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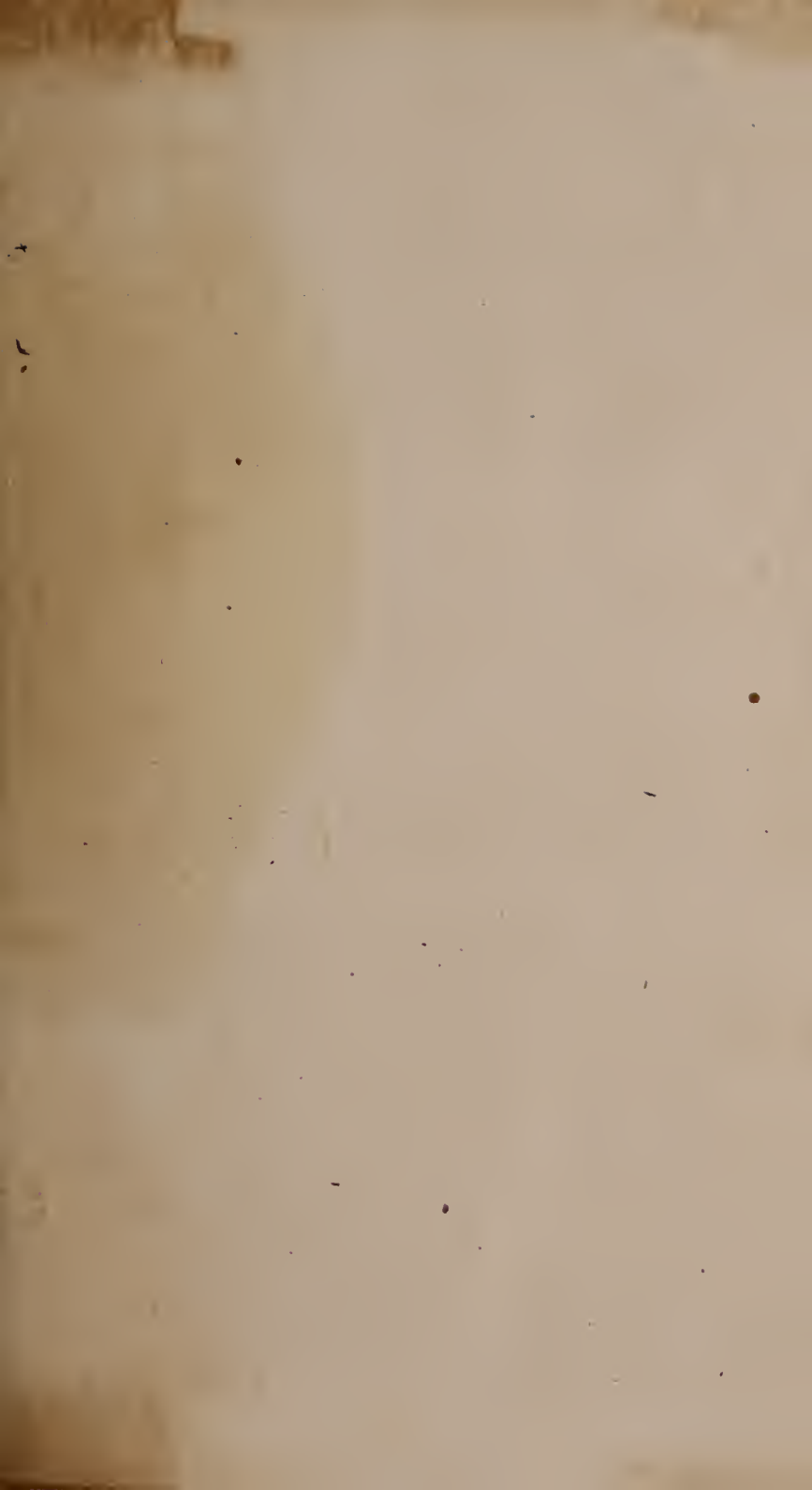
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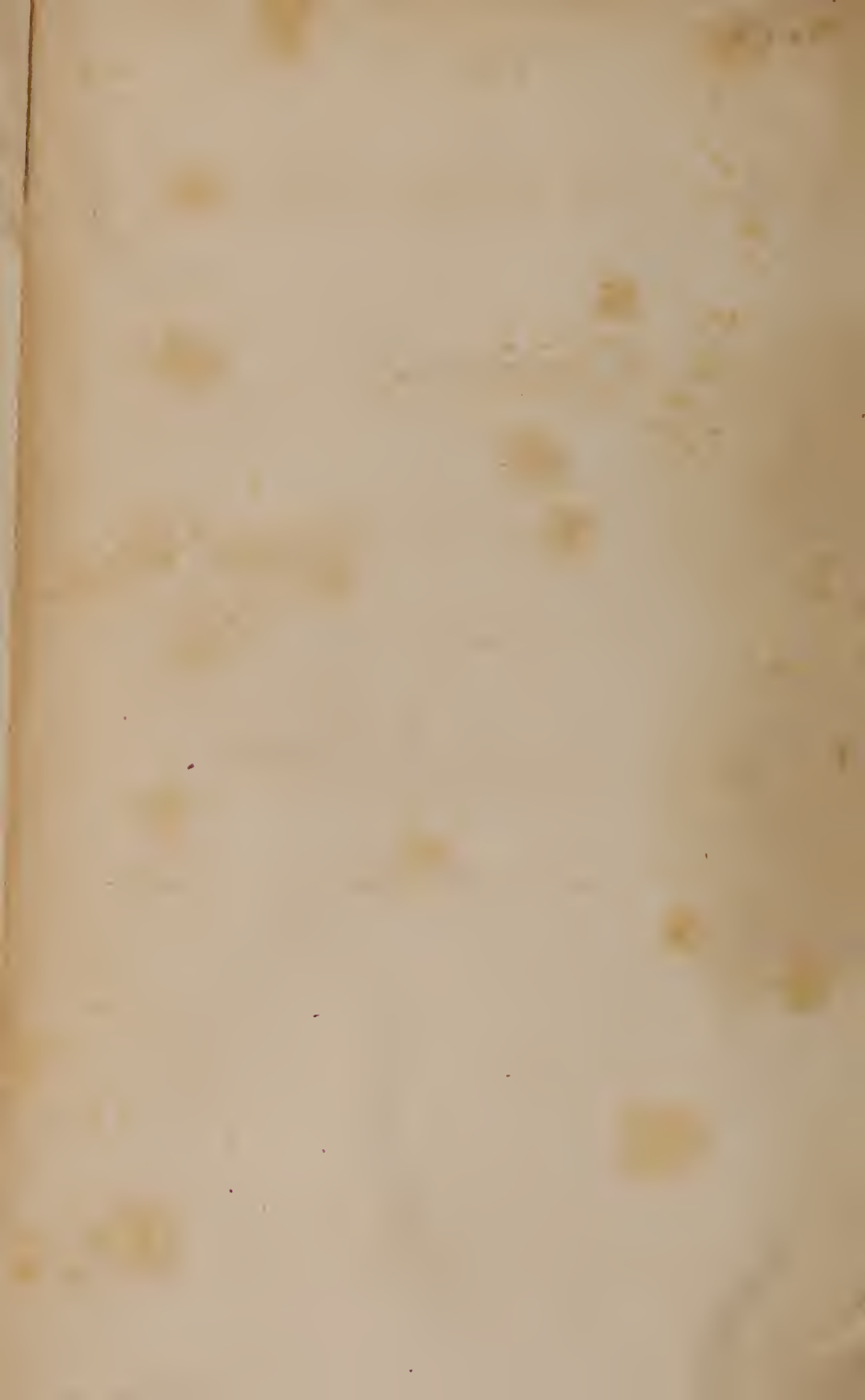
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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

VOL. XXVII—1851.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

AT ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM.

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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

VOL. XXVII.]

