

THE  
PRINCETON REVIEW.

---

JANUARY, 1844.

---

No. I.

*Review Article*

ART. I.—*An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ; faithfully collected out of the Fathers and extant writings of those ages.* By Peter King, Lord High Chancellor of England. With an introduction, by the American Editor. New York. Published by G. Lane and P. P. Sandford, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 200 Mulberry street.

THE republication of this rare and valuable work, which has given us much satisfaction, is but a natural consequence, of the revival of the conflict, between free ecclesiastical principles and the exclusive claims of prelacy. Though it was hardly to be expected that such a book should owe its republication and introduction to the American churches to the publishing office of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here is surely a verification of Samson's riddle: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." But the gift is no less acceptable for the seeming incongruity of the hand that conveys it. Indeed, this incongruity of the publication, is itself congruous with the authorship of the book. And we have in it not only a book against episcopacy, published by the Methodist Episcopal church, but also a book against episcopacy, written by a member of the English Episcopal church. We know,

have never been translated into English. Now and then a great but pestilent work, like that of De Wette, appears in a version, but, most happily, the demand, in England and America, has been for such as those of Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Neander and Krummacher. Not long ago we met with a proposal to give to American readers, Rosenmüller's Commentary on the Psalms. Most cordially do we hope, that since the appearance of the book we have here noticed, the labours of that singularly cold and incredulous Rationalist will be allowed to sleep. With such a guide as Hengstenberg, the most critical student may be satisfied; assured that he will be led to the results of the most accomplished modern exegesis, and to a sufficient acquaintance with all the recent literature of the subject; so that all resort to the multitudinous and chaotic mass of conflicting expositions may well be spared.

---

ART. IV.—*Report of Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, from the Committee of Commerce of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the memorial of the Friends of Colonization assembled in convention in the city of Washington, May, 1842. To which is appended a collection of the most interesting papers on the subject of African Colonization, &c., &c. Feb. 28, 1843. Printed by order of the House of Representatives.*

*Isidore Alexander*

THE American Colonization Society have, since their first organization, presented several memorials to Congress, soliciting their aid, and co-operation, in carrying into effect the plan which they had adopted for planting a Colony on the Western coast of Africa, composed of such free people of colour in these United States, as might be willing to engage in the enterprise, and should be judged suitable by the agents of the Society. In every instance, a favourable and respectful attention has been given by Congress to these memorials, and the Committees to whom they were referred, have uniformly reported favourably, as to the objects of the Society. But there has been very little efficient action based on these reports. Sometimes the subject has been laid over for want of time to consider it; but principally, it is presumed, from the inherent difficulties of maturing any

plan of rendering any effectual aid, which would be free from constitutional objections. In the law passed in the year 1819, for the suppression of the slave trade, there was a provision, that such slaves as should be found on vessels pursuing this nefarious traffic should be sent back to their own country. In virtue of this provision, President Monroe considered himself authorized to send an agent to reside on the western coast of Africa, to take charge of such re-captured negroes, as might be sent back by the government. Besides this, the government have done nothing to favour the colony, except to send, occasionally, a vessel of war to cruise on that coast, to interrupt slavers, and also to protect the lawful commerce of our merchants, trading with the natives of that country. In regard to the disposal of re-captured slaves, for many years very few have been taken by our armed vessels; so that the residence of an agent to attend to that object, has been found unnecessary. In the late treaty with England, concluded by our government with Lord Ashburton, there has been inserted a provision of no small importance to the colony of Liberia. By this article, the American government agrees to keep on that coast a force, of not less than eighty guns. This will afford to the colony that protection which it greatly needs, and for the want of which the colonists have been exposed to numerous injuries and indignities, from British traders and others.

The affairs of the colony having come into a very critical state, it was deemed expedient by the friends of colonization, to hold a convention at the city of Washington, in the month of May 1842; which was attended by a number of ardent friends of the cause. In the course of the meeting, much useful information was received, especially from Dr. Hall, whose knowledge of all that relates to the condition of the settlements in Liberia, and that of the commerce of the western coast of Africa, is superior to that of any other person in this country.\* The convention, moreover,

\* Dr. Hall went to Liberia as early as 1831, and was the agent by whom the money to pay for the territory of Bassa Cove was sent out. He afterwards became the leader of the colony from the Maryland Society, to Cape Palmas. By him the territory of Maryland was purchased from the natives; and upon the settlement of the colony, he continued with them until their affairs were brought into a comfortable state. After he resigned the office of governor of this colony, he was engaged in the African trade; and is now understood to be the secretary of the Maryland Colonization Society, and the editor of their periodical.

directed a memorial to be laid before Congress, then in session, stating important reasons, why Congress should, without delay, act on this subject. The first consideration is, that several hundreds of those now constituting the colony, were re-captured Africans, sent there by the American government, who ought therefore to be the special object of their care. It would be cruel to place such persons in a part of the country distant from their native place, and then leave them to their fate. But the two principal considerations, which are urged upon congress, in this memorial, are,

I. The suppression of the slave trade, and

II. The protection of the American commerce in that country, and in those seas.

This last, as appears from the information communicated by Dr. Hall, has become a matter of great importance to this country. It being found, that the rich commerce of Africa is nearly monopolized by the British, for want of snitable exertions on the part of our government. But obstructed as the trade is to American merchants, it has been calculated, that it does not fall short of a million of dollars in the year ; and is capable of a large and indefinite increase.

And in regard to the suppression of the slave trade, it is known to all, that our government has gone before all others in legislating on this subject, and denouncing heavy penalties on any of its citizens who should be convicted of participating in this inhuman traffic. But it is now very clearly ascertained, that no plan of putting a stop to this trade has been found so effectual, as planting Christian colonies along the coast where the evil is perpetrated, and promoting commercial intercourse with the inhabitants. On this ground, the memorialists argue with great force, that the American government is under obligations to foster and protect the existing colony of Liberia, which has suppressed the slave trade in all places to which its jurisdiction extends. And if they had a more extensive jurisdiction along the coast, this horrible iniquity could be done away, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas ; a distance of about three hundred miles. Although the British government have kept a large naval force on that coast, for the very purpose of seizing every vessel which should be found engaged in this traffic ; yet with all their vigilance, aided too by American vessels, sent on the same errand ; the result, as stated in the memo-

rial, is most appalling. This inhuman traffic instead of being suppressed by all these expensive and vigorous exertions, has gone on regularly increasing, until the calculation is, that not less than *half a million* of human beings are, in one year carried away from the coasts of Africa into slavery, nearly all of whom find a market in Cuba or Brazil. And not only has the evil gone on increasing until it has arrived at this appalling result, as to the numbers captured; but the cruelties practised, and the loss of life in consequence, and to avoid capture, are also greatly increased beyond all former experience. The truth is, that there is but a small probability of capturing those vessels which are built expressly on purpose to carry on the slave trade. They are commonly fast sailing schooners, which draw little water, and can enter into creeks and rivers where armed vessels cannot follow them, and they ply off and on the coast, until they see an opportunity of taking in their cargo, which is often completed in two or three hours; for the slaves are kept chained in a baracoon near the coast, and can be conveyed on board in a very short time. And when they are chased if they cannot escape by fast sailing, there is every reason to believe that they get clear of the unhappy slaves, in the shortest way possible.

