this, as will be afterwards seen, there are many thousands of free negroes in the United States, many of whom are willing to go to Africa, and it costs about L.8 sterling to transport a colonist to that country, while this includes a grant of 30 acres of land to each emigrant. Where an intel-

ligent negro can be found, it is not easy to discover a way in which so much good might be effected by so small a sum.

Respecting Liberia itself, it will be seen that from very small beginnings, when the colonists had a mere spot of ground on which to erect their habitations, they have now extended along the coast 280 miles; and though it appears from some recent communications that they have not yet been so successful in putting a stop to the slave-trade in the neighbourhood, beyond their own limits, as they could wish, it is obvious that, as the colony increases in strength, it will powerfully tend to check the operation of this iniquitous traffic, if not entirely to abolish it.

The colonists have already been the means of introducing agriculture and the arts of civilized life among the tribes placed in their neighbourhood. These have seen with astonishment how many comforts may be obtained by men of the same colour with themselves by honest industry, whether exercised in agriculture or in mercantile pursuits, and they are beginning to aspire after the possession of those comforts themselves through

this channel. Some of the neighbouring tribes have already requested to be taken under the protection of the colony, and are anxious to have their children taught in their schools.

The preservation of this infant institution under two separate attacks of their enemies with most overwhelming numbers, cannot fail to be read with the deepest interest. Indeed, when we consider the very great disproportion between the number of the assailants and that of the colonists at the time referred to, between six and nine hundred being opposed to thirty-five effective men, their preservation appears little less than miraculous, and the account of it would seem more to belong to the world of fiction than that of reality.

There are other circumstances besides this in the history of the colonists, which very strikingly mark the interposition of Divine Providence in their behalf, and it cannot fail to be gratifying to every friend of religion to observe the manner in which the protecting hand of the Almighty is recognised by them in the signal preservations they experienced. Indeed, few colonies

have at any time been formed, in which the principles of an enlightened Christianity are more distinctly to be observed as forming the very basis of their establishment. How delightful, for example, is it to find them informing two of the neighbouring tribes who were engaged in war, and each of which wished to secure the aid of the colonists, that they would do what they could to promote peace, but would take no share in any of their disputes ; that the whole force of the colony was sacred to the purpose of self-defence alone against the injustice and violence of the unprincipled ; that, while they were ready to benefit *all* their neighbours, they would injure *none* ; and that, if they could not prevent or settle the wars of the country, they should never take part in them.

The colony was formed in 1821. The small number of the original settlers has been already noticed ; and in November 1830, they amounted to 1500. Towards the close of 1832 they had doubled this number, and if means are supplied, will probably double it again within a year. But from the whole history of this institution, few, I am per-

suaded, will be able to read the following account of it without feeling a deep interest in the future prospects of Liberia.

I have only to add, that this edition is much enriched by various very interesting communications I have received from **ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq.** from Philadelphia, who is at present on a visit to this country with the view of promoting the interests of this infant colony. These will be found inserted in the Appendix.

W. I.

EDINBURGH, *February* 1833.

LIBERIA.

THE time is past, when it was necessary to prove the political or the moral evil of the slave-trade. We might suppose that no great strength of argument could ever have been requisite to establish its impropriety; yet, not half a century has elapsed since it was advocated by men of talents and learning, on the floor of the British Parliament, not on the plea of expediency only, but on the ground of its "humanity and holiness!" and the friends of abolition were "delighted at the thought that they would soon be able to prove that Providence, in ordaining laws relative to the agency of man, had never made that to be wise which was immoral; and that the slave-trade would be found as impolitic as it was inhuman and unjust;" a truth which has, happily, been since demonstrated too clearly to admit a rational doubt. But it was long before this triumph could be obtained over the interests and the prejudices of mankind. The policy and the humanity of the slave-trade were maintained by men of the first standing in England; and it was not until after an arduous struggle of twenty years,

during which the friends of humanity suffered repeated disappointments and defeats, that the united talents of Pitt and Fox, and Burke and Wilberforce, could induce the Parliament of England to obey the dictates of humanity and justice, and abolish the trade for ever. Such was the slow and laborious progress of the cause in Great Britain.

In this country (*i. e.* the United States) the evils of slavery were soon felt and acknowledged. The first cargo of slaves was brought to Virginia in the year 1621; and the legislature of the colony, at an early period, enacted laws to counteract the evil, by imposing restrictions upon their introduction. But these measures were always discountenanced, and the laws rejected by the queen in council as injurious to the commerce and navigation of England; and slavery, with all its unhappy consequences, was entailed upon the colonies to promote the supposed interests of the mother country. The commencement of our national independence found this dreadful malady deeply rooted in our political system: and circumstances rendered it necessary for the framers of the present constitution to tolerate the continuance of the slave-trade for a limited period; but, to the honour of America, the power of prohibition was exercised the moment the restriction imposed by the constitution was removed; and now, after several prohibitory enactments, every one, in any way engaged in the slave-trade, is declared a pirate, subject, upon conviction thereof, to the penalty of death.

It is not our purpose, at present, to enter into any detail of the evils of a coloured population, as it ex-

ists in this country ; they are known and acknowledged by all : and whether we regard the southern states, oppressed by the system of slavery in actual operation, or those overrun by a free coloured population, we must admit, that any plan, which proposes to remove the evil, or even to diminish it, deserves a careful attention, and must be interesting to every division of the country, in proportion to the probability of its success. With these sentiments, we propose to notice the plan of the American Colonization Society—the history of its operation—the feasibility of its projects—and its probable effects upon this country, and upon Africa.

The idea of colonizing our coloured population is not new. So early as the year 1777, a committee (of which Mr. Jefferson was the head), appointed by the legislature of Virginia to revise the whole code of laws of the commonwealth, reported, among other important regulations, a bill “ to emancipate all slaves born after passing of the act ; and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper ; sending them out with arms, implements of household, and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c., to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength,” &c. It is to

be regretted that this scheme, suggested by benevolence and patriotism, was never carried into effect. The situation of the country, exhausted by a protracted contest, and drained of her finances, as of her strength, probably prevented its accomplishment. But the plan, though postponed, was never abandoned. The legislature of Virginia passed several resolutions favourable to this project ; and, on the 23d December 1816, the general assembly adopted a formal resolution, requesting " the executive to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the north Pacific, or at some other place, not within any of the states, or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same ; and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth." By the same resolution, the senators and representatives of the state, in congress, were requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects. Similar resolutions were adopted by the legislatures of Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, and the plan of colonization seemed to meet with general favour.

It is doubtful whether Dr. Findlay, of New Jersey, or Mr Elias B. Caldwell, of Washington, be entitled to the honour of having first suggested the formation of a colonization society. Both these gentlemen had given their attention to this matter ; and, in December 1816, they united their efforts to carry

their plan into effect. On the 21st of that month, a meeting of several gentlemen, called to consider the subject, was addressed by Mr. Clay, who, though his first impressions were against it, had been convinced of the advantages of the plan, and engaged warmly in the cause, of which he has ever continued one of the steadiest and most zealous supporters. Several others joined in expressing their approbation of the scheme; a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution; and soon afterwards a society was formed, whose only object, as declared in the second article of the constitution, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, (with their own consent,) the free * people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other places as Congress shall deem most expedient. The original members of this society were principally gentlemen of the southern states; and Judge Washington, of the Supreme Court, was chosen president. The attention of the society was first directed to the choice of a proper site for the intended colony; and, for this purpose, two agents were sent to the coast of Africa. Having first visited England, to obtain what information they could, from those interested in the English settlement of Sierra Leone, they sailed from London for that settlement, February 2, 1818. After explaining the object of their coming, every facility was afforded them; and two intelligent men of that colony, well

* It is only justice to the Society to add, that while, for obvious reasons, they used the term *free*, they looked principally to the slaves becoming free also, by its peaceful operation on the minds of the owners.

acquainted with the country, accompanied them down the coast to introduce them to the native chiefs, and act as interpreters in their negotiations for the purchase of lands. From the information they received, they determined upon the island of Sherbro, about 100 miles south of Sierra Leone, as the most eligible situation for the proposed settlement; and, after visiting several of the "head men," or kings, on their way, they arrived at this island and opened a negotiation with King Sherbro, for the purchase of a part of his territory.—The conference was held at Yonie, the royal residence, and accompanied by all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. The agents waited on the king, whom they found seated in state, under a *cola* tree, surrounded by his council, and attended by his prime minister, Kong Couber; the presents were displayed, and the object of the visit announced, to obtain lands, for the descendants of Africans, who wished to come from a far country, and settle peaceably in the dominions of King Sherbro. Kong Couber, in the name of his master, made a reply, which, upon the whole, was rather favourable; but, like his brethren of other cabinets, threw out some hints, and suggested some difficulties, which rendered it impossible to conclude matters at once, and protracted the negotiation a week; after which, a grand "palaver" was held, and it was agreed that the people should have such lands as they wanted, upon their arrival with goods to pay for them. The agents then returned to Sierra Leone, and thence sailed for the United States, where one of them, Mr Burgess, arrived October 22, 1818; the other, Mr Mills, whose

energy and intelligence had greatly contributed to the success of the mission, died on the passage.

Encouraged by the representations of their surviving agent, the Society determined to lay the foundations of their colony as soon as possible ; and, for this purpose, made great exertions to fit out an expedition immediately. In this they were assisted by the President of the United States, who in carrying into effect the Act of Congress of March 3, 1819, determined to unite with the Colonization Society in the promotion of their object. By the 2d section of this Act, the President of the United States is authorized "to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction ; and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, delivered from on board vessels, seized in the prosecution of the slave-trade, by commanders of the United States' armed vessels."

In the execution of this authority, Mr. Monroe, then President of the United States, appointed Mr. Samuel Bacon and Mr. John P. Bankson, to reside on the coast of Africa, as agents of the United States, with instructions to co-operate with the agents of the Colonization Society ; and, in February 1820, these gentlemen sailed from New York in the *Elizabeth*, a vessel chartered by the Society, and having on board Mr. Crozer, the Society's agent, and 88 colon-

ists. This first expedition was, in every way, unfortunate. It reached the African coast about the commencement of the rainy season, when the climate is peculiarly unhealthy; the natives refused to fulfil their contract for the sale of lands; the three agents, and twenty of the colonists, soon fell victims to the climate: and the survivors, under the direction of one of their number, Daniel Coker, who proved himself intelligent and very capable of the charge, were obliged to remain on the low grounds of the island of Sherbro, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and altogether in the most forlorn condition. Thus situated, Coker, by the advice of Captain Wadsworth of the United States' ship John Adams, who rendered him every assistance in his power, led back his people to Sierra Leone, there to await further instructions from the United States. In March 1821, they were joined by a reinforcement of 28 new colonists, under the direction of Messrs. Andrus and Wiltberger, agents of the Society, accompanied by Messrs. Winn and E. Bacon, as agents of the United States. After providing a temporary residence for the colonists, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, Mr. Andrus and Mr. Bacon went to explore the coast, and fix upon a station for the projected settlement. In the country called Grand Bassa, a part of the Grain Coast of Guinea, about 300 miles south of Sierra Leone, they found a tract of land, elevated, fertile, healthy, and in every way suited to their purpose. This was Cape Mesurado, or Montserado. The natives seemed very well disposed to receive them, and a negociation was commenced for the pur-

chase of land ; but it was soon broken off, in consequence of the agents insisting upon the abolition of the slave-trade, as a part of the treaty. To this the natives would not agree, the slave-trade being their principal medium of communication with European and American traders, and their only means of procuring foreign luxuries. Failing in this, the agents refused to make any contract, and returned to Sierra Leone, where Mr. Andrus and Mr. Winn soon after died ; and Mr. Bacon returned to the United States, leaving the colonists under the charge of Mr. Wiltberger. Thus far, the affairs of the colony wore but a gloomy aspect, and some of its friends might be tempted to despair of ultimate success ; but there were still found zealous and able supporters of the noble cause, and Providence seemed at length to smile on their exertions.

In the fall of that year (1821), the Society appointed a new agent, Dr. Ayres, who immediately repaired to the coast of Africa ; and there being joined by Lieutenant Stockton, in the United States' schooner *Alligator*, he proceeded with that active officer, who has always manifested a sincere interest in the cause of colonization, to endeavour to effect the purchase of a proper station. This was found at Cape Mesurado, and the selection of the spot was accompanied with some very peculiar and interesting circumstances, marking in a very striking manner the superintending providence of God. These have been thus kindly communicated to me by Mr Cresson :—

An American vessel, engaged in legitimate traffic

with the natives, was driven out to sea by storm, with six of the tribe of Kroomen on board. She was forced to bear away for Baltimore, and, on her arrival, three of these poor strangers were taken home by E. Tyson, the well known friend of the negro, the other three by General Harper, and treated with much kindness, until President Monroe ordered a public vessel to be placed at the disposition of the Society, for the united purpose of taking out their agents to select a proper spot on the coast of Africa for their future colony, and of restoring these exiles. When she had approached the termination of her voyage, the Captain was prevented, by a series of storms, from obtaining his customary observations; and, when land was at length descried, it was a *terra incognita*, until the Kroomen, attracted aloft by the bustle on deck, ran to the Captain in an ecstasy of joy, exclaiming, " Oh! good massa—too good to poor Krooman—dat Cape Messurado—dat he homie." The vessel sped on her course, until persons could be distinguished walking on shore, and among them an old grey-headed negro; on seeing him, two of the negroes uttered a shout of joy; the old man plunged into the waves, and in a few minutes was locked in their fond embrace. It was their father; and when they displayed the treasures which had been given them by their kind friends in Baltimore, the natives were easily convinced that their own benefit could only be intended by such persons settling amicably among them. A treaty was therefore soon arranged for the purchase of the very spot where this interesting incident occurred, as honourable to both parties

as the celebrated compact of Penn. The territory thus secured, seemed providentially pointed out, for, in the opinion of the venerable Clarkson, who has taken a warm interest in the success of the Society since its very commencement, no other on the whole coast presented so many advantages as this.

Upon their arrival, a negotiation was opened with King Peter, the sable monarch of that part of the coast, which, after considerable difficulty and delay on the part of his majesty and his allies, finally terminated by the agents obtaining the royal permission to "make a book," which would give him the land. The "book" was accordingly made, which was a regular deed, signed, Dec. 24, 1821, by Dr. Ayres and Lieutenant Stockton, on the one part, and King Peter, together with five other native chiefs, on the other; by which they agreed, in consideration of about 300 dollars, to give the strangers a tract of country, which was sufficient to answer all the immediate wants of the colony.

But all difficulty was not yet ended. When Dr. Ayres returned with the colonists from Sierra Leone, he found that some of the neighbouring chiefs, who had not been consulted, were dissatisfied with the bargain, which had been made without their concurrence, and threatened King Peter with death, if he did not annul the contract. Accordingly, his majesty, in great trepidation, begged Dr. Ayres to take back the goods, and relinquish his purchase; which he positively refused to do, insisting upon his right to retain the land which he had fairly bought. After some further negotiation, in which Dr. Ayres

displayed great coolness and decision, the natives yielded the point, and agreed to ratify the treaty. In the mean time, the settlers had been busily engaged in erecting houses, and providing for their immediate necessities. They had been thus occupied but a few weeks, when another danger threatened their destruction.

A British vessel, containing some recaptured Africans, stopping to water at the Cape, parted her cable, and was driven ashore. A French slaver was, at the time, hovering on the coast, waiting for a cargo; and this, joined to the almost universal principle of "wrecker's law," induced the natives to attempt to secure the prize. Several of the colonists engaged in her defence, and, in the contest that ensued, which they in vain endeavoured to prevent, two of the natives were killed; and, on the following day, a British soldier, and one of the colonists, shared the same fate. These events produced a great excitement among the natives; a grand palaver was held, at which a large number of chiefs were assembled; and the impending danger was only averted by the efforts of Dr. Ayres, who again succeeded in calming the natives, and preventing their committing any violence upon the colony. Notwithstanding his success in this crisis, the situation of the settlers at this time, owing "to the commencement of the rains, the unexpected difficulty in building, and the impossibility of obtaining native labour, on account of the recent disturbances," was so distressing that Dr. Ayres determined to visit the United States, to acquaint the Society with the necessities of the colony, and obtain

supplies for its relief. Before his departure, he offered to remove the colonists to Sierra Leone until his return, but they preferred remaining on their hard-earned territory, under the direction of one of the most respectable of their own number, whom Dr. Ayres appointed to the trust. Dr. Ayres sailed for America the 4th June 1822, leaving the emigrants in quiet possession of their settlement, but in great want of stores of all kinds.

As Mr. Ashmun now succeeded Dr. Ayres as agent for the colony, and as it was under his auspices that the colonists were preserved in some situations of the most imminent danger, we give an account of these in his own words :—

The intrinsic grandeur (says Mr. Ashmun), of all human actions consists wholly in their moral character ; and it is the share which the virtuous heart takes in those actions that is the just measure of their greatness. It is this principle of estimation alone, which puts it in the power of the humblest part of mankind to equal in real magnanimity of character, and absolute grandeur of exploit, the achievements, and the moral elevation, of the proudest. It is this scale of distribution, by which the benevolent Father of mankind divides to all the race the little stock of their joys and sorrows. I will add, too, that the first secret of a virtuous mind is folded up in its wisdom to discern, and disposition to applaud, amidst those gilded heaps of splendid trifles which continually solicit the admiration of the world, the ge-

nuine traits of moral greatness in their least imposing forms.

It is in the beautiful light of a theory so just, and at the same time so gratifying to the benevolent heart, that many of the readers of the following memoir will delight to contemplate the genuine actings of heroic virtue; of which the theatre was too remote from the observation of the world, and the actors too little practised in the arts of ostentation, to expose their motives to the suspicion of vanity, or admit of the agency of the ordinary stimulants of great achievements.

To arrive at the remote spot on which these humble scenes were transacted, I must tax the reader's imagination with a flight across the Atlantic Ocean, which, by limiting the circle of his ordinary avocations, may hitherto have bounded the range of his liveliest sensibilities. I must send it far from the polished and populous districts of European and Asian refinement—beyond the habitations of civilized man—to the least frequented recesses of a coast almost the least frequented on the globe. On this spot, a handful of coloured emigrants from the United States, in whose bosoms the examples of history had never kindled the fire of emulation—whose only philosophy had been acquired from a series of dispiriting conflicts with every form of physical and moral adversity, and whose prospects, at that moment, were as dark and appalling as the memory of the past was embittered—ejected from the land of their birth,—hostility, famine, and destruction menacing them in that of their adoption; such is the humble character

of the individuals, and equally humble is the scenery and the action, which are to enliven the incidents of this narrative.

The facts are wholly drawn from the authentic records of Liberia; and doubtless deserve the connected exposition which is intended here to be presented, as forming the only minute history yet published, of the first and most interesting period of that promising colony. The compiler having enjoyed the humble honour of directing the little phalanx of moral energies so advantageously, and through the sustaining providence of heaven, so triumphantly displayed in the trying scenes of 1822, hesitates not to acknowledge, that to the performance of this little task, he is equally prompted by a sentiment of grateful pride, and the more exacting obligations of a serious duty. The circumstances, some of them not of the most pleasant nature, which give its principal strength to this latter motive, it is entirely needless farther to advert to, and to most of his readers the writer owes an apology even for this slight digression.

The map which accompanies this statement is wholly constructed from surveys of which the events detailed in it furnished the compiler with the occasion; and is believed to be quite sufficient to elucidate all the local references.

The territory on which the first settlement of the colonists of Liberia has been made, may be seen to present the form of a narrow tongue, of twelve leagues extent, detached from the main land except by a narrow isthmus, formed by the approach of the head waters of the Montserado and Junk rivers. The north-



western termination of this linear tract of country is Cape Montserado, which, towards its extremity, rises to a promontory sufficiently majestic to present a bold distinction from the uniform level of the coast. Towards the south-east it is terminated by the mouth of the Junk river. Centrally, this peninsula is attached to the main land by the isthmus just designated; so as to represent the general form of a scale-beam, of which the point of attachment answers to the pivot, and measured directly over from the banks of the Junk, or Montserado river, to the ocean, its width in no part exceeds one league, and in many places is narrowed down to half that distance.

The present town of Monrovia is situated on the inland side of this peninsula, forms the south-west bank of the river Montserado, about two miles within the extremity of the Cape. The original settlement approached within 150 yards of the water, and occupied the highest part of the spinal ridge, which traverses a large part of the peninsula, and rises at this place to about 75 feet. A dense and lofty forest of timber trees, entangled with vines and brushwood, so as to be nearly impracticable by any but the feet of savages, and savage beasts, formed the majestic covering of a large proportion of this tract, when the territory was bargained for by the agents of the American Colonization Society in December 1821.

Opposite to the town and near to the mouth of the Montserado river, are two small islands, containing together less than three acres of ground. The largest

of these islands is nearly covered with houses built in the native style, and occupied by a family of several hundred domestic slaves, formerly the property of an English factor, but now held, in a state of qualified vassalage, very common in Africa, by a black man, to whom the right of the original owner has devolved since his return to Europe. Many of this family, including the old patriarch at their head, are strangers on this part of the coast, have no participation in the politics of their neighbours, and are frequently the objects of their jealousy, and, till restrained by the protection of the American colony, of their oppression.

The tribes of the neighbourhood are, 1st, the **DEYS**, who inhabit the coast from 25 miles to the northward of Montserado, to the mouth of the Junk, about 36 miles to the south-eastward. Contiguous to this nation, and next interior, are, 2dly, the **QUEAHS**, a small and quiet people, whose country lies to the east of Cape Montserado; and, 3dly, the **GURRAHS**, a much more numerous and toilsome race of men, occupying the country to the northward of the upper parts of the St. Paul river. Still further interior is the formidable and warlike nation of the **CONDOES**, whose name alone is the terror of all their maritime neighbours.

It is proper, in this place, to advert to a small hamlet placed on the beach one mile to the northward of the settlement, belonging to a people entirely distinct in origin, language, and character from all their neighbours. These are the **Kroomen**, well known by foreigners visiting the coast as the water-

men and pilots of the country. They originate from a populous maritime tribe, whose country is Settra-Kroo, near Cape Palmas. The custom of their tribe obliges all, except the old, the princes of the blood, and a few others, to disperse to different parts of the coast, and form themselves in small towns near every roadstead and station frequented by trading vessels, where they often remain, unless summoned home to assist on some grand national occasion, from two to six and even ten years, according to their success in accumulating a little inventory of valuables, with which their pride is satisfied to return to their friends and country. These people are decidedly the most active, enterprising, intelligent, and laborious in this part of Africa, and in the size, strength, and fine muscular proportions of their persons, have few superiors, as a nation, in the world. The number of families belonging to their settlement near the mouth of the Montserado, scarcely exceeds a dozen, and may comprehend fifty individuals.

The purchase of the Montserado territory was effected in December of 1821, of which transaction a particular account was published by the Colonization Society, a few months afterwards. The occupation of the country by as many of the dispersed American emigrants as could be collected early in the following year, was also announced by Dr. Ayres, on his return to the United States, the same season, and noticed in the report of the Society for 1823.

Two small schooners belonging to the Colony were employed in the transportation of the settlers in January 1822, in which service they continued to be

occasionally occupied, until the latter part of the following May. But, in this period, a variety of unpleasant indications of the hostile temper of the Dey people, fully demonstrating the insincerity of their engagements in relation to the lands, were but too distinctly afforded the settlers.

On the arrival of the first division, consisting chiefly of the single men, the natives positively, and, with menaces of violence, forbade their landing. The smallest of the two islands at the mouth of the Montserado, had been obtained by special purchase, of John S. Mill,* at that time the occupant and proprietor, on which the people and property were safely disembarked, without any actual opposition. But the endeavours of the agent, either by the decision of his tone, or by means of arguments drawn from the justice of his procedure, or prospective advantages to be expected from the settlement, entirely failed to conciliate their friendship, or alter their settled purpose to expel the colonists from their country.

But in that spirit of duplicity which has marked the policy of too many who claim to be their superiors, the chiefs of the tribe, in a few days, held out an offer of accommodation with the most imposing appearance of sincerity and reason. The ferment seemed, in a great measure, allayed ; and the agent

* Mr Mill, an African by birth, and son of an English merchant who owned a large trading concern on the coast, had enjoyed a superior English education, was employed in a respectable capacity in the colony in 1824, and died of a rapid phthisis pulmonalis, July 20. 1825. The interest he took in the foundation of the colony, entitles his memory to the grateful recollection of its friends.

was so far deluded by the stratagem, as to render it, in the first instance, entirely successful. Yielding to an invitation to meet the country authorities in a friendly conference, at King Peter's town, he imprudently put his person in their power, and found himself a prisoner. Having been detained several days, Dr. Ayres consented, as the condition of his freedom, to reaccept the remnant of the goods which had been advanced the month preceding, in part payment for the lands; but contrived to evade their injunction for the immediate removal of the people from the country, by alleging the want of *vessels* for the purpose.

The individuals at this time on Perseverance Island did not amount to twenty. The island itself being a mere artificial formation, and always becalmed by the high land of the Cape, which towers above it in the direction of the ocean, soon proved itself to be a most insalubrious situation. The only shelter it afforded to the people and stores was to be found under the decayed thatch of half a dozen diminutive huts, constructed after the native manner of building; and the island was entirely destitute of fresh water and firewood. All the settlers had left Sierra Leone in a good state of health, but the badness of the air, the want of properly ventilated houses, and sufficient shelter, with other circumstances of their new situation, soon began to prey upon their strength, and caused several cases of intermittent fever, from a course of which most of the company had been but a very few months recovered.

Happily, a secret ex-parte arrangement was, at

this critical period, settled with King George, who resided on the Cape, and claimed a sort of jurisdiction over the northern district of the peninsula of Montserado; in virtue of which the settlers were permitted to pass across the river, and commence the laborious task of clearing away the heavy forest which covered the site of their intended town. It may illustrate a trait of the African character, to observe that the consideration which moved this chief to accord to the settlers a privilege which has manifestly led to their permanent establishment at Montserado, and the translation of the country to new masters, was the compliment of half a dozen gallons of rum, and about an equal amount in African trade-cloth and tobacco.

Every motive which interest, increasing sufferings, and even the love of life could supply, at this moment animated the exertions of this little band. Their agent had left them to the temporary superintendence of one of their own number,* under whose counsel and example the preparation of their new habitations advanced so rapidly, as, in a very few weeks, to present the rudiments of twenty-two dwellings, ranged in an orderly manner, on the principal street of their settlement.

But at this interesting period, when hope and success began to re-assert, in the brightened sphere of their fortunes, a decided ascendant, one of those unforeseen circumstances which so often entirely frustrate the best concerted schemes of human prudence,

* Frederick James, who now holds in the municipal government of the colony a situation of the very first respectability.

and warn mankind of the supremacy of a divine Providence, suddenly terminated the pleasing anticipations of the settlers in bitter disappointment, and kindled around them the flame of war.

A small vessel, prize to an English cruiser, bound to Sierra Leone with about 30 liberated Africans, put into the roads for a supply of water, and had the misfortune to part her cable and come ashore, within a short distance of Perseverance Island. In this state she was in a few hours beat to fragments by the action of a heavy surf.—The natives pretend to a prescriptive right, which interest never fails to enforce in its utmost extent, to seize and appropriate the wrecks and cargoes of vessels stranded, under whatever circumstances, on their coast. The English schooner having drifted upon the main-land about one mile from the extremity of the cape, and a small distance below George's town, was immediately claimed as his property. His people rushed to the beach with their arms, to sustain this claim; and attempting to board the wreck, were fired upon by the prize-master, and compelled to desist. In the meantime, the aid of the settlers was sent for; which, from an opinion of the extreme danger of their English visitants, they immediately afforded. A boat was instantly manned, and despatched to their relief; and a brass field-piece stationed on the island, brought to bear upon the assailants. The latter then hastily retired to their town, which was, like most African hamlets, closely environed by an ancient growth of trees, with the loss of two of their number killed and several disabled. The English officer, his crew, and

the Africans, were brought off in safety; but suffered the total loss of their vessel, with most of the stores and other property on board of her.

But owing to some very culpable neglect on the part of one of the English sailors who served the field-piece on this occasion, the fire was communicated from the fusee to the thatch roof of the store-house containing the provisions, arms, ammunition, merchandise, and other public property of the Colony. The powder, a few casks of provisions, and a scanty supply of other stores, were providentially rescued, through the timely exertions of the people. But property, amounting to near three thousand dollars, assorted for the settlement, and all of the first necessity, was consumed!

The country people, disappointed of the valuable tempting booty, which, in imagination they had appropriated by anticipation, manifestly, in consequence of the presence and interference of the settlers, became, as will be readily supposed, exasperated against them to the highest pitch of hostility. The sight of their dead and wounded countrymen completed the measure of their irritation, and fiercely excited in their minds a savage thirst of vengeance. Nothing but the dread of opposing the great guns of the Islanders could, at this moment, have restrained them from opening upon them volleys of musketry, from the opposite bank of the river; which, had it been continued for any length of time, could scarcely have failed to prove in a high degree destructive. But seldom venturing near enough to give the least precision to their fire, they were always sure, on deli-

vering it, to retire with the utmost precipitation to the deepest part of the forest, before they could collect sufficient assurance to reload their pieces ; and a single discharge of a four or six pounder before they had evaded the range of its shot, seldom failed to put an end to their insolence for the remainder of the day.

But in this mockery of ordinary warfare, it is to be observed, that no combination of the tribes—not even an union of the forces of the smallest single tribe of the country, had taken place. King George's warriors, scarcely numbering twenty men, were the only individuals who had presumed to go the length of open hostilities. And in this procedure they could justify themselves to the country authorities only on the ground of self-defence. A war, among the tribes of this country, to be legal, must have been resolved upon in a general assembly of their chiefs, unless deliberation and delay are precluded, as in the present case, by an apparent necessity of self-protection. Such an assembly not having been at this time convoked, the actual danger to which the settlers were exposed was wholly confined to the south, or King George's side of the Montserado river. But as the settlers were obliged to derive their whole supply of fresh water from this bank—particularly as the site of the town which they had eagerly designated for their future residence, and made some progress in preparing, occupied the height overlooking their enemy's town—they were subjected to various inconveniences, and obliged entirely to discontinue their principal work. The frames of their unfinished dwellings were thrown down, and several petty in-

sults of a like nature inflicted upon them, which they had no power to prevent. But the wakeful activity of their savage enemy soon caused them to deplore a more melancholy proof of his power to injure them.

A boat, strongly manned and armed, had proceeded to the distance of nearly three miles above the Island, on the morning of the 27th of March, for a supply of water. It was discovered, half an hour afterwards, that King George's warriors had also passed up the river by land, evidently with the intention of attacking the boat's crew. A second boat was then despatched to overtake, and, in case of necessity, support the first. Several of the English seamen, conducted by their officer, had, with their usual promptitude on such occasions, volunteered their attendance. The bank of the Montserado was at that time entirely covered, the whole distance which the boats had to ascend it, with heavy trees; and in several places, is nearly overhung with precipitous rocks of very broken appearance, and enormous size. The boats had proceeded without any discovery of their enemy to the watering place—filled their casks, and put off from the shore on their return, when the firing commenced. The boats had just entered the upper end of the narrow reach formed by the south line of Bank Island and the main land. As nothing could have been effected by a show of resistance against a concealed enemy, the boats could do little more than hold the opposite shore as closely as possible, and make the best of their way down the river. The fire was renewed, at all the different angles and projections of the bank which allowed the foe to ap-

preach under cover of the rocks and trees, sufficiently near the boat channel of the river. It is to be presumed they suffered nothing in this unequal skirmish; while on board of the boats one colonist* and an English seaman, were mortally wounded—and two other persons slightly wounded.