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER, 1851.

[No. 12.]

Close of the Volume.

THE present number closes the twenty-seventh volume of the African Repository. And, in reviewing the various events connected with the operations of the American Colonization Society, since the commencement of this publication, as also in view of the increasing favor which both the Society and the Repository are receiving in various parts of the country, we feel that we have great cause for encouragement in this department of our labors. Though the revenue derived from this source does not exceed the necessary expenses incurred in its publication—the amount received from paying subscribers being scarcely sufficient to meet the cost of paper and printing; yet, we doubt not that the increasing interest which the cause of Colonization is receiving throughout the country may be attributed, in no small degree to the circulation of the Repository. And, in view of the importance of the dissemination

of truth respecting our operations, and of the necessity of a periodical, to which reference can be made for all the prominent facts relative to the operations of the Society, we consider this publication as a necessary auxiliary to the successful prosecution of our labors in carrying out the great objects contemplated by the founders of the Colonization enterprise—the establishing of an asylum in Africa for all the free people of color, who may desire to emigrate, and affording them the necessary facilities for so doing.

In conducting the Repository, we have endeavored, and we shall continue to endeavor, to the best of our ability, to render it interesting to our friends, and not offensive to those who may be opposed to the cause. And we earnestly request that our friends will do what they can to increase its circulation, and thus to aid us in carrying on the good work of African Colonization.

Next Expeditions to Liberia.

WE have made arrangements to send an expedition from Baltimore and Savannah, in the Liberia Packet, to sail from Baltimore *positively* on the 31st instant, (December,) and from Savannah on the 10th proximo, (January.) We have dispatched an agent to Charleston, Augusta, and Savannah, Mr. George W. S. Hall, for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements with reference to emigrants from those cities, and other parts of South Carolina and Georgia. As we shall not probably send another expedition from that part of the country during the ensuing year, we hope all who desire to emigrate to Liberia will endeavor to be in readiness by the time appointed for the sailing of the Packet; and will report themselves *immediately* to this office, and to Mr. Hall as soon as practicable. Those persons in this section of the country, who wish to embark at

Baltimore, will please give us *immediate notice*, and will make their arrangements to reach that city *on or before the 30th instant*.

We have also made arrangements to dispatch a vessel from *New Orleans* on the 10th proximo, (January,) to sail *certainly* on that day; of which applicants for emigration in the West and Southwest will please take notice; for unless they shall reach that city before that day, they will probably be disappointed.

Our agent for Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, *the Rev. J. Morris Pease*, is now in the South. All persons who wish to embark for Liberia, at New Orleans, will please inform us immediately, and also report themselves to Mr. Pease as soon as practicable, or to *Thomas Allen Clarke, Esq.*, of New Orleans.

We are thus particular in giving notice, to prevent any disappointment or delay.

Sailing of the *Morgan Dix*.

IN our present number will be found a list of *one hundred and forty-nine* emigrants sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society in the barque *Morgan Dix*, which sailed from Baltimore on the 1st day of November. Of these emigrants, 97 were free-born persons, principally from the valley of Virginia, 6 purchased their freedom or were pur-

chased by their relatives, and 46 were emancipated slaves, 33 of whom were manumitted by the will of the late Miss Margaret Miller, of Culpeper county, Virginia, who left all her property to be appropriated for their benefit.

John Smith, a good practical engineer, from Winchester, with Harrison Murry, and others, composing

a joint stock company, carried with them a *steam saw-mill*, to be located in the county of Grand Bassa.

Several of these emigrants are men of considerable intelligence and enterprise; and we trust that they will prove to be a valuable acquisition to the Liberian Republic.

[Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.]

DEPARTURE OF EMIGRANTS.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 5, 1851.

ON Saturday last, the arrangements for the departure of the barque Morgan Dix, Captain Coward, for Africa, being complete, she set sail for the promised land of the Americano-African. It was an hour of deep interest to those who for the first time in their lives had adventured so great an enterprise as to leave their native land, in which they could scarcely ever be said to have felt *independence*, on account of their peculiar relation to the whites, and embark on the ocean for a distant and almost unknown land. But the African mind is rousing itself from its torpor. It aims at its own regeneration. Noble is the charity, again and again recorded in your columns, of the wealthy and the liberal, who have *paid* for the freedom of those in bondage; but how shall we estimate—who can help admiring the energies of the man, who by his own irrepressible industry *earns* five hundred, a thousand, or it may be (it has been) fifteen hundred dollars, to buy himself, or himself, and wife, or himself, wife and family. Such a man will make the African desert bud and blossom. These are occurrent cases. Of the one hundred and fifty-one that embarked on Saturday, thirty-five were emancipated by their mistress, with

the view of settling them comfortably in Liberia, for which she furnished them with abundant means. The majority were nominally free, *i. e.* they were not slaves, and they go to be the free, indeed, the citizens of the Liberian Republic. If some natural tears were shed at parting with their friends, the prevailing sentiment was joy, or that cheerful excitement arising out of the novelty of the scene, and the opening prospects before them. One man—a father—took 11 children with him, and left as many behind, perhaps at some future day to follow! Can any one doubt whether the Republic will be populous? The numerous children of this emigration were bright, happy and noisy. I seldom see a black infant but my heart saddens at the reflection of the poor inheritance to which it is born—an inheritance of fear, sorrow, abjection, arising from the pride, prejudice, and power of the possessors of the land. But the poor child on the way to its own rightful land! *That* looks altogether different. Now you have a good and cheering certainty before you. Behold them there!

Rev. Mr. Paine, of Liberia, informed me there was in the children running about in their towns an elasticity, a joyousness, and even a healthiness not to be found in the land of their bondage. What bright generations rise before the contemplative eye! One of the emigrants has on board a good steam saw-mill, which, worked by his skill, will be of great use. One after another the elements of an advancing civilization will be introduced into that late barbarous country, and the problem of emancipation will eventually be fully solved. Other emigrations are to follow this, and let the Colonization Society be

furnished with the means, and she will multiply them indefinitely. And when the Ebony line shall be in full operation, the expense of passage, provisions, &c., will be materially reduced.

Two of the thirty-five alluded to

in the foregoing communication did not go in the Morgan Dix; consequently, the whole number was, as we have stated, one hundred and forty-nine.

The late Governor Russwurm.

IN our last number we noticed briefly the death of Governor RUSSWURM, who so long and so faithfully presided over the colony of Maryland in Liberia. We now lay before our readers a more extended notice of the lamented deceased, from the Christian Statesman; also the action of the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society at Baltimore, and of the Protestant Episcopal Mission at Cape Palmas in Liberia, in reference to his character and services:

THE LATE GOVERNOR RUSSWURM.

THE Maryland State Colonization Society, at a meeting held on the 21st of October, passed unanimously the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Board have heard with profound regret of the death of John B. Russwurm, the State Society's agent on the coast of Africa, and Governor of Maryland in Liberia, and desire to express their high appreciation of his character and services.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Board, Mr. Russwurm, as the first colored Governor appointed to that office in Liberia, vindicated, by the eminent ability of his administration, the perfect fitness of his race for the most important political po-

sitions in Africa, and won for himself a lasting and honorable fame.

Resolved, That this Board deem it their duty here to record, that in the period of fifteen years, during which he was their agent, they never had a single occasion to censure or find fault with his conduct in his official or private character.

Resolved, That in order to perpetuate the memory of one so worthy, this Board will cause a marble monument to be erected at Cape Palmas, with an inscription doing justice to his talents and his virtues.

Resolved, That the president of this society be requested to communicate to Mrs. Russwurm a copy of the proceedings on this occasion, and to express to her the sympathies of the members of the Board in her late afflicting bereavement.

Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings be sent to the acting Governor of Maryland in Liberia for promulgation in the colony; and also be published in the Colonization Journal, and in the papers of the city of Baltimore.

[From the Christian Statesman.]