The memorialists, to fortify the opinion which had been expressed, of the inefficiency of the means used for suppressing the slave trade, introduce a quotation from the recent work of Sir F. Buxton, a gentleman who has been long conspicuous as the friend of Africa, and the zealous enemy of this detestable traffic; and whose opportunities of information are unsurpassed. "It is but too evident," says he, "that under the mode we have taken for the suppression of the slave trade, it has increased. It has been proved by documents that cannot be controverted, that for every village fired, and every drove of human beings marched in former times, there are now double. For every cargo then at sea, two cargoes, or twice the number in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the waves of the Atlantic. But whilst the number who suffer have increased, there is no reason to believe that the sufferings of each have been abated; on the contrary we know, that in some particulars, these have increased; so that the sum total of misery swells in both ways. Each individual has more to endure, and the number of individuals is twice what it was."

“I do not see how we can escape from the conviction that such is the result of our efforts, unless by giving way to a vague and undefined hope, with no evidence to support it, that the facts I have collected, though true at the time, are no longer a true exemplification of the existing state of things. In the most recent documents relating to the slave trade, I find no ground for any such consolatory surmise; on the contrary, I am driven by them to the sorrowful conviction, that the year, from September 1837 to September 1838, is distinguished beyond all preceding years for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes of human life. Once more then, I must declare my conviction, that the trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued. You will be defeated by its enormous gains. You may throw impediments in the way of these miscreants, you may augment their peril, you may reduce their profits, but enough, and more than enough, will remain to baffle all your efforts. Better to do nothing, than to go on year after year at a great cost, adding to the disasters, and inflaming the wounds of Africa.”

It is well known that these views and facts led to the formation of a society in England for the civilization of Africa; and that at great expense, an expedition was fitted out under the authority of government, to make an establishment on the river Niger; but that, through the deleterious effects of the climate, the whole scheme was rendered abortive, and has been abandoned by the government. The remedy which the memorialists propose for this great evil, is “the lawful commerce of Africa.” “Already,” say they “is this remedy in operation, already producing its humanizing results upon the shores of Africa. This commerce has begun and is rapidly increasing. Our citizens, with their characteristic enterprize, have successfully embarked in it; and all that need be asked for it from the government, is the same protection and encouragement that are extended to our commerce with other countries.” . . . “It is by the substitution of a lawful commerce with Africa, that the slave trade is to be abolished.”

The memorialists, therefore, do not ask Congress to take the colony under their government; or to appropriate funds for its support, but only to afford efficient protection to American commerce with Africa; and this, they think, will accomplish for Liberia all which she absolutely needs.

But, in the report of Mr. Kennedy from the committee of

commerce, there is a hint thrown out, that it would be good policy for the American government, to take the colony of Liberia under its immediate protection, and to appropriate a sum sufficient to purchase all the remaining territory on the coast, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas. After taking a general survey of the origin and progress of the colony, and the former acts of the government in relation to it, the report goes on to say :

“ It is vitally important that the territory of the colony should be enlarged, and that their jurisdiction should become clear and uncontested over the whole line of coast, between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles, and that, in case of hostilities between this and any European country, their rights as neutrals should be recognized and respected. The increase of legitimate commerce on the western coast of Africa, is already strongly tempting the enterprise of English merchants; and serious difficulties have arisen between British traders, claiming rights, independent of the government of Liberia and Maryland, within their territorial limits. Naval officers of Great Britain have been called on by British subjects, to interpose and defend them against the revenue laws of the colonies; and the French, the committee are informed, have sought to obtain a cession of lands, within the limits of Liberia, just referred to, and to which the people of that colony have a presumptive right.

“ As neither Great Britain nor any European Government has, to the knowledge of the committee, claimed political jurisdiction, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; as such claim if by possibility it exists, has arisen long since the colonies were founded; as those who have gone thither, to establish for themselves, their posterity, and multitudes who may follow them, a republican commonwealth, capable of indefinite enlargement, it is essential that they be not disturbed in the exercise of rights already acquired, or precluded from extending their authority over the entire line of coast (from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas) generally known as Liberia. An appropriation of a few thousand dollars, to enable the colonists to effect negotiations with the native chiefs, by which their titles to this region of Africa should be extinguished, and the jurisdiction of their government over it rendered unquestionable, would, in the judgment of your committee, whether regarded as a measure auxiliary to the suppression of the slave trade, or to the interests of American commerce, be highly expedient. In all treaties for the purchase of lands, it might be stipulated, that, on the part of the African chiefs, the slave trade should be forever abandoned, and their attention directed to the more gainful pursuits of agricultural industry, and to the exchange of the rich products of the country for those of the manufacturing skill of this and other civilized nations. The people of the colonies, thus encouraged, would co-operate most effectually with our naval squadron in carrying out the humane and philanthropic purpose of the recent treaty for the overthrow of the slave trade, and become factors and agents to increase and extend American commerce in that quarter of the world. It is believed that 20,000 dollars thus expended,

would effect more for the furtherance of both these objects, than \$100,000 expended in any other way."

"The committee have evidence, to which they refer in the documents accompanying this report, to show the increase of lawful commerce on the African coast, and that, for want of adequate protection, and the due attention of our government to the subject, it has been prosecuted by our own citizens under great disadvantages.

. . . . The annual imports from western Africa into this country, probably exceeds a million of dollars: and into Great Britain are about four millions. The palm oil trade, now becoming of great value, had hardly an existence twelve years ago, is rapidly increasing, and may be increased to an almost indefinite extent.

"The time has arrived, in the opinion of the committee, when this subject of African colonization has become sufficiently important to attract the attention of the people, in its connexion with the question of the political relations which these colonies are to hold with our government. Founded, partly by the enterprise of American citizens, and partly by the aid of the Federal and State authorities, recognized as political communities by our laws, and even owing their regulation in some degree to a state of this Union, (as in the case of Maryland) they have obtained a position in which obviously, they must become objects of consideration to the world, both for the commerce which may lie under their control, and for the agency which they are likely to exercise in the disenthralment of the continent to which they belong. It may speedily become apparent to the observation of Christendom, that the slave trade may more certainly, effectually and cheaply be destroyed by the colonial power on shore, than by all the squadrons of Europe and America afloat. The growth of such a conviction will inevitably draw an anxious and a friendly eye to the American colonies, from every power which sincerely pursues the charitable work of relieving Africa from her horrible traffic, and mankind from the reproach of permitting it. The influence of such a sentiment, we may conceive, will greatly advance the interests, and magnify the value of the colonies. It would appear to be our duty, before such conflicting interests arise, to take such steps towards the recognition of our appropriate relations to these communities, as may hereafter secure to them the protection of this government, and to our citizens the advantages of commercial intercourse with them.