These occurrences could not fail to diffuse a spirit of fervid excitement throughout the Dey tribe. The fatal consequences likely to follow the admission into their country of civilized strangers—strangers whom they had learnt to be entirely adverse to the slave-trade—formed the topic of violent and exaggerated declamation, by nearly all whose interest, fears, or prejudices were concerned in their expulsion. Old King Peter, the venerable patriarch of the nation, was capitally impeached and brought to trial, on a charge of betraying the interests of his subjects by selling their country. The accusation was substantiated; and it was for some time doubtful whether the punishment annexed, by the laws and usages of all nations, to high treason, would not be carried into execution against a king to whom they had been accustomed to render obedience for more than thirty years.

The settlers were particularly embarrassed by their uncertainty as to the actual connection subsisting between their neighbours of the larger island, and their enemy. Bă Caiă, who was at the head of the former, had constantly held forth the most friendly professions; and at this time, by secretly supply-

* Wilely Jones, from Petersburg, Va. who expired on the 18th of April.

ing them with fuel and water, gave a more substantial proof than ever of their sincerity. But his plantations, and numerous detached bodies of his people, were entirely exposed to the power of the Deys, with whom it was of the first necessity for him to maintain an amicable correspondence. Hence he came unavoidably to incur the suspicions of the colonists, who, from the proximity of this town, could at any hour lay it in ashes. Bā Caiā had, for many years, sustained himself in his unprotected and delicate situation, by means of a fortunate alliance with King Boatswain,* one of the most famous and powerful chiefs of the Condoes. Boatswain's power had been often felt by the maritime tribes, and the most convincing proofs of it were continually given in his bloody wars in the interior. He had thus

• Boatswain is a native of Shebar. In his youth he had served in some menial capacity on board of an English merchant vessel, where he acquired the name which he still retains. His personal qualifications are of the most commanding description; and to them he appears wholly indebted for his present notoriety. To a stature approaching seven feet in height, perfectly erect, muscular, and finely proportioned---a countenance noble, intelligent, and full of animation---he unites great comprehension and activity of mind, and what is still more imposing, a savage loftiness, and even grandeur of sentiment---forming altogether an assemblage of qualities obviously disproportioned to the actual sphere of his ambition. He is prodigal of every thing except the means of increasing the terror of his name. "I give you a bullock," said he to an agent of the Society, "not to be considered as Boatswain's present, but for your breakfast." To his friend Ba Caiā, he once sent, "King B. is your friend; he therefore advises you to lose not a moment in providing yourself plenty of powder and ball---or in three days (the least time possible to make the journey) let me see my fugitive woman again.

been long acquiring a general influence, which gave him, even in the affairs of his neighbours, an authority little short of dictatorial. To this powerful ally, the old man now had recourse; who, with the promptitude which distinguishes all his movements, immediately made his appearance on the Montserado, not, as he said, to *pronounce sentence*, between the coast people and the strangers, but to *do justice*; and he had actually brought along with him a force sufficient to carry his decisions into immediate effect. But the Deys, however stung by this insolence, were not in a situation to resent it.

The agents who had been absent from the Cape since the commencement of these trying events, now rejoined the settlers on the island. Boatswain having, by a direct exertion of authority, convoked the head-chiefs of the neighbourhood, sent for the agents and principal settlers, to come and explain the nature of their claims on the country, and to set forth their grievances. They complained of the "bad faith of the Deys in withholding the possession of lands which they had sold to the colonists; and of the injurious acts of hostility committed by King George, apparently with the consent of his superiors." A desultory and noisy discussion followed, in which the savage umpire disdained to take any part whatever. But having ascertained the prominent facts of the case, he at length arose, and put an end to the assembly by laconically remarking to the Deys, "That having sold their country, and accepted the payment in part, they must take the consequences. Their refusal of the balance of the pur-

chase-money did not annul or affect the bargain. Let the Americans have their lands immediately. Whoever is not satisfied with my decision, let him tell me so!" Then, turning to the agents, "I promise you protection. If these people give you further disturbance, send for me. And I swear, if they oblige me to come again to quiet them, I will do it to purpose, by taking their heads from their shoulders; as I did old King George's, on my last visit to the coast to settle disputes."

Whatever might be thought of the equity of this decision, there was but one sentiment as to the necessity of acquiescing in it. The usual interchange of friendly presents between the parties then took place, and the settlers immediately resumed their labours on the Cape.

That guardian providence which has so graciously made the protection of this infant settlement in every stage the object of its tenderest care, has in few instances been more conspicuous, than in thus employing the ill-gotten power of an ambitious stranger in the interior of Africa to deliver the colonists, at a moment when hostilities would have defeated their object, from the machinations of their treacherous neighbours. To render this interposition the more remarkable, it had actually proceeded to the length of removing the principal obstacles to the pacification of the Deys, almost without an effort on the part of the settlers, and entirely without the knowledge or the presence of either of the agents. There would be a degree of impiety in repressing in the breast the sentiment of religious recognition,

which a single dispensation of so impressive a character is fitted to excite. But it must be perceived, in the progress of this narrative, that every instance of extraordinary providential deliverance and protection borrows a more affecting lustre from the reflected light of many others.

On the 28th of April, the ceremony of taking possession of the Cape and country was performed, with probably the effect of adding a fresh excitement to the zeal of the people. But shall we most deplore or admire in human nature, that weakness which can so easily mistake the present visions of hope for the prophecies of futurity? On the very spot which was gladdened with the felicitations of this occasion, some who were the objects of them were soon, alas! to pour out their lives through the wounds received in a doubtful contest for that very occupation which they had so blindly anticipated!

But shortly after this formality, a proof of a much more significant and substantial nature was afforded by the people, of the entire sincerity of every former profession of attachment to the country of their adoption.

The houses were yet destitute of roofs, for which the material was to be sought in the almost impracticable swamps of the country,—the rainy season tornadoes had already commenced,—the island, if much longer occupied by all the colonists, must prove the grave of many; sickness was beginning to be prevalent, and both the agents were among the sufferers; the store of provisions was scanty, and all other stores nearly exhausted! The threatening

storm of native hostility had been for a moment averted, but the very circumstances attending the dispersion of the cloud, proved how suddenly and how easily it might re-collect its fury. Under these circumstances deliberately surveyed, it required a very large share of operative confidence in the providence of the Most High, not to have yielded to the discouragement they so strongly tended to create; and it is not to be wondered at, that the agent should have come forward with a proposal to re-embark the settlers and stores, and convey them back to Sierra Leone. But from this proposal a large majority of the people entirely dissented, and it was urged no farther. And could we estimate events according to their intrinsic importance, independently of their disguising or concealing circumstances, that interesting moment would doubtless form the era whence the real occupation of Africa ought to be dated, and which deserves its annual celebration as long as the colony shall afford an asylum to the oppressed strangers of Africa. For the little band who embraced, under prospects so replete with the most appalling difficulties and dangers, the resolution of remaining on the Montserado, however abandoned, gave in the very act the best pledge in their power to offer,—a pledge in which their property, their health, their families, and their lives were included, to find for themselves and their brethren a home in Africa. And it is a pledge, I add, which an approving providence has since enabled them, at the expense of some blood and many severe toils, triumphantly to redeem.

Mr. Wiltberger, the Society's assistant agent, consented to await with the people the return of the schooner from another trip to the windward. But the number of the settlers, small at first, was yet farther reduced by the departure, along with Dr. Ayres, of a small number who had embraced his proposal. Exclusive of the women and children, and four native Africans, the little force remaining numbered 21 persons capable of bearing arms.

The settled rains of the season now set in with uncommon violence: and the struggles and hardships encountered by this houseless, but persevering band, are not easily to be imagined. But before the last of May, several families had removed and taken up their residence on the peninsula; a store-house sufficient to contain their stores was built of good materials, and a small frame-house finished for the agent.

In the second week of July the island was finally evacuated, and all were happily reunited, each in his own humble dwelling, on the spot where they have since remained. The agents had in the interim both embarked on board of the only public schooner fit for service, and sailed for the United States. The settlement was left under the supervision of one of the emigrants,* who acquitted himself of the charge with entire credit, and at the present time enjoys in the municipal government, one of the most respectable situations in the gift of the people.

It will be readily perceived that no part of the

* Elijah Johnson, from New York, in 1820.

provisions necessary for the consumption of the settlers in the present season could be drawn from the produce of the soil. Vessels seldom appear on the coasts between the months of May and November; and as the event proved, nothing in that period could be purchased from abroad. The most economical management of the stores on hand could not make them last more than half the season of the rains, and the natives, treacherously waiting the departure of Boatswain into the interior, and the disappearance of the little armed schooner belonging to the colony, on her voyage for the United States, replaced themselves in an attitude of incipient hostility, and prohibited the conveyance of supplies to the colony out of the surrounding country. To add, if possible, to the dark and desperate prospects of the settlers, the stores in their possession, had been reported to the managers at home, as nearly equal to a twelvemonth's consumption. But the eye of God was upon them; his providence was again interposed for their preservation.

The government of the United States having a number of Africans in the custody of the marshal of Georgia, who had been liberated a few months previously from the hold of a slave vessel, by the operation of the benevolent law of 1819, determined, at this time, on the transportation of them to their native country. A vessel was chartered for this service in Baltimore, on board of which thirty-seven persons, under the patronage of the Colonization Society, were also embarked, with a moderate supply of stores, for the settlement.

This expedition was committed to the direction of Mr. J. Ashmun, who, in the expectation of aiding a good work, to which much of his time and labour had been already devoted in the United States, had consented to accept from the Society a commission for the voyage. Under an arrangement for returning in the same vessel, he had yielded to the affectionate solicitude of his lady to accompany him. This vessel, the brig "Strong," of Baltimore, sailed from Hampton Roads, on the 26th of May; but proving a most indifferent sailer, did not arrive in the offing of Fayal, one of the western islands, before the 26th of June. Having at this island repaired the injury sustained in a very severe and protracted gale, and refreshed the already exhausted passengers, she sailed again on the 3d of July, and anchored under Cape Montserado, on the 8th of August. Of fifty-five passengers, not an individual had suffered from indisposition on the last half of this tedious voyage.

The following day, on communicating with the shore, Mr. Ashmun found, equally to his astonishment and regret, that both the agents had taken their departure from the country—that the public property, as already related, had been chiefly consumed by fire—and that the immediate prospects of the settlers, precarious before on account of their numerical weakness in the midst of barbarous nations, was but little improved by an accession of numbers, without a proportional increase of the means of subsisting them. It was now the height of the rainy season; but not even a thatch roof was to be found, not in the

occupancy of the settlers, some of whom were still very insufficiently sheltered themselves. Houses were, therefore, to be built for the reception of the emigrants, before they could be safely landed, and a secure storehouse completed, before it was possible to discharge the transport.

Mr. Ashmun found himself constrained, by the pledge he had given the Board of Managers, to render the colony whatever aid might be in his power, and by every motive which humanity could supply to take charge of the colony, and convert its slender resources, whether for the protection or subsistence of the people, to the best account. A large storehouse was accordingly laid off, and the only practicable preparations made during the 9th for landing the passengers. But in the morning of the same day, the brig having unfortunately parted a cable, was obliged to throw out the only remaining anchor on board, by which she was lying when the agent returned on board in the evening.

But at daylight on the 10th, the watch gave the alarming intelligence that the cable had again parted, and the best bower anchor gone! The vessel was lying two cables' length from the beach, and a strong breeze blew directly on shore. But the current from the river favouring at the moment, the vessel was, by the prompt exertions of an active crew, got under sail in time to save her from immediate destruction; and by being brought close to the wind, was enabled to make good a course parallel with that part of the coast. The passengers, to the number of fifty-one, were still on board. The brig's boats could

not land ten persons at a trip; and after struggling for forty-eight hours to get to windward, the vessel was found to be land-locked completely, within the projecting promontories of Capes Montserado and Mount. The reader in the least acquainted with nautical affairs, may conjecture the probable fate both of the vessel and passengers. But Providence again interposed for the preservation of both. A small anchor was recovered by the assistance of the boats, by which the brig was again moored in the road-stead, but at the distance of five miles from the settlement. The people were safely landed on the 13th and 14th, but owing to the prevalence of boisterous weather, the loss of the principal boat employed in the service, and the sickening of the boatmen, it became a work of the most severe and difficult nature, to bring her cargo to land. In the Colonial Journal of this period, several instances are met with, in which the only boat that could be employed in this business, was carried twenty miles out to sea by the force of the currents, and returned at the end of twenty-four hours, without having been able to approach within a league of the brig! But after four weeks of incessant exertion, the agent enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the passengers and property all safe ashore; the latter secured in an extensive storehouse, and most of the former, in a good measure, protected from the incessant rains of that inclement season.

In the mean time, the agent had lost not a moment in ascertaining the external relations of the settlement, and the temper of its neighbours. He

immediately proceeded to visit the most considerable of the kings; whom he thought it safe to bind to a pacific policy, by encouraging them to open a trade with the colony—by forming with them new amicable alliances—and receiving the sons and subjects of as many as possible to instruct in the language and arts of civilization. But it could not escape observation, that under these smooth and friendly appearances lurked a spirit of determined malignity, which only waited for an opportunity to exert itself for the ruin of the infant colony. So early as the 18th of August, the present Martello tower was therefore planned; a company of labourers employed by the agent, in clearing the ground on which it stands; and a particular survey taken of the military strength and means of the settlers. Of the native Americans, twenty-seven, when not sick, were able to bear arms, but they were wholly untrained to their use, and capable, in their present undisciplined state, of making but a very feeble defence indeed. There were forty muskets in store, which, with repairing, were capable of being rendered serviceable. Of one brass, and five iron guns attached to the settlement, the first only was fit for service, and four of the latter required carriages. Several of these were nearly buried in the mud, on the opposite side of the river. Not a yard of abattis, or other fence-work had been constructed. There was no fixed ammunition, nor, without great difficulty and delay, was it possible to load the only gun which was provided with a sufficient carriage.

It was soon perceived that the means, as well as

an organised system of defence were to be originated, without either the materials or the artificers usually considered necessary for such purposes. In the organization of the men, thirteen African youths attached to the United States' agency, most of whom had never loaded a musket, were enrolled in the lieutenant's corps, and daily exercised in the use of arms. The guns were, one after another, with infinite labour, transported over the river, conveyed to the height of the peninsula, and mounted on rough truck carriages, which in the event proved to answer a very good purpose. A master of ordnance was appointed, who, with his assistants, repaired the small arms—made up a quantity of fixed ammunition, and otherwise aided in arranging the details of the service.

The little town was closely environed, except on the side of the river, with the heavy forest in the bosom of which it was situated—thus giving to a savage enemy an important advantage, of which it became absolutely necessary to deprive him, by enlarging to the utmost the cleared space about the buildings. This labour was immediately undertaken, and carried on without any other intermission than that caused by sickness of the people, and the interruption of other duties equally connected with the safety of the place. But the rains were immoderate and nearly constant.

In addition to these fatiguing labours, was that of maintaining the nightly watch—which, from the number of sentinels necessary for the common safety, shortly became more exhausting than all the other

burdens of the people. No less than twenty individuals were every night detailed for this duty, after the 31st of August.

At the commencement of the third week after his arrival, the agent was attacked with fever—and three days afterwards experienced the greater calamity of perceiving the health of his wife assailed with symptoms of a still more alarming character.

The sickness from this period made a rapid progress among the last division of emigrants. On the 1st of September twelve were wholly disabled. The burdens thus thrown upon their brethren accelerated the work of the climate so rapidly, that on the 10th of this month, of the whole expedition, only two remained fit for any kind of service. The agent was enabled by a merciful dispensation of Divine Providence, to maintain a difficult struggle with his disorder for four weeks; in which period, after a night of delirium and suffering, it was not an unusual circumstance for him to be able to spend an entire morning in laying off and directing the execution of the public works.

King George abandoned his town on the Cape, about the first of September, and conveyed all his people and moveables towards the head waters of the Junk river, at about six leagues distance. The intercourse between the other people of the tribe and the settlement had nearly terminated; and the native youths, whose residence on the Cape had been regarded as the best security for the good conduct of the tribe, were daily deserting, in consequence, as it was ascertained, of secret intelligence conveyed them by their friends.

The plan of defence adopted, was to station five heavy guns at the different angles of a triangle which should circumscribe the whole settlement—each of the angles resting on a point of ground sufficiently commanding to infilade two sides of the triangle, and sweep a considerable extent of ground beyond the lines. The guns at these stations were to be covered by musket proof triangular stockades, of which any two should be sufficient to contain all the settlers in their wings. The brass piece and two swivels mounted on travelling carriages, were stationed in the centre, ready to support the post which might be exposed to the heaviest attack. After completing these detached works, it was in the intention of the agent, had the enemy allowed the time, to join all together by a paling to be carried quite around the settlement;—and in the event of a yet longer respite, to carry on, as rapidly as possible, under the protection of the nearest fortified point, the construction of the Martello tower, which, as soon as completed, would nearly supersede all the other works; and by presenting an impregnable barrier to the success of any native force, probably become the instrument of a general and permanent pacification. Connected with these measures of safety, was the extension to the utmost of the cleared space about the settlement, still leaving the trees and brushwood, after being separated from their trunks, to spread the ground with a tangled hedge, through which nothing should be able to make its way, except the shot from the batteries.

This plan was fully communicated to the most intelligent of the people; which, in the event of the

disability or death of the agent, they might, it was hoped, so far carry into effect, as to insure the preservation of the settlement.

It was an occasion of grateful acknowledgment to that Divine Power, under whose heavy hand the agent was now obliged to bow, that he had been spared to settle these arrangements, and see them in a train of accomplishment, previous to his being laid entirely aside. It was also a source of melancholy satisfaction, that he was permitted to watch the fatal progress of disease in an affectionate wife, until the last ray of intellectual light was extinguished, by its force, two days before her death. Her life had been one of uncommon devotion and self-denial, inspired by a vigorous and practical faith in the Divine Saviour of the world; and her end, according to his promise, was ineffable peace. She expired on Sunday, the 15th of September.

Two of the emigrants belonging to the last expedition followed in the same week; at which time there remained but a single individual of the company not on the sick list.

From this date until the first week in November, the agent continued in an extremely low and dangerous state, so entirely debilitated in body and mind, as to be nearly incapable of motion, and insensible to every thing except the consciousness of suffering. Two of the posts had been put in complete order in this time, he afterwards learnt, by the persevering exertions of only a part of the settlers. For, as is the misfortune of all communities, so it was discovered in this, that there were individuals on whose

selfish feelings the promptings of benevolence, the demands of equity, considerations of the most pressing necessity, and the more imperative and awful dictates of conscience, could make no effectual impression, and to whom the moment which delivered them from that coercion of authority, was the signal for their desertion of every public and private duty ! It is but an act of justice to the deserving colonists to make this discrimination ; and to assure the others, wherever they happen to exist in vagrant wretchedness, that posterity will owe them no thanks that the first settlement on Cape Montserado, was not reduced to a heap of carnage and ruins !

The agent, as soon as the force of his disease had so far subsided as to enable him to look abroad, discovered, with great satisfaction, that the people had plied their labours with so much diligence, as to produce a wide opening on the whole of the southern quarter of the settlement. The branching tops of the fallen trees formed so perfect an obstruction to the passage of human beings, as nearly to assure the safety of the settlement against an attack from that side. But the want of system in carrying on the diversified services devolving on the people, of whom several were nearly overpowered by an incessant routine of nightly watching and daily labour, had still left the other preparation too little advanced to authorise an opinion of the safety of the place for an hour. The carpenters, who alone were able to direct or assist in the construction of the gun-carriages, had, for the encouragement and direction of the labourers, given up too much of their time to

the common fatigues of the field. The western station, which in the present state of the defence, was obviously the most exposed, not only remained entirely uncovered, but the long revolving nine-pounder, which was to constitute its chief strength, was still unmounted.

But the agent could not walk, at this date, without support; and with a mind shattered by the strokes of a malady believed to be mortal, could neither decide upon, nor enforce any arrangement which should much accelerate their most essential preparations. But, from this period, his febrile paroxysms were daily less subduing and protracted; and, by a recurrence to the Journal, it appears that he was able, on the 7th of November, to recommence the daily entries, and thereafter take a daily increasing share in the operations of the people.

It is here proper to return to a period already considerably passed in the foregoing narrative, in order to take a connected view of the movements of the natives, who, without formally declaring war, had been constantly busied in hostile machinations, which, at this date, were so far matured, as to want nothing but a proper opportunity of being carried into effect.

It has been seen that out of the dread of provoking Boatswain's resentment, they had reluctantly assumed a shew of friendship. But this disguise of the true state of their intentions was too slight to conceal them from the most superficial observer. Unhappily the chiefs had attributed the abrupt departure of the agents to a want of spirit and a dread

of their power, and were naturally stimulated by the absence of so important and formidable a means of defence as was afforded by the two schooners, to make the most of the circumstance, and directly attack the settlement, hoping, if successful, to be able either to bribe, or to resist the indignation of king Boatswain.

The arrival of the "Strong" in August delayed for a while the execution of their purpose. But no sooner had that vessel sailed about the 1st of October, than secret meetings for discussing the question of renewing hostilities were again holden. The agent had arranged a plan for obtaining intelligence, which left him ignorant of none of their movements; and by the singular fidelity and diligence of an individual, who has never yet been properly compensated, and whose name it is necessary to conceal, was perfectly informed of the temper and stand of every influential head-man in the country, and often furnished with the very arguments used by them in their debates.

At this time a diversity of views were entertained by the different members of their war-council. It was contended by kings Peter and Bristol, that "The increased number of the colonists gave them a superiority which would insure their success; that they were not a settlement of foreigners and enemies, but of their countrymen and friends, as was proved by the identity of their colour, and therefore had a right to reside in their country, and might be expected to turn all the civilization which they had learnt abroad to the improvement of their common country."

Kings George, Governor, and all the other headmen of the tribe, contended that "the Americans were strangers, who had forgot their attachment to the land of their fathers; for if not, why had they not renounced their connection with white men altogether, and placed themselves under the protection of the kings of the country? King George had already been under the necessity of removing from his town, and leaving the Cape in their hands. This was but the first step of their encroachments. If left alone, they must, in a very few years, master the whole country. And as all other places were full, their own tribe must be without a home, and cease any longer to remain a nation. The armed schooners were gone;—the two first agents had fled also;—the new people could from sickness very little assist the old in the defence of the place; and had brought with them a valuable cargo of stores, which would enrich the conquerors. The White Man was sick; no doubt would die; and the rest were not much superior to an equal number of themselves, and could be easily overcome, either by sudden surprise, or by wasting and harassing blockade."

King Peter presuming still to dissent from the general voice of his chiefs, was principally, through the influence of George, obliged to shut his mouth during all the following deliberations of the assembly. King Bristol returned home.

Messengers were then despatched in every direction, to solicit the aid of the neighbour tribes. The king of Junk refused to take any active part in person, and sent to assure the colony of his neutrality;

but did not prohibit his people from following, individually, their own inclinations. A number came to the war.

King Tom of Little Bassa entirely declined. King Ben of Half C. Mount, and his people, came into the conspiracy. Bristol was himself inactive, but many of his people joined the hostile party.

Bă Caiä, whose island is overlooked by the settlement, was too much agitated by his fears to resolve on any decided course. He tarried at home of course ; but many of his people gave themselves to the war.

Bromley, Todo, Governor, Konko, Jimmy, Gray, Long Peter, George and Willy, with their entire force, and all king Peter's warriors, and the auxiliaries already named, were, in the last week of October, perfectly combined, and assembled under arms on Bushrod Island, about four miles from the settlement, and on the St. Paul.

Throughout their consultation, they had refused to receive any proposals of a pacific nature from the colony. At length the agent contrived, through the mediation of Bă Caiä, to say to them, that " he was perfectly apprised of their hostile deliberations, notwithstanding their pains to conceal them ; and that, if they proceeded to bring war upon the Americans, without even asking to settle their differences in a friendly manner, they would dearly learn what it was to fight white men."* To this message no reply was made.

The activity and masculine eloquence of the inde-

* A phrase by which civilized people of all colours and nations are distinguished in the dialect of the coast.

fatigable George, were successfully exerted in generally engaging the fighting people near the theatre of the war. Every day produced a sensible augmentation of their numbers on Bushrod Island.

On the 7th of November, intelligence was received at the Cape that the last measures had been taken preparatory to an assault on the settlement, which was ordered within four days. The plan of attack being left to the head warriors, whose trade it is to concert and conduct it, was not to be learnt.

The agent was able, with assistance, to inspect the works, and review the little force the same evening. He stated to the people the purport of the intelligence just received, that "war was now inevitable; and the preservation of their property, their settlement, their families, and their lives, depended, under God, wholly upon their own firmness and good conduct; that a most important point in the defence of the place, was to secure a perfect uniformity of action, which should assure to every post and individual the firm support of every other. To this end, they must as punctiliously obey their officers as if their whole duty were centred, as it probably was, in that one point; and every man as faithfully exert himself, as if the whole defence depended on his single efforts. A coward, it was hoped, did not disgrace their ranks; and as the cause was emphatically that of God and their country, they might confidently expect his blessing and success to attend the faithful discharge of their duty."—Every thing was then disposed in order of action, and the men marched

to their posts. They lay on their arms, with matches lighted, through the night.

On the 8th, the agent, by an effort which entirely exhausted his strength, proceeded to examine the obstruction thrown in the way of the avenues to the settlement; and perceived, to his extreme mortification, that the west quarter was still capable of being approached by a narrow pathway, without difficulty; and that the utmost exertions of the workmen had accomplished only the mounting of the revolving nine pounder at the post, by which the path was enfiladed, but that the platform was still left entirely exposed. The eastern quarter was about equally open to the approach of the enemy, but the station was protected by a stockade, and a steep ledge of rocks made the access difficult.

Picket guards of four men each were detailed, to be posted 100 yards in advance of each of the stations, through the night. No man was allowed to sleep before the following day, at sunrise; and patrols of native Africans were dispersed through the woods in every direction. An order was given to families occupying the most exposed houses, to sleep in such as were more centrally situated.*

Throughout the 9th, the order established on the preceding day continued; and some progress made in

* In the multitude of cares devolving on the agent, who dictated most of his instructions from his bed, the measures necessary to secure the proper observance of this order were unhappily omitted; and the rashness of the misguided individuals who disobeyed it, met with a signal punishment.

the labour of felling trees, and otherwise obstructing every practicable access to the settlement.

Sunday, November 10th. The morning was devoted, as usual, to the refreshment of the settlers, none of whom had slept for the twenty-four hours preceding. At one p. m. all were remanded to their fatigue and other duties, till sunset; when the order appointed for the preceding night was resumed. The women and children attended divine service.

Intelligence had reached the agent early in the day, that the hostile forces had made a movement, and were crossing the Montserado river a few miles above the settlement; but the patrols made no discovery through the day. At sunset, however, the enemy again put themselves in motion, and at an early hour of the night, had assembled, as was afterwards learnt, to the number of six to nine hundred men, on the peninsula, where, at the distance of less than half a mile to the westward of the settlement, they encamped till near morning. Their camp, afterwards examined, extended half a mile in length, and induces a strong probability that the number of warriors assembled on this occasion has been altogether underrated.*

The most wakeful vigilance on the part of the settlers was kept up through the night. But, with a fatality which was quite of a piece with all the

* The number given above is deduced from the discordant accounts given by the kings of the country, after the termination of hostilities; some of whom rated it much higher; but all were ignorant of the true number, and all were interested to state it as low as would obtain credit.

hindrances that had impeded the progress of the defences on the western quarter, the picket-guard in advance of that post ventured on a violation of their orders, by leaving their station, at the first dawn of day; at which it was their duty to remain till sunrise. The native force was already in motion, and followed directly in the rear of the picket-guard. The latter had just rejoined their gun, about which ten men were now assembled, when the enemy, suddenly presenting a front of ten yards in width, at sixty distant, delivered their fire, and rushed forward with their spears to seize the post. Several men were killed and disabled by the first fire, and the remainder driven from their gun without discharging it. Then, retiring upon the centre, (see the arrangement of the guns, p. 48) threw the reserve there stationed into momentary confusion; and had the enemy at this instant pressed the advantage, it is hardly conceivable that they should have failed of entire success. Their avidity for plunder was their defeat. Four houses in that outskirt of the settlement had fallen into their hands. Every man on whose savage rapacity so resistless a temptation happened to operate, rushed impetuously upon the pillage thus thrown in his way. The movement of the main body was disordered and impeded; and an opportunity afforded the agent, assisted principally by the Rev. Lot Cary, to rally the broken force of the settlers. The two central guns, with a part of their own men, and several who had been driven from the western station, were, with a little exertion, brought back into action, and formed in the

line of two slight buildings, thirty yards in advance of the enemy.

The second discharge of a brass field-piece, double-shotted with ball and grape, brought the whole body of the enemy to a stand. That gun was well served, and appeared to do great execution. The havoc would have been greater, had not the fire, from motives of humanity, been so directed as to clear the dwellings about which the enemy's force was gathered in heavy masses. These houses were known at that moment to contain more than twelve helpless women and children.

The eastern and southern posts were, from their situation, precluded from rendering any active assistance on the occasion; but the officers and men attached to them deserve the highest praise, of doing their duty by maintaining their stations, and thus protecting the flank and rear of the few whose lot it was to be brought to action.

A few musqueteers, with E. Johnson at their head, by passing round upon the enemy's flank, served to increase the consternation which was beginning to pervade their unweildy body. In about twenty minutes after the settlers had taken their stand, the front of the enemy began to recoil. But from the numerous obstructions in their rear, the entire absence of discipline, and the extreme difficulty of giving a reversed motion to so large a body, a small part only of which was directly exposed to danger, and the delay occasioned by the practice of carrying off all their dead and wounded, rendered a retreat, for some

minutes longer, impossible. The very violence employed by those in the front, in their impatience to hasten it, by increasing the confusion, produced an effect opposite to that intended. The Americans perceiving their advantage, now regained possession of the western post, and instantly brought the long nine to rake the whole line of the enemy. Imagination can scarcely figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more capital state of exposure to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare! Eight hundred men were here pressed, shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form that a child might easily walk upon their heads from one end of the mass to the other, presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only from thirty to sixty yards distance! Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh! Their fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, which filled the dismal forest with a momentary horror. It gradually died away; and the whole host disappeared. At eight o'clock, the well-known signal of their dispersion and return to their homes was sounded, and many small parties seen at a distance directly afterwards moving off in different directions. One large canoe employed in reconveying a party across the mouth of the Montserado, venturing within the range of the long gun, was struck by a shot, and several men killed.

On the part of the settlers, it was soon discovered that considerable injury had been sustained.

One woman * who had imprudently passed the night in the house first beset by the enemy, had received thirteen wounds, and been thrown aside as dead. Another, † flying from her house with her two infant children, received a wound in the head from a cutlass, and was robbed of both her babes, but providentially escaped. A young married woman, ‡ with the mother of five small children, finding the house in which they slept surrounded by savage enemies, barricaded the door in the vain hope of safety. It was forced. Each of the women then seizing an axe, held the irresolute barbarians in check for several minutes longer. Having discharged their guns, they seemed desirous of gaining the shelter of the house previous to reloading. At length, with the aid of their spears, and by means of a general rush, they overcame their heroine adversaries, and instantly stabbed the youngest to the heart. The mother instinctively springing for her suckling babe, which recoiled through fright, and was left behind, rushed through a small window on the opposite side of the house, and providentially escaped to the lines unhurt, between two heavy fires.