THE LATE GOVERNOR RUSSWURM.

The name of this distinguished friend of his race and of Africa is identified with nearly the entire history of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas. We were acquainted with Governor Russwurm in his youth, and before his thoughts were directed to Africa as his home. Soon

after he left Bowdoin College, where he received a thorough education, he became the editor of a paper called the *Freeman's Journal*, in the city of New York; and in this paper, on the 14th of February, 1829, he said, that while he had been opposed to the scheme of African Colonization by free persons of color, his views had become materially altered. "We have always said (he continues) that when convinced of our error we would hasten to acknowledge it. *That time has now arrived.* The change which has taken place has not been the hasty conclusion of a moment; we have pondered much on this interesting subject, and read every article within our reach, both for and against the Society, and we became from the examination a decided supporter of the American Colonization Society. We know that in making this avowal we advance doctrines in opposition to the majority of our readers, to many of whom we are personally known, and for whose opinions we still entertain great respect; but how unpopular soever they may be, we *know* they are conscientious ones, formed from no sordid motives, but having for their basis the good of our brethren.

"We have carefully examined the different plans now in operation for our benefit, and none, we believe, can reach half so efficiently the mass as the plan of colonization on the coast of Africa; for, if we take a second look into any or all of them, we find them limited to a single city or State. We consider it mere waste of words to talk of ever enjoying citizenship in this country; it is utterly impossible in the nature of things; all, therefore, who pant for this, must cast their eyes elsewhere.

"The interesting query now arises,

Where shall we find this desirable spot? If we look to Europe, we find that quarter already overburdened with a starving population; if to Asia, its distance is an insuperable barrier, were all other circumstances favorable. Where then shall we look so naturally as to Africa? In preferring Liberia, we wish not to deprive any of the right of choice between it and Hayti, as it is not our design to say aught against Hayti or the able ruler at its head; but it is a fact well known to all, that our people have strong objections against emigrating to that country, arising, in many cases, from the unfavorable reports of those who have returned. Sensible of the fact, then, of the unwillingness of our people to emigrate to Hayti, we feel it our duty to offer to their consideration our present sentiments concerning African colonization; and perhaps, what we may be able to offer hereafter may be the means of enlightening some whom it was our misfortune to have misled by our former opinions."

Soon after the appearance of this open and manly avowal of the change of his opinions in regard to Africa, he embarked for Liberia, and resided for several years in Monrovia. When, through the abilities and wise and persevering negotiations of our friend Dr. James Hall, the Maryland Colonization Society obtained possession of territory at Cape Palmas, and this gentleman, having established there the power and influence of civilized government, returned to the United States, Governor Russwurm was elevated to the high office of Chief Magistrate over that Commonwealth, and ever since, has enjoyed, in that station, the confidence of the Maryland Society, and discharged its duties with great advantage to all classes under

his authority and protection. He was at the head of a small and, for a time, feeble community, in the immediate vicinity of far more numerous barbarous and jealous native tribes, and called upon to adjust many difficult and perplexed questions, and to conduct the affairs of the colony with the utmost eagerness and discretion, yet with firmness and without fear. He combined with great good sense a quiet and unostentatious manner, a gentle, modest, and amiable temper, well adapted to allay excitement, to conciliate confidence and regard, to satisfy all sober expectations, and all honest and reasonable demands. Free from ostentation and arrogance, little disposed to the slightest exhibition of vanity, he fulfilled the trust committed to his hands with uniform fidelity, and in all seasons of peril and difficulty, in hours of ill health and depression, with amiable fortitude and invincible resolution. Two years ago, the writer of this visited him in his own home at Cape Palmas, and received from him and his now, alas? bereaved family, those kind and considerate attentions which are so gratifying to the heart of a stranger, after a long sea voyage, in a foreign land. My opinion of his intelligence and learning increased at every successive interview. The more I saw of him the more I esteemed him; and I am most happy to be able, in this humble tribute, to state that he had, within the last few years, become connected with the Episcopal Church, and given unequivocal evidence of his earnest and deep attachment to the truth and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Be his name forever honored; and may an appropriate monument, reared on the summit of that beautiful Cape, remind every visiter who may ascend

it, that there, after a life dedicated to the civilization of Africa, repose all that is mortal of the remains of John B. Russwurm.

Action of the Protestant Episcopal Mission at Cape Palmas, with reference to the late Governor Russwurm.

MOUNT VAUGHAN, NEAR CAPE PALMAS,
WEST AFRICA, June 26, 1851.

Rev. Mr. McLAIN:

Dear Sir: I send a copy of resolutions, which you will please publish in the "Repository," and oblige
Yours, very truly,

J. RAMBO.

At a meeting of the Protestant Episcopal Mission at Cape Palmas, W. A., held June 23d, 1851, the following resolutions were adopted, viz:

Resolved, That the afflictive Providence which has removed from our midst the late lamented Governor of the Maryland Colony, in Liberia, John B. Russwurm, esq., calls forth our deepest feelings of regret for the loss thus sustained by his bereaved family, the commonwealth, the church and ourselves.

Resolved, That in the discharge of his arduous and responsible duties as the chief executive officer of this colony, his measures were characterized by a wise and prudent policy, and executed with rare energy and fidelity. His judicious counsels and vigorous action will be missed in the halls of public business, and in the homes of the destitute and the afflicted; and the widow and the orphan will weep for him who was their ever ready and generous benefactor. Had Governor Russwurm sought only the applause of his fellow-men, he would have left behind him, in the good which he has accomplished, an enduring monument to his fame; but

his efforts were directed and sanctified by nobler principles. We mourn his loss as a Christian brother. The kindness which he ever extended to the members of our mission, and his efforts to promote the diffusion of a pure and enlightened Christianity, evidenced his love for the Redeemer's cause and kingdom.

Resolved, That we tender to his bereaved widow and children the expression of our deepest sympathy

in their affliction, and fervently commend them to the kind protection of the Father of the fatherless, and the widow's God.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent for publication to the editors of the "Liberia Herald," "Spirit of Missions," and the various colonization journals in the United States.

E. W. HENING,
Chairman.

J. RAMBO, *Secretary.*

Trinidad or Liberia?

IN our last number, we noticed briefly the efforts recently made by Mr. Pollard, agent of the Government of Trinidad, to induce some of the free colored people of Maryland to emigrate to that Island. We now lay before our readers a letter written by an intelligent colored man of Baltimore, in answer to the statements made by Mr. Pollard at a large meeting of colored persons in that city; in which letter, we think good and substantial reasons are set forth why Liberia should be preferred by the free people of color as a home for themselves and their children.

We also copy from the Baltimore Clipper an interesting article in reference to this letter.

[From the Baltimore Clipper.]

INTERESTING LETTER. We publish in another column, an interesting letter from a very intelligent colored man of this city, to the Rev. John Seys, on the subject of African colonization. He employs sound reasoning in favor of adopting Africa

as the future home of the free people of color of the United States, in preference to any other place; and there can be no doubt that what he says in regard to the climate of that country, and the great rewards of industry, is strictly true. We have seen some members of the Maryland Colony, who revisited our State, who had been prosperous in the highest degree; and have read letters from the late Governor Russwurm, Dr. McGill and others, which spoke in the most favorable terms of the improvements of the colony, intellectually and morally, as well as in pecuniary circumstances. We look upon the colonies established on the coast of Africa as the commencement of the regeneration of the people of that entire continent; for the natives, seeing the superior condition of the colonists, are seeking to have their children instructed at the colonial schools; and thus civilization and the Christian religion will gradually spread and enlighten those who are now in a state of barbarism.