"The idea of an American colony is a new one. It is manifestly worthy of the highest consideration. The committee see nothing in our constitution to forbid it. We have establishments of this nature but somewhat anomalous in the character of their dependence on our government, in the Indian tribes which have been placed beyond the limits of the States, on the purchased territory of the Union. The African settlements would require much less exercise of political jurisdiction, much less territorial supervision, than is presented in the case of these tribes. They would require aid towards the enlargement of territory, occasional visitation and protection by our naval armaments, a guarantee, perhaps, to be secured to them by the influence of our government of the right of neutrality in the wars that may arise between European or American states. They would stand in need of the highest commercial privileges in their intercourse with the mother country; and the reciprocation of such



privileges, on the part of the colonies to our own citizens, would doubtless be an object to be secured on our side."

At the close of their able and interesting report, the committee submitted to the House of Representatives, the two following resolutions as proper to be adopted by Congress; but, as in some former cases, they were not taken up for want of time.

"1. *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, that the increasing importance of the colonies on the western coast of Africa, both in regard to the commerce of that coast and their influence in suppressing the slave trade renders it expedient that an agent should be appointed by the government, to protect and advance the interests of American trade in that region; that said agent should reside at some convenient place in the said colonies; and that he should be empowered to form treaties or connexions with the native tribes on the coast of Africa, for the advancement of American trade, and for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

"2. *And be it further resolved*, that the subject of settling the political relations proper to be adopted and maintained between this government and the colonies now established, or which may hereafter be established, on the coast of Africa, by the citizens or public authorities of the United States, or any of the States, be referred to the Secretary of State, with a direction that he report thereon to the next Congress."

Here the matter for the present rests, and whether the subject will be taken up by the present Congress, is altogether uncertain; but we expect very little from them except the expression of a favourable opinion. Strong opposition would be made to Congress assuming on themselves the government of these colonies. This opposition would arise from two opposite quarters, from the abolitionists, and from the pro-slavery men. It would come down with violence from the north, and would come up with equal violence from the south. And upon the whole, we are of opinion, that it would not be for the benefit of Liberia to become a colony of the United States. Such a political connexion would, no doubt, give great enlargement to these infant colonies, but their character would be changed, and soon the lively interest of those philanthropic individuals, who have hitherto sustained this cause, would be lessened. Establishments of this kind never will succeed so well in the hands of political agents, as of those selected by a voluntary association, such as the American Colonization Society. If our Government should assume the direction of the affairs of Liberia, the inhabitants would no

longer be actuated by the same spirit of enterprise and independence, which has characterized them in time past. No idea is dearer to them than that of becoming an independent nation. And we acknowledge, that it is our earnest wish, that Liberia may never become dependent on any nation. Let it under Providence, become a great and virtuous republic. No nation, in its beginning, ever had a brighter prospect before it. Let the American Government become the ally and protector of these colonies. Let them assist them to complete the purchase of those portions of territory, the title of which has not yet been acquired from the natives. Let them avail themselves of the advantages which these colonies present, for prosecuting that valuable commerce, which is now opening to the world. And let them combine their efforts with those of other nations, in untiring efforts to suppress the slave trade; in which benevolent enterprise, they will find the Liberians their most efficient coadjutors. **BUT LET LIBERIA FOR EVER BE FREE.** The greatest difficulties attending the establishment of a colony are already overcome. We do entertain the confident and pleasing expectation, that Liberia is destined to be a grand republic, which shall extend its benign influence into the very centre of the dark continent of Africa. And we do believe that it is the design of a wise and benignant Providence, to make Liberia, the asylum of the whole African race, now dispersed over a large part of this continent, and the West India Islands. In our view, there is no spot on the globe better calculated to interest the Christian and the philanthropist, than this little republic on the Western coast of Africa. When the future historian shall survey the events and revolutions of the first half of the nineteenth century, we are of opinion, that his eye will fix with intense interest on the bold, but benevolent enterprise, of colonizing the free people of colour on the coast of Africa. And that such an enterprise should have been undertaken by a voluntary association, without the co-operation of the Government; and that it should have been successful, will be a subject of wonder to future ages. It is our sincere persuasion, that no event which has occurred in the world since the commencement of the nineteenth century is at all equal, in real importance, to the successful establishment of this little colony. We do not think that the history of the world can furnish a parallel to the accomplishment of this work by a voluntary association of benevo

lent men. And yet the work has not been effected without great sacrifices, on the part of a number of persons, whose inextinguishable zeal in this cause made them willing to lay down their lives in attempting the establishment of this colony. Great praise is undoubtedly due to the pious and venerable Finley, who first formed the plan of the African Colonization Society, and to such men as Caldwell and Key, the ardent and able advocates of the cause; but more praise is due to those devoted and self-sacrificing men, who offered themselves to go to Africa, and who actually became a kind of martyrs to the cause of African Colonization. Foremost among these should be mentioned Samuel J. Mills, because he was the first who fell in the glorious enterprise. Seldom has a man lived upon earth, whose whole soul was so absorbed with schemes of benevolence. Having taken an exploring missionary tour through the western and southern states, he became deeply interested in the degraded condition of the African race. He found that a number of pious people in those regions, who were slave-holders, only wanted to see some feasible plan by which the real welfare of their slaves could be promoted, to induce them at once to emancipate them. He set his mind to work, therefore, to devise some plan by which the pious wishes of these persons could be realized. And he fell upon the scheme of colonizing them in some portion of the vacant territory in the west. But while he was pondering and consulting about this matter, the scheme of African colonization was proposed by Dr. Finley, into which he entered at once with all his soul; and when exploring agents were wanted to visit Africa, and ascertain the practicability of planting a colony on that coast, he offered his services, and with the Rev. Mr. Burgess, went, and examined the country, conferred with the chiefs, and learned the state of things among the savage tribes along the coast, of all which a journal was carefully kept; but when he had accomplished this important work, he was called to his reward. He died on the passage home. His body lies deep under the waves of the Atlantic, until the sea shall be required to give up its dead.

If our limits permitted, we should be pleased to speak particularly of other devoted and excellent men, who sacrificed their lives in promoting the cause of African Colonization. Among these Ashmun holds a pre-eminent place; but a full account of his self-denying, and heroic labours in

this cause, has been given to the public by the Rev. Mr. Gurley. The late Governor Buchanan, at once judicious, energetic, and indefatigable, deserves a lasting memorial from the friends of Colonization. But our present object is not to enlogize the benefactors of Liberia; but to present to our readers a concise view of these colonies, and the cogent reasons which should induce the friends of Africa to come forward, without delay, with liberal contributions, to enable the Society to secure territory, which if not soon possessed, will be forever out of their reach.

The whole extent of the coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, has received the name of LIBERIA. This tract of country lies between  $4^{\circ} 30'$  and  $6^{\circ} 35'$  north latitude. But the whole of this coast is not possessed by the colonies. Many places are occupied by British and American factories; and very recently an important station has been taken possession of by the French. No part of the African coast was more visited by slave dealers than this; but now, as far as the jurisdiction of the colonies extends, the slave trade is extinguished: but in some places on this coast, without the jurisdiction of the colonies, this detestable traffic is still carried on. The first colonists were sent out by the society before they had secured any territory for their residence; and were subjected to many hardships and impositions; so that some of them in disgust and discouragement, separated themselves from their brethren, and went to Sierra Leone. At length, a purchase of a territory, including Cape Mesurado, was made by Dr. Ayres, and Captain Stockton of the United States Navy. This negotiation was effected with great difficulty, and had it not been for the address and heroic courage of Captain Stockton, would have utterly failed. After the treaty for the land was made and was confirmed by the signature of all the chiefs who had any claims to the country, great dissatisfaction was manifested by the natives; and it was not long before they entered into a general combination to extirpate the colonists, by violence. And accordingly they made an attack on the infant settlement of Monrovia, and came near possessing themselves of the place, but by the invincible courage of Ashmun and a little band of not more than thirty men, the place was successfully defended against a large body of ferocious savages. Chagrined at their disappointment and defeat, the native chiefs collected an army of more than a thousand warriors, and made a second assault on this little band of

colonists. Their attack was made with desperate resolution, but again they were repulsed with very great loss. Since that time, there has been no attempt to destroy the colony. And long since they have been in a situation to bid defiance to any hostile attack from the natives.