The agent had caused a return § to be made at nine

* Mrs. Ann Hawkins, who, after long and incredible sufferings recovered, and is yet living.

† Mrs. Minty Draper.

‡ Mary Tines.

§ All the moveable effects of five families had fallen into the enemy's hands.

Fifteen whole number of sufferers.

Two small children of Minty Draper, missing.

Five do. (oldest thirteen years) of James Benson, do.

o'clock, which certainly exhibited a melancholy statement of the loss sustained by the little company. But it was animating to perceive that none—not even the wounded, in their severest sufferings, were dispirited or insensible of the signal providence to which they owed the successful issue of their struggle.

It never has been possible to ascertain the number of the enemy killed or disabled on this occasion. The only entry made on the subject in the Colonial Journal, is dated November 15th; and states, "The following circumstances prove the carnage to have been, for the number engaged, great. A large canoe, from which the dead and wounded could be seen to be taken, on its arriving at the opposite side of the Montserado, and which might easily carry twelve men, was employed upwards of two hours in ferrying them over. In this time, not less than ten to twelve trips must have been made. It is also known, that many of the wounded were conveyed away along the south beach on mats; and that the dead left of necessity in the woods, where many fell, are carried off by their friends every night. But two days ago, twenty-seven bodies were discovered by a party of friendly Condoes employed by the agent for the purpose. On entering the wood, the offensive effluvia from putrid bodies is at this time intolerable."

The numerical force of the settlers amounted to thirty-five persons, including six native youths, not sixteen years of age. Of this number about one-half were engaged.

At nine o'clock, the agent, after advising with the

most sensible mechanics and others of the settlers, issued an order for contracting the lines, by excluding about one-fourth part of the houses, and surrounding the remainder, including the stores, with a musket proof-stockade ; at the angles of which all the guns were to be posted. The fence palings and building materials of individuals were taken for this palisade, of which, before night, more than eighty yards were completed.

This work was resumed early next day, and far advanced towards a completion before it was judged safe to devote an hour, even to the melancholy duty of burying the dead, which was performed on the evening of the 12th. By contracting the lines, the number of men necessary to guard them was considerably reduced ; and thus a relief for the people obtained, which their sickly and feeble state absolutely called for. As early as the 14th, one-half of their number were released from camp-duty after eight o'clock in the morning, but every man remanded to his post through the night. An additional gun was mounted and posted on the same day ; on the 17th the artillerists were newly organized, and every day witnessed either some improvements in the discipline of the men, or in the means of defence and annoyance.

It could not fail, in the state of utter abandonment and solitude to which this little company was reduced, to be felt as an encouraging circumstance, that Tom Bassa, a prince of some distinction, should at this moment have sent a message to assure the colony of his friendship ; and in testimony of his sin-

cerity, to have forwarded a small present of the productions of the country.

The enclosure was completed on Sunday morning, the 17th; when about one-half of the people had the privilege of celebrating Divine Service—a privilege which many of them very highly appreciated.

It is not to be either concealed, or made the object of a too severe censure, that several of the people should have yielded, as soon as leisure was afforded for reflection, to the discouraging circumstances of their situation. There was not at this time, exclusive of rice, fifteen days' provision in store. Every individual was subjected to an allowance which could not sustain animal strength, under the burden of so many severe and extraordinary labours. Nothing could be obtained from the country. Seven infant children were in the hands of an enemy infuriated by his recent losses. The native forces were certainly not dispersed; but it was no longer in the agent's power either to learn the intentions of the chiefs, or convey any message through to them. Add to these unpleasant ingredients of their lot, the more cruel circumstances, perhaps of all, that the ammunition of the colony was insufficient for a single hour's defence of the place if hotly attacked, and an apology may surely be found for the very alarming despondency which was invading the minds of several of the settlers. It was a happy providence that, at this critical moment, the agent's health was so far mended as to put it in his power often to attend the men at their posts and labours, by night and day—to animate them by every method which his in-

vention could suggest, and when these failed, to draw from their despair itself an argument for a faithful discharge of their duty. In this difficult labour, he was ably and successfully supported by several of the most sensible and influential of the colonists.

It was the agent's wish, if possible, to engage the kings in treaty for a peace. The actual state of the settlement required it; and the common principles of humanity must be sacrificed by any degree of indifference in the matter, as long as so large a number of children belonging to the settlement were in the hands of an enemy, who, in his treatment of them, was known to be liable to the extremes of caprice and cruelty. To avert, if possible, from these little sufferers, the effects of their savage indignation, and, at the same time, open a door for friendly negotiation, a message was, on the 22d, with some difficulty, got through to the council of native chiefs, who were engaged in debating the question of renewing hostilities at King Peter's Town. The purport of this communication was, that "the Americans came with friendly intentions—have evinced those friendly intentions in all their intercourse with the people of this country. Why have you then brought war on us, without any complaint of injury? We are willing to settle a peace. But we are also prepared to carry on the war, and can render it immensely more bloody and destructive than you felt it before."—The message left the settlement at six o'clock P. M. and at daylight next morning, an answer was received, that, "having bought the low land of Bushrod Island, the Americans had seized upon the Cape

without right—that the country people visiting the settlement had been cheated and roughly used by the store-keeper—that the agents had not fulfilled their promise of instructing the people; but they would gladly make peace, if satisfaction were offered for these injuries ”

From this time to the 28th, messages were daily exchanged; but as all the professions of the chiefs declaratory of their pacific wishes, were accompanied with a demand for presents, and explained in their true sense, by their incessant efforts to engage more warriors from every part of the coast and interior, within their influence and knowledge, the preparations against a second attack went forward at the Cape without intermission.

The 23d was devoted to “ humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer, both on account of the recent success and losses, and the actual perilous state of the settlement.” Two days afterwards, the most pressing wants of the people were relieved by a small purchase from a transient trader touching at the Cape. But no ammunition suitable for the large guns could be obtained.

It is due to the disinterestedness of a worthy foreigner, Captain H. Brassey of Liverpool, who also touched on the 29th, to state, that, unasked, and without the prospect of remuneration, he nearly exhausted his own stores to provide the sick and wounded with necessaries; and exerted an extensive influence, acquired by a long acquaintance with the country chiefs, to disarm their hostility; but to no purpose. They had hired a strong reinforcement

from the Gurrahs and Condoes; and reunited the warriors of the coast, by means of new encouragements and new promises; most of which, it appeared afterwards, depended on their obtaining possession of the property on the Cape. Of these particulars, secret intelligence was communicated to the agent on the evening of the 29th of November; with the farther information, that the attack was to be renewed with double the number of warriors employed on the 11th, at daylight on the following morning.

The whole native force, accordingly, in the course of the night, removed to the peninsula, in two bodies; of which one took up its encampment at a small distance to the south-east of the settlement; the other division occupied the camp, in which the assailants of the 11th had passed the night preceding the first attack. But finding, on the return of daylight, that Captain Brassey's ketch had not left her anchorage, they deferred the bloody business until the next day.

The agent, for the first time, spent the whole night at the different posts, and had the satisfaction to perceive every man attentive to his duty, and every thing connected with the defence in a state of the most perfect preparation. The wood had been cleared for a considerable space about the town. The enemy, in order to approach within musket-shot of the works, was obliged to place himself unsheltered in the open field; and could advance upon no point which was not exposed to the cross-fire of two or more of the posts. The stockade, for a dis-

tance, on each side of all the several stations, was rendered impenetrable to musket-shot; and in every part afforded a shelter, behind which the defenders might indulge the confidence of being nearly secure—a point of the very first importance to be secured to the unpractised soldier,

November 30th was spent by the people in the order of action, as it was known that the enemy in the neighbourhood were in the actual observation of all that passed within the lines. No pickets could be safely trusted during the ensuing night, without the enclosure, but the men attached to the different stations were ranged along the stockade at five yards distance from each other, with orders to repair to their guns on the moment the alarm was given. The agent, spent with the fatigue of waking two successive nights, had reclined, at thirty minutes past four, upon the light arms which he carried, when the onset was made. The works were attacked, at the same moment, on nearly opposite sides. The enemy's western division had made their way along the muddy margin of the river, under the protection of the bank, to the north-western angle of the palisade; when, on rising on the bank, so as to become visible from the western post, they had opened upon it a sudden and brisk fire, which was promptly and very steadily returned by the iron gun, supported by the reserve field-piece from the centre. The assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Ten minutes afterwards they renewed the onset, and forcing their way higher up the bank than before,

contended with greater obstinacy, and suffered still more severely. A third attempt was made to carry this post, but with the same ill success.

On the opposite quarter the assault had commenced at the same moment with still greater vigour. A large body had concealed themselves under a precipitous ledge of rocks forty yards distant, whence they crept nearly concealed from view, within the same number of feet of the station, when they suddenly rose, delivered their fire, and rushed forward with the utmost fury. At this moment the two-gun battery was unmasked, and opened upon them with immediate effect. After a very few discharges, the body of the enemy having thrown themselves flat upon the earth, disappeared behind the rocks. Their marksmen had taken their stations behind projecting rocks, fallen trees, and large ant-hills, and still kept up a constant and well-directed fire, under the cover of which the main body rallied and returned to the attack not less than four times, and were as often repulsed by the well-directed fire of the large guns, which was purposely reserved for those occasions.

The agent at this moment, perceiving the enemy in motion towards the right, under cover of a small eminence which favoured their design, proceeded to the southern post, which had not yet been engaged, and ordered it to open upon them the moment their movement brought them within the range of its guns. The order was punctually obeyed, which exposed a large number of the assailants to a galling cannonade both in front and flank, in a situation where their

own arms could prove of no effectual service to them. The assault on the opposite side of the town had been already repulsed, and the signal for a general retreat immediately followed. This order was obeyed with such promptitude, that the most entire silence succeeded, and every warrior disappeared almost instantaneously.

Not the most veteran troops could have behaved with more coolness, or shown greater firmness than the settlers on this occasion. Such had been their hardships and distressing suspense for the last twenty days, that the first volley of the enemy's fire brought sensible relief to every breast, for it gave assurance that the time had arrived which was to put a period to their anxieties.

The final repulse of the assailants on the western quarter took place in seventy minutes from the commencement of the contest; the attack upon the eastern post was prolonged ninety minutes, and of the two was much the most obstinate and bloody. Three of the men serving at the guns of that station, Gardiner, Crook, and Tines, were very badly, the last mortally, wounded. The agent received three bullets through his clothes, but providentially escaped unhurt. As the natives in close action load their muskets (which are of the largest calibre,) with copper and iron slugs, often to the enormous measure of twelve inches, their fire is commonly very destructive. In this conflict of scarcely an hour and a half, the quantity of shot lodged in the paling, and actually thrown within the lines, is altogether incredible,

and that it took effect in so few cases can only be regarded as the effect of the special guardianship of divine providence.

The number of assailants has been variously estimated, but can never be correctly ascertained. It is known to be much greater than of those engaged on the 11th. Their loss, although, from the quantities of blood with which the field was found drenched, certainly considerable, was much less than in the former attack.

The agent has often said that their plan of assault was the very best that they could have devised. It was certainly sustained and renewed with a resolution that would not disgrace the best disciplined troops. But they were not fully apprised of the power of well-served artillery. None of the kings of this part of the coast are without cannon. But to load a great gun is with them the business of half an hour, and they were seriously disposed to attribute to sorcery the art of charging and firing these destructive machines from four to six times in the minute.

On their final repulse it was evident that a general panic had seized upon the minds of the whole multitude. This was afterwards found to be produced by the following circumstance: A shot having taken off the head of one of their *Gre-Gree* men, or priests, who had boasted that his charms would render the cannon harmless, the natives perceived the delusion that had been practised upon them. This circumstance has left an impression on their minds which has had a most salutary effect in establishing an idea of a supe-

riority on the part of the colonists too great to be resisted. An hour afterwards several round shot were fired through the tops of the trees in different directions parallel with different lines of the coast and banks of the river. In an instant were seen hundreds of the fugitive wretches running from their hiding places and throwing themselves into the water. On discovering the flash of a gun from the batteries, they would instantly disappear under water till the danger from it was past.

But the general exhilaration produced by the prosperous issue of this effort on the part of the settlers, was greatly moderated by the alarming circumstance, that on an equal distribution of the residue of the shot among all the guns after the action, not three rounds remained to each! Three more of the most effective and useful men in the settlement had been lost from the ranks of its defenders. But a strong confidence in the superintending providence of the Most High was a sentiment which animated the bosoms of a majority of the survivors, and in their situation was the only rational source of hope that could be resorted to.

There was at this time little surgical knowledge, less skill, and absolutely no instruments,—not a lancet or a probe in the settlement! Its little dispensary had no lack of James's powders and stores of febrifuges,—but for medicating broken bones and extracting fragments of pot-metal and copper shipbolts from the shattered limbs of the colonists, there had been no provision whatever. A dull penknife and common razor were substituted in the place of

the first, and a priming wire made to answer the purpose of the last. But the sufferings of the wounded, several of whom retained in their limbs the poisonous and corroding metal which had caused their wounds, for months, was indescribable; and such as could not fail to impress upon a daily witness of them a conviction of the rashness and cruelty of placing a company of men, subject to the casualties of war, beyond the reach of surgical aid.

A movement discovered near his station on the following night had induced the officer of the western post to open a brisk fire of musketry, accompanied with several discharges of the large guns. A circumstance apparently so accidental brought relief to the settlement.

The English colonial schooner "Prince Regent," laden with military stores, and having as passengers Captain Laing, of the Royal African Light Infantry, and a prize crew commanded by midshipman Gordon, belonging to H. B. M. sloop of war *Driver*, six days from Sierra Leone, bound for Cape Coast, was at this moment in the offing, and a little past the Cape. So unusual a circumstance as a midnight cannonading, could not fail to attract notice, and the vessel lay by till morning. A Krooman, by whom she was then boarded, gave intelligence of the situation of the settlement, who was immediately despatched ashore, with the generous offer of any assistance in the power of the schooner to afford.

On the following morning the officers came ashore; and in their characters as neutrals, kindly undertook, at the instance of the agent, to explore and ascertain

the future intentions of the enemy. An interview was procured with the chiefs without much difficulty, as their warriors had principally dispersed, their resources were entirely exhausted, and themselves overwhelmed with vexation and shame. They were easily induced, but with affected reluctance, to sign an instrument, binding themselves to observe an unlimited truce with the colony, and make all their differences the subject of a future reference to the arbitration of the governor of Sierra Leone. It is unnecessary to observe, that having no complaints to allege, they never afterwards recollected this provision for a reference; and it is equally superfluous to state, that from this time the colony has been considered as entirely invincible to any native force that may be brought against it. Providence wisely designed to render the early struggle of the colonists the means of securing a perpetual and profound tranquillity to their colony.

The death of the amiable and lamented Gordon, and of eight out of eleven generous seamen, who, with him, volunteered their services to guarantee the truce settled by Captain Laing, has been already communicated to the public in the seventh annual report of the Colonization Society. All these individuals fell victims to the climate within four weeks from the sailing of the "Prince Regent" on the 4th of December.

On the 8th of December came to an anchor a large privateer schooner, under Colombian colours, to the commander of which, Captain Wesley, and several of the officers, natives of the United States, the agent

LIBERIA.

in behalf of the colony, was laid under further and very important obligations. By the aid of the proper mechanics obtained from this vessel, the settlement was put in a superior state of defence, and the sufferings of the wounded alleviated by the kind and assiduous attentions of a skilful surgeon. These friendly offices were continued at intervals for four weeks.

The agent's health gradually improving to this period, had been injured by excessive exertion; and on the 16th of December entirely sunk under its weight. Medicines were productive of no beneficial effect; a fever, slow in its approaches, in a few days became constant, and reduced him to a state of hopeless debility.

By one of those accidents which in their results are obviously seen to be the express appointments of an overruling Providence, a remedy of the most singular nature was administered, when probably no other means could have preserved his life. A self-taught French charlatan, arriving at the Cape at this moment, in a transient vessel, offered his medical services, which, from despair on the one hand, and a sense of duty on the other, the agent accepted. A potion was exhibited, of which one of the ingredients was a large spoonful of calomel!*. The Frenchman then proceeded on his voyage, and left the agent to digest his medicine in the best way he could. Such was the weakness of his system, as to be able neither to throw it off, nor to take it into the circulation for

*The writer states a fact, which he leaves to his medical readers to comment upon, and explain as they can.

five days. The crude poison was then voided; and a distressing salivation ensued, before which all other morbid symptoms disappeared.

It was the middle of February before he again became active in the affairs of the colony. Two of the captive children had within this period been given up, in consideration of a small gratuity. Five were still in the hands of the natives; for whose release a very extravagant ransom was demanded, which it was steadily resolved not to pay.

If any redeeming trait had at this period appeared to soften and atone for the moral deformity of the native character, it certainly was perceived in their treatment of these helpless and tender captives. It was the first object of the captors to place them under the maternal care of several aged women, who in Africa, as in most countries, are proverbially tender and indulgent. These protectresses had them clad in their usual habits; and at an early period of the truce sent to the colony to inquire the proper kinds of food, and modes of preparing it, to which the youngest had been accustomed. The affections of their little charge were so perfectly won in the four months of their captivity, as to oblige their own parents at the end of that time, literally to tear away from their keepers several of the youngest, amidst the most affecting demonstrations of mutual attachment. This event did not occur until the 12th of March, when their gratuitous restoration was voted almost unanimously in a large council of native chiefs.

The agent, after partially recovering from this last and severest trial of a nearly ruined constitu-

tion, found the utmost exertion of the colonists necessary to ensure the preservation of their property, health, and lives, through the approaching rains. Except the store-house, there was but one shingled roof, and frame-house in the settlement. Some of the cabins were without floors; and through the thatch of nearly all, the rain might easily find its way, and descend in streams. Such is the description of the hovel occupied by himself at this time. The industrious and provident habits of a majority of the settlers, had been as an effect, in course, of the deranged and long neglected state of their private affairs, wholly subverted; and it required the application of a keener stimulus than could be found in the ordinary calls of duty, and the prospect of remote advantages, to engage them in a course of diligent exertions. The store of provisions which had been long expected to be replenished by a shipment from the United States, was now consumed; and the want of any effective financial arrangements made by the principals of the establishment at home rendered it a matter of extreme difficulty with the agent to make any purchases from occasional vessels. He had already assumed, from the necessity of the case, a larger pecuniary responsibility, than, as an individual, he could, under any other circumstances, justify to himself or others.

The productions of this country had been resorted to; and the few disposable goods remaining on hand were already exhausted in their purchase; when on the 12th of March, the welcome intelligence of the

arrival on the coast of the United States' ship *Cyane*, R. T. Spence, Esq. was announced by a Krooman from Sierra Leone.

Captain Spence arrived off Montserado on the 31st. By the most judicious and indefatigable exertions, that gentleman had caused the hulk of the long before condemned and dismantled schooner, *Augusta*, to be floated, and metamorphosed into a sea-worthy and useful vessel; on board of which he had placed a crew and a quantity of stores for the settlement, under the command of Lieutenant Richard Dashiell. Not satisfied with this important service, on his arrival at the Cape, he caused the foundations of the Martello tower to be immediately laid, which, seconded by the disinterested zeal of his officers, he saw nearly completed; and the agent's house rendered habitable, chiefly by the labour of his own crew, before the 20th of April.

These benevolent exertions have already been suitably acknowledged in the United States;* and it can never be sufficiently regretted, that the sickness which had begun a fearful inroad upon the crew of that ship during her stay at the Cape, should have issued in the death of no less than forty persons, soon after her arrival in America.†

Dr. Dix, the surgeon of the *Cyane*, became the earliest victim of a too generous zeal for the advancement of the colony. The tears of a grateful people

* See the Annual Report of the Colonization Society.

† This was in part owing to a previous long cruise in the West Indies.

fell into his grave, which they closed with their own hands over his ashes.

The amiable Seton deserves a more extended memorial. The bloom of youth had just ripened into the graces of manhood, and gave to a person naturally prepossessing, the higher ornament of a benevolent and highly accomplished understanding. He perceived his services were needed by a colony which had interested his heart, and he gave them. Becoming the voluntary companion and assistant of the solitary agent, he saw the Cyane sail from the coast with composure, on the 21st of April. His conciliating manners, aided by a judicious procedure, deepened in the hearts of the colonists the impression first made by his disinterestedness. Seldom has the longest friendship power to cement a more cordial union, than had begun to rivet to this generous stranger the heart of the writer; when, in the first week of May, he saw him assailed by the alarming symptoms of fever. The fatal issue of his attack has been already anticipated by the reader. He had long maintained the doubtful struggle—when on the — of June, five days after embarking on board of the Oswego, for the United States, he resigned his spirit to the God who gave it.

The arrival of the vessel just named, on the 24th of May of this year, with sixty-six additional emigrants from the middle states of America, with ample stores and a physician, by placing the colony at once in very altered and improved circumstances, naturally terminates the chain of events which it has been the compiler's object to connect in this narra-

tive. For the subsequent progress of the colony, there are now extant very ample details in an official form ;—details, which, if they have in them less to interest the feelings, are of a character in a much higher degree to gratify the wishes and confirm the hopes of its friends.

So far Mr. Ashmun's account of that very interesting period, during which this infant colony was under his immediate direction. I now proceed to mention the information received respecting its subsequent history.

Since this period the colony has been constantly improving, without any interruption or impediment, other than those necessarily incident to the progress of a new settlement in such a situation.* Soon after the restoration of tranquillity, Dr. Ayres arrived, with a reinforcement of sixty-one new emigrants, and a supply of stores ; but, after devoting himself, with great assiduity, to the promotion of the interests of the colony, he was obliged, by the state of his health, to leave it in December 1823, and resign the charge of its superintendence to Mr. Ashmun, who continued, until the time of his death, the principal colonial agent of the Society.

Our limits do not permit us to give a detailed history of the colony, nor is it necessary. Since the

* That the reader may understand the dates referred to in the following pages, it is necessary he should know that the tract from which they are taken, was published in 1829.---Ed.

attack of the natives above-mentioned, the settlers have enjoyed uninterrupted peace ; and the incidents attending their gradual progress, though highly important to those immediately concerned, are not of a nature to interest persons at a distance. We shall, therefore, only notice a few of the most striking occurrences.

Although it may not, strictly speaking, be a part of the history of the settlement, we may mention here, that at the seventh annual meeting of the Society, held Feb. 20th. 1824, the territory and settlement of the Society, near Cape Montserado, was named LIBERIA, and the town laid out and established at the Cape, MONROVIA, "an acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the illustrious chief magistrate of the United States."

What most attracts our notice in the history of the colony, is the policy pursued towards the native tribes in its vicinity. In all his intercourse with them, the agent, (we speak of Mr. Ashmun, who had the principal management of these affairs,) endeavoured to cultivate their good will and affection by maintaining the strictest justice in all his dealings, and showing them the advantages they may derive from the establishment of the colony. Like the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania, he purchased from its natural owners the territory he occupied, and not an acre of ground was taken without a fair equivalent. In the spring of 1825, it was found necessary to enlarge the limits of the settlement. Several emigrants arrived about that time, who had

been accustomed to an agricultural life. Some of these requested permission to settle upon plantations at once, instead of being confined to the town; and as there was little danger to be apprehended from their removal to a short distance, the agent determined to grant their request, and immediately entered into a negotiation with the neighbouring tribes, for the purchase of the necessary land.

The tract selected for this purpose is situated on the St. Paul's River, comprehending a breadth of from one to three leagues; and lying along the whole navigable part of the stream, estimated at about twenty miles. The whole was under the jurisdiction of old king Peter, from whom it was purchased; and formal possession was taken for the American Colonization Society.

The advantages of this acquisition of territory are stated, by the agent, to consist in enabling the settlers to live on their plantations, instead of being in town, at a distance from them, as before; in giving them a much more fertile soil, and so enabling them to support themselves and families in a short time after their arrival in the country; in rendering the agricultural part of the settlement more compact; in securing the trade of the St. Paul's River, and gaining a more salubrious situation; in all which particulars the agent's anticipations have been realized. Several important additions have been since made to the territory of the colony; and the Board in their last report, mention with approbation the exertions of the agent in relation to this matter. The possessions of the Society now extend nearly *one hundred*

and fifty miles along the coast, and to a considerable distance into the interior. No less than *eight stations* from Cape Mount to Trade Town, one hundred and forty miles, are now under the government of the colony, and four of these have been acquired during the last year.

These "stations" are small settlements, established upon the newly purchased land, at the request of the neighbouring chiefs, who are very desirous of having the advantage of their trade; and generally agree to construct factories, and other necessary buildings, for their accommodation. This extension of the settlement, and the intercourse with the natives to which it gives rise, increase the influence of the colony, which, resulting as it does, from the integrity and kindness manifested toward them, may be expected to be permanent. They see the advantages of civilized life, and are desirous to partake of them. "No man of the least consideration in the country," says Mr. Ashmun, "will desist from his importunities, until one, at least, of his sons is fixed in some settler's family. We have their confidence and friendship, and these built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one or violating the other."

The influence thus acquired is secretly devoted to the security of the colony, and the benefit of the natives. The agent has always avoided having any thing to do with the disputes of his neighbours, further than to afford his friendly offices as mediator; and, on a late occasion, when two of the most considerable tribes were at war with each other, and each solicit-

ed the aid of the colony, with the promises of territory and submission, Mr. Ashmun having tried in vain to prevent hostilities, positively refused to take part with either, telling them, that "the whole force of the colony was sacred to the purpose of self-defence alone, against the injustice and violence of the unprincipled; that while they were ready to benefit *all* their neighbours, they would injure *none*; and that, if they could not prevent or settle the wars of the country, they should never take part in them."

By the constitution, "for the government of the African colony at Liberia," all persons born in the colony, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States. The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit, for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their agents, and leave the settlers to govern themselves; there shall be no slavery in the settlement; and the common law, as in force, and modified in the United States, and applicable to the situation of the people, shall be in force in Liberia. Under this constitution, the agents, in August 1824, adopted a "plan for the civil government of Liberia," and framed a digest of laws, (which have since been approved and ratified by the Board,) for the permanent regulation of the colony.

The principal provisions of the "plan of government," are, that the agent of the Society shall possess, in the settlement, sovereign power, subject only to the decisions of the Board; that a vice-agent shall

be appointed by the agent, out of three persons chosen by the colonists, who shall aid the agent in the discharge of his duties, and take his place, in case of his absence or sickness; that the judiciary shall consist of the agent, and two justices of the peace, created by his appointment; the choice of other officers is made by the colonists, subject to the approbation or rejection of the agent; and standing committees, of agriculture—of public works—of colonial militia—and of health, are appointed, whose duty it is “to become familiar with all the subjects relating to their appointments, and be ready, at all times, to meet, consult, and report thereon, when required to do so by the agent.”

The common law being adopted, so far as it suited the circumstances of the colony, it was only necessary to enact laws relating to the peculiar situation of the new settlement; regulating their intercourse with the native tribes in their vicinity, designating offences, and prescribing appropriate punishments.

The punishments prescribed, are, fine, imprisonment, standing in the stocks, whipping, labour on the public works, forfeiture of rations (to those receiving them), and expulsion from the colony; which last, is the highest degree of punishment, and is inflicted “on conviction for offences directly affecting the peace and good government of the colony; and when ordered by the Society, for any misdemeanours in their judgment deserving that penalty. The property of exiles to pass to their next heirs resident in the colony. In all cases of banishment, when the banished person has no heir in the colony, the land held by

him shall revert to the colony. The party, in any judicial trial, is entitled, if he desire it, to trial by jury."

This system went into immediate operation, and is mentioned with approbation by the Board, in their ninth annual report. Two years afterwards, at the last annual meeting, the managers notice, in their report, the "very efficient and satisfactory manner" in which the system continues to operate, and quote from a letter of Mr. Ashmun, who says, "we commence the year with a better prospect of harmony, in the different operations of our little civil machine, than ever before. The principles of social order, and of a good, equitable, and energetic government, are deeply and plentifully implanted in the minds of the influential part, if not of a majority of the colonists, and promise the certain arrival (I do not think it will be early, however) of that state of improvement, when the Board can safely withdraw their agents, and leave the people to the government of themselves."

The moral and religious character of the colony, is such as to be highly gratifying to its friends; and exerts a powerful and salutary influence on its social and civil condition. Owing to the circumstances under which the first expeditions were fitted out, the characters of the individuals composing them were not sufficiently attended to; and many were found among them, who, by their bad conduct, did serious injury to the new settlement. But, for several years past, the Board, always having more applicants for emigration than their means would enable them to transport, have been particular in se-

lecting such only as would form a desirable addition to the settlers; and the good effects of this system are visible in the improved character of the colony. Most of the late emigrants had established their reputation for industry, sobriety, and morality, in this country, and were distinguished for their respectability among those of their own station in society. They were induced to emigrate, by a laudable desire to improve their condition, by the acquisition of privileges they might in vain hope for here; and they went to Africa with a full knowledge of the difficulties they were to encounter. Their trial was a severe one; and, it is not strange that some should have sunk under it; but, most of them sustained it unshaken; and the agent very justly attributes the general prosperity of the settlement to the salutary influence of their conduct. "It deserves record," says Mr. Ashmun, "that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment, ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government." Hence, the general character of the colony is in the highest degree orderly; "crimes are almost unknown; and the universal respect manifested for the Sabbath, and the various institutions and duties of Christianity, has struck the natives with surprise, and excited the admiration of foreigners."

The agent was fully aware of the importance of education, and fostered it by every means in his power. Several schools have been established, in

which the colonists, and about fifty native children, receive instruction. Their education is, of course, confined to the elementary branches of knowledge ; but they show themselves very capable of learning ; and, there is no doubt, that with proper advantages, they will attain all the useful, and even ornamental departments of science. At present, they feel the want of teachers capable of instructing them in any thing beyond the rudiments of learning. The library of the colony contains about 1200 volumes.

Since the late purchases of land, the colonists have begun to turn their attention more to agriculture ; but the trade of the colony, which is considerable, has been its chief dependence. By the truce entered into with the natives, the greater part of the trade of that district of Africa is secured to the inhabitants of Liberia. The articles of export are the productions of the country, consisting of rice, palm-oil, ivory, tortoise-shell, dyewoods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee. There are almost always some vessels in the harbour ; and “the bustle and thronging of the streets show something already of the activity of the smaller sea-ports of the United States.” By means of this commerce, many of the settlers have acquired a considerable property, and enjoy an abundance, not only of the necessaries, but of the comforts and even the luxuries of life. The intercourse between Monrovia and the other settlements in Liberia is so considerable, that the nett annual profits of a small schooner, employed by the agent for this purpose, amounted to 4700 dollars, “nearly adequate to defray the expense of the

whole organization for the public service, both for the United States agency, and the colonial government." After speaking of the prospects of the colony, the agent says, " But I can even now assure the Board, that except a very few of the emigrants, the most independent and easy in their circumstances in America, they generally live in a style of neatness and comfort, approaching to elegance in many instances, unknown before their arrival in this country. An industrious family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing a comfortable table, is not known; and an *individual*, of whatever sex or age, without ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, I believe, be found." And again—" Every family, and nearly every single adult person in the colony, has the means of employing from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from four to six dollars a-month. And several of the settlers, when called upon, in consequence of sudden emergencies of public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce to the amount of 300 to 600 dollars each."