Philanthropists every where desire to see African colonization promoted, as the best means of advancing the interests of the free colored race in the United States, and of avert-

ing the fate which impends over them should they remain here. The letter which we to-day publish is written with great good sense, and should be maturely considered by the free colored people of Maryland. They are called upon to choose their future home, and are offered a choice between Africa and the British West India Islands. It is for them to decide which will be the preferable place; but the writer favors Africa, for reasons which he assigns. There should be consultation, and, as far as may be practicable, an understanding among them, so as to cooperate in whatever movement may be resolved on. We feel anxious that they should act, because we desire to see them removed to a scene where they can assume all the attributes and enjoy all the rights of freemen.

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 MESSRS. EDITORS,—The following is from the pen of one of our most intelligent and worthy colored men of this city. He was present at a lecture delivered to the people of color, in which they were urged to emigrate to the Island of Trinidad, in the West Indies. His views are correct, and I think will have a tendency, if published, to benefit the cause of emigration to Liberia. By inserting the article in your widely circulated paper, you will oblige the friends of African colonization, and especially,

Your ob't serv't,
 JOHN SEYS.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 25, 1851.

DEAR SIR,—I attended last night a large meeting of the most respectable colored people of this city, which meeting was called to listen to the delivery of an invitation tendered to the colored people of this State, by the Colonial Government

of Her Britannic Majesty's colony of Trinidad, by Mr. Pollard. As the honorable gentleman took till near ten o'clock in the delivery of this invitation, together with copious explanations thereon, there was but a poor opportunity for any one to express his views on the important subject.

Myself, for one, not being fully satisfied with the worthy gentleman's views, I thought that I would like to offer a few ideas which differ from his a little.

The gentleman mentioned with a good deal of pains, the several places named, as fit homes for the colored man, giving the preference, as a matter of course, to Trinidad. In stating the invitation, we learned that the government only wanted laborers, two kinds of mechanics excepted, though others are included, on the ground that they pay their own passage, but in either case they are to have a grant of two acres of land. In effect, in this country, we are hewers of wood and drawers of water, and we are invited to Trinidad to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. Now one of the things which I wish to know is, where is the difference in filling this post in a foreign land, with filling the same post of honor in our native land?—But some will say, you cannot stay here, even to fill the place named above. Well, if this be so, would it not be wise to make a strict inquiry, whether this is the best that can be done for us? It seems plain to me, that laborers, under the British Government, can never be advanced to a much higher rank. The elements of future greatness are not very thickly mixed in the cup drank by the laboring portion of the British subjects. But this home is better than no home, and should not be treated with cou-

tempt, while at the same time we ought to reserve to ourselves the privilege of looking around us before we embrace it.

I noticed that Mr. Pollard studiously enumerated the advantages of Trinidad, but none in relation to other places which he named. On the contrary, he named with great emphasis the disadvantages of these places, and applied them with great force to Liberia. He named from the writings of several persons certain passages, giving a bad name to some of the places mentioned. It was said that Africa was a very sickly place, and that people could not live there. At this the writer was surprised, and was caused to wonder, how it comes to pass that amidst the unnatural avenues of destruction going on in that country for hundreds of years together, growing out of the slave trade and the superstitions of the people themselves, there should still remain a hundred and fifty millions of souls. But my opponent will say: If I have one, that the native tribes are acclimated to that country, namely Africa, and they do not die faster than in other countries. To this I answer, that a sickly climate is a sickly climate, and the natural inhabitants must die proportionably faster than in healthy climates. The climate of this healthy country in which we live would be as precarious to the native African as Africa would be to us. And as to the colonists, some of them die, and some of them live; and I have seen several who, after fifteen or sixteen years residence there, looked as well as we do, and who showed signs of mental improvement, far surpassing ours who have remained here.

As to Liberia as a home for the colored man, I see no objection that can be urged against it with any

show of reason, the climate excepted; and this difficulty has to be counteracted by all settlers from temperate to tropical climates. The government is truly republic, and rests in the hands of the people. If any doubt this, they are referred to the fact, that Liberia is acknowledged by the greatest powers of the earth as a free and independent people, which never could have been done by a nation of discernment such as Great Britain, if this independence was a mere humbug. It should not be forgotten, that no nation has ever achieved such wonderful exploits,—as in *thirty years* from its foundation, to declare itself free and independent, since the world began,—and that too, amidst all those insuperable calamities of which Mr. Pollard and others have spoken.

The natural resources of Africa are not surpassed by any country on the globe, and he who can have health there with sufficient means to sustain himself one year, with management and industrious habits, can't well fail to be independent in six or seven years.—Here, *ten* instead of *two* acres of land are given, and abundance of good land may be bought for one fourth the amount mentioned by Mr. Pollard. A coffee plantation alone, which may be raised in three years, of two thousand trees, would make a man independent in that time. The enemies of Africa put me in mind of the enemies of christianity. They condemn it without an examination of the evidences in its favor.

I am anxious that my brethren should be united in their choice of a future home. It strikes me we never can be a nation in any spot on earth, if we cannot be in Africa. Nothing short of national aggrandizement with overwhelming proofs of capacity for self government,

will wipe off the stain that disgraces us, and place us where we ought to be. Unless indeed we do deserve the most shameful stigma under which we have so long rested, that we are inferior to the rest of the human race.

Now if there be any proof that Trinidad is that future home, then, that is my place: if not, I shall stick to Africa until this proof be given.

D. S.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 14, 1851.

Rev. Dr. Humphrey on Colonization.

In our present number, we publish six interesting articles from the pen of the Rev. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D., formerly president of Amherst College, and at present a resident of Pittsfield, Mass. These articles first appeared in the *New York Observer*; and as many of our readers may not have had the pleasure of perusing them, we doubt not they will be gratified to see them in the Repository. They contain many striking truths and deductions with reference to the condition of the free people of color in the United States, and the advantages of emigrating to the Republic of Liberia.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

Mr. Editor: Will you allow me room in your widely circulated paper for a few articles of moderate length, on the subject of *African colonization*? If I rightly discern "the signs of the times," this is one of the most important subjects to which the attention of your numerous readers, and indeed of the whole American people, can be called. The time has come, when every true Christian, every patriot and philanthropist, should, if possible, have his mind made up on the question, What duties do I owe to the colored race amongst us? and this question involves several others

of great practical concernment, such as these: Can the free blacks remaining here, and whether in the slave or free States, hope ever to enjoy equal rights and privileges with us? If not, can they be colonized any where, within the bounds of our national domain, vast as it is, with any reasonable prospect of remaining unmolested, and of founding and maintaining a free and independent republic of their own? Can they any where else on the American continent? If not, is there any other part of the world to which they should be advised and encouraged to emigrate, where they can be as free and independent, as the white race are here? Is there room for them in the young Republic of Liberia, and would she be willing to receive them? What connection is there between colonization and the abolition of the slave trade? What are its prospective bearings upon the civilization and redemption of Africa? Could the whole great family of African descent in this country, under any system of gradual emancipation, ever be returned to their own land? What obligations rest upon us to help them back, as fast as they wish to go? And what rich national returns might we expect, in the approving smiles of Heaven upon our philanthropy, and a vast and lucrative commerce?

These are some of the questions that meet us, at the threshold of our inquiries. It is a great subject—one of the greatest, when viewed

in all its aspects and its bearings upon the vital interests of two continents and two races, that can be brought before the minds of a Christian people. I believe the scheme of African colonization, as propounded by the Society which was organized at the City of Washington in 1816, will be looked back upon, fifty years hence, as second in importance, to no enterprise of the nineteenth century. Feeble and despised as it was at first, like other agencies which have changed the face of the world, it has already more than realized the most sanguine expectations of its philanthropic projectors, and promises to bestow incalculable blessings upon the whole race of black men.