The town of Monrovia (for so the place on Cape Mesurado is called) contains about 1200 inhabitants. Its situation on the elevated land of the Cape, is very conspicuous from the sea, and exhibits, to vessels approaching the bay, a very beautiful spectacle. In this town there are three churches, an Episcopal Methodist, a Baptist, and a Presbyterian, all substantial stone buildings; and out of 1200 inhabitants there are about 600 communicants, which must be three-fourths of the adult population. Of these, however, much the largest number is in the Methodist connexion, who have not only a numerous church, but a high school, for the accommodation of which a handsome building has lately been completed. The public buildings worthy of notice are, a fort well supplied with artillery, a light-house lately erected, and a new court-house for the accommodation of the Legislative Council, and other public bodies. The inhabitants of Monrovia live chiefly by commerce. Some of the merchants have carried on so successful a trade as to have become wealthy, and live in as decent a style as gentlemen in our cities. Indeed, the complaint has been, that too many persons engage in commerce, while the labours of agriculture have been too much neglected. There, as here, a rage for commercial speculation ends in the disappointment and bankruptcy of those who imprudently engage in it. This evil is said, however, to be diminishing; especially, since the settlement of several towns at a distance from the sea-board.

According to Dr. Hall's statements to the colonization convention, met at Washington, the trade of Monrovia, has of late very much decreased, owing "to the energetic prosecution of the slave trade at Gallinas, about one hundred miles to the north-west." And he gives an unfavourable testimony respecting the healthiness of the place. The population of the town does not increase, on this account, and also, because of the drains from it to supply the new colonies. The unhealthiness of the situation is attributed to the low marshy ground, on the margin of the rivers which empty into the sea, in the vicinity of the town, and to the dense groves of mangroves which grow in these

marshes. There is still here a great appearance of trade and active business. Between the 24th of October, 1841, and the 31st of March, 1842, less than five months, twenty-four foreign vessels visited the harbour of Monrovia, and received on board 156 tons of camwood, 40,000 gallons of palm oil, 7000 tons of ivory, 32 tons of turtle shell, besides other articles—making the exports, for the time specified, equal in value to \$40,000.\*

In Monrovia, beside the high schools already mentioned, there are two schools of common learning, containing 150 pupils.

New Georgia, is situated on Stockton Creek, about four miles from Monrovia, and is settled chiefly by the re-captured Africans, sent home by the government of the United States. The inhabitants amount to about 300, and are now a civilized and Christianized people. Their houses and their appurtenances, are remarkable for their neatness. Indeed, these natives, lately taken from the lowest state of savage degradation, and recovered from the foul holds of slave ships, are now distinguished for good order, industry, and a desire of improvement. In this settlement there are two schools, and two churches, the one of the Methodist, the other of the Baptist denomination; but we are sorry to learn from Gov. Roberts's letter, already referred to, that the place is becoming sickly; so that it will probably be necessary to remove them to a more salubrious situation.

If the American Colonization Society had nothing else to show as the fruit of their labours, but the improved and happy condition of these re-captured Africans, this alone would be sufficient to convince all reasonable men that the society has not been without its beneficial effects. Let those societies, in our country, which have set themselves in opposition to African colonization, exhibit such fruits of their labours as these, and we will give them credit for being real friends to the African race.

Caldwell, is the name of another settlement or town, in Liberia. It is situated on St. Paul's river, about eight miles from Monrovia. This town is inhabited chiefly by persons engaged in agricultural pursuits. They are an orderly, industrious, and religious people; and although there are not more than five hundred inhabitants, they have two churches and two schools. One of the churches belongs to

\* See Governor Roberts's letter to Dr. Hodgkin in the *Af. Rep.* for Nov. 1843.

the Methodist, and the other to the Baptist denomination ; and between them, there are as many as two hundred communicants, which must be a large majority of the adult population.

Millsburg, is higher up St. Paul's river, and is distant from Caldwell about twelve miles, and from Monrovia, about twenty. The description just given of Caldwell, will, in almost every particular, apply to this settlement. The people are for the most part agriculturalists. There is here also a Methodist and a Baptist church, but the number of communicants does not much exceed one hundred. There are also two schools in this settlement.

Marshall, is a much newer town than any of those already mentioned, and is yet in its infancy. It is situated about twenty miles from Monrovia, on the Junk river, near its entrance into the sea. Both the Methodists and Baptists have a church at this place. Besides these settlements of the colonists, there are two or three inhabited by the natives, as Heddington and Robertsville, where there are schools for the education of the children of the natives, in a flourishing condition.

Colonization Societies having been formed by the young men of the cities of New York and Philadelphia, in the year 1835, these two societies were united, and determined to purchase a territory for a colony. The country on St. John's river was fixed on as a suitable location, commonly known by the name of Bassa Cove. A tract of land, including both sides of the aforesaid river, and extending back a considerable distance was purchased from the native chiefs, and a colony planted there. Here are two towns near the mouth of the river, the one called Bassa Cove, on the south side, and that on the north bank, Edina. This last town has a beautiful situation, and though soon after its settlement as a colony, it met with a sad disaster, by being attacked, treacherously, by some of the natives, and a number of the inhabitants massacred ; yet it is now again in a flourishing condition. It has two churches, a Methodist and Baptist, and, including about forty native converts, about two hundred communicants. Bassa Cove has three churches, a Baptist, a Methodist, and a Presbyterian. Two other towns have been laid out and settled by colonists in this territory. The one is called Greenville, the other Bexley. This last is some distance up the river in the midst of a fertile body of land, and is in a growing and prosperous state.

Although this was at first an independent colony, yet it was judged expedient to have it united with the original colony at Cape Mesurado, and to be placed under the direction of the parent society, and under the common government of Liberia. These towns, therefore, send delegates to the legislative council at Monrovia, in proportion to their number of inhabitants possessing the right of suffrage; and are under the same municipal laws as Monrovia, and the towns in her vicinity. Dr. Hall, in his recent examination, before the Colonization Convention, already mentioned, gives the preference to the location of the colony of Bassa Cove, to that of Monrovia; and says that it is of "equal rank and importance with the older establishment."

From the territory of Bassa Cove, for one hundred miles along the coast, the colony possesses as yet no right of jurisdiction. This is the country which it is all important should be owned by the colony. It is for the purchase of this and other parts of the unoccupied coast, that the American Colonization Society have made on the friends of the cause such an urgent call for aid. If it is not obtained very soon, it will probably be beyond their reach, forever.