In their last report, the managers state that the population of the colony (including emigrants by recent expeditions,) exceeds 1200 persons; * of whom about 500 were introduced during the last year. Of these, 142 recaptured Africans, liberated by a decree of the Supreme Court, and sent to the agency in Liberia, arrived in the ship Norfolk on the 27th August 1827. In a letter written seven days after

* The number in a short time rose to about 1400.

their arrival, Mr. Ashmun says, "It may be interesting to the Board, as a proof of the extensive business and resources of their colony, to observe, that not more than twenty remain, even at this early date, a charge to the United States. Two-thirds of the number have situations in the families of the older settlers, for terms of from one to three years; the remainder are at service, on wages to be paid them at the year's end;" after which they were to have lands assigned them as other settlers. The report farther states, (p. 38), that "three new fortifications, and thirteen public buildings, exclusive of the churches, are either completed already, or so far advanced, as to authorize the expectation that they will be finished in the course of the year." Some opinion may be formed of the enterprising spirit of the colonists, from the fact that they have already organized a company to improve the navigation of the Montserado River, by removing the bars which obstruct it, and some progress has been made in the work.

So far, then, the object of the Society has been accomplished, by establishing on the coast of Africa a colony of "free people of colour," composed of several hundred individuals, enjoying perfect security, possessing abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, or the means of obtaining them, and in the full exercise of all the rights and privileges of freemen. That many difficulties have been encountered, and many lives lost in the attainment of this object, is not to be denied; but when we consider the principles upon which this colony has been founded, and the circumstances under which the ope-

rations of the Society have been carried on, our wonder is, not that *so little*, but that *so much* has been effected. In the language of the Society's memorial to Congress, "In the course of a few years, a small number of respectable individuals, actuated only by the most philanthropic motives, possessing no political power, and destitute of all pecuniary resources, except such as were to be found in the charity, the benevolence, and the patriotism of their fellow-citizens, have succeeded in exploring a distant coast, in overcoming, in a great measure, the very natural but very powerful prejudices of the community in which they live, and in transplanting to the western shores of Africa, and maintaining in a state of perfect security, a colony of several hundreds of the free coloured population of their country."

That the infant colony should have great difficulties to encounter, was to be expected. But they have been met and overcome; and the Society justly acknowledge the powerful aid of a gracious Providence, in the wonderful success which has attended their exertions. In no instance have such results been produced in so short a time under similar disadvantages. The early settlements of America, which approach nearest in character to that of Liberia, were persevered in, under far more discouraging circumstances, and were only established after many years of incessant labour, and great expenditure of life and treasure.

Their history presents a series of incessant labours and almost incredible distresses. Torn by internal feuds, in want of every necessary, and exposed to

frequent attacks by the savages, the colony of Virginia was several times almost extinct, and barely maintained a feeble existence, by foreign supplies occasionally afforded; and, in the year 1624, after more than £150,000 had been expended, and more than 9000 persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed 1800 persons. Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on the State of Virginia," (p. 163,) gives a table of the increase of the population during the early years of the colony, commencing with 1607; by which it appears, that, after several fluctuations, sometimes rising as high as 400, and again sinking as low as 60, the whole number in 1618, (the 11th year of the settlement,) was only 600.

We have thus alluded to the early history of the settlements in America, because a comparison between them and the settlement at Liberia shows that there is nothing at which the friends of African colonization should be disheartened. On the contrary, such a comparison holds out every encouragement; less expense has been incurred, fewer difficulties have been encountered, fewer lives sacrificed, and more has been effected. A colony has been established, which, now in its 8th year, contains nearly 1200 emigrants, independent of native citizens, enjoying health, liberty, and plenty; and commanding the respect and confidence of their neighbours. The colony being established, the only question is, whether it can be maintained? And this we purpose briefly to consider.

The first and great difficulty lies in the supposed

insalubrity of the climate, and the fatality which is generally attributed to it. But the prevalent opinion on this subject arises from prejudice, or want of reflection. We are apt to imagine, that, because the climate of Africa is different from that to which we have been accustomed, it must necessarily be unhealthy; but this is clearly erroneous; and, if generally acted upon would prevent any change of residence. The climate of Liberia, like that of all other tropical situations, is exceedingly warm, and unfriendly to constitutions formed in more temperate regions, but it does not, therefore, follow, that it is unfitted to sustain human life, where there is a congeniality of constitution. Accordingly, we find that the natives of the country are a robust, healthy race, subject to no epidemic disease; and of the emigrants who have gone from this country, those from the southern states have suffered but little by the change of climate. Early last year, the brig Doris carried out a considerable number of emigrants from North Carolina, who arrived at Liberia in April, and, in noticing their sickness, in his communication to the Board, Mr Ashmun observes, "all the change they have undergone, seems to be less a *disease* than a *salutary effort of nature* to accommodate the physical system of its subjects to the new influences of the tropical climate." It is true, many have died soon after their arrival; but it was under peculiar circumstances, and such as are not likely again to occur. The first settlement, on the low marshy ground of the Sherbro, was unfortunate, and very properly abandoned. The early settlers at Montserado, arrived at an improper

time of the year, and were exposed to all the inclemencies of the rainy season, without sufficient houses to protect them. Add to this, the excessive fatigue they underwent in preparing for their defence against the natives ; and it is not wonderful that many fell victims to disease. But, since the erection of suitable houses, and the release from incessant labour, the general health of the colony has been good, and the emigrants who have arrived at proper seasons of the year, have been exposed to but little danger.

Dr. Peaco, who resided some time at Liberia, as United States' agent for recaptured Africans, says, in a letter addressed to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society : " Persons of every description, from all parts of the world, are liable to an attack of bilious fever, shortly after their arrival ; which I found, in every instance, to yield to the common remedies in the first attack ; and all the deaths which occurred, were from relapses, occasioned by imprudently exposing themselves, while in a state of convalescence ; but few cases terminated fatally, from among those who left Norfolk last winter ! and but one of the people of colour, from North Carolina, who accompanied me out, fell a victim to the prevailing diseases of the climate."

In the month of September last, the colonists addressed a circular to the coloured people of this country, giving an interesting exposition of the state of the colony, and one highly gratifying to its patrons and friends.*

* This paper will be found in the Appendix.

Another objection to the practicability of maintaining the colony, is founded on the supposed barrenness of the soil, and the consequent necessity of depending on foreign supplies for subsistence. The very name of Africa is associated, in our imagination, with all that is desolate and frightful, immense deserts of burning sand, whose dreadful masses carried along by the whirlwind, overwhelm the parched traveller, and thus hasten the fate he would otherwise have suffered from thirst; and trackless wastes inhabited only by beasts of prey and venomous reptiles, with no water to refresh the sultry atmosphere, and no vegetation to relieve the dreary prospect. We are confirmed in this idea by the common maps, which present to our view an immense continent, coloured, to denote occupancy along the coast, but the interior, one vast blank, which we consider a desert; and, by our classic recollections, which remind us of the fate of Cambyzes' army, or the difficulty of Alexander's march to the shrine of his pretended father; and represent all beyond the northern coast, as "the uninhabitable regions." But the discoveries of modern travellers have proved the fallacy of these impressions. It is true that the Desert of Zahara is a vast expanse of sand, where thousands have perished of fatigue and thirst; and the journals of scientific explorers have furnished us with abundance of frightful pictures of its horrors. But this is only a part, and comparatively a small part of the great continent of Africa. Beyond these sands, Africa furnishes a soil as fertile, and produces a vegetation as luxuriant, as any in the world. Its boundless .

forests, and beautiful fields, are watered by noble rivers, and abound in all the productions of tropical climates. Of this character is the territory of Liberia. "The whole country, between Cape Mount and Trade Town," observes Mr. Ashmun, "is rich in soil, and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population, beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the seaboard, the traveller everywhere, at the distance of a few miles, enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfailing water, and covered with a verdure which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found everywhere to yield, in both respects, to the interior." The vegetable productions of Liberia are coffee, cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, rice, guineacorn, millet, and every variety of fruits and *legumes*. Most of these are the spontaneous productions of the soil, and all of them may be cultivated with little labour. Coffee of a good quality grows wild in great abundance, and is collected and sold by the natives for about five cents a pound. With due attention it will become a staple commodity for exportation.* Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive exceedingly well, and require no other care than to

* Mr. Cresson informs me that, at a recent date, one settler, the Rev. C. M. Waring, has completed a plantation of 20,000 trees; and a premium of 500 acres of land has been offered to any respectable person who will engage in the manufacture of sugar, whether from the United States or the West Indies.---Ed.

keep them from starving. Even in the present state of the country, when but little attention has been bestowed upon agriculture, provisions can be purchased very cheap. "Fine cattle may be bought at a little distance from the colony, at from three to six dollars a-head; rice of the best quality, for less than a dollar the bushel; and palm oil, answering all the purposes of butter and lard for culinary purposes, at twenty cents per gallon, equal in cookery to six pounds of butter." Add to all this, there is no dreary winter, "for one-half the year to consume the productions of the other half."

Possessing thus a good climate and a fertile soil, there is nothing to impede the growth of the colony, even if it receive no further accession from this country. At peace with the natives, and capable of defending itself against any attacks they may make, it has nothing to apprehend from that quarter; and there is little danger of any foreign aggression. The climate, though perfectly salubrious to the natives, and to the coloured emigrants who are habituated to it, is ill adapted to the constitution of the Circassian race of our species; and neither Europeans nor Americans have been able to become *acclimated* there; so that it would seem that Providence has specially appropriated this portion of the world to the original inhabitants, and their descendants. This circumstance will effectually prevent the danger that might otherwise arise from European settlements in the neighbourhood. But its progress is not to be limited to the natural increase. Every year enlarges its capacity for receiving new emigrants

with advantage, and renders their first settlement in the colony more safe and easy. It has been supposed by some, that persons cannot be found willing to go ; but this is not the fact. There are hundreds desirous and ready to emigrate, and many more would be liberated for the purpose were the Society possessed of the means of transporting them. Last year there was as great an accession of new settlers as could be conveniently accommodated in the present circumstances of the colony. But as the settlements increase, so that the new comers may be distributed over a wider space, thousands can be as readily accommodated as hundreds were last year, and any number may be received without inconvenience. Although the expense of transportation is not great, averaging about 35 dollars for each person, the funds of the Society have not enabled them to accomplish more than they have already done. But the cause is gaining ground in America, and is no longer considered as a mere chimera. The Society has advocates in every part of the union, and the prejudices formerly entertained against it are gradually disappearing before the influence of facts. The legislatures of nine states* have adopted resolutions approving of the design of the Colonization Society, and the general assembly of Maryland, in March 1827, passed an act directing 1000 dollars to be paid annually to the treasurer of the American Colonization Society, to " be expended for the benefit of the

* Georgia, Virginia, N. Jersey, Connecticut, Vermont, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland. It is believed that the states of Delaware, Rhode Island, and Illinois, have adopted similar resolutions.

free people of colour who have been actual residents of that state for twelve months previous to their embarkation." The number of auxiliary societies in different parts of the union, amounted at the time of the last annual meeting to 96, 16 of which had been formed during the preceding year. A gentleman in the state of New York has made a donation of 100 dollars to the Society, and offered to increase it to a thousand, payable in ten annual instalments, provided 100 individuals will contribute in the same manner. His example has already been followed by fifty others, and the Society is not without hope that the whole number will be completed. The funds of the Society, though increasing, are still inadequate to meet the demands upon them, and the Board have applied to Congress for assistance. As a national object, proposing to remove, or at least to alleviate a great national evil, it certainly deserves the attention of the general government. Whether it would be politic in the government, or beneficial to the colony, to take the settlement under the immediate protection of the United States, may admit of some doubt, but there can scarcely be a doubt of the propriety of employing a portion of the public treasure in the promotion of the views of the Society, if there is a fair prospect of success. Much has already been done by the establishment of the United States' agency at Liberia, and the instructions given to the commanders of the public vessels, who have rendered very essential service to the colony. Much more might be effected if the government would contribute to increase the funds of the Society.

It is the opinion of some, that the negro race can never be capable of conducting the affairs of empire. But in forming our estimate of their mental qualifications, great allowance should be made for prejudice, and the circumstances in which we have seen them, without education or any means of intellectual improvement. When raised from their present degraded condition, and properly educated, there is no reason to suppose that they will be incapable of self-government. They are men, and it is a libel on the species to deny them the capacity requisite to manage their own affairs. Not to mention the rude governments of Africa, equal at least to those of other people at the same stage of civilization: the existence of the Haytien republic furnishes an instance of the capacity of negroes to manage the political machine, and that too in circumstances of great difficulty, and under every disadvantage. Some of the leaders of that state have evinced talents of no ordinary degree, and if Petion and Christophe were guilty of cruel and ferocious acts, they also exhibited energy and skill fully adequate to maintain and defend their government. There is, therefore, no good reason to doubt, that, with proper education, the citizens of Liberia, will, in due time, be perfectly competent to take care of themselves, and that with the cultivation of their present moral and religious principles, they will establish a happy and flourishing commonwealth.

We proposed, in the last place, to consider the probable effects of the establishment of the colony, and first as it regards America.

We shall not dwell upon the commercial advan-

tage of having friendly ports for our vessels to stop at on their way to and from India, nor upon the still greater advantage of having a constantly increasing market for our manufactures of every description, from which we may receive in return gold, ivory, precious and fragrant gums, drugs, and all the various productions of the torrid zone. These and similar ones suggest themselves as the almost certain consequence of the success of the Liberian colony. Nor is it a trifling political object to have our language and the principles of our government extended over a large territory in the continent of Africa, as will in all likelihood be the case if the colony prosper. Less flattering prospects have induced the powers of Europe to found distant colonies at great labour and expense; but these, although probable results, are not the primary objects of the settlement of Liberia.

The great object of the Society, so far as regards America, is the diminution of the black population; the alleviation, and, if possible, the entire removal of the curse of slavery, and the evil of having among us a distinct race of people, who can never be thoroughly amalgamated with the white population, and who must always have separate interests from ourselves. This is not a local disease, affecting only particular members of the political system; for, not to mention the intimate connection of the different sections of our country, and the interests of all to promote the welfare of each part, it must be obvious, on the slightest examination, that the evil of a coloured population pervades the



whole, and is felt in each separate portion. We need not speak of the immediate effects of slavery in those states where it exists; they are acknowledged by all to be grievous; but, throughout the non-slave-holding states, the negroes form a distinct race, branded by their colour as an inferior caste; regarded with a species of loathing when thought of as companions, and for ever shut out from the privileges of the white men by whom they are surrounded. Be it prejudice, or be it founded in reason, the feeling of dislike mutually exists; and the warmest friend of the cause of abolition would shrink with disgust from the idea of a matrimonial connexion between his children and this unfortunate people. No matter what may be their industry and sobriety; no matter what their attainments in science, or their character for morality, they can never hope to pass the broad line of demarcation, or assume a station of equality with the other members of the community. If, by habits of industry, and correct deportment, a few individuals rise above their degraded brethren, their condition is scarcely improved. Conscious of their superiority to those of their own colour, by whom they are envied, they can find no satisfaction in their society; while they are shunned and despised by the meanest of the whites, perhaps far inferior to them in every particular, save *colour*; and if they have brought up children, to whom they have given the benefit of education, there is little chance of their finding suitable companions among their own people. To unite them to respectable whites is impossible. Thus destitute of the advantages, while they possess the name

of freemen ; deprived of every incentive to virtuous exertion, and exposed to every temptation to vice, it is no wonder that they are degraded and miserable. Nor does the future offer any prospect of amendment in their condition. To them the volume of time, like the roll of the prophet, reveals only " lamentations, and mourning and wo."

The natural consequence of this deplorable state of things, is seen and felt in our large cities, and, in a degree, throughout the country. We have an idle, ignorant, vicious population, crowded together in their wretched hovels, with scarcely the means of procuring a scanty subsistence. Naturally improvident, and without moral restraint, they are driven to crime to satisfy the cravings of want, and readily become the tenants of the alms-house or the jail. In a memorial prepared by the Pennsylvanian Colonization Society, and presented to the legislature of that state at their last session, it is stated, that of the whole population of Pennsylvania, which is estimated at 1,200,000, about 40,000, or one-thirtieth are people of colour : and the following statement taken from the records of the state penitentiary is then given :

" In 1826, of 296 persons convicted and brought to the Philadelphia prison, 117 were coloured, being nearly in the ratio of 3 to 7. Had the number of coloured convicts been proportional to the coloured population of the state, there would have been but 6 instead of 117. The average of the last 7 years proves a similar disproportion.

The proportion of coloured paupers maintained at

the public expense is also enormous. Nor is this state of things confined to Pennsylvania, it is found in all states, though perhaps not always to the same extent; but wherever there is a black population, this evil exists in some degree, and is constantly increasing. Without entering into the calculations on this subject, for which we refer those desirous of seeing them, to the annual reports of the Society, and the statements annexed to them, we may state some of the general results. The whole coloured population of the United States is estimated at about 2,000,000, and they are supposed to increase in nearly the same ratio as the whites, or to double in *thirty* years. In *thirty* years from this time, then, there will be *four millions* of negroes in the country, and in *sixty* years, *eight millions*! A nation of 8,000,000 of degraded, despised, oppressed beings! And to this accelerated progress there is no limit. The barbarous scheme of Pharaoh, if practicable, would alone retard it. But from this, our feelings, as men and as Christians, revolt with horror. What then is to be done? We would fain indulge the hope that this dreadful curse will one day be removed, and that when we speak about the millions who inhabit our land, we may add with pride, *they are all freemen*. We know not how it may be with others, but for ourselves we see no human means by which this can be accomplished, unless it be by colonization; and, if ever the work is to be commenced, it cannot be done under more favourable auspices than at the present period. It is at least worth the experiment, and now is the best time for making it

The American Colonization Society have undertaken to lead the way ; they have founded a colony on the coast of Africa, and it only requires the encouragement of an enlightened country to give the plan a fair trial. If it succeed, the benefit to our country will be incalculable ; if it fail, the pious and patriotic men who have made the attempt have done their duty ; and we must submit with resignation to the unavoidable calamity. But there is yet hope, and while any thing remains untried, no effort should be spared. It is true, the work is immense, and the means of the Society are small—confessedly inadequate to the accomplishment of the project. But the Society never pretended to be able to carry through this great enterprise. They have acted only as pioneers in the work. All they could expect to do was “ merely to pave the way, to point out the tract,” and call upon the nation to follow.

Even with the assistance of government, there are many difficulties ; and the final attainment of the object must be remote ; but the difficulties are not insuperable ; and the remoteness of the desirable event should be no objection. It is to be recollected that this matter affects the vital interest of the republic ; and, if a century or more is required to complete it, this time, in the age of a nation, is soon passed. Individuals commence works which they can scarcely expect to see finished ; and surely a great national undertaking is not to be left unattempted, because the present generation may not witness its completion. But the benefits of colonization are not to be referred to a remote period ; they

commence immediately—they are already felt; and every year, as it extends the operation of the plan, will increase its beneficial effects, and facilitate its final accomplishment. Each state, like Maryland, may take advantage of this measure, and remove the coloured population within its own borders; and those states which have heretofore been obliged to forbid emancipation, will have no longer cause for apprehension, when the slave can be removed as soon as he is liberated.—Many gentlemen of the south have expressed their willingness to emancipate their slaves, if the Society would take charge of them; and this feeling will, no doubt, increase, if adequate means for its exercise be afforded. In some of the states the education of slaves is forbidden by law; and in most of them, the advantages of instruction are in a great measure withheld from the people of colour. In their present situation, this may be necessary; but if the means of their removal from the country were provided, their education might be encouraged with safety, in the assurance, that the more enlightened they become, the more desirous they will be to embrace this opportunity of improving their condition. Many of the better class of our coloured population still regard the colony with suspicion, and distrust the benevolent intentions of its founders; but, when they know that there is a nation of their brethren on the coast of Africa, in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of freedom and rational equality, their prejudices will yield to conviction, and they will be glad to enrol themselves among the citizens of Liberia. Instead of being looked upon,

as it now is, by too many, as a receptacle of slaves and discontented free negroes, it will be regarded in its true light, as the appropriate home of the coloured man—the only place where he may employ his faculties to their full extent, and assert the dignity of his nature, as a man, and a freeman. The number of emigrants to this country, from Great Britain and Ireland, during the year 1827, was upwards of 23,000; and the number this year will probably be as great, or greater. If such multitudes leave their homes, and come to a foreign land to procure employment and support, the same motives, with all the additional reasons, the peculiarity of their situation suggests, will induce the coloured people of this country to emigrate to Africa, when assured, that, by so doing, they will certainly improve their condition. The annual increase of our whole coloured population is estimated at 52,000; to remove any portion of this would be an advantage; to remove the whole would prevent the growth of the evil; and every thing beyond this would tend to its eradication.

Such are some of the motives which may induce the patriot to further the views of the Colonization Society; the philanthropist and the Christian will find ample room for the exercise of their benevolence, in the blessings to be conferred upon the emigrants, and upon the continent of Africa. As to the emigrants, it is only necessary to compare their miserable state here with their situation in Africa, to be sensible of the great improvement in their condition. This is very strikingly represented in the

circular, addressed to the coloured people in the United States, formerly referred to, and which will be found in the Appendix.

But we hasten to make a few observations upon the benefits likely to accrue to Africa, generally, from the establishment of this colony on its shores. In doing this, we pass by many important particulars : such as the exploring of the country—the introduction of our manufactures, &c., and confine our attention to the probable effect of the colony in abolishing the slave-trade, and civilizing the native tribes.

To suppress the slave-trade, has been for several years an object of national policy with several governments, both in Europe and America. It has been interdicted by solemn treaties, and proscribed by the laws of individual states.—The most despotic and the most democratic governments have joined in denouncing it. Austria and Colombia have proclaimed “ universal emancipation ; ” while Great Britain and the United States have exerted their naval force in attempting the extermination of this infamous trade. But still it exists ; and not only exists, but flourishes nearly as much as ever. The reports of the African Institution presents a detailed list of the names of 218 vessels, believed to be engaged in this trade in the year 1824 ; and the number of its victims in that year was ascertained to be not less than 120,000 ! of whom, about 20,000 perished on the middle passage, or soon after their arrival at the port of their destination. “ More than 20,000 reached in that year the single port of Rio Janeiro,” as appears by

an official document received from that place. It would seem that the following importations of slaves were made into that port in 1826 and 1827; 1826, landed alive, 35,966—died on passage, 1985; 1827, landed alive, 41,388—died on passage, 1643; and in the years 1829 and 1830, the number was swelled to a total of 102,000. We attempt no description of this inhuman traffic. The barbarous cruelties which attend every step of its progress, from its commencement in treacherous wiles to entrap its victims, to its consummation, by consigning them to endless and hopeless slavery, have been too faithfully delineated to need repetition here. But, supposing every one to concur in the propriety of its suppression, we assert, without hesitation, that colonization upon the coast of Africa affords the only prospect of success in this benevolent enterprise. This trade, which has been confirmed by the practice of centuries, and is supported by its ministering to so many powerful passions of our nature, is not to be put down by force, so long as a place can be found for the supply or reception of slaves. In vain may the governments of distant nations proscribe it by their treaties, or declare it piracy by their laws. In vain may they line Africa with their ships, and establish “mixed commissions,” for the trial and punishment of offenders. Rapacity and avarice will still find means to elude the vigilance, or baffle the efforts of benevolence; and the friends of humanity must mourn over the inefficacy of their exertions. This is the lesson of experience on the subject, when, after

years of unavailing effort, the evil rages with unabated violence.

In this state of affairs, we look on colonization as the only expedient by which the object may be effected. Its operation is two-fold; *direct*, by occupying the coast, and so cutting off access to the source of the polluted stream; and *indirect*, by convincing the natives of the criminal nature of the trade, and turning their attention to other means of gain. The plan adopted by the regular slave-traders for obtaining their cargoes, is, to have agents residing at different parts of the country, who procure the required number of slaves, and collect them at certain stations or factories, generally in some river or secluded inlet from the sea; in the mean time, the slaver hovers about the coast, avoiding the cruisers stationed there, or showing an empty vessel when boarded; until she can find a favourable opportunity of running in, taking her living cargo on board, and escaping, perhaps in the course of a single night; so that the utmost vigilance may be evaded. The immediate effect of the occupation of the coast, in destroying this practice, must of course be confined to the space within the jurisdiction of the colony; and so far as this extends, its salutary operation is already sensible. Not many years ago, there were several of these slave-stations within a few miles of Cape Montserado, at which the trade was actively prosecuted; but since the establishment of the colony, they have been completely broken up. Every exertion for this purpose is made by the colonial

government; and, in 1826, they could say, "The line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount is now under British protection; and from Cape Mount to Trade Town, (the Liberian coast,) a distance of 120 miles, the slave-trade cannot be prosecuted with the least hope of success. Many of the tribes are really disposed to abandon it, and all perceive the hazard with which, in future, it must be attended."

But the most effectual method of putting an end to the traffic, is by bringing it into discredit among the natives themselves; and this can be effected only by means of a colony. For centuries these wretched beings have been accustomed to look upon this trade as the only means of securing a supply of foreign articles. Wars have been fomented, and villages depopulated to furnish its victims; and they have found it far easier to make their purchases from the strangers, in a way that would at the same time gratify their malignant passions, than by the products of regular industry. Now, in order to draw them off from this detestable occupation, it is necessary to inspire them with an abhorrence of it; to convince them that their real interest is opposed to it, and to turn their attention to other means of profitable intercourse with foreigners. Their country is rich in natural productions of every kind; and but moderate labour is requisite to supply them with the staples of a gainful commerce. But this change cannot be affected without the constant inculcation of better principles, and a regular market for their produce, such as an extensive settlement among them alone can afford. The reports from the colony en-

courage the hope that much has already been done in this way, and still greater results may be expected. Several of the tribes in the neighbourhood of the settlement have expressed their conviction that the slave-trade is a "*bad business*;" and their determination not to engage in it again, if they can avoid it; and the chiefs have invited the colonists to settle among them, and teach their people the arts of agriculture. All these things have an effect; but if ever the work be finally accomplished, it must be by the introduction of civilization and true religion into this degraded country.

The obligation to extend the benefits of civilization and religion to heathen countries, is one of those called by moral philosophers, *imperfect*, inasmuch, as they can be enforced by no human authority; but they are not, on that account, the less valid, or the less binding upon the conscience. They are, however, always addressed to the reason only, and every one must judge for himself how far he is subject to their force. If any country has claims of this kind upon Christendom generally, and our land in particular, it is Africa. Her fields have been laid waste, and her inhabitants brutalized, to feed the market with slaves; and almost every nation has partaken, directly or indirectly, in the cruel traffic. Our own country has shared largely in the spoil; and, though we now regret the part we have had in it, an atonement is still due to injured Africa; and, if her oppressed children and their descendants are made, through our means, the instruments of her civilization, it will be a late but glorious recompense for all

her sufferings. But Christian benevolence needs no such motives for exertion. It is sufficient if there be a field of action, with the hope of usefulness, to call forth her energies ; and none presents a better scene for benevolent operations than the coast of Africa, through the medium of the colony of Liberia. The character of the natives is represented by travellers as naturally mild and docile, though their intercourse with foreigners engaged in the slave-trade, has given them some features of savage ferocity. The scattered remains of villages, and marks of former cultivation, bear testimony to their primitive disposition, and prove that they were not always the degraded people they now are. There is reason to believe, that, before the introduction of the slave-trade, and its consequent evils, they were a mild and inoffensive race ; and the researches of modern travellers have shown this to be the character of the tribes beyond the sphere of its baneful influence. The religious notions of these people are of the grossest kind. With scarcely a glimmering idea of a supreme Being, and but a faint sense of moral obligation, they are subject to the darkest superstition. They believe in the conflicting influence of an evil and a good principle, and have great confidence in charms, or *fetiches*, prepared by their magicians, and supposed to hold a mysterious influence over their destiny. But there are no settled religious principles, no established forms of worship, to which they have become habituated or attached. There is, therefore, no obstacle of this kind to overcome ; and the introduction of the Christian religion would probably meet

with fewer difficulties than in almost any other uncivilized nation. They readily yield to a new impulse, and, degraded as they are, they manifest a sense of the importance of education. Many of the chiefs have sent their sons to the West Indies, and to England, for instruction; and since the establishment of colonies upon their coast, they have been very desirous to obtain for their children admission into the colonial schools. Upon such a people, a colony founded on the principles of that of Liberia, must necessarily have a beneficial influence. They see the colonists living in comfortable habitations, secure from external violence, and enjoying the pleasures of social life; and the superiority of this condition to their own must be obvious to the dullest comprehension. They see, too, that all this may be attained by a race of men like themselves; and they learn to attribute the difference, not to the colour of their skin, but to its real cause—an improved moral and religious education. In the language of Mr. Clay, “Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.” One great reason why missionary exertions are so unavailing, is, that the instructor is a stranger to those whom he is sent to teach—unacquainted with their manners and habits—an individual lost in the surrounding multitude. But here is a whole people, settled among them, teaching them by example, as well as by precept; their own condition, a living testimony to the soundness of the lessons they inculcate. Nor let it be supposed that the civilization of a barbarous

people is impracticable. It has often been effected, and always by the operation of extrinsic causes. History furnishes not a single instance of a barbarous people becoming civilized by their own unaided exertions; the first seeds of civilization have always been introduced from abroad. And thus it must be with Africa; if ever that vast continent is to experience the blessings of civilization, it must be through the medium of foreign benevolence. The tendency of the colony to produce these effects may be seen from the following extract from one of Mr. Ashmun's reports to the Board:—

“ The first effects of the colony, in civilizing and improving the condition of the natives of Africa, are beginning to be realized.

“ The policy which I have invariably pursued, in all the intercourse of the colony with them, is that of humanity, benevolence, and justice. They have been treated as men and brethren of a common family. We have practically taught them, in the spirit of the parent institution, that one end of our settlement in their country is to *do them good*. We have adopted 60 of their children, and brought them forward as children of the colony—and shown a tender concern for their happiness, and a sacred regard to their rights, even when possessed of a dictatorial power over both. In this conduct a new and surprising view of the character of civilized man has been presented to them. They have, for the first time, witnessed the effects of principles superior to the hopes of mercenary advantage, in this conduct of the settlers, and for the first time appear to be ap-

prized of the fact, that, among civilized people, there is a good as well as bad class. They have learnt from this colony, what no other foreigners have cared to teach them—their immortality—their accountability to the God who made them, and the destruction which certainly awaits at last the unrestrained indulgence of their lusts and vices. They have for the first time learnt, and still can scarcely believe, that thousands of strangers in another hemisphere, are cordially interested in the advancement of their happiness. Our influence over them is unbounded—it is increasing—it is more extensive than I dare, at this early period, risk my character by asserting. We have their confidence and their friendship—and those built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other.”

It is with unfeigned regret, that we record the death of a man to whom the colony is so deeply indebted; and the last seven years of whose life were unreservedly devoted to the promotion of its prosperity. Arriving at the colony at one of its gloomiest periods, he found it deserted by its protectors, destitute of provisions, and exposed to an immediate attack of hostile savages—apparently without the means of effectual resistance. In this situation he did not hesitate to assume the post of responsibility and danger; and, though suffering under a disease which he expected would be fatal, and afflicted by the loss of his wife, who died soon after his arrival, he exerted himself so ably and indefatigably, that the preservation of the settlement from immediate

and entire destruction, must, under Providence, be attributed to him. From that time, until obliged by the state of his health to leave the country, he faithfully and unremittingly devoted himself to the welfare of the emigrants. The whole management of the colony was committed to him, and he proved himself worthy of the trust. In every department he manifested talents of no ordinary kind. Firmness, justice, and benevolence were the characteristics of his government of the colonists, and his policy towards the natives; and his reports breathe a fervent piety and reliance on the Divine blessing; giving energy to his exertions, and inspiring him with a confidence of their success. After suffering a long time from the dropsy, he left Cape Mesurado, in March, 1828, amidst the tears of the colonists, who were sincerely attached to him, and consoled themselves for his absence only by the hope of his speedy return. But their hopes have been disappointed. His disease increased so much that he was obliged to stop for some time at St. Barts to recruit his strength; and when he resumed his voyage, it was only to reach his native country and die. He expired on the 25th August 1828, at New Haven, Connecticut, still warmly interested in the prosperity of the colony; and, with his latest breath, giving directions for its future management. Our best wish for Liberia is, that his mantle may fall upon his successor.