My soul exults in the prospect. My children will see great things done for our colored brethren here, and, through their instrumentality, for Africa. Under the control of an All-wise and benign overruling Providence, causes are operating to "break every yoke," and fill the air with jubilant voices, which can no more be frustrated than the laws of nature. *Slowly* these causes may operate for some time to come, but *surely* they will. "Though the vision tarry, wait for it,—for it will come, and will not tarry." Put me down as an idle dreamer, let who will, I feel sure of it. The blood of Africa, which has been for centuries reddening the Atlantic, will be staunch-ed. It will be done by colonies planted all along, where the barracks have stood upon her bloody shores. These colonies will be sent out by their own consent, aye more, by their earnest request, from all the principal ports of our sea-board, will grow up into powerful Christian States, and bestow countless blessings upon the whole continent of Africa. In saying all this, do I forget

that there are great and apparently insurmountable obstacles in the way? But, "who art thou O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain." "Nothing is too hard for the Lord," and believing as I do, that the great Colonization enterprise is from him, I cannot doubt, that he will prosper it more and more. I am sure I shall not do justice to the subject, even, as it lies in my own mind. It is too vast and difficult for any powers that I possess. Still less, if possible, can I hope to satisfy every reader. Some doubtless will dissent from the positions which I take, and the conclusions to which I come. But "this is a free country," (a great anomaly always excepted,) and the free discussion of every great question, is the way to settle it on right and safe ground.

In the discussion of every topic, I shall "show my opinion;" shall say what I honestly think, upon my own responsibility, and let it pass for what it is worth. Let others "show us a more excellent way," if they can. I, for one, will rejoice in it. But I must first be convinced that it is a better way. I have no point to carry, no interest to gain, no ambition to gratify. The field is wide and open alike to all. The condition and prospects of the three million and a half of colored people in the United States of America, furnish a problem, complicated and stubborn enough, to task, if not to baffle, the wisest in their attempts to solve it. While this should make us diffident of our own abilities, and distrustful of our most confident solutions, it affords no reason why we should give it up in despair. The problem *will* be solved, sooner or later; and let him be most honored, by whatever name he may be called, who shall throw the most light upon the question, which has

hitherto baffled the wisdom and philanthropy "of the ancients," as well as of the most enlightened of the present generation.

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CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE FREE
COLORED PEOPLE IN THE U. STATES.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Here is the proper starting point for the advocates of African Colonization. In asking Congress, State Legislatures and individuals for funds to assist in carrying back, with their own consent, the free people of color to the native shores of their ancestors, it is incumbent on us to show that the number is sufficiently large to require public, as well as private pecuniary aid, and that their condition and prospects would be essentially bettered by the removal.

It appears by the returns of the census just taken, that they now number about *half a million*. I have not the census before me at this moment; but it is quite immaterial. We know that this hapless class of men, women and children, are scattered all over the free as well as the slave States, though the majority of them are found in the latter. Though of a darker skin, they are our brethren, descended with us from one common parent—just as "fearfully and wonderfully made." Life and liberty are as sweet to them as to us. They are capable, many of them at least, of as high degrees of mental, social and moral improvement. They are as easily excited to joy and sorrow; and to gratitude, also, if not to resentment. Some of them are far superior, in every intellectual and moral quality, to a large class of our own color; worthy to be trusted as friends, and justly entitled to as high privileges and immunities as we enjoy.

But what is their actual condition, in this boasted land of equal rights,

social, political, and religious? Many of them have by their industry acquired some property. A very few are even in independent circumstances. A great majority of them, I have no doubt, would be good citizens, if they were allowed to be citizens at all. But what, I ask again, what is their actual condition, as a class,—I should rather say as a *caste*? Everybody knows that in the slave States the free blacks are barely tolerated, at best. They are looked upon with an evil and suspicious eye, and their natural increase is deprecated as a public burden, calamity, and peril. How long is it since the Governor of Virginia, in his annual message to the Legislature, recommended the banishment of them, 50,000 or more, from the State? Some of us very well remember. At this moment they are scarcely endured, in any of the great slaveholding States, either in the towns or on the plantations. And what are the natural and necessary consequences? As a class they are ignorant, degraded, and shiftless. It would be a miracle if they were not. What encouragement have they to try to better their condition? Under similar disabilities, we should be quite as bad, if not still more reckless and debased. They have no means of elevation, no such incitements to industry, frugality, and improvement as we have—nothing to beget self-respect, or to develop any of the higher, social, and manly virtues. Such, with rare exceptions, is their hopeless condition in all the slave States. They are called *free* negroes; but alas! what does their freedom amount to? What, to them, is the name, but a cruel mockery? In some respects they are even worse off than the slaves, as I shall show before I am through.

And how is it here, at the North? Taken together, they are undoubtedly regarded with more favor than at the South. They are not watched and feared and hated, on this side of Mason and Dixon's line, as on that. They have better advantages for education, higher inducements to be industrious, moral, honest, and sober. Their oath is allowed in our courts of justice; and in two or three of the free States they are permitted to vote for town and State officers. This is something in the *letter*. It is better than nothing—but how *much* better?

What, after all, is their *real* social and political standing in New England, or in any of the free States? Are they put on the same level with white men, even with the most ignorant and degraded foreigners that come to our shores? Are they treated as equals, as guests, as entitled to the same social standing with men of our own color? Who does not know the contrary? Who does not know that everywhere they lie under many and grievous disfranchisements. They are an oppressed and degraded *caste*. They feel it every day of their lives, and it keeps them down. They are not looked upon as men, in the true and proper sense of the term. They are not treated as free citizens of the republic, but as *helots*, bearing, by mere sufferance, the title of *freemen*. And where they may vote at the polls, there is no written law to hinder their being voted *for*. In this sense they are eligible to offices of trust and profit. That is, there is nothing in the laws to prevent their being chosen selectmen, sent to the legislature, or put upon the bench. But there is a law, (unwritten though it be,) as inexorable as the laws of Draco, which shuts them all out forever.

Call it prejudice against color; call it the tyrannical interdict of a wicked public opinion; call it what you will, it is a law which no legislation can repeal. It is the virtual disfranchisement of the whole colored population of the free, no less than of the slave States. With a single and almost accidental exception, not a man of them, so far as my knowledge extends, holds any civil office, from the St. John's to the farthest West.

Do you say this is a cruel proscription of a race as good as we are? I admit it; but so it is. Such is their actual condition. So it has been now for two centuries.

And what, if they remain amongst us, are their prospects for two centuries more? Can they calculate upon any such change in public opinion as would put them upon a level with ourselves? Will they or their children's children live to see the day? Will it come so long as the proud Saxons rule the land? By whomsoever cherished, it is a forlorn hope. The controlling tendencies are all the other way. The whole history of the world is against it. No two races differing as much as the Caucasian and African do, ever dwelt together in the enjoyment of equal consideration, rights and privileges. So long as these marked natural distinctions exist, one or the other will hold the ascendancy. In effect, if not in name, one will be the masters; and the other, if not literally and legally slaves, will be regarded and treated as an inferior race—as a degraded caste. Nothing, I am firmly persuaded, but amalgamation, can prevent it. And who, in the case before us, will plead for that? “If any, speak; for him have I offended.”

By giving different constitutions

and complexions to great branches of the human family, God evidently intended they should be kept separate. The unhappy state of things in the United States has grown out of the enormously wicked infringement of this divine allotment. The black men ought never to have been brought to America. They do not belong here. God gave them a better home in Africa.

“But since they have been here for so many generations, ought they not to be encouraged to remain and contend for their rights till they obtain them?” So many of their friends believe, and so they have counselled—sincerely, no doubt. But with the prospect before the free blacks, is this good advice? Is it the best that can be given them? I presume that those who most earnestly exhort them to remain, would not try to discourage them from seeking a better home, if they believed there was no reasonable hope of their ever gaining their rights by staying. And what, I ask once more, is there to encourage such a hope? It is folly, if not downright infatuation, for our colored brethren or their confidential advisers to shut their eyes to what is passing, both in the free and slave States. “The signs of the times” are anything but encouraging.