At the distance aforementioned from Bassa Cove, we come to the colony established by the societies of Mississippi and Louisiana, on the river Sinou, which territory takes the name of Mississippi. The testimony of Dr. Hall respecting this location is very favourable. "It would," he says, "if properly fostered, be one of the best on the coast. The river is large, and affords a safe and commodious anchorage for all colonial vessels." But the extent of territory purchased for this colony is very limited, and the number of colonists is so small, that they, separated so far from the other colonies, must stand exposed to great danger. Passing the Sinou colony, we find another hundred miles, says Dr. Hall, unclaimed by the colonies, until you come to the territory of Cape Palmas, called "Maryland." Very recently, however, it appears that Governor Russwurm has made a purchase of an important point on the coast, called Fishtown. Of this place, Governor Russwurm speaks in the following language. "The advantages of this acquisition cannot well be appreciated by one unacquainted with the African coast and trade. The territory, in itself, for tillage, is of very little importance.

"The harbour was the only thing that rendered the pos-



session of this point so peculiarly desirable; and in this respect, its importance cannot be overrated; especially, when it is taken into consideration, that for near two thousand miles extent of coast, its superior is not to be found.

"Fishtown," says he, "really forms a part of Cape Palmas, as at this place commences the gradual rounding of the coast to east, and ultimately to east-north-east. Probably the very row of tall palms, or a continuation of them which extends east of the town, and serves as a landmark for many miles at sea, gave the name to the cape.

"Perhaps there is no spot in the world that presents so beautiful a view to the eye of the weary voyager, as Fishtown, when running down the coast, close in shore."

The place immediately opposite to Fishtown, called "Garraway," or "Jarraway," has been very recently taken possession of by the French, which shows that in a short time all the important points on the coast will be occupied by some of the European nations unless the whole is obtained for the colony. Mr. Kennedy, in his report, considers the colonies as having an equitable pre-emptive right to the whole coast, from Cape Palmas to Cape Mount.

But it is time that we gave the reader some account of the interesting colony at Cape Palmas, called "Maryland." This colony, according to Dr. Hall, who selected the spot, and purchased the land, and acted as the leader and first governor of the colonists, contains a territory of about 15,000 square miles, extending along the seaboard thirty-five miles. The purchase was made in 1834. "Its character is strictly agricultural, producing in the greatest abundance, vegetable provisions for the consumption of its inhabitants, and for supplying commercial and national vessels. Although established but eight years since, it is far better fitted for self-support than any other colony on the coast. The colony now contains about six hundred inhabitants, mostly emigrants from the State of Maryland; and the statistics show, that it is on the increase, independent of immigration."

"The total expense of furnishing this colony, purchase of territory, transporting emigrants, furnishing supplies, paying the salaries of officers, both in America and Africa, has been about \$130,000. \$86,000 paid by the State, about \$20,000, by individual contributions, and \$20,000 accruing from trade." This colony though situated in Liberia, is entirely distinct from the other colonies, and is under a

separate government. The Maryland Colonization Society is properly a State Society, for from the treasury of the State it receives the principal part of its funds. Originally, this society was auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, and was one of its most important auxiliaries. But as soon as the Legislature of Maryland agreed to lend their efficient aid in the establishment of a colony, on the coast of Africa, to which the free people of colour, and emancipated slaves in the State, might be sent, it became inexpedient to hold any further connexion with the parent society, which is national, and operates with a view to all the states, where there are any free people of colour. But, the Maryland Colonization Society, has relation to that State alone. There is also something peculiar in the professed object of this society, which distinguishes it from the other societies. They declare that they have nothing in view, but to remove, with their own consent, the free people of colour; and do not propose to interfere in any way, or degree, with the institution of slavery. But the Maryland Society, and the Legislature of Maryland, (in making their liberal appropriation of \$200,000 to be paid at the rate of \$20,000 per annum, for ten years,) distinctly avow it to be the object of the enterprise, to relieve the state, as soon as it can conveniently be done, from the incubus of slavery. Maryland wishes to become a free state; and as she knows that this desirable end cannot be attained, by emancipating her slaves and permitting them to remain in the state, so as to promote the real benefit of either the whites or blacks, she has adopted the wise and liberal policy of providing an asylum for such as are now free, and for such as benevolent citizens might from time to time, be willing to liberate, on condition of their emigration to Maryland, in Liberia.

The territory purchased for this colony, according to the description of Dr. Hall, is exceedingly beautiful. Some idea may be formed of it from a few extracts from Dr. Hall's letter to the Society in 1835. Speaking of an excursion which he made, he says, "On leaving Grahway, I entered one of the most beautiful meadows I ever beheld, from one to two miles in breadth, extending a distance of nearly five miles. It was literally covered with fine fat cattle, sheep, and goats, belonging to the neighbouring towns." . . . "From this to Cavally river, a distance of eight miles, as near as I could judge, I took what is termed the

bush path, and it carried me through a delightful country, the greater part of which is included in our purchase. The surface is gently undulating, and covered with a quick growth of small wood, the whole having been cleared for rice and cassada ; and we passed many fields of these vegetables which are the main articles of food in this country. To an enthusiastic admirer of nature nothing could be more delightful than a stroll along these beautiful fields, winding occasionally among almost impervious clusters of young palm trees, whose spreading branches exclude every ray of the scorching sun ; then opening suddenly on immense rice-fields of the most delicate pea-green, skirted by the beautiful broad-leaved plantain and banana, literally groaning under the immense masses of their golden fruit." . . . " I reached the Cavally river about two miles above the mouth. This is a splendid river, nearly a mile in width, running with great velocity into the sea, perfectly fresh even to its mouth. It could be entered by vessels of 200 tons, but the violence of the current when meeting the tide causes immense breakers, which prevent boats and canoes from passing, except in the dry season."

"In this purchase, we have every natural advantage possible to favour the promotion of agriculture, and we only require industry, and with that industry, proper direction, and guidance, to render this a wealthy and flourishing colony."

"Of the articles which our climate will enable us to raise for exportation, the most prominent are, palm oil, sugar, molasses, coffee, cotton, and tobacco." The Doctor also speaks favourably of the health of the climate, and his opinion has not been contradicted as it relates to the colonists, in the experience of eight years. It has however, proved equally deleterious to white men, as the other parts of this fatal coast.

A town was laid off near the sea, which was called Harper, in honour of the Hon. Robert G. Harper, of Baltimore, one of the ablest and most ardent advocates that African Colonization ever had. This town was laid off on ground contiguous to a large native town ; for by the conditions of the purchase, the natives are to be permitted to remain in their towns, and cultivate their lands, as before. One of the first objects of Dr. Hall was, to erect a strong fort in the midst of Harper, which has in honour of the founder, taken the name of Fort Hall ; and being well supplied with can-

non, has a mighty influence in keeping the natives in awe.

Mr. Roberts, in his letter to Dr. Hodgkin, says, that in Cape Palmas, there are five places of worship, a Methodist, a Baptist, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, and a Roman Catholic : and he supposes the number of communicants in all, may be estimated at three hundred. Several Missionary Societies have established stations in this colony, as the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Baptists ; and recently, the Romanists have sent missionaries to Cape Palmas, also.