Dr. Richard Randall, of the city of Washington, appointed by the Board to succeed Mr. Ashmun, and also commissioned by the President, as United States'

agent, to take charge of recaptured Africans, sailed soon after in the United States' schooner *Shark*, to assume the station of resident Colonial Agent.*

We have thus attempted to sketch the history of the Colonization Society, and given a general idea of its objects and effects. These require only to be known to be approved; and however people may differ as to the practicability of the plan, all must join in admiring the principles on which it is founded. One thing seems very certain: that the evil of a coloured population is constantly increasing, and that if ever it is to be removed, or even checked in its progress, it must be by means of colonization. As to Africa itself, there is strong ground for the hope, that if the present colony be persevered in, the blessings of religion and civilization may be introduced there without the extermination of the natives, as in the case of the aborigines of this country. The cases are very different. The European settlers of this country were a race wholly different from the natives, in constitution and complexion, as well as in language and manners. They could never amalgamate; and every year has witnessed the diminution of the Indians before the progress of civilization.

* The name of Randall is added to the list of martyrs in the cause of African Colonization. After encountering successfully the fever of the climate, he exposed himself prematurely in the discharge of the duties of his office, and brought on a relapse, which terminated his valuable life on the 19th of April, 1829. His name, associated with that of Ashmun, will be embalmed in the affections of the young nation, over whose infant destinies he presided, and go down to distant posterity as the benefactor of a degraded race.

Not so in Africa. There the aborigines of the country are of the same race with the new settlers, who are, in fact, merely returning to the land of their fathers; their complexion the same, and their constitution immediately assimilating. The native tribes, (not wandering savages, but already settled in villages), naturally docile, will soon perceive the importance of the blessings offered to them, and easily adopt the habits and the manners, with the principles of civilized life.

The above extract brings down the history of Liberia to 1829. From some other publications I subjoin the following miscellaneous extracts, which will put the reader in possession of additional information respecting several things connected with the history of this interesting colony.

In one of the annual reports of a branch of the Colonization Society, we have the following distinct statement of the object of this institution: "It cannot be too often repeated, that the Society is instituted for the sole and entire purpose of demonstrating the practicability of removing with their own consent the entire free black population of the United States to Africa. The purpose of this institution is specific and definite. The most moderate portion of intelligence can easily understand it. We disavow and reprobate every coercive means; we discard all restraint; we ask no bounties; we solicit no compulsion, by which to produce emigration. Having in the bosom of the country a free black population,

computed now at 280,000, deprived of political privileges and many civil rights—constituting a distinct caste among our people; and from the very nature of our institutions, destined during their duration in all time to come, to occupy a condition which must tend to their civil, political, and moral degradation; the American Colonization Society was instituted to procure for them an asylum, to which they might voluntarily repair; and where they would be restored to all those rights, of which stern necessity required our laws to deprive them. Success in such a work carries with it a double blessing. Our own beloved country derived from the execution of the design her full share of the advantage. A race of men, whose distinctive characters must separate them from the rest of the population; whose morals must ever be of the humblest standard, and whose colour places an impassable barrier between them and the rest of the population of the land, are to be removed, and replaced by a free, hardy, virtuous, white population, standing equal in every right claimed by civilized man. The emigrant is to be restored to all those rights, which the free white men of this republic so highly value; he is to feel the elevation of his own condition; he is to occupy a country which he will proudly call his own, and where no other distinction will exist save that bestowed by intelligence, accompanied by virtuous character and industrious habits. Can any one look with calm indifference on such a result?

“ The magnitude of the undertaking, and the apparently feeble means by which it was to be effected,

deterred at first some of the most decided friends of colonization from openly aiding in the work. Time and experience have dispelled these delusions. From the first, great difficulties in the execution of this laudable purpose were anticipated. A new country was to be explored, distant three thousand miles from the people whose agents were destined to examine it—and to whose soil, climate, population, and resources, we were almost entire strangers. In this distant and unknown land, held by a semi-barbarous people, an infant and weak colony was to be founded, unaided and unprotected, but by the feeble assistance and prayers of an association of individuals removed thousands of miles from them. But this remote continent has been explored, its shores have been surveyed, its rivers penetrated; a healthy and rich tract of country has been selected, and it is freely ceded by the natives; a colony planted, whose numbers are now equal to at least 1200, (this was in the year 1828,) and whose condition is in every respect happy and prosperous. Governed and guided in its present and future course, by its own laws and officers; we have the highest proof of their capacity for self-government, and the excellent moral character of the colonists. All, yes, all this has been effected by an association of individuals, calmly and quietly, and (with a single exception, and that in self-defence,) without spilling a drop of blood, and on no occasion, by the invasion of the rights of any. Such are the objects of the Society, hastily and imperfectly sketched; such the means by which they

have endeavoured to attain them, and such the general outline of their success."

In the same publication we are informed, that "the soil and climate have been found well adapted to the production of Indian corn, millet, rice, cotton, sugar, and coffee, and of sustaining a population of many thousands.

"The commerce of the colony is considerable, and rapidly increasing, as well with the interior as with the United States and foreign countries. The exports are not less than 50,000 dollars per annum; and those engaged in commercial pursuits are enterprising, judicious, and successful in their adventures. Some of the colonists have acquired considerable fortunes by their care and industry.—Most of them are independent.—All can do well who devote their labour and skill steadily to any regular avocation; while common labourers receive on an average ninety cents per day, and tradesmen two dollars."

From another tract, entitled, *A Few Facts respecting the American Colonization Society*, published 1830, I subjoin the following extracts:—

"To the original territory additions have been made, as the growing wants of the colony, actual or anticipated, required. The country thus obtained embraces large tracts of fertile land, capable of yielding all the rich and varied products of the tropics; possessing great commercial advantages, with an extent of sea-coast from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles, and enjoying a climate well adapted to the negro constitution.

“The location of Monrovia is the most delightful that can be imagined.”*

“The trade of this place is now considerable, and is becoming greater every day, as its capital and number of vessels for carrying on the coasting trade increases. Besides six or eight smaller decked vessels, we now have, belonging to the colony, two large schooners, the one above thirty, the other above forty tons, employed in the coasting trade. I presume the whole amount of exports from this place during the year 1828 may be estimated at sixty or seventy thousand dollars. In addition to this, our colony has offered facilities to American merchants, trading on the coast, to three times that amount.”†

Regarding the religious state of the colony, and its religious influence, we have the following gratifying information:—“There is at this time a Baptist and a Methodist Society, each of which has a preacher. The Missionary Society of Basle, Switzerland, have five missionaries in the colony. The Society for Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, are preparing to establish a mission there—three individuals are expected to go out in the autumn of this year.

“The influence which the colony, if prospered, is destined to exert in spreading Christianity and civilization over that dark and degraded continent, must be obvious to every reflecting mind. The emigrants are perhaps founding an empire destined

* Dr. Randall's Letter, 1828.

† Ibid. December 1828.

to exert a mighty influence over the whole continent. Viewed in this light merely, the colony is worthy of the patronage of every benevolent and philanthropic mind. The blessings which it may be the channel of conveying to Africa are incalculable. Many tribes in the vicinity are earnestly desirous of receiving religious instruction. One of them numbers a population of 125,000, speaking one language."

The following extract will be read with interest, as it contains a letter from a negro who was employed in the ministry of the gospel. While the reader cannot fail to be gratified with the good sense with which he writes, we regret to add, that it will appear from a subsequent extract, this good man was soon after removed by death.

"Despatches of an encouraging character, have just arrived from the colony. We here offer to the public a letter from the Rev. George M. Erskine, a highly respectable coloured minister of the Presbyterian Church, from Tennessee,—and some extracts from a letter of Mr. Joseph Shiphard, a very intelligent man of colour, late a teacher in Richmond, Va. and an exemplary professor of religion :

March 9, 1830.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—We embarked on the 14th of January, 1830, and arrived at Monrovia, February 28, after a pleasant voyage of forty-two days. It was upon the whole, a pleasant voyage—the emigrants are in number fifty-eight. No sickness worth naming, except that of the sea, on the way, nor as yet. We are all yet together in a

house prepared for the reception of emigrants, where we expect to remain till we pass the fever, should we outlive it. There is a general satisfaction among the emigrants; they are pleased with their new country and present prospect; my own family have no desire to return. We were received by the agent and former emigrants with the strongest marks of friendship, and welcomed as citizens of Liberia. Our prospects of farms on which to live are inviting and flattering, being between Monrovia and Millsburg, on the bank of the St. Paul's. I presume the situation will be a healthy one, so soon as it becomes an open country—having a pleasant sea-breeze from two directions. My dear sir, I believe this colony is a plant planted by the great husbandman of the universe—to it He hath already proved a guardian—around it he hath erected his pavilion: and if the citizens only fear God, and work righteousness, and continue in union under a wholesome civil government and laws, from the flourishing state of the colony, there is reason to believe it will grow into a great empire. There is a large field for the labours of a gospel minister. If the Lord will, it will give me much pleasure, indeed, to labour in this part of his moral vineyard. But in this His will be done. My time in this country being short, it is but little I can say about it. This much I can say, my expectations in coming to it are already realised. Never did I feel so much like a freeman as I have since I came here. I would heartily recommend to every freeman of colour to leave the United States for Liberia—and any one that wishes to do well, particularly

those who have a little property. Was I at Virginia, and had five hundred dollars to lay out at Richmond, I could, in a short time, convert it into a fortune here.

The thing most to be deplored in this colony, is the want of a good school, and an enlightened teacher for poor children, whose parents cannot school them; for, in this tropical country, where there is an abundance of gold, ivory, camwood, coffee and sugar, indigo, and many other lucrative fruits, we could have an enlightened Christian community. There is nothing to hinder it from rising to a level in point of eminence, wealth, and power, among the most refined nations of the earth. There is no way in which those in America, who feel friendly to this infant colony, can confer so great a favour on it, as to establish a free school for the benefit of the poor children in it. This, I hope, you will influence them to do. There are many to whom I wish to write. Good morning my friend. Your servant,

GEORGE M. ERSKINE.

Monrovia, March 8, 1831.

MY DEAR PASTOR AND BROTHER IN CHRIST,—I have been absent, by order of the governor, since the arrival of the *Liberia*, till midnight last, on a survey of a country to be the emporium of the American empire in Africa. Your eye, sir, surely never saw a more inviting spot—hitherto occupied by the natives, and overlooked by our people: it is now deserted by them, for reasons I will write when time permits. While enjoying a short respite from great

labour, in the midst of that fine forest, my mind rolled back to America, and recalled scenes never to recur with me. How many thousands of my brethren now languish in poverty, distress, and thralldom, at home, who might, if they really loved, and would make a trifling sacrifice for liberty, be lords of this fertile land, and masters of this majestic stream. Our comforts, sir, and convenience, are daily multiplying and heightening, and I could dwell with pleasure on the beauty, fertility, and advantages of our country, particularly that part I have lately surveyed, until I should be disgusting to one who loved it less than you.

I am happy in the hope that we two shall have here a house to worship in. Pray, sir, join me, not you only, but I would fain desire all who love the cause of social and religious liberty, to unite with me in prayer for the preservation of Brother Erskine—our church and brethren here—and the general prosperity of this the only asylum of my oppressed brethren of the United States.

Say to Mr. Rennie, I disposed of the seed he gave me to many, having on my arrival but a small opportunity to cultivate a garden; some, however, I sowed, and nearly all came to maturity; and on a spot never before sown, though told by the old settlers it would produce nothing. I had the finest cabbage of different kinds ever seen in the colony; several were eighteen inches in diameter, and as sweet as the best I ever saw in the Richmond market; they gave me and many others great relief, for which I am now grateful.

From the first moment I resolved to come, I resolved to die here, and have never once regretted what I even now think was the direction of the Lord. With high esteem, yours in Christian bonds.

JOSEPH SHIPHARD."

Regarding the system of education in the colony, we have the following resolutions recommended by the Committee appointed to report on public schools at Liberia :—

" The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, anxious to extend to the colony at Liberia the blessings of useful knowledge, whereby all its inhabitants may eventually enjoy the means of developing their resources, of improving their moral and intellectual condition, and of thus presenting to Africa a model worthy of general imitation, consider the universal education of the children as among the most effectual instruments for securing this great object.

" That, to this end, schools fitted to the state of the colony shall be forthwith established under the direction and superintendence of the Colonial Agent, at Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburg, in which reading, writing, and arithmetic, shall be taught to all the children, and such other branches as circumstances may from time to time render expedient.

" That it be the duty of the Colonial Agent, whenever in his opinion, or that of respectable colonists, it shall be expedient to establish schools at other places, to communicate his views to this board, that proper order may be taken thereon.

" That as a strict economy and accountability will

constitute the surest, if not the only effectual means, of giving the greatest extension to a system of education, embracing the instruction of all, it will be proper to introduce, as far as practicable, the Lancasterian mode of instruction; to use female instructors for the younger children, and to commence the system with the lowest salaries that will command the services of competent teachers.

“ That it is advisable to erect a permanent school-house at each of the foregoing places, and that this board will aid the same by contributing one hundred dollars to each of said school-houses, on which there shall be expended at least three hundred dollars; or, if the houses cost less, in the same ratio.

“ That, notwithstanding these aids, as they will, in themselves, be insufficient, it be recommended to the Colonial Agent and council to require from the parents or guardians of the children educated such reasonable tuition as their respective circumstances may justify. That this duty be inculcated upon them as all-important to the success of the plan; the experience of the United States, of Scotland, and of other countries, in which the blessings of education have been the most widely diffused, having proved, that without such contributions, all taxes and public bounties, however large or magnificent, have been unavailing.”

In noticing the report of the Directors of the African Mission School Society, the editor of the African Repository thus writes,—“ Educated and pious men of colour must be sent to Africa, or that continent will long continue covered by ignorance and super-

stitution and crime. We are gratified to learn that something has been accomplished by this Society, but we cannot believe that it will rest satisfied without securing results of a far higher character. We hope that it will yet send forth hundreds of missionaries and teachers to bring the wretched Africans from their vices and idolatries to the knowledge and belief of Christian truth. Let us not imagine that Liberia will, in the course of a few years, furnish a supply of enlightened men to effect an intellectual and moral revolution in the condition of Africa. We may expect much from this colony, but ought not to expect so much, as to render us regardless of efforts to prepare, by suitable instructions, young men of colour in this country, to become reformers and guides among their degraded brethren of another continent. There is need of an institution to prepare coloured youths, by a good English education, and instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts, for usefulness in Liberia, and for influence among the adjacent tribes. The African Education Society has been formed for the purpose of founding and conducting a school of this character, and earnestly do we wish that it may receive the encouragement which it merits." The following extract is from the report of the directors:—"We owe this continent a heavy debt for the injuries which have been inflicted upon it by our forefathers; and how can we better repay it, than by sending them the gospel of peace and the blessings of civilization? The groans, and tears, and blood of millions of her children have been wrung from that unhappy land, by the rapacious

cruelty of the white man, and of the white man bearing the name of Christian, but disgracing its character as a religion, and violating its principles. Let those, therefore, who have been brought to a better state of mind, be earnest in the work of reparation—the only reparation which can now be made.

“ Our institution is established; its plans of operation have been tried; its first fruits are now ready to be presented before the altar of the Lord. It is with you to say, whether or not our exertions are suddenly to be broken off, just when success is smiling upon them. We trust and believe that you will send us the word and token of encouragement—that you will seek out for us pupils, and send us means to educate them—that you will feel with us the devout sentiment of gratitude—hitherto hath the Lord helped; and, encouraged by this evident mark of Divine approbation, that you will be animated yourselves, and thus stimulate and sustain our labours.”

It is gratifying to learn, that by a communication from Ipswich, in England, from one of that respectable body, the Society of Friends, (a class of our countrymen at all times ready to engage in every benevolent work,) dated 28th of 8th Month, 1830, the sum of £250 was sent to America as promised, to promote the objects of the African Colonization Society. The letter is as follows:

“ MY DEAR FRIEND—In the sixth month I apprized thee of having received £50 from the Female Anti-Slavery Society of London, for the *separate fund* of the American Colonization Society, for transporting to Liberia the slaves who had their freedom ten-

dered to them, upon the condition that the Society would provide them with a passage and needful provisions until they should be enabled to earn a livelihood for themselves; asking thee to draw a draft on me for that purpose. I have now the pleasure to state that I have further subscriptions announced, though not yet received, to the amount of £200; but as there can be no doubt that I shall have the money in hand before a draft can arrive, I will authorize thee to draw, as mentioned in my last, for this additional sum; with the clear understanding that it goes to the distinct fund for the release of slaves from bondage, conformably with a promise I have made in the printed circular which I propose to hand thee a copy of. I have a hope that a small sum more may be sent. This subscription must be received, not so much for its own intrinsic value, as a proof that we cordially approve and rightly estimate the services of our American brethren in this work of benevolence and mercy; hoping that, in evidencing our approval of their works by our acts, they may be encouraged to redouble their energies in a cause which seems to belong exclusively to our transatlantic Friends."

Under an article inserted in the *African Repository* of November 1830, and designated "latest from Liberia," we have the principal part of a letter from the Vice Agent, Mr. Anthony D. Williams,* in which he notices the death of Mr. Erskine as a great calamity to the colony. The editor remarks, that

* A Negro.

what is said in relation to the slave-trade near the close of this letter, is enough to arouse our whole nation, and kindle indignation in the soul of every man who is not a dishonour to his race. From this letter it appears that they have a periodical publication, entitled the *Herald of Liberia*, which shows, by the way, the very rapid advances they have made in civilization. "From the marine list (it is said) in the Nos. of the *Herald*, you will perceive that our port has been visited more frequently, during these rains, than common; and at one time we had five square-rigged vessels in the harbour—three English, one French, one American."

The passage relating to the slave-trade is as follows:—"I hope the Board will adopt some more effectual measures for suppressing the slave-trade within the territory of Liberia. Since the death of Don Miguel of Bassa, Peter Blanco, a Spanish slave-trader, for some years a resident at the Gallinas, has opened a slave factory at Grand Cape Mount. Such a thing ought not to be, as it is only 45 miles from here. I am sorry to remark that this abominable traffic is carried on with the utmost activity all along the coast. Captain Parker, during his trading at the Gallinas, of about three weeks, saw no less than 900 shipped.

"Where do they come from? Not from the vicinity of the sea-coast; but from the interior, after travelling hundreds of miles. Among the last recaptured, are some from the kingdom of Haoussa in Soudan, under the authority of Bello. We are in much need of late travels on this continent."

In October 1830, we are informed "that the Carolinian sailed from Norfolk with one hundred and seven coloured persons, forty-five of whom were emancipated slaves. The Colonian Agent, Dr. Mechlin, took passage in this vessel, together with Dr. Humphries, Colonian Physician, and Assistant Agent, and Mr. and Mrs. Skinner, Missionaries sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions."

The following extract will show the fine liberal spirit with which some individuals come forward to support this institution:—"Those liberated were generally well supplied with the articles most necessary for their comfort during the voyage, and their subsequent settlement; and some had been particularly prepared by instruction for usefulness in the colony. One of the females sent out by Miss Blackburn, had a pretty good library, infant school-boards, spelling-books, &c.; and it is believed, that on her arrival, she may open a small school to advantage. The husbands of two of the women emancipated by Miss Blackburn, were ransomed by her at an expense of eight hundred dollars, that they might accompany their wives to Liberia. In fulfilling her benevolent purposes towards her servants, Miss Blackburn was very generously assisted by her friends; and, unwilling to have the good deeds of others put to her credit, she has expressed a wish that the names of those, with the sums and donations of each, should be published in the Repository."

The following passage taken from the Liberia Herald, exhibits the feelings of interest which the

colonists cherish with regard to the redeeming influence of Sabbath School instruction.

“ We are happy to learn that a new Sabbath School Society, to which all our most promising young men have attached themselves, either as teachers or scholars, has been formed. We are much pleased at this, as we always are, at all efforts which tend to a more general dissemination of knowledge. R. Raikes has immortalized his name by being the founder of Sabbath Schools; and generations yet unborn will bless the day that gave him birth; for were our standard of judging great men a correct one, who would precede this champion of Sabbath institutions? Would the hero who had slain his thousands? would the miser who had robbed the widow and the fatherless? We pronounce the man who causes ten spears of grass to grow, where but one grew before, a useful man; but how much more is he to be revered, who causes light to flash upon intellects, which before were as dark as night—as void as space itself,—where ignorance sat enthroned surrounded by his peers.

“ We are glad to see so many of our young people interested in the success of the institution. With perseverance for their guide, they need not doubt but their labours will be blessed with success. How pleasing will be the recollections, when old age comes creeping on, to know that their younger days were spent in diffusing light and knowledge, and that they now look upon many who were the objects of their early solicitude!

“ In all labours for the public good, it becomes us

not to look behind, at what we have accomplished, but to keep straight forward, and to continue in the path of duty, until it shall please our Lord to call us hence. I would not give a fig for a man who labours for a few months and then becomes wearied ; give me the slow plodding individual, upon whom I can depend, who, though he may not see the fruits of his labours, *perseveres* because he believes it a point of duty. It may not be amiss to mention, that we have lately received several volumes of books well adapted for a Sabbath School Library, which we should be happy to deposit in a suitable place, as the beginning of a Union Sabbath School Library."

In an American newspaper of February 1831, an article appeared under the title of Liberia, which is as follows :—" By the return of the ship Carolinian, the brig Volador, and the schooner Zembuca, from Liberia, despatches have been received from the colony up to the 1st of February. The colonial agent writes, that on his return to Africa, he found affairs in the colony in a more prosperous condition than he had ventured to anticipate ; that more than twenty-five substantial stone or frame buildings had been erected at Monrovia during his absence, and that others were in progress ; that the spirit of improvement seems to have pervaded all classes ; the agriculture is receiving more attention, and that the settlers generally seem resolved to develop the resources of the country. Two of the colonists, Messrs. Francis Taylor and Frederick James, were about to depart on an exploring expedition into the interior, and

would, probably, be absent six or eight months. Another of the native chiefs had placed himself and his people under the protection of the colony, and two other chiefs were seeking the same benefit, and ready to submit to the laws of the colony. They deem it a great privilege to be allowed to call themselves Americans. Measures have been taken to establish schools in all the settlements, and the colonists appear ready and desirous of contributing to their support. Great harmony and peace appear to prevail among the settlers, and a determination to fulfil, by their industry, enterprise, and public spirit, the hopes and expectations of their friends in this country. The change of climate affected more severely than usual the emigrants by the Carolinian, (who had suffered by measles during their voyage,) and about twenty-one out of the one hundred and six who embarked, had died principally of the above mentioned disease; all the others were in a fair way of recovery. We are pained to be obliged to announce the deaths of the wife and child of the Rev. Benjamin Rush Skinner, the Baptist Missionary, who took passage in the Carolinian. The brig Volador arrived with Dr Todsen, and all passengers in safety. Dr. Todsen will reside for the present at Caldwell, to which place the emigrants by the Volador were immediately removed. The conduct of the captains of the Carolinian and Volador is spoken of in high terms, and the attention of the officers of the colony to their important duties have been unremitted."

Such is the information I have been able to col-

lect from various American publications respecting Liberia.

It is seldom we meet in any community with such a happy combination of piety and sound sense as these extracts exhibit, both on the part of the American friends of the institution, and of the colonists themselves. And when, along with this, we consider the signal preservation of this colony in its infancy, when exposed to a danger that threatened its immediate extinction ; when to this we add its rapid progress to a state in which it may be considered perfectly safe from any attack by the neighbouring tribes ; nay, when we farther take into view the strong desire of some of these to seek protection under its wings, and to be instructed in the arts of civilized life:—we cannot but entertain the hope, that this institution is destined, by an overruling Providence, to exert a most powerful and salutary influence on the future history of Africa, by diffusing blessings of inestimable value among the hitherto degraded inhabitants of that Continent.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE first edition of this volume, containing the preceding history of Liberia, was first published in 1831, bringing down the account of the settlement till February 1, of that year. The information contained in the following Appendix is selected from materials lately furnished me by ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. and chiefly relates to various particulars in the history of the colony posterior to the above date.

Mr. Cresson is a member of the Society of the Friends. Being extremely interested in the prosperity of Liberia, he is at present on a visit to this country, entirely at his own expense, with the view of making its claims, as a benevolent institution, generally known. After having visited various other places, he came to Edinburgh; and, on the 8th of January, 1833, a public meeting was held in St. Andrew's Church, at which Lord Moncrieff was called to the chair. He opened the meeting with a very interesting and excellent address, describing generally the character of the colony of Liberia, and particularly adverting to the probability of its being extensively instrumental in checking, or even ultimately destroying, the slave trade. After Mr. Cresson had stated a variety of particulars regarding the history, and present state,

and prospects of the Institution, he was followed by the Lord Advocate, and several other gentlemen, who, though of different political opinions, cordially united in recommending Liberia to public patronage. Mr. Cresson has lately suggested, that, if the Ladies of Edinburgh, (many of whom have taken a warm interest in this infant colony,) could raise £800, it would enable the Society to place a 100 able-bodied men at the mouth of the Gallinas, one of the rivers between Liberia and Sierra Leone; that these could destroy the slave trade in that quarter, by effectually preventing the slave vessels from entering the river; while at present they carry away thousands of these miserable captives every year. This establishment he proposes to call Edina, in honour of the city from which it emanated. Several liberal subscriptions have already been received.

As a proof how much human misery might be prevented, if the slave trade were destroyed at the Gallinas, Captain Parker, (as formerly noticed,) mentions, that, while trading to that river, he, in the course of three weeks, saw no less than 900 slaves shipped.

The articles of information in this Appendix being of a very miscellaneous nature I shall introduce them under the different heads to which they refer.

I.

Under the title, *Latest from Liberia*, the following account is given in a letter to the Society, of the state of the colony, down to May 1, 1832, by the Colonial Agent.

Liberia, May 1st, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,—In reviewing the events of the past year, we have every reason to be grateful for the many signal and providential favours which our colony has experienced. No period since its first establishment, presents us with more abundant proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity ; and at no period have we had more cause to offer up our sincere and grateful acknowledgments to that Divine Being, whose goodness has been so bounteously extended to this rising community.

Health—that greatest of blessings, has never been more universally enjoyed. The disease of the climate, so much dreaded by strangers, and to the ravages of which, so many have fallen victims, has by the unremitted and undivided attention of the colonial physicians, been in a great measure deprived of its terrors, and made to yield to the well-directed efforts of professional skill. The average number of deaths that have occurred among the emigrants who have arrived since the 1st of January, 1831, will not exceed four per cent. ; a result not only gratifying, but unprecedented in the annals of the colony, and which cannot but reflect the highest credit on the professional attainments of those entrusted with their medical superintendence.

Our agriculture, the vigorous and successful prosecution of which is of such vital importance, and on which the prosperity of this colony must ultimately depend, has received a new impulse, and is no longer considered of secondary importance ; the people seem now to be duly sensible of the necessity of devoting

their energies to the advancement of this branch of industry, and our settlements every where present the cheering evidence of laudable enterprise and durable improvement. Most of the emigrants who arrived in the few last expeditions, have already the promise of their labours being rewarded by abundant crops.—You will also be gratified to learn, that several of our most respectable citizens have turned their attention to the cultivation of coffee, a plant indigenous to the country, and which is every where to be met with near the sea coast, growing in the richest luxuriance. The Rev. C. M. Waring expects to have a plantation of 20,000 trees shortly completed; and there is every reason to believe, that the influence of so laudable an example will be widely diffused. Cotton and indigo are also the spontaneous productions of our soil, and will, when the efforts of those possessed of a little capital shall have been directed to their cultivation, prove valuable articles for exportation, and yield to the agriculturist the highest reward for his labours. But unless our people entertain more enlarged and liberal views, I fear they will not, at least for some time, avail themselves of these advantages. At present, few of those possessed of capital are willing to embark in any enterprise from which they do not expect to reap great and immediate profits; nor can they be made to understand that by thus investing a portion of their funds, (now wholly devoted to the purposes of trade,) they cannot fail of being amply recompensed, and eventually open to themselves great and never failing sources of gain. I have,

however, great hopes the experiments now making will convince the people that they have within themselves the means of acquiring wealth, and will induce them, by a judicious employment of their time and money, more fully to develop the resources of the country, and render themselves independent of foreign aid. Articles, important in a commercial point of view, are produced in abundance, at no great distance from the settlement; but for want of sufficient enterprise and capital to facilitate their transportation to the sea coast, they must, at least for some time, remain without our being able to avail ourselves of the advantages afforded by their proximity.

The commerce of the colony has also partaken of the general improvement, and surpassed that of the preceding year. Within this period, 59 vessels have visited our port for the purposes of traffic; of these, 32 were American, 25 English, and 2 French. Our exports amounted to 125,549 dollars 16 cents. and the amount of produce and merchandise on hand, on the 1st of January, 1832, was 47,400 dollars. The articles of export consisted chiefly of camwood, ivory, palm-oil, tortoise-shell, and some gold, procured of the natives from the interior, and at various places along the coast.—The trade with the interior, has also been proportionally increased, and our town is now becoming a place of resort for natives from the Condo country, and countries beyond, bordering on Fouta Jallou. The Mandingoes also visit us in considerable numbers, and are the means of making us known to the nations of the interior.

By the provisions of a treaty lately concluded with the kings and chiefs of the Dey tribe, still greater facilities will be afforded to this branch of commerce, it being expressly stipulated in that treaty, that the natives of the interior, resorting to the colony for the purposes of trade, should be allowed a free passage through their territory. From this privilege they were, in a great measure, heretofore debarred, as the natives of the Dey country, with a view wholly to monopolise the trade, either refused them a passage through their country, or charged them such enormous duties that few could venture to visit us.

It is a source of great gratification to be enabled to state, that the condition of our public schools is highly promising; the report for the third and fourth quarters of the past year will afford satisfactory evidence of the efficiency of our present school regulations; and there only remains towards their completion, that some provision should be made for the education of our recaptured Africans. These have been urgent in their request for the establishment of a free school at their settlement, and a want of funds has alone prevented me from acceding to their demand. Such an institution, would, I am convinced, be productive of the most beneficial results; the manners and habits of those, at present in a semi-barbarous state, would be more assimilated to our own; sources of jealousy and prejudice would be removed, and the civilization of the neighbouring tribes, connected as they are by similarity of lan-

guage and habits with many of these people, would be rendered of comparatively easy attainment. I would therefore, beg leave to invite your early attention to this subject, and trust you will be enabled to obtain funds sufficient to accomplish so desirable an object.

Our relations, with the surrounding native tribes, have, with one exception, continued to be of the most amicable kind. The great and increasing intercourse between the colony and the different nations bordering on our territory, the earnest desire manifested on our part, to render such intercourse mutually beneficial, by preserving a uniform course of justice towards them, and aiding in all the improvements calculated to exalt their condition, and impart to them the blessings of civilization, has done much towards the removal of all unfriendly prejudice, and bound them more closely to us by ties of interest, and will, doubtless, by preventing the recurrence of causes of irritation, ensure their perfect and permanent tranquillity.