The fact that the slave States are, one after another, passing the most stringent laws against the immigration of free negroes, of every shade, from any and every quarter, speaks volumes on this subject. Every door of entrance will soon be so effectually closed, that not one of this poor ostracized class, coming into a slave State, will be harbored for a day.

FREE BLACKS IN FREE STATES.

ONE would think, from the deep

sympathy which is so often expressed in private conversation, in public addresses and printed resolutions, not only that there is room enough here at the North, and in the free States at the West for twice half a million of our colored brethren; but that we should be glad to have them come, by hundreds and by thousands, just as fast as they will. But what are the facts in this case? Is it true, that large numbers of the free blacks from the South would be welcome in any of the free States? If in any one, Ohio from the sympathy which she has so often expressed, ought to open her arms widest. But what proofs has even Ohio given, that as many as will, may come, and settle upon her rich soil, and multiply, and enjoy the protection of her laws! How was it, when a few years ago, Mr. Randolph's 400 emancipated slaves immigrated to Mercer County, to take possession of the land which the agent had purchased for them? Why, they had scarcely arrived under his protection, when they were mobbed, and driven off and scattered.

To back up this outrage, a meeting of the citizens was called, at which it was Resolved, “That we will not live among negroes. As we settled here first, we are fully determined that we will resist the settlement of blacks and mulattoes in this County, to the full extent of our means, *the bayonet not excepted.*” And again, “Resolved, that we who are here assembled, pledge ourselves not to employ or trade with any black or mulatto person, in any manner whatever, or permit them to have any grinding done at our mills, after the first day of January next.”

And in alluding to this outrage upon humanity, what said the member from that district, in his place upon the floor of Congress. That “his constituents, his friends and

neighbors had mustered the blacks out of the County. They had said to the abolitionists and all others around them, "If you want negroes to reign over you, take them to your own firesides, but into this district they shall not come."

Yes, they were "mustered out"—they were ejected from farms to which they had as good a title, as any white man in the State. The utmost toleration doled out to them was, that they might crawl into some miserable hut, a family here and a family there, to be "hewers of wood and drawers of waters," to their lordly white persecutors. And now, to make assurance against negro immigration doubly sure, the Convention for revising the Constitution of Ohio, has just incorporated their settled purpose and policy into the organic law of the State, and there is not a doubt that the people will ratify it.

The first section provides, that no negro or mulatto shall come into the State, after the adoption of the Constitution; passed, 94, to 40.—The second section makes all contracts with them void, and imposes fines, of not less than *ten* dollars, nor more than *five hundred*, on all persons employing them.

The Convention now sitting in Indiana, has by a decisive vote, excluded negroes and mulattoes from hereafter settling in the State; and also determined that all contracts with them shall be void, and that whoever employs or encourages them to remain, shall be liable to the same fine as is provided in the new Constitution of Ohio. It is well remembered that Illinois, two or three years ago, incorporated a similar article, though not quite so stringent, in her revised Constitution.

Next comes the young and rapidly rising State of Iowa. A bill has been introduced into her legislature, which

provides for the removal of all free persons of color, emancipated in other States, with a proviso, that those already there, may remain, but disqualifying them from acquiring any additional real estate. Pennsylvania is following hard after; and I put it down as a moral certainty, that no free State in the Union would long permit a great and increasing influx of free negroes and mulattoes, from whatever quarter they might come. It might be a great hardship to shut them out, and it certainly ought not to be done, save from the imperative urgency of self-protection. But I can conceive of a case in which, should any of the large slave States expel the free blacks, they might flock to a small free State in such multitudes, as to become an intolerable burden, and that to guard against this, such a State would have a perfect right to set bounds to the inundation. At any rate, Rhode Island, Connecticut, or Massachusetts would certainly do it, and so would every free State in the Union. The blacks already free, and those that may be emancipated and sent out of the slave States, (and they will be sent out, if freed at all,) cannot be colonized at the North, certainly on this side of Upper Canada, and they will not be allowed to come and mingle amongst us in such numbers, as to mar our goodly heritage, or drive us from it.

But suppose there were no constitutional or other restrictions to keep them out, what would their social and civil condition be, in the midst of a great and outnumbering white population, holding all the power, and nearly all the intelligence, and wealth of the State? Would they be put upon the same social and political level? Would they be *free* citizens, in any thing but the name? They might perhaps be made eligible by the laws, to of-

fices of public trust and emolument, but what would that avail them? It is one thing to be *eligible* and another to stand any chance of being *chosen*; and who of them would be elected to help make the laws or to administer them? What black man, however able and worthy, would be sent to Congress, or be allowed to hold any other important place under the government? Who that remembers the past, and with a well-balanced mind looks at the darker present, believes that he shall live to see the day, or that his children will, when colored and white members will be found sitting side by side in the halls of debate, and the public boarding-houses, either at Washington, Columbus, Albany, or Boston? And if the colored people cannot be made in all respects equal to ourselves, so long as they remain in the midst of us, would they be satisfied with their condition? Ought they to be satisfied? The more enlightened and respectable they might become, the more keenly would they feel their hopeless disabilities.

Even the blacks who were born and have always lived in the free States, are not at home with us. Their depressed condition painfully reminds them every day, that they are not. How much less would their brethren be coming strangers from the South. Those who dwell amongst us, may not be willing to emigrate; but how deep and sad is their social depression. I can never forget what feelings I had, when happening to be in Boston, on one of her annual gala days, three or four years ago, I mingled with the joyous crowd, upon her beautiful promenade. It was a bright May afternoon, and there could not have been less than from forty to sixty thousand people of all classes and ages, on and about the Common.

Every body was there, and every face was radiant with smiles. But where were the colored men, women, and children of Boston? I could not find them, though I looked for them as I passed through the crowd, in "all quarters." They were not there. Two black men, I did indeed desery, at last, standing apart within the enclosure, noticed by nobody; and just without, were two or three little girls of the same hapless race, looking timidly through the iron fence at the throngs of white children, in whose sports they might take no part. This was all! And shall more of the same race be encouraged to emigrate to Massachusetts, when driven out, in one way or another, as they will be from the slave States? How will they support themselves? what will they find to do when they get here? I cannot shut my eyes to the fact; that white servants and laborers are fast crowding out the blacks that are already here, from the hotels, from the livery stables, and other places, where they used to find employment. They are disappearing from the wharves, they are hustled out of all the places of business, where service is wanted, by swarms of Irish and other foreigners. The same is true in all, or nearly all of the cities and large towns of the other free States. The white hackmen, ear-men, and waiters will not endure them, if they can help it, and in spite of all we may say and do, they will find a thousand ways to annoy them.

Many of them, indeed, can leave the cities, as they have lately been advised to do by a convention of their own color, and settle upon farms in the country, where I have no doubt they would be better off; but they would still remain depressed; would be regarded and treated by their

neighbors as an inferior caste. The iron chain which has bound them down for two hundred years, will bind them as long as they remain scattered as they now are over the slave or the free States.

I have said nothing about the feasibility of colonizing them anywhere within our present State limits, because it seems to me, that nobody who looks at the question in its true light, would advise them in going out from us, to settle down together, a few thousand here, and a few hundred there, if whole townships, or even counties should be given them. Supposing they would remain unmolested, and flourish for a little while in New York, or Ohio, or Michigan, or in any other of the fifteen States, would it be best for them to make experiment? Could they have laws and rulers of their own? Would not the ever growing and encroaching white population, ere long, break them up, or if they staid, reduce them to a condition little better than that of serfs?

But the *five hundred thousand* free blacks now in the United States of America, and their posterity, must live *somewhere*. They have as much right to an inheritance in this or some other land, as an equal number, of a fairer skin. As they cannot remain among us and be truly free, they must be colonized as fast as they will consent to go, and in locations, where either by themselves, or with brethren of their own color, they can have governments and rulers of their own, and build up independent and flourishing Christian States. Can they hope ever to do it, anywhere, on this Western Continent? We shall see.