The Rev. Mr. Wilson, of South Carolina, with his lady, settled in the colony as missionaries, under the care of the American Board for Foreign Missions. They selected a beautiful situation for their station, the land of which was made over to them, and which they improved in a very handsome manner. Mr. Wilson immediately addressed himself to the business of learning the language of the natives, in which he made a gratifying progress, and was able after a few years to reduce it to writing ; and prepared some elementary books for the schools, in which the natives were instructed. But, unfortunately, some misunderstanding having arisen between him and the colonial government, he determined to remove to a station without the jurisdiction of the Colony ; and after taking a survey of the coast for many hundred miles, he fixed upon Gaboon river, as the most eligible ; to which station he, with the missionary family, has gone. It is not our purpose to inquire into the grounds of the aforementioned misunderstanding. Every such difference has two aspects, and we are too imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of the case to be impartial and intelligent judges of the matter. It is however, deeply to be regretted, that such things should occur. But we trust that the providence of God will overrule it for greater good ; for we learn that Mr. Wilson's prospects, in the new region to which he has carried the light of the gospel, are very promising.

Having given a brief description of the several colonies, or settlements, in Liberia, we shall make some general remarks on the condition and prospects of the whole ; and as Dr. Hall is the most competent witness, we shall draw our information from his communication to the Convention in Washington, of which we have already availed ourselves to a considerable extent.

Of the character of the Liberians, he speaks as follows,

“Their government is strictly republican, representative, or elective. All officers, of what cast soever, are coloured men, all elective, save the two governors, one residing at Cape Mesurado, appointed by the American Colonization Society, and the other at Cape Palmas, appointed by the Maryland Colonization Society. Of their capability to maintain such a form of government, experience is the best evidence, as in no one instance have the constituted authorities been set at nought or trampled upon.

“The Colonists, generally, are religious and moral, perhaps a greater proportion are members of some Christian church than in any other community. A large majority of them, particularly the younger portion of the community, are instructed in the common branches of education, and some are truly intelligent and learned. The most eloquent preachers, and the most successful physicians are coloured men. In their commercial transactions they are as upright and honourable as could be expected, considering their former habits of life. I think they are capable, with proper protection and patronage, and judicious and select additions from the United States, in time, to accomplish an entire moral and political revolution in Western Africa.”

Speaking of the trade of Monrovia, he says, there were at one time, six regular commission houses, quite a number of coasting vessels were employed in the native trade, and some foreign vessels were constantly in the roadstead. At the present, though the trade from the interior is greatly diminished, for reasons before stated, yet the coasting trade is well sustained, extending from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas. The colonists build small vessels, from ten to forty tons, and trade for the commodities of the coast, with merchandise purchased from European and American vessels. In the prosecution of this trade, they labour under great disadvantages, as their competitors, the foreign merchants, are the very ones from whom they are obliged to purchase their merchandize, and to whom they are to sell the produce of the coast in payment. Were the whole coast between Cape Palmas and Cape Mount, secured by treaty to the colonists, an ample field would be open for the prosecution of a very extensive and profitable commerce.

In answer to the question, “What effects have the colonies produced on the natives in their vicinity?” the answer of Dr. Hall is very satisfactory. “The effect of the colonies upon the native tribes, far and near, is decidedly fa-

vourable : and that perhaps to a greater extent than is often the case in the settlement of a new and barbarous country. Although in Liberia proper, there have often occurred wars with the surrounding tribes, yet the evils arising therefrom are far more than counterbalanced by the good effected. The commercial intercourse with the natives alone, is of vast benefit to them, individually, besides tending rapidly to develop the resources of the country. Their indirect benefit too, through the missionary establishments within the influence of the country, is of weighty consideration, as I am well convinced, without their protection, no mission station could have been established ; and certainly, not successfully prosecuted, had the American colonies not existed. But the most important advantage accruing to the natives from the establishment of the colonies, arises from the bare fact of the existence of a community of blacks, like themselves, maintaining a well regulated government, and conversant with, and exercising the arts and habits of civilized life. It is a universal impression, pervading all the tribes of Western Africa, that the white man is of a distinct and superior order of being, that there is an inseparable bar between the two races, that the one is doomed to be a savage, and the other a civilized man. The bare existence of the colony is a convincing demonstration of the absurdity of their opinions, and will do more to elevate them in the scale of being, than could be done by all and every other measure that could be projected."

Dr. Hall was requested by the convention, "to state the course and extent of the commerce on that coast, and the prospect of its increasing importance." To which he replied, "The whole extent of the coast line of Western Africa is a mart of commerce. . . . In the large rivers, many vessels of from two to four hundred tons are continually to be seen engaged in traffic.

"The principal articles of export in former years were, gums, wax, malagratia pepper, hides, ivory and gold. All these articles are now of secondary importance, to dye-woods and palm oil. The latter article when used barely for the manufacture of soap, and in woollen factories, has found a ready and permanent market, both in Europe and America. But of late, experiments have been made by which the *stearine* is separated from the *ealine*, both of which products being in great demand, it may reasonably be supposed that any amount of the article will always find

a ready market, at a fair profit. The production of this article is greatly on the increase, and no probable limits can be fixed, as to the extent to which it can be furnished. In small towns, where, ten years since, I could only purchase a few gallons in calabashes, for the use of my crew, it is now obtained in puncheons, for exportation. In fact, the whole palm oil trade of the windward coast has been formed, within the last twelve years; and now, thousands of puncheons are shipped annually.

“The camwood is one of the most important dyewoods in the world, and we believe is mostly, if not altogether, obtained from Africa, and it can there be obtained almost to any extent, being, in the interior, one of the most common forest trees. The demand for it is steady and uniform, both in this country and in England.”

In answer to the question, “By whom, and under what advantages and disadvantages is the trade now carried on?” Dr. Hall answered, “I should judge that at least three-fourths of the native trade of the whole continent of Africa, excepting the Mediterranean, of which I know nothing, to be in the hands of the English. Of the remaining fourth, perhaps the Americans have one half, and the balance is divided between the French, Portuguese, and Dutch. The English maintain the ascendancy for many reasons. In the first place, they were at one time the most extensive and successful prosecutors of the slave trade, and obtained jurisdiction over many important points of the coast, at that time. Then, the goods used in the slave trade by all natives, even to the present day, are mainly the production of England and her Indian colonies, tobacco only excepted. Consequently, on the abolition of the slave trade, a vast extent of the coast was under English influence, and a demand existed for the products of her manufactories. Again, England is the great mart for all articles of commerce for the whole world: and there, more than anywhere else, a market may be found for all African produce. The amount of capital too, in England, seeking investment, is a powerful instrument in opening new sources of commerce. But, added to all these, and perhaps as powerful in its influence as all other causes combined, in securing a majority of this trade to the English, is the manner in which the trade is carried on, and the general and ample protection afforded by the English government to the African commerce. The whole trade of the African coast consists in a system of