In the latter part of January last, availing myself of a season of comparative leisure, I visited Grand Bassa, convened the chiefs, and made such arrangements with them as will secure to us the peaceable possession of a considerable portion of that fertile district. Negotiations were also entered into with the kings at Grand Cape Mount, resulting in the cession to us of a part of that country, the possession of which has been deemed by my predecessors in office, of such vital importance.

The advantages to be derived from the settle-

meet of these two points, have been stated in a former communication, and need not be repeated, but I will merely remark, that, in point of salubrity, commercial and agricultural advantages, they are not surpassed by any on the whole western coast, being of easy access from the sea, abounding in articles of trade and subsistence, and possessing a soil, the fertility of which promises the richest rewards to the labour of the husbandman. We have every reason to congratulate ourselves on so valuable an acquisition to our territorial limits.

In the management of the fiscal concerns of the agency, the most rigid economy, consistent with the welfare of the colony, has been observed; yet, owing to the unusual number of emigrants who have arrived, the necessity of providing for their comfortable accommodation; the expenses consequent on the negotiations with the Windward and Leeward tribes, as well as those incident to the completion of such preliminary measures as were necessary to our occupying our newly acquired territory; the expenditures of the past will exceed those of any preceding year; nor can we indulge any reasonable hope that they will, in future, undergo any diminution; on the contrary, the great influx of emigrants, which the late energetic measures of the States of Virginia and Maryland will, in all probability, occasion, the expense necessarily incident to our keeping up separate establishments at Cape Mount and Grand Bassa, as well as the expenses consequent upon the enlargement of our territorial limits, and increase of population, will swell the disbursements of the

present, and proportionally increase those of each succeeding year.

The negotiations with the Windward and Leeward tribes for the enlargement of our territory, the late war with the Dey people, and the increasing current business of the agency, occasioned by the large accessions of emigrants we have received within these few months past, have so multiplied my duties, that I could not, possibly, without neglecting business of pressing importance, make the surveys of the neighbouring country, or institute the inquiries and examinations necessary to enable me to comply with the wishes of the Board, as expressed in the resolution of the 14th March, 1831. During my journey to Grand Bassa, I managed to ascertain the course and size of the principal branches of the Junk and St. John's rivers, and at the same time noted the quality of the soil, elevation, &c. of the different sections of country through which I travelled, and trust, at some future period, to be able to furnish you with a map of the colony more accurate than the one you now possess, and likewise give such information respecting its topography as will be useful and interesting. I have the honour to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. MECHLIN, JR.

To the Board of Managers of the A. C. S.

In another communication, dated July 13, Mr. Mechlin again thus writes :—

Our relations with the surrounding native tribes, are at present on the most friendly footing; the late

differences with the Dey people, have been satisfactorily adjusted, nor do we apprehend any further disturbance from that quarter; they have scrupulously fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty lately concluded, and have given us every assurance of their disposition to live on the most friendly terms with the colony.

A few weeks after our return from our excursion into the Dey country, I received a message from king Boatswain, who desired I would remove, or modify in his favour, certain temporary restrictions we found it expedient to impose, respecting our intercourse with the natives inhabiting the country north of the St. Paul's river—at the same time assuring me there should be no necessity in future for putting ourselves to any inconvenience or trouble to chastise the Dey or Gurrah people, and requesting should they ever commit any aggressions on the colony that I would inform him of the fact, when such measures should be taken as would ensure perfect tranquillity—he, moreover, stated that he regretted we had not, in the late instance, acquainted him with the affair, as he would have rendered it unnecessary for us to have marched against them.

Within these few days I paid a visit of inspection of the settlements of recaptured Africans, and was much gratified with the result of my examination. The immediate cause of my visiting them at this inclement season, was their urgent request that I should be present at, and superintend, their election for a chief or head man. Both the Eboes and Congoes had several times attempted to choose a chief, but

always without success. The principal difficulty arose from those in the minority refusing to acknowledge as their superior, the person chosen by the majority ; nor could they be made to understand that unanimity was not only not to be expected, but unnecessary to constitute a valid election ; however, they finally resolved to refer the matter to my decision. I had the election held in my presence, and as soon as it was concluded, made some remarks on the necessity and propriety of submitting to the will of the majority, and explained, in the most simple language, the nature and object of an election, citing our own customs as an example. They appeared to be perfectly satisfied, and I have no doubt that every thing will go on smoothly.

II.

From a valuable article that appeared in the *Amulet* for 1832, said to have been written by a distinguished British officer, who passed three years on the African coast, I select the following extracts. In addition to the testimony in favour of Liberia, from one who was no way connected with the colony, they contain some interesting information respecting the slave trade in general.

As the following pages contain a good deal of information respecting the present state of the slave trade on the African coast, it may not be improper to introduce this article with the following account of the origin of this trade, which will probably be new to many readers :—

Henry, king of Portugal, under authority from three Roman pontiffs, as early as the year 1454, took possession of several islands and havens on the coast of Africa, and took thence many slaves, some by force, and some by barter. The Portuguese first imported slaves into Hispaniola in 1508; and into their Brazilian Colonies in 1517. For more than three centuries some of the Christian Powers of Europe have been engaged in this traffic: and, for more than a century and a half it was prosecuted by all Christendom with extraordinary zeal and energy. The French Guinea Company contracted, in 1702, to supply the Spanish West Indies with 38,000 negroes in ten years. In 1713 there was a treaty between England and Spain for the importation of 144,000 negroes in thirty years. Some have estimated the whole number of slaves exported from Africa, since the origin of this trade, at nearly 20,000,000.

The above mentioned article runs thus:—On the subject of Sierra Leone, and the causes of its failure, so much has been said, that it would be superfluous to repeat them here. Public expectation has not, certainly, been answered; but that these experiments are not of a fanciful or impracticable nature is completely proved by the success which has attended the colony which came next in succession on this coast. This is a bold promontory, called originally Monte Serrado, but corrupted, as all names are, by negro pronunciation, into Mesurado. The American Colonization Society located here a number of free people of colour, the offspring of African

slaves born in America and liberated. They were sent from the United States, and the settlement was called by the appropriate name of *Liberia*. There are but few white people among them, and none who possess any land. When the colony was first established, the land was procured from the native chiefs by purchase and treaty; but some misunderstanding arose, the real objects of the colonists were not understood, and several sanguinary conflicts ensued with the natives, which had nearly destroyed the establishment in its infancy. But under the prudent management of Mr. Ashmun, the agent for the Society, these differences were reconciled, and amity and good-will established between the natives and the strangers.

The settlement consists of two establishments. The first is Monrovia, on Cape Mesurado, and the other Caldwell, seven miles up the river St. Paul. The whole population amounts to about three hundred families, comprising more than 1500 persons, who have each farms allotted to them, some in the lower and some on the upper settlement. A regular and most improved system of husbandry is insisted on. Every man is not allowed to burn down and cultivate any portion of the land he pleases, as is permitted in our colonies, which, being abandoned the next year, and suffered to run into brush, is known to contribute greatly to taint the air, in an extraordinary degree, which cultivation had rendered salubrious. Their prescribed system of agriculture is regulated by those plans which local experience has found to be most judicious, wholesome, and pro-

ductive; and no man is allowed to deviate from it, in this way, their maintenance and independence, and, to a certain extent, their health is provided for and secured. The males are formed into a regular militia, which, being well trained and served, renders the colony respectable in the eyes of its neighbours, and secures them from any act of aggression; and this force has been efficiently called out more than once to punish depredations and robberies committed by natives on individual colonists while in pursuit of their commercial speculations, either coastwise or in the interior, and always with the best results. This mode of well-regulated self-defence, not only gives them courage and confidence in themselves, but it exempts them from the degrading and demoralising effects of a regular soldiery sent from the parent country, which, being generally of the worst and most desperate description of men, set examples of the most dissolute and profligate lives, as our colonies in Africa know by melancholy experience. This imposing domestic force gives perfect security to these people in their dealings with the natives; and a very profitable and advantageous trade is carried on for gold, camwood, and ivory, with the Gallinas and Cape Mount, to the north of their settlement, and as far coastwise as Trade Town, to the east of it.

Nothing has tended more to suppress the slave-trade in this quarter than the constant intercourse and communication of the natives with these industrious colonists. The American agent, Mr. Ashmun, took every opportunity and means in his power to extinguish a traffic so injurious in every way to the

fair trader; and at Cape Mesurado good and correct information was always to be obtained of any slave-vessels on the coast within the communication or influence of the colony. This active, respectable, and intelligent man, is since dead, but his spirit still actuates all his people. They have several large boats and small decked vessels belonging to their community, and others in progress of building. These are actively employed in trading along the coast, and in keeping up the intercourse with Caldwell and the interior.

The river St. Paul does not run directly inland, but takes a course coastwise to the north; it does not therefore penetrate far into the country. The commercial enterprise, however, of the people has been excited by the favourable accounts which had reached them of the interior, and induced several to push their speculations as far as 150 miles, without the aid of internal navigation, to a large and populous town, the residence of a native king of considerable influence, with whom a lucrative commerce is now opened, and actively carried on, for gold and ivory; and the supply of the former, through this channel, has greatly exceeded expectation.

The character of the 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. They had the inestimable advantage of being originally brought up in the frugal and pains-taking habits of the people of the country from whence they were sent, and received,

when young, the moral, religious, and literary instruction of white people in their class of life.— These they have brought with them, and they practise them with more effect, as they have no bad examples to mislead them. Those who have visited them speak highly of their appearance, and mode of living. They are a comely and well-formed race of negroes, neat and clean in their persons, modest and civil in their manners, and regular and comfortable in their dwellings. Their houses are well built, ornamented with gardens and other pleasing decorations, and on the inside are remarkably clean—the walls well white-washed; and the rooms neatly furnished. They are very hospitable to strangers, and many English naval officers on the station have been invited to dine with them, and joined in their meals, which were wholesome and good. The man of the house regularly said grace, both before and after meat, with much solemnity, in which he was joined by the rest of his family with great seeming sincerity. They all speak good English, as their native language, and without any defect of pronunciation. They are well supplied with books, particularly bibles and liturgies. They have pastors of their own colour, and meeting-houses in which divine service is well and regularly performed every Sunday; and they have four schools at Mesurado, and three at Caldwell. By one ship alone they received 500 volumes, presented by Dartmouth College, and several boxes and packets of school-books, sent by friends at Boston.

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 improvements of social life as any other race of human beings; and that the amelioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical. Wherever the influence of this colony extends, the slave-trade has been abandoned by the natives, and the peaceful pursuits of legitimate commerce established in its place. They not only live on terms of harmony and good-will together, but the colonists are looked upon with a certain degree of respect by those of their own colour, and the force of their example is likely to have a strong effect in inducing the people about them to adopt it. A few colonies of this kind, scattered along the coast, would be of infinite value in improving the natives. They would much sooner acquire their confidence and esteem, as not exciting that jealousy which foreigners always cause; and the very example of their own race, thus raised in the moral and social scale, would be the strongest motive to induce others to adopt and practise those qualities by which they were rendered so much more comfortable and happy. Should no unfortunate event retard the progress of those colonists, and no baneful vices be introduced among them, there is every reason to hope they will diffuse cultivation and improvement in Africa to a considerable extent, as they have already done, on a limited scale, as far as their influence has reached.

The next promontory which occurs is Cape Palmas, on which reside an interesting race. They are

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called Kroomen, a fine athletic people, who never suffer themselves to be made slaves. They are found on other parts of the coast, and recognized by a mark down their foreheads. Like the Swiss and Savoyards, they frequently emigrate from home to look for employment, and are often engaged by Europeans, particularly English, to navigate ships and boats.—When they obtain a competency, they bring it home, and remain on the Cape with their families.

On the sweep of the coast included between Cape Palmas and Cape Formoso, usually termed the Right of Benin, are several European settlements, called Cape Coast Castle, Accara, or Acra, and Elmina. The first contained a British garrison; but since the Ashantee war, it has been abandoned by government, and the sum of £4000 allowed to the British residents to support the station and defend themselves. In the neighbourhood is a village of free blacks. A number of prisoners taken from the Ashantees were located here, and had land assigned and houses built for them by the British. They have been instructed in some of the arts of civilized life, and cultivate the soil with sufficient success to support themselves. They amount to about two hundred persons, and seem so happy and contented with their lot, that they show no wish to abandon their assigned residence, or to return to their native place. The contiguous settlement of Accara belong to the British, Dutch, and Danes, and are called after the respective people to whom they appertain. Each of these nations is suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade. As long as Cape Coast Castle was held

by our government, it was a powerful restraint ; but since it has been given up, advantage, it is said, has been taken of the circumstance, and captured slaves are frequently disposed of here under the denomination of domestics.

Farther on is Quitta, a Danish settlement, which maintains here a military force. It was formerly a place of much more importance, as appears by the remains of buildings ; but the whole military now consists of a sergeant and a small guard, who seem set here rather to protect than to prevent the traffic in slaves. Portuguese vessels resort here, on the pretext of purchasing crowrig shells, a species of cypeda, used on the coast as money, of which forty are equal to a penny ; but their real business is to purchase slaves. There is a slave-factory three hours, or nine miles, from this place, Awhey, and another about the same distance at Wody. Slaves are here collected and sent off by water ; for the natives in the vicinity will not suffer them to proceed by land, but assemble together when a coffle approaches, and seize and liberate all their countrymen. The regulated price of a slave at this place is a criterion, by which the value set on a fellow-creature in other parts of Africa may be estimated. An "ounce" is equal to fifteen dollars of hard money, but is exchanged in barter for an equal value of commodity ; twenty-four yards of cloth, one roll of tobacco, four gallons of spirits, or sixteen common square handkerchiefs ; the value in this way is :—

For a man, 9 ounces, or 216 yards of cloth, or 9

rolls of tobacco, or 36 gallons of spirits, or 139 handkerchiefs.

For a woman, 8 ounces, or 199 yards, or 8 rolls, or 32 gallons, or 128 handkerchiefs.

For a child, 6 ounces, or 144 yards, or 6 rolls, or 24 gallons, or 96 handkerchiefs.

Most of the slaves procured at the factories near Quitta are transmitted to Whyda, a place originally called Ajuda by the Portuguese, from the quantity of slaves it supplies, and which are now the only commodity bought and sold here, and the coast is frequented by numerous fleets of Portuguese and Spanish vessels to carry them away. The principal slave-factor here is De Louza, a native of Lisbon, exiled to this place for crime committed at home. He resides at Whyda, and has acquired great influence over the natives. He has extensive factories for collecting slaves, like other goods, ready for shipment: The cargoes of ships are deposited with him; and whatever number they want are ready to embark in one night, and sail when it is light in the morning. The number of slaves sold by this single man or his agents, is estimated at 6000 every year! Two slavers leave the coast every month, having on board each, on an average, 250 persons. This number would be greater, were not a providential impediment thrown in the way of embarking them. There is a heavy surf on the coast, and it seldom can be effected at the time of spring-tides. This affords to our cruisers opportunities to watch the coast, and they are always on the alert at particular times

of the moon, and frequently catch the cargoes in the act of embarking.

Passing Cape Formoso, the Bight of Biafra commences, into which several great rivers discharge themselves, long infamous for the traffic in slaves. The principal of these rivers are the Bonny and Old Calabar. * No other trade is carried on here except for human flesh. They take in exchange the usual cargo of spirits, tobacco, cloth, and gunpowder. This latter article is in particular request here, where they use it as a means of seizing slaves from their less powerful neighbours; and thus this trade is the excitement to war and slavery, and the means of carrying them on. The sovereignty of the coast is divided between two barbarians; one called "King Pepel," residing on the river Bonny, and the other "Duke Ephraim," on the Old Calabar. The contest for making slaves, and the opportunity of disposing of them, has excited a deadly enmity between these native ruffians, which the English cruisers avail themselves of. Whenever one of them proposes a cargo, the other immediately sends information of it to any ship of war on the coast, detailing the particulars of the cargo, and the state of forwardness for sailing; by which means many have been seized, and the envious and malignant passions of these savages made subservient to the cause of humanity. On one occasion of information of this kind, sent by King Pepel to the British, by which his rival lost his cargo, he was so exasperated that

* This paper was written previous to the discovery of the course of the Niger by Messrs. Lander.

he prepared an expedition to attack him, and take vengeance for the injury and insult. He got a coffin made for Pepel, which he intended to bear before him as an ensign, and sent a messenger to apprise him of it. "Tell Pepel," said he, "that I am coming, and bringing his coffin." "Tell Ephraim," said the other, in reply, "to bring the coffin, and I will put himself in it."

The legal traffic which these men carry on, is principally with Liverpool ships. These supply the powder, each bringing two hundred barrels, having an especial order in council for the purpose. A short time ago, King Pepel prepared a grand expedition to seize slaves, in order to supply an extensive order which he had received. His war canoes were large and well appointed, and all mounted with brass cannon, which, as well as the powder, were fabricated in England. The use thus made of English manufacture is afflicting to humanity. By us the native kings spread desolation through the country, and extend and perpetuate the very thing we are so anxious to suppress; we wish to put down the slave-trade, and we supply the most effectual means of carrying it on. From the superiority we confer on them, each of them fills a ship every month with captives dragged from their homes, and every ship contains a cargo of from three to four hundred slaves, so that we are indirectly the instruments of sending off twenty-four slavers from these two rivers every year, containing 8000 natives for the markets of Cuba and Brazil.

III.

An account of the feelings of the free people of colour in reference to Liberia, as furnished from various sources.

It having been frequently alleged, that it was in some cases, not altogether with their own consent that the colonists emigrated to the coast of Africa, the following documents will tend effectually to counteract this impression. I have already introduced a letter from the Rev. G. M. Erskine, a negro minister, and also some extracts from one written by Mr. Joseph Shiphard, another person of colour. See p. 124—128. I shall here insert some other testimonies relating to the same subject. The first is an

Address of the Colonists to the Free People of Colour in the United States.

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Monrovia, held in the Court-house, on the 27th day of August, 1827, for the purpose of considering the expediency of uniting in an address to the coloured people in the United States, John H. Folks, Esq. in the chair, it was

Resolved, That a committee of five persons be appointed to frame a circular address, to be published in the United States, for the better information of the people of colour in that country, respecting the state of this colony, and the condition of the settlers; and

That Captains James C. Barbour and F. Davaney, W. L. Weaver, Esq. and the Rev. C. M. Waring, and George M'Gill, be the committee to prepare and

report the said address, on Tuesday, the 4th day of September next.

Tuesday, September 4th, 1827.

The fore-named committee reported the following address, which was adopted, and ordered to be transmitted to the United States, and there published for the information of the coloured people of that country :

Circular.

As much speculation and uncertainty continues to prevail among the people of colour in the United States, respecting our situation and prospects in Africa ; and many misrepresentations have been put in circulation there, of a nature slanderous to *us*, and, in their effects, injurious to *them* ; we felt it our duty, by a true statement of our circumstances, to endeavour to correct them.

The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object which we still regard with the deepest concern, is liberty—liberty, in the sober, simple, but, complete, sense of the word ; not a licentious liberty, not a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws—but that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguishes the free enfranchised citizens of a free state. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country ; and, from causes which, as respects ourselves, we shall soon forget for ever, we were certain it was not there attainable for ourselves or our children. This, then, being the first object of our pursuit in coming to Africa, is pro-

bably the first object on which you will ask for information. And we must truly declare to you, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized. Our constitution secures to us, 'so far as our condition allows, "all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States;" and these rights and privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and, what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own; they grow out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary, chosen from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens ourselves. We have all that is meant by *liberty of conscience*. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed to us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce, and soil, and resources of the country at our disposal; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority with which our very colour stamped us in America; there is nothing here to create a feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron

fetters, that repays us, ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons for the happy change which has taken place in our situation. We are not so self-complacent as to rest satisfied with our improvement, either as regards our minds or our circumstances. We do not expect to remain stationary. Far from it. But we certainly feel ourselves, for the first time, in a state to improve either to any purpose. The burthen is gone from our shoulders; we now breathe and move freely; and know not (in surveying your present state) for which to pity you most,—the empty name of liberty, which you endeavour to content yourselves with, in a country that is not yours, or the delusion which makes you hope for ampler privileges in that country hereafter. Tell us which is the white man, who, with a prudent regard for his own character, can associate with one of you on terms of equality? Ask us, which is the white man who would decline such an association with one of our number, whose intellectual and moral qualities are not an objection? To both these questions we unhesitatingly make the same answer:—There is no such white man.

We solicit none of you to emigrate to this country; for we know not who among you prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of his fellow-men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty which you already possess, and your children will inherit after you in America. But if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher,—if your minds are not as servile as your present condition, we can

decide the question at once ; and with confidence say, that you will bless the day, and your children after you, when you determined to become citizens of Liberia.

But we do not hold this language on the blessings of liberty, for the purpose of consoling ourselves for the sacrifice of health, or the suffering of want, in consequence of our removal to Africa. We enjoy health after a few months' residence in the country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has for the last two years been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points there are, and have been, much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentations in the United States.

We have nearly all suffered from sickness, and, of the earliest emigrants, a large proportion fell in the arduous attempt to lay the foundation of the colony. But are they the only persons whose lives have been lost in the cause of human liberty, or sacrificed to the welfare of their fellow-men? Several out of every ship's company have, within the last four years, been carried off by sickness, caused by the change of climate. And death occasionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to the time of his residence in this country. But we never hoped, by leaving America, to escape the common lot of mortals,—the necessity of death, to which the just appointment of Heaven consigns us.

But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness as yourselves.

The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one,—too great not to affect the health, more or less; and in the case of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and, for the last two or three years, not one person in forty, from the Middle and Southern States, has died from the change of climate. The disastrous fate of the company of settlers who came out from Boston in the brig *Vine*, eighteen months ago, is an exception to the common lot of emigrants, and the cause of it ought to be explained. Those people left a cold region in the coldest part of winter, and arrived here in the hottest season of our year. Many of them

were too old to have survived long in any country. They most imprudently neglected the prescriptions of our very successful physician, the Rev. Lot Carey, who has great experience and great skill in the fevers of the country, and depended on medicines brought with them, which could not fail to prove injurious. And in consequence of all these unfortunate circumstances, their sufferings were severe, and many died. But we are not apprehensive that a similar calamity will befall any future emigrants, except under similar disadvantages.

People now arriving, have comfortable houses to receive them; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency which alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony.

But you may say, that even health and freedom, as good as they are, are still dearly paid for, when they cost you the common comforts of life, and expose your wives and children to famine, and all the evils of want and poverty. We do not dispute the soundness of this conclusion either, but we utterly deny that it has any application to the people of Liberia.

Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country; they are the observations of such ignorant or designing men as would injure both it and you. A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is

cultivated, there is not we believe, on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure which never fades; the productions of nature keep on their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar-cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests, and may be cultivated at pleasure, to any extent by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, indian-corn, guinea-corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Add to all this, we have no dreary winter here, for one-half of the year to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renewing herself, and constantly pouring her treasures, all the year round, into the laps of the industrious. We could say on this subject more; but we are afraid of exciting, too highly, the hopes of the imprudent. It is only the industrious and virtuous that we can point to independence, and plenty, and happiness, in this country. Such people are nearly sure to attain, in a very few years, to a style of comfortable living which they may in vain hope for in the United States; and however short we come of this character ourselves, it is only a due acknowledgment of the bounty of Divine Providence to say, that we gener-

ally enjoy the good things of this life to our entire satisfaction.

Our trade is chiefly confined to the coast, to the interior parts of the continent, and to foreign vessels. It is already valuable, and fast increasing. It is carried on in the productions of the country, consisting of rice, palm-oil, ivory, tortoise-shell, dye-woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee; and it brings us in return, the products and manufactures of the four quarters of the world. Seldom, indeed, is our harbour clear of European and American shipping; and the bustle and thronging of our streets, show something already, of the activity of the smaller sea-ports of the United States.

Mechanics, of nearly every trade, are carrying on their various occupations; their wages are high, and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.

Not a child or youth in the colony but is provided with an appropriate school. We have a numerous public library, and a court-house, meeting-houses, school-houses, and fortifications sufficient, or nearly so, for the colony in its present state.

Our houses are constructed of the same materials, and finished in the same style as in the towns of America. We have abundance of good building stone, shells for lime, and clay of an excellent quality for bricks. Timber is plentiful of various kinds, and fit for all the different purposes of building and fencing.

Truly we have a goodly heritage; and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the

people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country ; it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving, to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and He knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted, by his Providence, to this shore.—Such great favours, in so short a time, and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but His special blessing.—This we acknowledge. We only want the gratitude which such signal favours call for. Nor are we willing to close this paper, without adding a heartfelt testimonial of the deep obligations we owe to our American patrons and best earthly benefactors, whose wisdom pointed to us this home of our nation, and whose active and persevering benevolence enabled us to reach it. *Judge, then, of the feelings with which we hear the motives and doings of the Colonization Society traduced—and that, too, by men too ignorant to know what that Society has accomplished ; too weak to look through its plans and intentions ; or too dishonest to acknowledge either.* But without pretending to any prophetic sagacity, we can certainly predict to that Society, the ultimate triumph of their hopes and labours ; and disappointment and defeat to all who oppose them. Men may theorise and speculate about their plans in America, but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing

settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of Christian instruction, and scenes of Christian worship, which are heard and seen in this land of brooding pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen united in founding a new Christian empire, happy themselves, and the instruments of happiness to others—every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration, of the wisdom and goodness of the plan of colonization.

Where is the argument that shall refute facts like these? And where is the man hardy enough to deny them?

I next insert a letter on the same subject by Mr. Abels:—

Washington, February 10, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—Having just arrived in the United States from the Colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the schooner *Margaret Mercer*, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the colony. On the 14th of December, I arrived, and on the 15th, went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the Governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the colonists appeared to be in good health; all my expectations in regard to the aspect of things—the health, harmony, order, contentment,

industry, and general prosperity of the settlers were more than realized. There are about 200 buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Messurado, not far from a mile and a quarter; most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first storey of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venetian blinds. 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 coloured brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a minister of the Gospel, on Christmas-day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist churches, to full and attentive congregations of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent, or Governor, is a constant attendant, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free

people of colour in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment. Very respectfully, Sir, your friend and servant,

WILLIAM ABELS.

The following letter, from two highly respected free men of colour, who were deputed by their brethren in Natchez, to visit and make report concerning the African Colony, and bearing on the same subject, will be read with deep interest. It is the purpose, we understand, of Messrs Simpson and Moore to embark with their families to Liberia at an early day; and it is believed that many of the free people of colour in Mississippi will accompany them.

Washington, September 27, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—Having been requested by the free coloured people of Natchez to visit Liberia, and see for ourselves the true state of things there, that we might make to them a correct and full report in regard to the prospects opening before free men of colour who may settle in that colony, and having just returned from Africa, we present through you, to our coloured brethren in the United States, the following brief statement:—

On the 30th of June, we anchored at Monrovia, and remained in the colony nearly three weeks; during all of which time we were anxiously engaged in making inquiries and observations, and endeavour-

ing to learn the true condition and prospects of the people. We had the opportunity of examining nearly every settlement, and witnessing the actual state of most of the colonies. When we arrived, and set our feet on shore, we were treated with a kindness and hospitality far beyond our most sanguine expectations, and which made us feel ourselves at home. There was not a man that did not take us by the hand, and treat us as his brothers. The people there possess a spirit of liberty and independence, such as we have never seen among the people of this country. As a body, the people of Liberia, we think, owing to their circumstances, have risen in their style of living, and their happiness, as a community, far above those of their coloured brethren, even the most prosperous of them, that we have seen in the United States. They feel that they have a home. They have no fear of the white man or the coloured man. They have no superiors. They do not look up to others, but they are looked up to by them. Their laws grow out of themselves, and are their own. They truly sit under their own vine and fig-tree, having none to molest and make them afraid. Since our return, we have been in the houses of some of the most respectable men of colour in New York and Philadelphia, but have seen none, on the whole, so well furnished as many of the houses of Monrovia. The floors are, in many cases, well carpeted, and all things about these dwellings appear neat, convenient, and comfortable. There are five schools, two of which we visited, and were much pleased with the teachers, and the improvement of the children. We

noticed very particularly the moral state of things, and during our visit saw but one man who appeared to be intemperate, and but two who used any profane language. The Sabbath is very strictly observed; and there is a great attention to religion. We attended church several times, and one of us being a minister of the Gospel, of the Methodist Church, preached three times, to large and attentive congregations. There must have been from three to four hundred at each religious service, all well dressed, and apparently respectable persons. We found only two persons in the colony who expressed any dissatisfaction, and we had much reason to doubt whether they had any good cause for it. The soil at Caldwell and Millsburg is as fertile as we ever saw, and much like the lands on the Mississippi. We saw growing upon it pepper, corn, rice, sugar-cane, cascada, plantains, cotton, oranges, limes, coffee, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, water-melons, cucumbers, sou-sop, bananas, and many other fruits and vegetables. We saw cattle, sheep, and goats, also swine and poultry in great abundance. Wherever we went, the people appeared to enjoy good health, and a more healthy-looking people, particularly the children, we have not seen in the United States. We were there in what is called the rainy season (although it rained hard but once, for about half an hour, during the whole three weeks of our visit) and, instead of the heat being oppressive, we had constantly a fine breeze, and the air was as cool as it is at Natchez about the last of September.

We ought to say, that our voyage was very plea-

sant, and nearly all those who sailed with us from Norfolk, (158) appeared to enjoy themselves well. Just before our arrival at the colony, a few were taken sick, and two children (one an infant) died soon after they were landed. Our own health, while in the colony, was perfectly good, although we were much exposed to night air. We must say, that, had what we have seen of the prosperity of the colony of Liberia been reported to us by others, we could hardly have believed them; and are therefore prepared to expect that our own report may be discredited by our coloured brethren. We wish them to see and judge for themselves. Whatever they may say or think, it is our deliberate judgment, that the free people of colour will greatly improve their character and condition, and become more happy and more useful by a removal to Liberia. There alone can the black man enjoy true freedom; and where that freedom is, shall be our country.

GLOSTER SIMPSON.

ARCHY MOORE.

Rev. R. R. Gurley.

Having already given an extract from the pen of a British naval officer regarding Liberia, I here add the testimony of a gentleman of the same profession belonging to the United States:—

Norfolk, June 22, 1831.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 11th instant, requesting my opinion of the condition, prospects, and necessities of

the colony of Liberia, and of the best method to be adopted by the Society for the more effectual prosecution of the great work in which they are engaged.

I hope I need not assure you that it affords me great gratification to comply with your request, and to lay before you a statement of the facts which presented themselves to me during the visit I made to Mesurado, in the frigate Java, under my command.

The wisdom and talent which distinguish the councils of the Society to which you belong, and the vast materials which your experience and zeal have enabled you to collect, cause great diffidence on my part in the suggestion of any new plan of operations. I was, however, not an idle observer during my stay among the colonists, and the conclusions which pressed upon my mind, as the results of my inquiries, shall be most cheerfully submitted for your better judgment and consideration.

It may not be improper to observe, in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under ideas very unfavourable to the practicability of the scheme of your Society; for, while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labours, and the very problematical results, in the want of success, left an impression upon my mind altogether unfavourable to the institution—under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought

out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and wary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them, any dissatisfaction with their condition, (if such existed) or any latent design to return to their native country—neither of these did I observe; on the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that, disincumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society—they felt themselves proud in their attitude, and seemed conscious, that, while they were the 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 vast importance of a proper education, not only of their children, but of the children of the natives, and to this they looked confidently, as the means of their high object, namely, the civilization of their benighted brothers of Africa.