OUR DUTY TO FREE COLORED PERSONS.

In expressing my deep and settled conviction that the free blacks can

never enjoy the blessings of a free and independent republic of their own, anywhere on this continent, and looking across the ocean to their fatherland, where such a government has already been established by their brethren, who stand ready with open arms to receive them; and pointing them to it as their rightful heritage and home, I have not anticipated the *speedy* emigration of so many hundred thousands. It must be a work of time. Nor, if they were all willing to emigrate, and the funds could be raised to send them, do I think that the majority of them are yet prepared to go, and help build up a great Christian empire in Africa. Disfranchised, neglected and trodden down as most of them have been for generations, it would be next to a miracle if they were now found so enlightened, temperate, industrious and elevated in their principles and habits, as to be safely trusted with the choice of rulers and the other vital interests of a rising and not yet consolidated State.

If I mistake not, this is a point which has been too much overlooked by the friends of colonization. It would be a curse, and not a blessing, for the young republic to receive into its bosom an overwhelming mass of ignorant, shiftless and dissipated immigrants from the U. S. A., or any other part of the world. Now, it cannot be denied, that while in the aggregate, the number of free blacks who would make good citizens anywhere is large—is greater than all the Colonization Societies could receive, were they to offer themselves,—much remains to be done for the masses, especially in the slave States, before they can be safely carried back to the native shores of their ancestors. They must be encouraged; they must

have the Bible and be brought under the sound of the Gospel. They must be kindly lured into habits of industry and economy; their children must be educated. All this and more must be done for them, and *we* must do it.

There is no need of telling them "you must go back to Africa, and we are doing this to prepare you and your children to return." Leave that to their own choice, under the ordering of a wise and benevolent Providence. Whether they go or stay, it is our duty to do every thing we can to enlighten and save them. The way to convince them how much better off they would be in Liberia or Cape Palmas, than they are or can hope to be in this country, is to elevate them, to give them larger and more comprehensive views of their interests and the destinies of their posterity. Parents who are comfortably well off in our older States, and who would rather remain and die where they were born, often break up and move a thousand miles beyond the lakes and rivers of the West, for the sake of leaving their children "in a large place," and why should not our colored brethren, if fully enlightened, be influenced by like motives to cross the ocean, when otherwise they would prefer staying where they are. Many of the better sort have done it already, and I nothing doubt, that the number will be increased in proportion as we do our duty towards educating and preparing them to go and cast in their lot with brethren of their own color, where they can "be free indeed."

The fact that so many listen to other counsels, now, should not discourage us at all. It often takes time to convince men where their true and best interests lie. Light is breaking, in spite of all that can be

done to keep it out. Applications from respectable families, that have set their faces towards their proper home in Africa, are steadily increasing. Others who are not yet quite ready, are sending out delegates to see this good land, and are making their arrangements to go over and possess it. I know that, do what we can to prepare the present generation of free blacks for so great a boon as the largest liberty under the rising star of Liberia, many will choose to remain. But if most of them should, what we do to enlighten and educate them, will make them better and happier here than they could be without such encouragement; and their children, if educated for true freedom, as they should be and can be, will turn their longing eyes towards the promised land, and will find some means of passing over to possess it. The time will come when you cannot hinder them if you would. "Why should we stay here," they will say, "a degraded caste, doomed, the great body of us, and our children forever, to the most menial employments, and unable, in many places, to find even these, to earn our daily bread, when in *thirty days* we can reach our fatherland, and there enjoy all the social, civil, political, educational, and religious privileges, which white men do in America?" They *will* go, and may the Lord go with them.

But I repeat what I just now said, they must be prepared to value such privileges, and to become good and useful citizens of the commonwealth which receives them, before they go. So far from inducing the idle and vicious to emigrate to Liberia, if I could, I would discourage them, every way in my power. She wants none but sober, industrious families to come. To this point, therefore,

let our attention and efforts be especially directed. While we contribute liberally to send out those who are prepared, in the sense just stated, and willing to go, let us consider how much preparatory work is to be done. In this regard we are verily guilty concerning our colored brethren. We have not done what we could to encourage the better class of them—to reclaim the vicious, to educate the ignorant, and to bring them all under moral and religious influences.

In the village where Providence is permitting me to spend the evening of life, we have a colored church and congregation, with a pleasant house of worship and a settled pastor. The Home Missionary Society of the county lend their aid to support the minister, and the benevolent people of the village do something more. While they were destitute, the ministers of other congregations often preached for them, and I have had the privilege of occupying their pulpit again and again. Still, we are not doing enough for these three or four hundred of our population.—And the same, I fear, may be said everywhere. They are too much neglected.

Should any earnest adviser of the colored people to remain in the free States and contend for their rights, say, "This is just what I think.—All you plead for ought to be done and more. This is the way to prepare them for the enjoyment of equal privileges here, and induce them to stay; and this is what we have been contending for these thirty years." My answer is, Every man has a right to his opinion and to express it.—Mine is directly the opposite. I firmly believe that the more we do to enlighten the free backs amongst us, to prepare them for liberty in the largest and best sense, the more

anxious they will be to leave us and go where they can enjoy it; and if I did not, I would still hold, that we have a great duty to perform for their sakes and for our own, if they abide in the land. The more we do to improve their condition, the more sources of happiness they will have, the more industrious, moral and religious they will be and the better members of society.

My doctrine is take hold of these *five hundred thousand* free blacks, and lift them up; educate them as fast as you can; give them all the Bible; give them the Gospel; fit them for the blessings of liberty and rights of citizenship in the land that waits for their coming, and then, when they are prepared for those privileges which they can never enjoy in this country, I have no doubt they will be anxious to emigrate, and that God in his providence will provide the means.

Much as our white brethren in the slave States want to get rid of the free blacks, we must not do them the injustice to suppose that they wish to drive them out as vagabonds, having nowhere to go. Surely they will hesitate a great while before proceeding to so cruel an extremity. Let them, then, lose no more time, but use every suitable means to fit this anomalous class of their population for all the blessings of free citizenship in Africa, and help them to go back just as fast as the nature of the case will allow. Some of the States have made liberal appropriations already, and I doubt not others will, as the necessity presses harder and harder, and when they come to look more steadily at the subject in its momentous bearings and responsibilities.

WILL THEY BE BETTER OFF?

DEPRESSED as the condition of the free blacks in the United States is, and

hopeless as we believe their prospect to be in this Western hemisphere. in advising them to emigrate to another continent, three thousand miles off, and asking for money to aid them, we are bound to show that, as a class, as a *race*, they would be far better off there than here. It might indeed be the duty of some of the most pious and intelligent of their number to go to Africa and labor for the temporal and spiritual good of their brethren, if they were in every respect as well situated here as we are; just as it is the duty of white missionaries to leave kindred, and country, and all that their hearts most fondly cling to, and go and wear out their lives in foreign lands. It probably *would* be their duty; for Africa must be Christianized, and, as I shall show in another place, colored missionaries and teachers are, on several accounts, best adapted to the service in that great field. But waiving this, if we cannot demonstrate, that it would be greatly for the advantage of our free colored population to be colonized with their brethren who have already gone to Western Africa, let them by all means stay where they are, and let us do them all the good in our power.

What, then, is there to invite them back to Africa? We have seen what their condition is, and is likely to be, in America. In what respect would it be improved by emigrating to Liberia?

In the first place, the climate of Africa is far more congenial to black men than ours in the Northern States, and quite as much so as at the extreme South. It is going home.—The torrid zone was made for them, and they were made for it. I know that many frightful statements with regard to the unhealthiness of the climate have been industriously cir-

culated, to discourage emigration; and it is true that white men cannot safely settle anywhere on the coast, north of the equator, and south of the Senegal. It is true, too, that colored emigrants must pass through the acclimating fever, soon after their arrival; and that, owing to great exposures and want of medical attendance, many of the first colonists were swept off by it. But who does not know that diseases, more or less fatal, are incident to all new settlements?