barter of commodities. Every large tooth of ivory, quintal of camwood, or cask of oil, must command, in most instances, a moiety of every article used in that commerce. The want of one important article of trade, as for instance a musket, tobacco, or even a cutlass or flints, will prevent the trader from making a purchase, even although he may offer four times the value of the article in question, in other merchandise. From this cause, when the commerce is well established, and a demand created for all articles desired in that trade, the merchant, will enjoy great advantages, in the complete assortment of his cargo, over his less fortunate competitors. Then, there is established throughout the continent, a system of credit, which is exceedingly prejudicial to the vessels of all nations whose commerce is not specially protected. The native tribes on the beach are merely the factors for the people of the interior, and have no capital to trade upon, consequently the foreign trader is obliged to land his goods to be sent into the interior and exchanged for his return cargo. His whole cargo, therefore, is at the mercy of these people, and when there is no protecting power at hand, they are solely governed by what they may deem their interest as to the amount which they will refund. If the merchant is an old trader, and it is supposed he will continue the business, they are anxious to secure a continuance of his custom, and probably may pay him well. But, on the other hand, should it be a transient vessel, and one which it may be supposed will not visit the coast again, but a poor return will be received for the cargo landed. Now, the British government maintains a large squadron on the coast, whose duty it is, in addition to the suppression of the slave trade, to form treaties of commerce, more or less perfect, with the African chiefs and head trade-men, to see the conditions thereof well fulfilled, to demand satisfaction for all trespasses by the natives, on the persons or property of British subjects, and to relieve their merchant vessels in cases of wreck, pestilence, or other disaster. This, it will readily be perceived, gives the British commercial vessels very great advantage over those of all other nations. Their commerce on this barbarous coast, (where the risk to all other nations is so great as to swallow up the large profits of the trade) is almost as safe as in any part of the world, where it is protected by the regular custom-house laws of civilized nations."

In answer to the question, "What is necessary to give



our vessels the benefit of this trade?" the reply of Dr. Hall is, "There always ought to be a certain amount of naval force on that coast, cruising from Sierra Leone to Ambrize bay, frequenting most, those parts where the American trade is most largely prosecuted. This is perfectly practicable without the least risk of the sacrifice of the officers and crew from the climate, by observing the most simple precaution; namely, not to permit any officer or seaman to sleep on shore after night-fall, and not to enter any of the rivers during the rainy season, or near the commencement of the rains. The smallest sized vessels, with one good pivot-gun, are as effective as a frigate; and the very swiftest sailers only can be useful.

"A general commercial agent should be established in the most suitable place on the coast, having under his charge a depot of provisions and marine stores, for the benefit of the national vessels, and many of the more important articles for supplying commercial vessels on payment therefor."

In answer to the question, "Are not the colonies rendering considerable aid and protection to American commerce?" The answer is, "The colonies have served materially to increase as well as aid the American commerce on that coast, and that in two ways. First, they have developed the resources of the country interior to the colonies, and vastly increased the exports from that section. Secondly, by the transportation of emigrants in vessels chartered of large shippers in our commercial cities, they have had their attention directed to that trade, and many have subsequently embarked therein. Probably one-quarter of all the American commerce with West Africa for the last ten years, is to be attributed to this cause. The colonies afford aid to American commerce in various ways. In ordinary voyages they serve as regular ports of entry and clearance, furnishing protests, debentures, certificates, and the many documents so important to commerce. In case of partial injury to vessels, so common on long voyages, repairs can be advantageously made here. In case of total wreck, which has in a number of instances occurred to American vessels (two to my knowledge) the crew have been saved from all the misery that would necessarily have been entailed upon them on a barbarous and deadly coast. They have been clothed and fed, and attended in the fever which so certainly attacks all who sleep on shore; and in

every respect found a comfortable home, until opportunities have occurred for shipping. The colonies are often resorted to for medical aid, by vessels which have been up the rivers in the rainy season. On my first landing in 1831, two American vessels were then lying in the roads, from the rivers to the windward, with but one well person of the original crew, on board of each. Had it not been for the colony, most likely, the officers and crews of those vessels would have died, and the vessels been dismantled by the natives, as has been often the case up the rivers. The existence of these colonies has, in my opinion, lessened the risk attending a trading voyage, on that coast, very materially: in fact, changed the features of our commerce there, altogether."

To the question, "How will the proper protection of this colony, and the promotion of American commerce on that coast, affect the slave trade?" Dr. Hall replied, "It may be proper to state, before affording a direct answer to the question, that the very establishment of the colonies has absolutely broken up the slavers within their bounds. The location of the first colony was on an island that had, from time immemorial, been occupied by slave factories. The first severe wars in which this colony was engaged, was on the question of the slave trade. The slave factories of Tradetown and New Cesters were broken up by Ashmun, early in the history of the colony. Subsequently, two factories have, at different times, been destroyed by the colonists, at Little Bassa; and that, too, through hard fighting. Grand Bassa was always a slave mart—the last slaves were shipped on the day I landed in a schooner, to pay for the first purchase of the territory there; in March, 1832. If then, the colonies have without assistance or protection, purged one hundred miles of coast line of this traffic, what may not be hoped from them, when they shall receive that countenance and protection which they so justly merit, and which they have so long required?"

Dr. Hall expresses it as his opinion, that by friendly negotiation with the chiefs along the coast, and explaining to them the evils which attend this traffic, and the reasons why Christian nations have combined to suppress it, together with due encouragement and protection to lawful commerce, they would be induced to give it up. And he is of opinion, that it is only by means of this kind that the evil can be brought to an end. As long as the chiefs are in

favour of it, so long will means be found to carry it on. Wherever the slave trade exists, all the people feel interested to keep it up, because all the luxuries and useful articles which they receive from civilized countries, are the fruits of this trade, and come to them through this channel. But when they find that these same articles can more easily be obtained in exchange for commodities which are easily procured, they will become willing to relinquish it.

It cannot but be interesting to know, how the slave trade is carried on, in Africa. We will, therefore, beg the patient attention of our readers, to Dr. Hall's perspicuous account of the mode of proceeding. "At the slave marts I have visited," says he, "a kind of treaty is entered into between the slave dealer and the head man of the country. A grant is made of a piece of land on which to erect a baracoon or slave factory, and the requisite buildings are erected thereon, on payment of a specific sum. Goods are then distributed to the roving traders, who go to the bush for the purchase of slaves; or the slaves may be sent down by a dealer or warrior, from the interior. The king gets a certain per centage or premium on every slave sold. His men also do all the manual labour for the slaver, procure food for the slaves, keep guard over them, and secure such as may chance to escape. When the vessel arrives to receive the slaves, all hands are turned out at once to put them on board with all possible despatch; and if they escape clear, the king and his people receive additional remuneration. It will, therefore, be perceived, that nothing could be done by any slave dealer on the coast, were it not for the cordial and active co-operation of some native chief, of power and influence."

Hence it appears, how important it is to endeavour to operate on the minds of the chiefs, and if possible to form treaties with them, by which they shall engage to relinquish this shameful and inhuman traffic. And should they refuse to enter into any such treaty; or having engaged, should disregard their own agreement, then it would be just to enter in and seize the slaves, and break up the baracoons, wherever they might be found.