I observed, with great satisfaction, that their children, in many instances, could converse in the languages of the tribes by which the colony is surrounded. Thus the obstacles which formerly embarrassed its commerce with the interior, and which, by the by, are even now but few, must, in a short time, cease entirely to exist.

It gives me pleasure to state, that the colonists are turning their attention to the cultivation of coffee. That this article of produce is to prove a source of vast wealth to the colonists, there can be no doubt; the labour and expense of its cultivation will be

comparatively small ; indeed, they have but to clear away the forest trees, and the plantations are ready to their hands. There are two descriptions of the plant indigenous—one a shrub, evidently the same as the Mocha, but yielding a berry of superior flavour ; the other a tree, frequently attaining the height of 40 feet ; a specimen of the latter I brought with me to Cuba, in the Java, and left with Mr. Shaler, our consul, for the botanic garden of that city. I had also several of the shrubs of small growth, but they all perished by salt water getting to them.

That there are many vast resources developed in Liberia, no one can entertain a doubt ; that they will soon be brought forth and made available by the enterprise and intelligence of the colonists is equally unquestionable—how earnestly should then every philanthropist apply himself to aid and advance the operations of a society, the object of which is not only to elevate so large a portion of our fellow beings from the degrading relations in which they stand towards the rest of the human race—but to redeem from the thralldom of ignorance, superstition, and vice, a whole continent. That these great results are, under Providence, to be accomplished, is a conviction to which I have been brought, by actual experience, and scrutinizing observation.

To those who have been the protectors of this undertaking, how enviable the joy derived from the anticipation, and when the happy result shall have been consummated, what monument so glorious to their memory as the gratitude of millions

disenthralled! Respectfully, your obedient servant,
EDWARD P. KENNEDY.

Rev. R. R. Gurley.

P. S. We have, since the above was in types, learned that our neighbours of Cirencester have determined to form an auxiliary, for the purpose of aiding in civilizing and christianizing Africa, and thereby destroying the slave trade:—and we are authorised to state that C. T. Cooke, Esq. 6, Colombia Place, has kindly consented to act as treasurer to the Cheltenham subscriptions.

Though sufficient evidence has already been given of the favourable feelings of the people of colour, in reference to Liberia, I cannot omit one testimony more relative to this subject. It is contained in a letter that appeared in the New York Observer, and is as follows:—

MR EDITOR,—I saw in Norfolk, Va. a short time since, an intelligent and well educated man of colour, from Charleston, S. C., who, together with his family, had come to Norfolk to take passage for Liberia, in a vessel expected shortly to leave the port. He informed me that *fifty other families* were preparing to emigrate. That most of them were well educated—that most of them also owned property, and that many of them had valuable trades. Through him I was furnished with a copy of the proceedings of a meeting of the free people of colour of Charleston, held at the house of Titus Gregoire, on the 6th

of December last, an abstract of which I send you for publication in your valuable paper. S.

On the motion of Titus Gregoire, Junius Eden was appointed chairman, and Charles Henry, secretary.

The chairman then briefly stated the object of the meeting to be the devising of measures for emigrating to Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, the land of our fathers. "The inhabitants," said the chairman, "invite us to come and possess it, and to assist them to infuse into the natives, notions of pure morality, and to erect temples dedicated to the worship of Jehovah, where the injured sons of Africa may enter, and with united voices raise melodious songs of praise to Heaven's eternal King." He said that no sacrifice was too great to be made here in order to secure for ourselves and our children the blessings of social happiness in Africa, and concluded by calling on other members of the meeting to express their sentiments.

Charles Henry then rose and said, "Africa, the land of our fathers, although surrounded with clouds of darkness, seems to me to be extending her arms towards us as her only hope of relief, and calling on us loudly for help—saying "I struggle for light and for liberty, and call upon you by the *manes* of your ancestors to come to my help and your *rightful possession*. Tarry thou not, but come over and dispel the darkness from your benighted land. Come, and inspire us by your example, with sentiments of virtue, and with a love of the duties taught by the meek and lowly Jesus. Come, and erect altars, and

light them with the pure fire of devotion to the only living and true God. Come, and enforce the empire of reason, truth, and Christianity over our benighted minds. Be no longer as a sentinel asleep at your post; desert not your own people and the country of your ancestors." Mr. Henry concluded by submitting the following preamble and resolutions:—

“Whereas it will be unworthy of us, as descendants of Africa, if, after the bright and inspiring prospects which are held out to us of inheriting the land of our fathers, we let go, by supine negligence, the opportunity now offered by the Colonization Society, of accepting the invitation of our brethren in Liberia, to inherit and enjoy alike with them, a land, not obtained by the harrowing price of blood and treachery, but by the unspotted gift of heaven to our ancestors, Therefore,

Resolved, That we take the Bible for our chart, with a full supply of love, hope, and faith, and leave the land that gave us birth, and emigrate to Liberia, in Africa, the land of our ancestors, there to spend the remnant of our days in peace and harmony.

Resolved, That we go to Africa as harbingers of peace in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ, and determined by every virtuous deed, to set such examples as shall be worthy of the Christian name.

Resolved, That we who compose this meeting, placing our only reliance in an All-wise Providence, and supplicating his guidance and direction in our affairs, do, solemnly, in his presence pledge our faith to each other, that we will live in Africa, in

union and brotherly love as one family : And that they who shall reach Africa first, shall select suitable lands for the remainder ; and that we will mutually assist each other, and afford, when needed, both spiritual and temporal aid ; and in case of the death of the heads of families, the surviving members shall foster and afford the family of the deceased every possible relief.

Resolved, That our motives for leaving the place that gave us birth, are honourable, just, and right ; and, for the purity of our intentions, we appeal to the Judge of all the earth. And, taking his word for our standard, we will not harbour or encourage any designs that may tend to disturb the peace and harmony of this state, or by any means alienate the affections of our brethren, who are held as property, from their subordinate channel.

After several had expressed their determination to go to Liberia, Mr. Pharaoh Moses said that he was at a loss for words to express his feelings. “ If you,” said he, “ who are natives of this country, and have never seen Africa, speak so highly of her, what must I say who have trod the soil—the soil which gave me birth, and where yet live my relations and kindred, from whom by the hand of violence, I was torn away, and deprived of freedom ; which, thanks be to God, I have again obtained, and not only mine, but I have obtained also the liberty of the companion of my life, and that of two children. (Here Moses was so much overcome by his feelings, that he was obliged to take his seat. In sitting down, he said, “ I go with you, my brethren. It is a good land.”)

The resolutions were then put by the chair, and unanimously carried.

James Eden then stated that the resolutions just adopted, had calmed his mind in regard to the dearest objects of his affection. In case of his death, his dear family would now be at no loss for friends; and, he added, "The sacrifices that will be made here, are not worth a thought, when compared with the advantages we have in Africa. There we and our children will enjoy every privilege, as well as civil and religious liberty." He concluded by moving the following resolution:—

Resolved, That as soon as our affairs can be brought to a close, we will make application to be conveyed to Liberia.

The resolution was adopted, and Charles Snetter then said, that as there was a periodical paper published in Liberia, our future home, he moved the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the *Liberia Herald*.

The resolution was adopted, after which, on motion, the meeting adjourned.

(Signed) JAMES EDEN,
CHARLES HENDRY.

IV.

The following account of hostilities, which, for a short time, existed between the colony and the people of the Dey country, which were happily con-

cluded by a treaty of peace, will be read with interest. The communication is from the Colonial Agent to the Secretary of the Society :—

Liberia, April —, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—My communication, per ship James Perkins, informed you that I was about to visit Grand Bassa, for the purpose of purchasing a portion of that territory, and making arrangements for establishing a settlement on St. John's River. I now have the satisfaction to inform you that the objects of my journey have been attained, and herewith enclose you a copy of the deed of conveyance, which puts us in possession of a considerable tract of country situated on the west bank of the St. John's River, together with four large islands in said river, about three miles above Factory Island.

The journey from the mouth of Junk river, to Grand Bassa, (a distance, following the windings of the coast, of about fifty miles,) was performed on foot, and was fatiguing in the extreme, owing to the deep sand of the sea-shore, and the exposure to the rays of a tropical sun; but I consider myself amply recompensed for all my sufferings, by the opportunity thus afforded me for examining the country through which I travelled. A full account of my excursion, with a description of the country, &c. will be hereafter furnished—at present I have not sufficient leisure to devote to it; but from the appearance of the country, its fertility, the facilities of the water communication, the abundance of rice, palm-oil, live stock, and other articles of subsistence, I have every reason to believe it will prove a valu-

able acquisition, and a desirable location for future emigrants. The chiefs, from whom we have purchased the land, have agreed to build three large houses, in the country style, for the accommodation of such emigrants as I may think proper to locate there, but I doubt whether they will be ready for their reception before the close of the rainy season. I have paid the whole of the purchase-money, and taken a receipt for the same. I also found there was a considerable balance due on Factory Island; this I have likewise paid, as the natives refused to open the negotiation, unless I first promised to liquidate this claim.

In a communication, per schooner Orion, it was mentioned, that we entertained some fears of an attack from King Brumley and the other Dey kings, and in a subsequent communication, I informed you of the death of this individual, and, at the same time, expressed my belief, that all hostile movements, should any have been contemplated, would cease—in this, however, I regret to have to state, I have been disappointed, and we have been compelled to have recourse to arms to insure the safety of our upper settlements. You will, probably, recollect that I mentioned the escape of several of Brumley's slaves, who, when they were about to be sold to the Spaniards, at the Gallinas, fled, and took shelter with our recaptured Africans. Kai Pa, King Brumley's son, came down and demanded them, but I refused to have any thing to say on the subject, unless King Brumley came himself, when I would endeavour to make such arrangements as would be mutually satis-

factory. Brumley never came, as the disease, with which he had for some time been afflicted, increased in violence, and shortly after terminated his existence. Immediately after his decease, Kai Pa, and his successor Kai, who also assumed the name of Brumley, resolved on commencing hostilities, and exerted themselves to procure the co-operation of the Dey and Gurrah Kings; in this they were in some measure successful; several of the Dey chiefs promised their assistance, and although none of the Gurrah kings openly joined this alliance, yet they permitted their people to come to the war, and a great number of them were in the battle. King Willies' town, about ten miles from King Brumley's, was fortified with a barricade, as a stronghold to which they could retreat in the event of their being defeated. Having thus matured their plans, they commenced aggressions by seizing and imprisoning such of our colonists, and recaptured Africans, as fell into their hands; one of the latter, who effected his escape, reached Caldwell severely wounded by their spears and knives, and gave the first intelligence of the intended hostilities. A messenger was dispatched to King Willy, to demand the release of those colonists and recaptured Africans, then confined at his town, but they treated them with contempt, and tore up the letter, of which he was the bearer, and told him to inform me that they would seize upon, and imprison every colonist they could fall in with. On the day following, they appeared on the banks of St. Paul's, opposite Caldwell, blowing their war horns, firing their muskets, and

defying us to the combat. Being convinced that a war was inevitable, I called a council of some of the oldest colonists, who were best acquainted with the habits and customs of the natives, and it was their unanimous opinion that the Dey people should be punished for the outrages committed; and to effect this, it was determined to send a part of our recaptured Africans, well armed, to Willies' town, with instructions to seize upon the chiefs then assembled, there holding a council or palaver, as I was informed, to determine the best mode of attacking us. Accordingly, on the evening of the 17th ult. about one hundred of the recaptured Africans crossed the river, and took up the line of march for King Willies'; but, on approaching the town, they found a large force of the enemy already assembled, and were forced, after some skirmishing, to make a precipitate retreat, with the loss of one man. This partial success highly elated the enemy; they had already barricaded their town as a place of retreat, and now sent us word, if we did not speedily meet them in the field, they would attack Caldwell and Millsburg, which they deemed themselves strong enough to destroy. It was now evident, that if some energetic measures were not resorted to, we should have the whole of the Dey and Gurrah countries combined against us. I, therefore, determined to march against them, destroy their fortified town, and give them such signal chastisement, as would deter them hereafter from attempting to molest us.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 20th ult. I left Monrovia, with part of the volunteer companies, un-

der the command of Captain Stewart, and Weaver, and part of the militia under Captain Brander; we took with us also a light field-piece; the whole force amounting to eighty men. We arrived at Caldwell on the afternoon, and took up our quarters for the night; here we were joined by captain Nixon's volunteer company, and a part of the Caldwell militia, under the command of lieutenant Thompson, amounting in all to 70 men—the recaptured Africans to the number of 120, also joined us; these were placed under the command of Captain E. Johnson. Our whole force, including recaptured Africans, amounted to 270 men. The day following we crossed over to King Brumley's town, which we took possession of without opposition; here we took up our quarters for the night—employing the remainder of the day in posting picquet guards, and making arrangements for the attack on the barricade, which, it was resolved should take place on the next day; during the night, we were several times disturbed by our picquets firing on such of the enemy as appeared round our encampment. Next morning we took up the line of march for King Willies' town, where we were informed the enemy had assembled in great force.

The route from Brumley's to King Willies' was very fatiguing, being, in many places completely obstructed by large trees which had fallen across the path, and which we had to cut through, and remove, before we could bring forward the field piece; in some places we had to cut a new road round obstructions which could not be removed; our progress, on

this account, was slow, and we were nearly seven hours in marching ten miles. About half past one o'clock, P. M. a heavy discharge of musquetry, in part announced, that our recaptured Africans were engaged with the enemy; the field piece was immediately pushed up, and, after crossing a small rivulet, and ascending a slight elevation, we found ourselves in front of the barricade, distant about 25 or 30 yards; we immediately opened fire, and after a few discharges, forced the enemy to abandon their position in front; our pioneers then rushed forward under the fire of the gun, and cut through the barricade; the field piece was immediately run into the inclosure, and we found ourselves in possession of the town, the enemy having escaped through the opening in the rear.

The position of the enemy was well chosen, and if properly defended would have occasioned great loss ere we could have carried it; the barricade was constructed of logs fifteen feet in length, with the interstices filled up with smaller logs, so as to be completely proof against musketry—numerous loop holes were left, through which they pointed their guns, and a small gun (a three-pounder) was placed, so as to rake the approach to the town, which, on either side, for the distance of about twenty yards from the gate, was fortified by a kind of chevaux de frize, formed by the trunks and branches of trees, cut down and placed in the original dense undergrowth, so as to render it absolutely impervious; behind this they had placed a strong force to take us in flank should we attempt to force the barricade. Immediately on

discovering their position, Captain Johnson ordered his men to fire, which they did with such effect, as to dislodge the enemy from their ambuscade in flank, with the loss of several killed and wounded, while those in the barricade were so much confused by the suddenness of the attack, that they delivered their fire with uncertainty, and most of the shot passed over our heads. Our loss on this occasion, was one killed, viz. Lieutenant James Thompson, who was shot while attempting to storm the barricade, and three wounded, two slightly, and one severely. On the side of the enemy the loss was greater, fifteen killed, and a great number wounded. Kai Pa, the instigator of the war, was wounded through the shoulder, in the very act of applying the match to the three-pounder. This was a most fortunate occurrence for us; for had he succeeded in firing the gun, few of us who were in front of the field-piece would have escaped—it was loaded nearly to the muzzle with bits of iron bolts, pot-metal, &c. and placed so as to rake our position; we were crowded in a space of not more than fifteen or twenty yards, wide flanked on either side by the chevaux de frize, before mentioned, and distant not more than twenty-five yards from the gate, so that every shot must have told.

The action commenced at half-past one o'clock, P. M., and by two o'clock, we were in possession of the town; the fire of musketry for about twenty minutes was incessant, and it is astonishing that so few of us should have been injured; but this may in a great measure be attributed to the natives having

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been so much confused by the suddenness of the attack made by the recaptured Africans in the onset, as to be unable to take certain aim; they merely thrust the muzzles of their guns through the loop holes, and crouching behind the barricade, fired so high that the shot passed over our heads.

It was our intention to take up our quarters for the night at this town, but while making arrangements for this purpose, it was discovered to be on fire; this was done by our recaptured Africans, whom it was found impossible to restrain—the flames spread rapidly, and forced us, fatigued as we were, to take up the line of march for King Brumley's, which we reached just before sunset. Here we were also preparing to pass the night, but soon found that the recaptured Africans, who preceded us, had set fire to the windward houses, so that we were obliged to leave the place precipitately to avoid the flames; we accordingly embarked on board the boats, and returned to Caldwell, where we passed the night. On the following day returned to Monrovia, and interred Lieutenant Thompson with military honours.

On the 26th ultimo, messengers arrived from King Willie and King Bristo to sue for peace; they acknowledged themselves unable to contend with us, and were willing to make every concession and reparation for the insults and injuries we had sustained at their hands; in reply, I told them to inform the Dey Kings, that if they wished for peace they must come to the Cape themselves, when the terms on which it would be granted would be made known. On the 30th ultimo, Kings Bristo, Sitma, Ba Bey,

or King Long Peter, and Kai or King Jemmy, presented themselves. King Willy appeared by his representative Baugh, or New Peter. They readily agreed to the terms offered, and a treaty of peace was signed on the following day. Thus peace has been restored, and our upper settlements, which were in some danger from an attack of the combined forces of the Dey and Gurrah countries, have been rendered secure; nor will the natives hereafter attempt to molest them.

The consequences of this war will prove highly advantageous to the colony. The natives before this had always asserted that we were unable to cope with them, except in an open country. They moreover deemed it impossible for us to transport artillery through their dense forests. Our resolving to strike at once at their fortified town, thought by them to be impregnable, and which they had regarded as a secure place of retreat, should they fail in the contemplated attack on the upper settlements, has produced the utmost consternation throughout the Dey and Gurrah countries—and will not only deter the tribes in our immediate vicinity from again molesting us, but will also prevent others, more remote, from injuring the settlements we are about to establish at Cape Mount and Grand Bassa; as the news of our victory, with all its attendant circumstances, greatly exaggerated, has spread along the coast from Sherbro to Cape Palmas; and none now deem themselves secure, no matter how remote or inland they may be situated. Our commerce with the interior will also be increased, as we have stipulated for a

free passage for the natives of the interior through the Dey country. The Dey people had hitherto been in the habit of stopping such of the interior natives as wished to trade with the colony, and compelling them to employ them as brokers to manage their business. In this manner, they had monopolized nearly the whole of the interior trade, and greatly enhanced the value of the produce of the country.

I enclose you herewith a copy of the treaty, signed by the principal Kings of the Dey country. The provisions of the sixth article may appear somewhat strange, but they are such as were alone calculated to remove a fruitful source of dissatisfaction and discord. Our recaptured Africans of the Ebo and Pessa tribes were in the habit of procuring wives from the adjacent tribes; this they effected by paying a small sum to the parents of the girl; the women thus obtained were brought into the colony, clothed after our own fashion, and we compelled them to be married according to the forms of some one of the churches, or to acknowledge themselves to be husband and wife before the Clerk of the Court of Sessions. They in a short time adopt our habits, become civilized, and are scarcely to be distinguished from such of the recaptured Africans as have resided for some time in the United States. Our own traders have also, when in the country, been guilty of gross immoralities; they have formed connections with the native women, and frequently have on this account, been obliged to pay considerable sums, or if unable to pay, have been imprisoned until the amount demanded has been paid by their friends. The article

above alluded to, provides, that all disputes of this nature shall be submitted to the agent for adjustment, and I have great hopes that a dread of exposure will deter them hereafter from being guilty of like irregularities.

The health of the colony never was better; the number of deaths occurring among the emigrants per Volador, Criterion, Orion, Margaret Mercer, James Perkins and Crawford, will not exceed four per cent., but of this, you will be more particularly informed hereafter. With sentiments of high respect, your obedient servant,

J. MECHLIN, JUN.

To Rev. R. R. Gurley.

V.

Effects of the Colony on the Slave-Trade.

In the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Society, we have the following information on this subject:—

Among the striking advantages attending the colony at Liberia, is the check it has given to the slave-trade already, and the probable suppression, ultimately, of that nefarious traffic on a large portion of the western coast of Africa by the gradual extension of the settlements. Before the establishment of the settlements at Liberia, there were several slave factories within a few miles of the place, all of which have been completely broken up. Four or five years back, there was not a single factory from

Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, a distance of a 100 miles; and 120 miles from Cape Mount to Trade Town, the whole of the coast of Liberia. More recently, a factory has been established at Cape Mount, forty-five miles from Monrovia, where the trade is carried on briskly. But it is probable, as soon as the colony gains more strength, this nest of kidnappers and traders in human flesh and human suffering, will be extirpated.

The African chiefs, in the neighbourhood of Liberia, have generally voluntarily abandoned the traffic, finding they can supply themselves with what articles they want, of European and West India goods, by the sale of their own domestic productions. Some of them have put themselves under the protection of the colony. To duly appreciate the advantages of this result, it is only necessary to reflect for a moment, on the horrors of this nefarious traffic; and although it has been presented times without number, to the execration of mankind, I may be permitted to take a bird's-eye view of it. The number of slaves kidnapped in 1824, was 120,000. And the number imported into the single port of Rio for nine years, 1820-8, has been 264,964.

			126,369	
In 1820,	15,020	-	In 1825,	26,254
1821,	24,134	-	1826,	33,999
1822,	27,363	-	1827,	29,787
1823,	20,340	-	1828,	48,555
1824,	39,503	-		
				264,964

(Walsh's notices of Brazil, vol. i. p. 178.)

It has been ascertained, beyond the possibility of doubt, notwithstanding the efforts of the chief maritime powers of Europe, and those of the United States, to suppress this traffic, that from the two towns, Muney and Pangas, there have been 352 cargoes of slaves taken, in little more than a year.

It has been estimated that one-third, but say one-fifth, perish in the voyage; and that an equal number die after their landing, of diseases contracted on the voyage, or of grief for their forlorn situation. This would make an aggregate of above 200,000, doomed to destruction, or interminable slavery, for one single port!

To heighten the enormity of this "sin-crying to heaven for vengeance," it is ascertained that in cases of shortness of provision, the slaves are often remorselessly thrown overboard. On board a vessel, some time since, thirty-nine negroes became blind, and twelve had lost an eye. They were thrown into the fathomless ocean. A single vessel, the *Protector*, took on board at Mozambique, 807 slaves, of whom 339 died on the voyage.

The *Maria Primiera*, a Portuguese ship, took on board upwards of 500 slaves. This number was reduced to 403, in consequence of extreme crowding, before she was captured, and brought into Sierra Leone. Nearly one hundred more died soon after, from diseases contracted on board.—*Transactions of London African Association.*

The following heart-rending picture of the slave-trade has been drawn by Sir George O'Meara, who was employed on the coast of Africa, to suppress it.

"Such is the merciless treatment of the slaves, that no fancy can picture the horrors of the voyage. Crowded together so as not to have the power to move,—linked one to the other by the leg,—never unfettered while life remains, or till the iron shall have fretted the flesh almost to the bone,—forced under a deck, as I have seen them, *not thirty inches in height*,—breathing an atmosphere the most putrid and pestilential possible,—with little food and less water, subject to the most severe punishment, at the caprice or fancy of the brute who may command the vessel,—it is to me a matter of surprise that any of these miserable wretches live the voyage through. Many of them, indeed, perish on the passage, and those of them who remain to reach the shore, present a picture of wretchedness language cannot express."

VI.

The following extracts present a remarkable coincidence between the excitement of a missionary spirit, particularly in one department, and the means being furnished of accomplishing the object proposed. I cannot but also call the attention of the reader to the very elevated tone of piety which the first of the following letters contains.

Letter from a Student at a Theological Seminary.

I have given myself to the cause of missions, and prefer Africa as the field for my labours. I am aware that the American Board of Missions have not

as yet established a mission there ; but surely they will soon deem it practicable. One reason why they have not, has been the difficulty of obtaining young men. But pioneers there must be in every enterprise ; and has not the time come, when a mission station in Liberia would receive the full support of Christians, and the immediate blessing of God ? Surely God has blessed the colony ; and in some of the recent movements of his providence here and there, I think I can see the incipient beginnings of those speedy triumphs of the Gospel, which have blessed the Sandwich Islands. I think the safety of the colony demands a high tone of moral feeling ; it needs to pervade the colonists, so that it may pervade all their laws and institutions, and make that colony to Africa what New England has been to this country. Every thing now is in its infancy ; and if ever Christianity is to lay deep her foundations on those shores, it is now. There must be an elevating and saving influence there, to meet, not only the wants of benighted Africa, but of those who go there to seek an asylum. My object in writing to you is to get your views on the subject, and to let you know my intentions. I am now connected with the Theological School of Yale College, and shall finish my course this summer. I shall be ready to go this fall, or next spring, if it shall be thought expedient to send me there. I do not wish to go there, and *rashly die* ; but I shall go, expecting to do *quickly*, what my hands find to do ; and if I can do in three years there, what I might be thirty in doing here,

is it not Christian policy to go? I think it is, in as much as the chance of twenty-seven years of heavenly glory and blessedness, is more politic, than the same time spent in this dying world. One object, and a grand one with me, is to establish a high school in the colony, answering to our country academies for the present, though eventually to become the college of the colony and of Africa. This will suit the minds of many who were rather fastidious about the establishment of one here, and the minds of the community generally. The colonists want something of this kind, and the natives. By the delivery of addresses, &c., I think I could obtain funds sufficient for the erection of buildings, purchasing of school-books, library, and every thing necessary to the establishment of such a school. There are those here, and I have no doubt that there are those in other seminaries, that are willing to devote their lives to such an enterprise. Is not now the time for a moral movement,—must there not be, to correspond with the mighty physical impulses which the cause of colonization is now receiving? As you are wholly unacquainted with me, I would refer you to Rev. John Crosby, one of your agents, Messrs. Jocelyn, Bacon, and Dr. Taylor of this city.*

* To this letter the editor of the *African Repository* prefixes the following notice :—“ Letters similar to the one which we here publish, have been received from two other young gentlemen, who are at different institutions, and who, at the time they wrote, were ignorant of each other's views, as well as of those of the writer of this letter. We mention this, to show the missionary spirit which seems to be awakened in behalf of Africa.”

In the same Number of the Repository we have the following article :—

Munificent Donation.

New York, June 7th, 1832.

Rev. R. R. Gurley.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 21st ult. in which you propose that I should devote a part of the sum I intend giving to the Colonial Society, to pay the expenses of distributing circulars, reports, &c. I am aware that it is highly important to disseminate information in this way, still I have been led to think, that the establishment of a high school in the colony, is of still greater importance; and the more I reflect upon it, the more I am convinced that some institution of the kind is essential to the welfare of the colony. I have, therefore, come to the decision, not only to devote the whole sum, mentioned in my former letter, to this object, but to increase it to two thousand dollars, which I propose to have invested in some safe and productive fund, and the interest applied annually, towards defraying the expenses of a high school in the colony of Liberia.

Should the managers not think it expedient to commence the school immediately, the interest arising from the above fund, to be added to the capital, and so to be continued, until it shall be deemed advisable to apply the income to defray the expenses of the school. Should the Society think proper to accept of this donation for the object proposed, it may consider me obligated for the amount mentioned,

(two thousand dollars,) on which I will pay interest to the Society at 6 per cent. per annum, until it shall be invested as proposed. I shall be happy to receive the opinion of the managers in relation to the mode of investing the donation.

The plan of instruction can be settled between the managers and myself, and upon this point it would probably be useful to have the opinion of the Society's agents in the colony. There are several reasons which have led me to think, that the permanent investment of this sum, and an annual application of the interest arising from it, to the support of the school, will be more likely to effect the object intended, than to devote the whole capital at once to this purpose.

Should the income at first be inadequate to the expenses of such an institution, others, knowing that a fund for this object existed, might if they believe it to be a useful institution, be induced to contribute to it, and the colonists themselves, finding that a portion of the expenses of such an establishment provided for, might and probably would, be disposed to contribute a part or the whole of the balance from their own resources. I shall be happy to learn that the above proposition meets the approbation of yourself and the managers. Yours very truly,

HENRY SHELDON.

VII.

The following information respecting the Will of the celebrated Kosciusko will likely be new to most

readers, and as it so much accords with the design of the Colonization Society, it well deserves a place here. It is extracted from the Report of the African Education Society, instituted at Washington, December 28, 1829.

*Extracts from a Communication from E. L. Lear, Esq.
Executor of the Will of General Kosciusko, to Rev.
Amzi Armstrong, of New Jersey, dated Washington,
28th January, 1826.*

In 1798 General Kosciusko made a bequest for the liberation and education of Africans. In 1821 it amounted to 12,000 dollars; and at the present, 1830, does not differ much from 25,000 dollars. A suit is now pending in the United States Supreme Court, in which the bequest is claimed by Kosciusko's legal heirs and others. The result, it is said, is very doubtful. So far, this noble bequest, instead of serving as an example to excite others to do likewise, appears rather to have hindered, or at least delayed, those efforts for the African people, which circumstances have so urgently demanded. It is exceedingly desirable that the reputation of Kosciusko should not bear the imputation of having injured the cause to which he manifested so sincere and devoted an attachment.

One of the principal requisites of the will is, that the slaves shall be purchased and set free; but I consider that this would be substantially complied with, if I can procure them from their masters, upon condition of freeing and educating them; and as I have

from the first determined that I would take none that were not young enough to be exempt from every idea of their degradation, and all contamination from their kindred and associations, I suppose that their value as slaves would not be so great as to operate strongly with those masters disposed to favour the experiment; and that, with many of them, their freedom, support, and education, would be a sufficiently valuable consideration.

The intention of the testator undoubtedly was, to make the objects of his bounty not only free and happy, but useful to society. In considering the kind of education best adapted to this purpose, one of my favourite ideas has been, to instruct the children in agriculture and the mechanic arts, in connection with their literary education, that the mind and body may be, one or the other, always active in useful occupation; variety thus answering the purpose of amusement; and to apply each mainly to such an education as shall be found on experiment to be best adapted to his capacity.

I should think it best to commence the school on a very limited and economical plan. Almost every enterprise in this country, which fails of success, owes its failure to embarking too incautiously in expenses, before the experiment is properly tested. I should think a few acres, with perhaps a single building, near some flourishing village, sufficient for the experiment. The village would supply mechanics, who might no doubt be induced, in such a cause, to give instruction in their arts for a very moderate compensation. This plan can easily be enlarged if we find

our funds sufficient; and in any event, it is always more gratifying to be able to extend, than to be obliged to contract, our enterprises.

Those children whom I would emancipate and educate with this fund, I would purchase, on the condition, that after receiving their education, they should be sent to the Colony in Africa, where they can certainly be more useful than any where else; and where, perhaps it is not too great a stretch of enthusiasm to suppose, they may be instruments of establishing the fame of their benefactor, upon a foundation more firm and extensive than that on which he has already placed it by his valour, his patriotism, and his devotion to liberty. Whether the Colonization Society is ultimately to realize its hopes or not, the colony, at least, will afford a field for eminent usefulness to these youths, who could scarcely be useful at all elsewhere; and its best welfare will be promoted while it exists, whether its existence may be of long or short duration.

VIII.

An account of the Interior, on the banks of the Mesurado and Junk Rivers.

The following account is contained in a letter from the Agent to the Secretary of the Colonization Society, and combines a description of the country in the neighbourhood of Liberia, with some interesting notices respecting the superstitions and manners of the inhabitants.