As we do not think it necessary to offer any arguments in vindication of the colonization cause, nor to notice the objections made to the enterprise by its enemies, we have endeavoured to place before our readers as many well authenticated facts, relating to the little colonies planted on the coast of Africa, as we could conveniently introduce into

our limited space, in a single article. Indeed, these facts are superior to all theoretical reasonings. They show what has, under the auspices of divine providence, been effected by the Colonization Societies of this country. And we believe, a parallel cannot be produced from the history of the world. As to the enemies of African Colonization, whether abolitionists, or the defenders of slavery as a state in itself desirable, we could not hope to obviate their prejudices. We leave them to the undisturbed enjoyment of their own opinions, and their own schemes of benevolence. That their opposition has been entirely unprovoked, and most unreasonable in itself, we cannot for a moment doubt. The American Colonization Society has no direct or immediate concern with slavery. It does not attempt to put into execution any plan for the emancipation of slaves. It is a scheme for people already free—its objects must be in a state of freedom before they can have, as a society, anything to do with them. If other people choose to form societies which contemplate the emancipation of slaves, this does not interfere with the plans of the friends of colonization. If their plans are wise and good, the colonization of people already free will not interfere with them nor impede their operations. If they can do any good to the slave and better his condition, let them do it; the colonization enterprise has nothing to do with that subject. But the great objection of anti-slavery men is, that it is not an abolition society. It would be just as reasonable to object that an agricultural society is not an abolition society. The American Colonization Society has a little to do directly with slavery, as any agricultural society. That indirectly the colonization of the free people of colour may have an influence on emancipation, not to hinder, but to promote it, is not only believed, but known to be a fact. Many of the happy and free citizens of Liberia are there by the indirect operation of the society. And this is one of the most amiable features of the plan. In the slave-holding states there are many slave-holders willing to sacrifice their own interest in their slaves, if they could only see a way by which they could be disposed of to their own benefit. The laws of those states require all emancipated slaves to be sent out of the state; but whither could they be sent? Nobody that has contemplated the wretched condition of four-fifths of the free people of colour, in our northern cities and towns, could desire to see their number increased. Until Liberia opened an asylum, to which

emancipated slaves could be sent, persons actuated by pure benevolence to their slaves, could not consent to their emancipation. But now such persons, if correctly informed respecting these colonies, may with freedom give liberty to their slaves; believing, that in Africa they may enjoy, if they conduct themselves well, all the immunities and blessings of free citizens, and be exempt from the influence of all those circumstances which in this country keep them in a state of degradation and wretchedness. Liberty is not absolutely a blessing in all circumstances. To those capable of using it discreetly, it is a rich boon; but to emancipated slaves left in this country, it is no blessing, but rather a curse. The disposition in masters to send their slaves to Liberia, has gone on increasing with the progress of the colonies in Africa, so that there always have been more offered than could be sent. And had it not been for false reports respecting the state of these colonies, which have been industriously circulated through the length and breadth of the land, the number which would have been offered to the society, would have been greater than it has been. The pecuniary sacrifice made by some of those who have sent their slaves to Liberia to enjoy liberty in the land of their forefathers, is truly remarkable. No doubt Mr. Mc Donogh of Louisiana, could have sold the slaves which he recently sent to Africa, for \$40,000. And these benevolent men not only give up, without compensation, their slaves, but carefully prepare them for their new condition, and supply them with those things necessary to render the voyage comfortable, and to commence their agricultural labours with advantages, in Liberia.

If the vast sums which have been uselessly expended by the anti-slavery societies, had been appropriated to the redemption of slaves, and to their transportation to Africa; it would have appeared to far better advantage, on the page of impartial history, than all that they have accomplished. The sums which within a few years they have expended, would have been sufficient to purchase all the territory which is needed to complete the possession of the rising republic of Liberia. But let them apply their money according to their own views; the friends of colonization do not wish to interfere with them; and they have a right to demand that other societies do not interfere with them; and especially, that they forbear to calumniate a cause, which we believe to be pleasing to God, and calculated to

America, not only as an eloquent preacher, but as an able be a greater blessing to the African race, than all other schemes which have ever been devised.

And as to those who are opposed to the enterprize, because they are of opinion that the institution of slavery is a blessing to any country, the American Colonization Society, does not attempt to interfere with their opinions or possessions. Surely they have no right to object to a plan, the object of which is to meliorate the condition of the free coloured population of this country. They cannot believe that these people are in a condition to benefit our country, or to enjoy the blessings of free citizens, in this land. And those persons, among slave-holders, who entertain an entirely different opinion of slavery, in the abstract, and believe it to be a moral and political evil of vast magnitude, from which every state should endeavour, as soon as possible, to free itself, should not be prevented from emancipating their slaves and sending them to a happy colony, planted in the land of their forefathers.

Though we have not had much agency in the colonization scheme, yet we have carefully examined its principles, and observed its progress, from the beginning, and are free to declare, that we believe it to be the most important enterprize, commenced in any part of the world, since we began life; and that the success which has attended it, considering the feebleness of the means and scantiness of the resources of the society, is one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. And believing, that it has had and still enjoys the smiles of heaven, we feel a strong confidence of its ultimate success. And, however extravagant the opinion may appear to many, we do firmly hope, that the whole of the African race, on this continent and the West India Islands, will, sooner or later, be transported to Africa; and that the little state of Liberia, will be the germ of a great and glorious republic, which will be the means of regenerating that dark and miserable continent. And that by means of these colonies, now in their infancy, the light of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ will be made to shine into the inmost recesses of her unknown regions, and into every dark corner of that immense country, now full of the habitations of cruelty.

We entertain these views, because we have been acquainted with the sentiments of the founders of this society, and have the fullest conviction, that the scheme owed

its origin to the purest Christian benevolence. We have never detected any lurking principle of iniquity or selfishness, in the whole operations of the American Colonization Society. A more purely philanthropic scheme, in its origin and progress, we have never known. And though at first, we apprehended that the enterprize would be found impracticable, and on that account our own zeal was faint; yet now we are persuaded, that the plan of colonizing the free people of colour in Africa, is founded in wisdom, as well as philanthropy; and therefore we believe, that, maugre all opposition, it will prevail. Reader, help on this noble cause. Now it needs your help. Contribute to its success, and you will be richly repaid.

*By J. A. Alexander & Wm. Wood*  
 ART. V.—*Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, May, 1843: with a Sketch of the Proceedings of the Residuary Assembly.* Edinburgh: Svo. pp. 254.

IT is now nine years since we laid before our readers a description of the Scottish Church Establishment, with some account of the Original Secession,\* and a statement of the evils under which the system was still labouring, particularly that of unrestricted patronage, and that arising from the want of due proportion between the parochial arrangements of the country and the spiritual wants of the population. We dwelt especially upon the fact, that even where chapels of ease had been erected, with a happy effect upon the religious state of the people, their ministers, however useful and respectable, had no place in the judicatories nor any part whatever in the government of the church. Against this anomalous arrangement, and the still greater evils of inadequate provision for the wants of the people, and of patronage unchecked by any popular control, a vigorous and steady opposition had been making, for some years before we wrote, by a zealous, influential, and increasing party, led by Dr. Chalmers. This distinguished man, already well known to the public, both in Europe and

\* Bib. Rep., 1835. pp. 1-41, and 189-233.