Liberia, June 15, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—IN my last, you were informed that I had just returned from examining the country in the vicinity of Millsburg, for the purpose of selecting a site for our saw-mills; since my return, I have ascended the two principal branches of the Mesurado, to within a short distance of their origin, and descended the Junk river from its source to the sea. As some account of the country visited in these several excursions will probably prove interesting, I annex a few extracts from my journal:—

The morning after my arrival at Millsburg, I crossed the river to the mouth of a small creek which discharges itself into the St. Paul's, directly opposite, and ascended it about 200 yards. At this point a ledge of rocks rendered further progress by water impracticable; we accordingly landed, and followed the course of the stream for several miles. The country is the most beautiful that can be imagined; the banks are covered with trees of immense size, and their branches interwoven with vines, and decorated with gaudy parasitic plants, 'formed a shade impervious to the rays of the sun, and imparted a coolness to the air which was truly delightful. The stream was irregular in its width, sometimes forcing its way through fissures in the rocks, and at others, spreading out and forming wide and deep pools; the water was deliciously cool, and so transparent, that the bottom was distinctly visible at a considerable depth. Nothing could exceed the beauty and tranquillity of the scene; it seemed as if the foot of man

had never trodden these solitudes, so deep was the silence that prevailed; only at times interrupted by the murmuring sound of the water, the scream of the fish-hawk, or the chattering of the monkeys pursuing their gambols over our heads. The numerous and recent tracks of hippopotami and wild cattle observed in our route, seemed to indicate this as one of their favourite haunts, rarely, if ever disturbed by the presence of man. The face of the country is undulating; the soil deep and rich, and covered with heavy forests, more free from undergrowth than any I have seen in our vicinity.

After devoting the greater part of the day to exploring the country, and the examination of several spots likely to answer our purpose, we finally concluded that none was so well adapted to the erection of a mill, as the place where we were compelled to abandon our boat. It is, as was before observed, distant nearly 200 yards from the mouth of the creek, which is here about 60 feet wide. The north-eastern bank is formed entirely of rock, rising perpendicularly to the height of twenty feet; the south-western is composed of stiff clay, with a deep superstratum of vegetable mould, presenting no obstacles to the excavation of a mill-race, with a fall of water of ten to fifteen feet, and a ledge of rocks extending quite across the stream, offers a firm foundation on which we can erect a dam. The tide reaches this spot, and at high water, every facility is offered for floating off lumber. Excellent timber abounds some distance up the stream, and when the water is raised to a suf-

ficient height by the construction of a dam, it can be readily transported to this spot.

Late in the afternoon we returned to Millsburg, and found an express from Monrovia, announcing the arrival of the United States' Ship Java, and requesting my immediate presence. Accordingly, early next morning, I set off on my return, without being able to devote as much time to the examination of the country as I had originally intended.

A few days after the departure of the Java, finding myself comparatively at leisure, I determined to explore the north-eastern branch of the Mesurado, for the purpose of selecting a tract of land suitable for farms. We ascended the river about 15 miles, when, finding the water too shoal to admit of further progress, we landed, and visited King Allen, a petty chief in our vicinity, and one of those who took an active part in the attack made on the colony at its first settlement; his town is situated on the north-western side of the river, about three or four hundred yards from the bank, and consists of about ten or twelve thatched houses, containing about thirty inhabitants, chiefly women and children. He is wretchedly poor, as are all the kings in our neighbourhood; their revenue having been nearly destroyed in consequence of the breaking up of the slave trade. After dining with his majesty, we descended the river to King Bob's town; where we found eight or ten of the neighbouring kings assembled in council, or, as they term it, holding "a grand palaver." Mr. E. Johnson, who accompanied me, had been pre-

viously requested to meet them, or order that they might, through him, communicate the result of their deliberations to me. The principal object of their meeting was to request us to take them under our protection, and establish a settlement in their neighbourhood; and their motive for making this request, was to secure themselves from King Boatswain, of whose power they have the greatest dread. They said they were well assured they would not be molested, if it was known we had received them as subjects of the colony, as they had never known an instance where the colonists, or those protected by them, had been interfered with by any of Boatswain's war parties.—Another cause of their convening, was to make formal complaint that several natives from Bassa, at present residing in the colony, and who are in a great measure civilized, had disclosed to their women the secret of the Grippau (or devil, as the natives translate it) employed by them to keep their females in proper subjection. This demon, or Grippau, is nothing more than the head man, or chief, of a secret association, termed Grippau, bearing a close resemblance to the secret societies to be found among the Bulloms and Soosoos, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, though not possessing as extensive powers. It is among the former, termed *Purra*, and with latter, *Semo*. These institutions have been fully and accurately described by Dr. Winterbottom, formerly physician to Sierra Leone, and to whose work I beg to refer you. This head Grippau man, disguised so as to render his appearance as hideous as possible, issues at night from the

grove set apart for the celebration of their mysterious rites, and entering the town with the most dreadful howlings, proceeds to inquire into the conduct of the females, and if any have given cause of dissatisfaction to their lords, he punishes them according to the aggravation of the offence. The women are kept in profound ignorance of the real character of their tormentor, and really believe him to be a supernatural being or demon. The discovery of the secrets of this society is invariably punished with death, which is executed in so secret a manner, that the offender suddenly disappears, none but the initiated know how; and the others, so great is their dread of this institution, dare not inquire; but since several of the natives have been educated in the colony, they have, in a great measure, divested themselves of their superstitions, and do not hesitate to reveal the secret to the women who resort to the Cape; these, when convinced that the being whose power they so much dreaded, is nothing more than mortal, are no longer to be kept in the same slavish subjection, and a king, who has fifteen or twenty wives, finds it a difficult matter to govern them. I refused to have any thing to say on this subject, but told them, if they wished to place themselves under our protection, they must assemble at the Cape, when I would "talk that palaver." After spending about three hours at this town, which presents the same aspect of poverty as King Allen's, I took leave of this congress of sovereigns, and returned home.

Nothing can be more unpromising than the appearance of the country on this branch of the Mesurado.

The banks are so low as to be overflowed at every tide; and are covered, as far as the eye can reach, with an impenetrable and apparently interminable growth of mangroves. The waters are sluggish, and discoloured with the black mud of the mangrove marshes; from which, at low water, an intolerably offensive odour, resembling sulphurated hydrogen, is exhaled, and which would, doubtless, to the unacclimated, prove a fruitful source of disease. The stream is so winding in its course, that in several places it almost doubles on itself, and you frequently think you are arriving at the high land which appears in the distance; but when within about 200 yards, it makes a sudden turn, and departs at right angles. Upon the whole, I do not think it possible for us to select on either bank, (at least as far as I have ascended) a situation at all adapted to agricultural purposes. Even in those places where it makes the nearest approach to the high ground, an almost impassable mangrove swamp will prevent our occupying it with any prospect of advantage.

Having heard much of the beauty and fertility of the country bordering on the Junk River, I resolved to avail myself of the first opportunity to visit it, and ascertain the practicability of establishing a settlement. I left Monrovia on the morning of the 14th of March, in company with Mr. A. D. Williams, the Vice-Agent, and Mr. E. Johnson, (having previously sent a large boat manned with Kroomen around by sea, with orders to ascend the Junk River as far as King George's town, and there wait our arrival.) We ascended the right or eastern branch of the Mesu-

rado, about thirteen miles, when we were obliged to land, on account of the shallowness of the water. The river has its source about one-fourth of a mile above this place, in an extensive morass, overgrown with long grass, and low mangrove bushes.

The travellers slept at Caiho's Town, a native village; and after breakfast next day, they add,— We hired natives to carry our baggage; and these, when assembled, presented a motely group of both sexes, and almost every age and size, whom the prospect of pay had induced to accompany us; women with children at their backs would carry from fifty to seventy pounds on their heads, and travel at a rate, which we, who were unincumbered, found quite fatiguing.

After proceeding in this way a few miles, they reached the head of the Junk river, which they found had its source in an extensive morass, covered with heavy timber. Here, (says Mr. Mechlin,) we hired a large canoe to convey us to King George's Town, distant about twelve or fifteen miles, and at which place we had ordered the barge to meet us.

The Junk, where we embarked, was not more than three yards wide, and two feet deep; in some places it was much narrower, there being barely room enough for the canoe to pass, and so obstructed by fallen trees, that we had to lie down in order to avoid them. After proceeding in this manner for two or three miles, the stream gradually expanded, and at ten miles from its source, we found it nearly 150 yards wide, and deep enough to float a vessel of 100 tons.

We reached King George's Place late in the afternoon, much fatigued by sitting so long in a confined posture, and were glad to stretch our limbs. The town is situated on the western bank of the river, and is composed of from thirty to forty houses, and contains about one hundred inhabitants. We were hospitably received by the old king, who had one of the largest houses prepared for our accommodation. This is the same King George who resided on the Cape at the first settlement of the colony, and was one of our most active and determined enemies during the war with the natives.

March 16th.—Finding our barge had not arrived, we concluded not to wait for her; and accordingly, after breakfasting, proceeded on our voyage, having first hired another canoe to carry our baggage. As we descended the river, it gradually expanded, and at the distance of twenty-five miles from its source, we found it fully a mile wide; it is very winding in its course, in some places describing three-fourth's of a circle, and at others, the shores, swelling out on one side, and receding on the other, formed a series of graceful curves, which at every turn offered to our view a continued succession of objects, each presenting new beauties to admire. We passed several villages, delightfully situated on the banks, and embosomed in groves of plantain, banana, and palm-trees. The shores were covered with vegetation, splendid beyond description. Trees of singular form and foliage, springing from a deep and rich soil, reared their heads to an amazing height; while their branches were covered with a beautiful drapery

of vines, forming a dense shade, and hanging in many places in festoons to the surface of the water. The fertility of the soil gave a depth and vividness to the green, which was finely relieved by the varied hues of the flowers that decked the forest, and the surface of the stream, as smooth as a polished mirror, reflected with the utmost minuteness the variegated beauties of the vegetation that clothed its banks. As we approached a native village, groups of the inhabitants would assemble on the shore, inviting us by their gestures to land; occasionally, a light canoe might be seen shooting across the stream, while overhead, troops of monkeys pursued their gambols among the trees; in short, every thing combined to give animation to a landscape, the beauties of which description can never equal.

About 5 o'clock, P. M. we arrived at a small village called Jack's Town, distant from the mouth of the river nearly two miles; here we found our barge waiting for us—the Kroomen, owing to some misunderstanding, did not ascend the river as they were directed. We were completely worn out by the fatigue of sitting so long in the canoe: and my face and hands were nearly blistered by ten hours exposure to the rays of a tropical sun. After resting ourselves, and eating some very fine oysters, with which this river abounds, we discharged the canoes, and embarked on board the barge, in company with Prince Will's son, who was sent by his father to meet us. We proceeded to King Tom's town, called by the natives Cabai, situated on the eastern branch of the Junk, about a mile from its junction with the

principal stream; we soon doubled the point formed by their union (which is nearly a mile from the sea) and reached our place of destination shortly after sunset. His majesty, who was awaiting our arrival, gave us a cordial welcome; he had a large house prepared for our reception, and presented us with a goat and some fowls for our supper. After refreshing ourselves, we were entertained with a war-dance performed by the men of the town.

In the course of the evening, Prince Will arrived from his town on the opposite side of the river. He expressed himself highly delighted to see us, but at the same time it was evident he was somewhat suspicious of our motives for visiting him; indeed I found considerable alarm was occasioned by our presence. They apprehended they had displeased us in some way, and we had come for the purpose of demanding satisfaction, or as they expressed it, "to make palaver;" and it was not until we had repeatedly assured them that our visit was one of friendship, and to gratify curiosity, and produced our presents (or dash), that their alarm subsided, or I may say, was changed into absolute delight.

About ten o'clock, A. M. we crossed the river for the purpose of visiting Prince Will.

March 19.—We found our small boat as we had left her, and embarking, returned to Monrovia after dark.

The Junk, as was before observed, takes its rise in a vast morass, distant from the head waters of the Mesurado about five miles, and after running nearly fifty miles in a S.S.W. direction, discharges itself into the ocean, about thirty-five miles to the leeward of

Monrovia. In its course it receives several tributary streams from the E. S. E., the largest of which joins it about a mile from the sea. The breadth of the principal stream varies from 400 yards, to a mile and a quarter, and the average depth is from two to four fathoms, and this continues pretty uniform for about thirty-five miles, but small boats and canoes can ascend to its source.

The land on either side is sufficiently elevated to secure it from inundation; in some places it gradually rises from the water's edge to the height of 100 to 200 feet; the country a little further removed from the river is higher and more diversified with hill and dale, and covered with dense forests of valuable timber, much of which, will answer for ship-building. The soil is a deep rich vegetable mould, which, for fertility, equals, if it does not surpass any in our territory, and I am confident, many situations for agricultural settlements might be selected, preferable in point of local advantages to any on the St. Paul's. The communication with Monrovia can be kept up either by sea, by means of our small vessels, or by ascending to the head of the river, and crossing the narrow strip of land that separates it from the Mesurado.

J. MECHLIN, Jun.

To Rev. R. R. Gurley.

IX.

Address to the Colonists of Liberia, by the late Mr. Ashmun.

We have seen how eminently instrumental Mr. Ashmun was in preserving the colony in its infancy,

from the attack of an overwhelming force of the natives. It is pleasing to see from the following extracts, by what pure Christian principles this good man, who in a very trying situation discovered so much ability and energy of character, was influenced. The Address is thus introduced in one of the Numbers of the African Repository:—

Among the Papers of the lamented Ashmun, is the following instructive and affecting Address. It is without date, but was probably written one or two years before his departure from the colony. Our prayer is, that it may effect the benevolent purpose for which it was penned, and not only those to whom it is addressed, but all the Christian people of our country may realize, as its author did, the grandeur and excellency of the work of African Colonization.

To the Christian Colonists of Liberia.

A time will arrive when I must leave you. This time, whether I consider the nature of the African climate, my engagements with the Colonization Society, or the demands of duty in other parts of the world, cannot be distant. I most fervently pray, that the beneficial effects of all my endeavours to be useful to you, may not be confined to the term of my residence among you. If you are just to yourselves, they will not. I have omitted no opportunities to inculcate by precept, and as far as my situation would permit, I hope by example, the great and fundamental maxims of integrity, industry, tem-

perance, and order, on which all individual happiness, and all social prosperity, must rest. The design of this paper, is to convey to the minds of all who are able to appreciate the subject, impressions which have been the result of a firm faith in the Christian revelation, and a deep sense of the importance of its doctrines, in my own.

I. You are all sufficiently sensible, no doubt, of the injury inflicted by Europeans and Americans, bearing the name and professing the faith of Christians, on your African, and perhaps for several generations, on your American ancestors. But many of you can now with gratitude to Almighty God, trace throughout that very work of injustice and oppression, the hand of a merciful and gracious Providence, operating for your everlasting welfare and salvation, and preparing the way for eventually disseminating the knowledge and blessings of the Gospel among all your countrymen. Cherish then, in your bosoms, this consoling interpretation of that dispensation, otherwise so dark and distressing. Forgive and pray for such of your former oppressors, as are proper objects of intercession and forgiveness; think of them tenderly and respectfully, as the agents employed by the Father of Mercies, to forward his own designs of goodness towards you. And looking round on the abject slaves of Africa, behold in them the likeness of what your ancestors were, and what, without their transportation and servitude beyond the sea, yourselves and your children would have been at the present time. And from this instructive spectacle, lift your eyes and your

hearts to heaven, and adore that God, who in his own way, has made you to differ.

I have often delighted to contemplate your exile and absence of one or two hundred years in America, as it is in the account of God, only a temporary errand to that country, for the purpose of bringing home to Africa, the inestimable treasures of his everlasting Gospel. How well you have used the advantages of birth and education in a Christian land, and executed the great design of Providence in your return to this country, it is for your own consciences to determine. The purpose of the Almighty, is to illuminate the tribes of Africa, and bring them all meekly to worship around the cross of Immanuel. You may read in the disposition of your own hearts towards this work, the share which you are to have in the honour and privilege of effecting it. I have no doubt but He will accomplish much by you, even if He afterwards should cast away and destroy his instrument. But my prayer is, that there may be a willing, enlightened, and active concurrence on your part; that you may understand and rejoice in the operations of God, all the days of your life; and bequeath to your children after you, the dignity and supreme felicity of being co-workers of God, in the establishment of a pure and glorious church on these shores, which shall flourish without decline to the end of time.

In accordance with the view I have taken of the divine dispensation towards you, the design of the bitter exile from which you have just returned, appears to have been, *the acquisition of the religion, and*

not the vices of Christendom. Such was your errand. How have you performed it? Notwithstanding the rigorous servitude under which Providence chose to discipline you for the honourable service to which you are now advanced, have not many of you brought back to Africa, more of American effeminacy than of Christian piety? More of the sloth, indolence, love of pleasure, and taste of the luxuries of civilized life, than of the hardy, self-denying virtues of Christianity? Has not the ambition of show, and consequence, the poor pride of eclipsing one another, in ornamental and sumptuous dress, furniture, and dwellings,—the lust of gain, and the vile love of money, up to the present hour, filled a much larger space in your hearts, and gone farther to form your characters, than the faith, hope, and charity, inculcated in our divine religion? Do your hearts ever revert with fretting regrets, and painful longings to the sinful delights of the American Egypt? At the date of this paper, I bear a willing testimony in favour of the general morality and decency of your deportment. But to your consciences, and to your God alone, are known the true springs of this commendable sobriety. The recent discipline of the sick-bed, and the fear of death, may have bridled for a time, without eradicating the least of your depraved lusts, and vicious propensities. Temptation and opportunity for their indulgence, may be wanting. Your circumstances are materially changed by your emigration. It would therefore be surprising if no alteration should have taken place in your habits and the tenor of your lives. But re-

member, a change of climate is not a change of heart. If your lives were vicious in America, your character, if only acted upon by outward circumstances, is equally vicious in Africa. The disguise, too, of a moral deportment, will shortly be torn off by the successive rise of new temptations. Your posterity, untrained and uninstructed by honest and pious parents, will publish by their scandalous profligacy, your true biography. They will have no blessings to inherit; and neither they nor you will escape that curse, which, in the economy of a just and holy Providence, descends from parents to their children, through successive generations.

II. You are the messengers of Providence, charged with *the introduction of pure Christianity into a Pagan Continent*. Have you, with this holy system, brought along a multitude of American corruptions? Have you conspired so far against the conversion of the world, and the simple Gospel of Christ, as at this early period of its introduction here, to attempt to palm it, soaked and adulterated with the poison of transatlantic errors, heresies, or sectional inventions, upon the ignorance of your African brethren? If the first field ever planted in this part of Africa be sown with tares, tell me what the harvest will be? And by what rapid strides of degeneracy and corruption may you not expect to see the purity of the Christian system travelling towards the abominations of heathenism.

I address these interrogatories, chiefly to you who have assumed the direction of the newly planted church of God, in Liberia. If the corruptions of our

holy religion are introduced, or tolerated here, you are answerable. If you err through ignorance, why have you undertaken to instruct others, while groping thus in darkness yourselves? If you substitute for doctrines the traditions of a sect, through party zeal and prejudice, you are equally culpable. No man has the shadow of an excuse for entertaining with bigot pride, the dogmas of a religious party in this country, where no such party exist, till he wickedly creates them. In so doing, you sin without a temptation, and remain a bigot, from the mere love of bigotry. And will you sully the brightness and purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and mar the future hopes of Christianity, throughout western Africa, rather than give up the unfounded opinions, which system-makers, and the partisans of some misguided sect, have invented to answer their own ends, in another hemisphere.

But remember, that the gospel is doubly corrupted, wherever Christianity has been long established. In practice, most professors are more heretical than in their faith. The prevalence of wealth and luxury, and a long and peaceable establishment of religious freedom, and the external state of the church, tend strongly to introduce a most unchristian conformity of the lives of christians, to the example and spirit of the world. Our American churches are peculiarly open to the irruption of this worldly influence. Few have wholly escaped the contagion. The standard of christian practice, compared with that of the primitive church, and the still more infallible commands of Christ, is low indeed. Most of our American pil-

grims and sojourners, have a large worldly interest to take care of; extensive worldly connexions to maintain; and many of them, a reputation for human science, literature, and talents, either to create or preserve. These things, although no sin in themselves, are powerfully seductive to worldly compliances. They tend to lower the standard of piety, to secularize the character of the church, and obscure the original splendour and glory of the gospel.

Mr. Ashman, after guarding the colonists against a spirit of innovation on the one hand, and being guided by unfounded prejudice and the misleading influence of human authority on the other, and reminding them, that while they should themselves be regulated by the word of Christ, that they cannot respect and esteem too highly all whom Christ loves and values, thus proceeds :—

The spirit of Christ is peaceable, gentle, opposed to every project of worldly or religious distinction, delights in self-abasement—chooses the shade—dreads popularity—thinks others better and wiser than the possessor—and would cheerfully, if duty allowed, pursue unnoticed and unknown, its silent way to God. Contract the habit of communing in spirit with the whole company of faithful people; and if any name distinguishes you, or convenience and divine providence have appointed you to some particular church and assembly, do your duty as members of this connexion; but enjoy the sublime privilege of loving and communing with all the fol-

lowers of the Lamb. "They have some errors." So they have; and so have you. But they love the Saviour. And he loves them, and leads them, and will save them. They have no error of faith so great and hateful, as the sin you will commit against christian charity, by indulging your own pride and sectarian jealousies.

Do not imagine I offer this advice lightly—that I am tolerant of any unscriptural doctrines or usages—or suppose all names and professions on a level. Far from it. No christian was perhaps more exclusively attached, nay, bigoted to his own way, and his own associates in worship, than I have myself been—and all that from very sincere and conscientious motives. Whatever change I have known is the result of much study of the word of God, and some prayer. It has caused my pride and will-worship a thousand severe wounds, and cost me some sacrifices. The great distinction of a true, and regenerate worshipper of God in Christ, so far outweighs any other name or sect, or form of worship, as to make me nearly forget them. Would God you all might rise above the narrowness of little party views, and adopt the same rule of determining, of recognizing, and of loving the people of God, with Christ himself. I have cautioned you against the two equally dangerous errors, of giving into the sinful example and influence of others, on the one hand; and of such an overweening confidence in yourselves, on the other, as will render you schismatical and heretical. Thousands in more favourable circumstances than yourselves have lost themselves in one

of these errors when professing to avoid the other. You are peculiarly exposed, according to your different tempers and circumstances, to both. I say it for your benefit. You have already discovered a tendency to both these extremes. This tendency will continue—it will become a spot and reproach to christianity here—unless God vouchsafe you a very large supply of his holy spirit—and stir up your minds to a very diligent perusal of his word. Thanks to his name, his holy word and spirit will guide you in certainty, in the most intricate paths; and carry you with perfect safety through the most dangerous.

Study then the word of God, with earnest prayer, and entire reliance on the illumination of the divine spirit. Thousands of living witnesses are ready this moment to rise up and testify, that it is no visionary nor idle duty I press upon you—they are ready to testify, that the word and spirit, sought by prayer, has delivered them from the most distressing darkness and doubts, and poured the light of a meridian sun upon their path. They can testify, that by these divine means, they have, from the idiotism and ignorance of sin, been “made wise unto salvation.” To persons situated as you are—doubtful of the right in a thousand things belonging both to faith and duty, and fearful of going wrong, these holy helps are particularly adapted, and expressly promised. The Lord knows how much wisdom and grace you require. He is ready to bestow it. He has given you his word—he points you to the mercy seat, where he deigns to meet and answer the prayers of his people. O, if you will cease depending on yourselves; and,

for the glory of God, seek the establishment of pure christianity in Africa; and look directly to God, as he reveals his truth by his word and spirit, how like the mountain of God might this Cape become. What a glorious church would here shine in the sight of the benighted nations of Africa. A new and glorious luminary, the admiration of christendom, and the morning-star of hope to millions of your own blood, now dead in sin, would soon be seen rising over this dark horizon. New acclamations and praise, in the language of St. John's vision, would break from the tongues of the heavenly company who surround the throne of God and the Lamb. The Lord has done great things for you, of which I am, with most of yourselves, a living witness; but it is only to encourage you to ask and obtain much greater. He has conferred on you all great honour; granted you repeatedly great deliverances; shewn you great mercies; and laid you, of all other people in the world, under great obligations. You have a great work to perform—great, not in the eyes of a sensual world—great, not as it confers distinction upon earth, or to attract the notice and applause of men; but great in the estimation of Christ, who is engaged in it himself—great as to its effects on future generations of your descendants and countrymen—and the final recompense, which is to accrue to yourselves and them. Enlarge your prayer then. Pray for abundant communications of the holy spirit. God has already afforded you an earnest of what he has in reserve for you—he has sent you a most refreshing shower of heavenly influences. It is only the first

fruits, my friends. The harvest is yet to be gathered in. Be encouraged; and, O be vigilant, circumspect, humble, and entirely the Lord's. You and your children, are delivered from the dread of bodily servitude. Seek to obtain for yourselves, and them, and all, deliverance from every enslaving sin. Become the Lord's freemen, and you will be free indeed. Never before. My heart is with you. My prayer is for your prosperity—as the people of the living God. I have trembled much—I tremble still on your account. But my hopes in the great designs of God, in respect of you, outweigh my fears. God, I believe, will make you a blessing. If I have sacrificed something, and suffered much, for your establishment, as you know I have, I still rejoice, and praise God for permission to have done so. I never *have* regretted either; and believe that I shall have less reason than ever to indulge regrets hereafter. I shall soon be forgotten. My name, only, among those of my worthier coadjutors, will survive the oblivious march of a few years. But to eternity, I shall every hour find something to revive within me the remembrance of Montserado. From the distant abodes of departed spirits I hope to return and mingle in your religious assemblies. O measure your advances in holiness. I shall die in the hope of witnessing from this hill, the wide and healing flow of the waters of salvation. O disappoint not these hopes. Had I a voice to reach your unborn posterity, I would charge them not to disappoint these hopes. They are the hopes of the church of the Redeemer. You are the earthly depositories; there-

fore, in the name of God, be true to the trust, and the mighty Lord shall be your helper.

X.

I am indebted to Mr. Cresson for the following short notices regarding different points connected with Liberia; and as this gentleman has paid particular attention to this subject, while he has had the most extensive means of information, I shall, at the risk of some repetition, here insert these communications.*

Theory of the Society.

We hold, that by a long course of slavery, the poor negro not only becomes degraded in reality, but, in his own estimation, sinks so low, that it is very difficult to arouse his energies to an available point; hence they are found so hopelessly so, that there must be a change of *circumstances*, before we can hope for an efficient change of *character*. Respectable whites cannot be expected to form any very close association with such a *caste*. But by a location in Africa, the negro feels himself elevated as much above his sable brethren, as he before was beneath his white neighbours; and the most judicious selection being made, they encourage each other in well-doing. The result is already felt in the United States upon the *free* to some extent; and the master, who in several of the slave states was prevented from manumitting on the spot, and could not conscientiously throw his slaves among the free blacks of the

* The colonists, towards the end of 1832, were about 3,000.

north, the character of many of whom is very degraded, now feels constrained to give them both liberty gratuitously for so noble a destiny, and also to prepare them for it. Thus General Cook of Virginia is now giving an infant school education to all his little negroes; and his example (maugre the laws against it,) has induced several of his neighbours to follow his example. He has about 400 slaves, all destined for Liberia; meanwhile his sincerity is proved by subscribing upwards of 1200 dollars to the funds of the Society. Margaret Mercer of Maryland, on the death of her father, bought the shares of all the other heirs in both slaves and lands; mortgaged the latter to provide comfortably for the former on their voyage, as well as subsequent settlement in Africa; colonized the young and active, only retaining the old and worn out; and she, one of the loveliest and most accomplished of her sex, is now supporting them and liquidating the debt, by converting the hospitable mansion of her ancestors into a boarding-school, of which she is the teacher! In Kentucky, these feelings are becoming almost universal, and promise early *emancipation*; and as the Society look to that as the *end*, Liberia only *a means*, their hopes will thus be soon fulfilled in part.

It has been said, that we "denounce emancipation." This is a forced construction from the single paragraph in the speech of an individual at a public meeting; but we say, "That slavery is a moral and political evil—is a truth, inscribed as it were upon the firmament of heaven—the face of the earth, and the heart of man. The denial of it would be the

denial of the fundamental principles of all free governments;" and again, "we disavow and reprobate every coercive means—we discard all restraint—we ask no bounties—we solicit no compulsion by which to produce emigration."

Such has been the light shed on this important subject, by presenting it in such form as it could only safely be done, that slavery now totters to its fall in the four most northern Slave States; and in four of the most southern, their introduction for sale has been prohibited under heavy penalties; thus striking a blow fatal to the worst feature of the system—the domestic slave trade

Education.

The Society, *per se*, finds itself too weak to perform but a small part of the task of even colonizing those anxious to migrate; hence it confines itself to this object. But the African Education Society is composed of nearly the same members; and, in the colony itself, the greatest care is taken on this subject: the only taxes ever imposed at Liberia being for that exclusive purpose. Two schools have also been founded by the Female Friends of Philadelphia,* and are in active operation. Education is working a mighty change in Africa; for

* I lately met with a very intelligent gentleman from Scotland, who, when recently visiting Philadelphia, was present at the examination of 500 black and coloured children, an equal number being of each sex. These were in a state of training for Liberia, and besides being taught some useful occupation, they discovered much knowledge of the leading doctrines of divine truth.—ED.

after every effort failing to induce the people of Cape Mount to abandon the slave trade, the statements given by their own youths, who had been instructed in our schools, of the superior advantages enjoyed at Liberia, created such a sensation, as to compel the chiefs to accede to it. A treaty has thereupon been made; and as a proof of their sincerity, a portion of beautiful and fertile territory ceded to the Society, stipulating for a school and commercial establishment in return.

Liberia of advantage to Britain.

It must be evident, that as the American Colonization Society do not send that portion of the American coloured population which is a burden to the nation, but select only the *very best*, so as to benefit *Africa*, and pursue no means for either national or commercial aggrandisement; they have *mainly* in view the good of that long oppressed land. Indeed, with the exuberant fertility of Africa, her production of the chief staples now grown in the United States by the *cheaper process of free labour*, must prove detrimental to the latter. But as Britain is the great manufacturing nation for all those articles needed by Africa, the exchange must be greatly to her advantage. But this can only be secured by the destruction of the slave-trade, which the Liberia system has been so efficient a means of extirpating throughout a considerable line of coast already. Its extension, therefore, would suffice to protect more of the slave coast with a *moral cordon sanitaire* of an efficient character; and if *free labour* be there proved to be

cheaper than *slave labour*, it will thus give a death-blow to the latter in the West Indies, and thus achieve a peaceful victory over that system which now threatens only to be dissolved in blood. To both Britain and America it holds out the hope of repaying to Africa, at least, a portion of that debt of blood and tears, so long accumulating, by the laudable rivalry of striving who shall confer on her the most efficient benefit.

I conclude this Appendix by inserting the following lines, addressed to Mr. Cresson, on his leaving Philadelphia, to promote the cause of Liberia, by one whose name is well known in the poetical world in the Western Hemisphere :—

Spring's purest sky be o'er thee,
 Thou of the ardent mind,—
 The glorious isle before,—
 Thy land of birth behind.
 For thee may every billow
 Control its angry crest,
 Content to soothe thy pillow,
 But not to mar thy rest.
 Hygeia's balm be near thee,
 Auspicious breezes blow,
 And cloudless skies be o'er thee,
 Bright as the pearls below
 Sad Afric's hand hath bound thee,
 Among her jewels rare ;—
 Her talisman is round thee,
 Her tearful, grateful prayer.
 Go forth—God's peace possessing !
 To all mankind a friend,—
 Full be thy cup of blessing,
 Where'er thy wanderings tend ?

L. H. SIGOURNEY.
Hartford, Conn. Ap. 20, 1831.

FINIS.

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