The mortality even among the first company that went out and landed on the low and sickly island of Sherbro was far less than among the first settlers of Massachusetts and Virginia. Half the precious little colony brought over in the *May Flower* were buried before spring, and the "first three attempts to plant a colony in Virginia totally failed. In six months, ninety of the hundred settlers who landed at Jamestown died. Subsequently in the same brief period, the inhabitants of that colony were reduced from *five hundred to sixty*." Nothing like this sweeping mortality has ever been experienced among the emigrants to Liberia. Indeed, it would be easy to show, had we time, that emigrants from New England to the alluvial bottoms of the West now suffer a great deal more from sickness, than the colored people do in going to Western Africa. It takes them years to get acclimated in most of our new States and Territories, while it costs our colored brethren scarcely a month in Liberia, or Cape Palmas, under the present treatment of such colored physicians as Drs. Roberts and Smith. It is found, by comparing the bills of mortality, that the proportion of deaths is greater in Philadelphia and New

York than in Monrovia. So far as the *climate* is concerned, therefore, the African race are safer there than here.

In the second place, after a year or two, it is easier getting a living in Liberia than here. Tropical fruits of all kinds grow in the greatest profusion—many of them, as the pine apple, spontaneously: so that a child lost in the woods would be in little danger of starving. Under the hand of cultivation, two harvests in a year reward the laborer for his toil; or rather, as they have no winter, and the soil is exceedingly rich, it is seed time and harvest all the year round. Any body can live comfortably there, with but moderate industry, who can live anywhere.

Nay more—who that will, can make himself independent in a few years. “Every settler receives a grant of five acres of good land, and he and his family are supported six months after their arrival. These five acres may be improved so as to be an ample support for any family. One acre will produce \$300 worth of indigo—half an acre will raise a thousand pounds of arrow-root—five acres will plant one thousand two hundred and fifty coffee trees, which at five years old will for thirty years bear six pounds to the tree—cotton will stand many years without replanting, and half an acre will yield enough every year to clothe a whole family—one acre of cane will furnish sugar and preserves abundantly—one acre in fruit trees will give more bananas, plantains, oranges, pawpaws and pine apples than any family can eat. One acre will give fresh vegetables ten months in a year, sufficient for twenty persons. Hogs, poultry, &c., may be raised at pleasure. So far, then, as the means of comfortable living

from agriculture are to be taken into account, what can any body wish for more? Indeed the danger, if any, is, that the colonists will find they can live too easy; that they will not have sufficient stimulus to industry and enterprise. If any of the emigrants wish to engage in trade and commerce, a boundless interior opens before them, and there are no assignable limits to the exports and imports which in due time will float upon the rivers, crowd their harbors, and fill their warehouses. And then, again, to all the mechanical trades Liberia offers every encouragement that can reasonably be desired.

But prudent men want something more than the promise of health and plenty, to allure them to a new home in a distant land. They want the means and facilities for educating their children. They want schools. They want books. They want newspapers. They want all the means of social and intellectual improvement; and I remark,

In the third place, that colored emigrants from this country will find these advantages awaiting their arrival in Liberia, to a degree that is truly wonderful, considering the age of the colony, and the circumstances under which it was planted. Already they have in Monrovia an academy for boys and a high school for girls. Here, and at the other settlements along the coast, and on the banks of the river, they have common schools accessible to the poorest families, just as in New England, and in one respect they go beyond us. In Liberia, parents are obliged by law to send their children to school a certain part of the year, under a pretty heavy penalty. It is true she is yet poor. She wants help to raise the standard of popular education, and to found higher semi-

naries. She *must* have it. She *will* have it, and if not "right early," it will come in due time. Even now, funds are held in trust, as I shall have occasion to show, for establishing a college, as soon as the way is prepared for it.

WHY SHOULD THEY COLONIZE?

In the fourth place; the high advantages of moral improvement and the means of religious instruction in Liberia, hold out the strongest inducements to our free colored people to emigrate. There are now twenty-three or four churches, and more than that number of preachers of the Gospel in Liberia; and more communicants in the churches, in proportion to the emigrant population, than can be found hardly anywhere in the United States of America. They have enjoyed powerful revivals of religion, in which some of the natives, coming down from the interior, have shared. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than in most of our New England towns and villages, and the state of public morals is quite as good.

I know what horrifying stories and prophesyings there have been to discourage emigration. But ask the most intelligent British and American officers who have been upon that coast, and often visited Monrovia; ask them how the colonists appear there—how they live—what they are doing—what their condition and prospects, and their answers will make your heart glad. They are most agreeably disappointed. They are astonished at what they witness of the sobriety, comfort, intelligence and general prosperity of the colonists. Ask everybody who has touched upon that coast, within the last four or

five years, and nine out of ten will tell you that the black men are infinitely better off there than in America.

In the fifth place; the inestimable blessings of liberty and independence, under an established republican government, invite every colored man, woman and child in this country, who can get there, to cross the ocean as soon as possible, and enter the promised land. There they will find a new empire, a rapidly extending republic of black men, the first on the page of history, already beginning to excite the admiration of the world, and acknowledged as an independent State by the most powerful nations. There she stands, looking out upon the great sea, under a government as regularly organized and as promptly administered as if she had been there a century. There is her noble first President, writing messages and state papers, which would do honor to any of our chief magistrates, and constantly recognising the good hand of God, in guiding and protecting the young Republic, in terms which remind us much more of our early Puritan governors, than of their late successors. There, on the heights of Monrovia, stands her state-house, over which waves her striped national banner, surmounted by a new and just risen star, as bright as any of the thirty-one in our own glorious galaxy. There, when her legislature is in session, you will find the Senators and Representatives of the people, nearly all of them professors of religion, engaged in earnest deliberation, upon matters pertaining to the public weal. On the bench you will find grave and dignified judges, listening to the arguments of counsel, charging juries, and administering justice, with an impartiality worthy of universal con-

fidence. In this infant state, you will find every department of the government filled by colored men. Not a single white man holds an office there; and the laws are as promptly administered as they are under our government. When you have seen and considered all this and more, tell us what you think of the oft-reiterated dictum, that the African race are doomed by Providence to everlasting servitude—that they are not capable of self-government. In the first place, it is an impeachment of Divine wisdom and benevolence. God never made a race of men so inferior, that when civilized and Christianized, they cannot govern themselves; and then here is a demonstrative *proof*, that black men can and do govern themselves as well as white men, and thus far, in some respects, better; better, certainly, than the great so-called Republic of France, which claims to stand at the head of civilization, and infinitely more likely to maintain national liberty.

Such is the asylum which God, who is excellent in counsel and wonderful in working, has prepared for our free colored people in Africa; healthy and fruitful, offering educational and religious privileges which they cannot enjoy here, and where they can be free indeed. Does not the Colonization enterprise, then, for which I plead, commend itself to the cool judgment, the sound, common sense, the liberal patronage, and fervent prayers of every enlightened friend of religion and humanity?

As this is the view I take of it, and in which I am more and more confirmed every day, how can I help wishing that I had a voice loud enough to sound through the land; that I could persuade thousands who would make good citizens of

the Liberian Republic to emigrate, and the benevolent among us to furnish all the necessary means to carry them back to their own land. Even if I thought they would be no better off there than here, I would urge them to go for their children's sake.

To bring the matter home to my own case and fire-side, this is my deliberate and solemn conviction: If I and my family had African blood in our veins, I would say to my children, "You see what degradation your color dooms you to here. You can never be *men* in this country. If you can find any way of getting to Africa, do not hesitate for an hour. It will be hard parting with you, if I must, but go, and the Lord go with you. Nay, old as I am, I cannot stay behind. I cannot live long either here or there; but take me along with you. I want to see that good land. I want to breathe a little while as freely as the white men do in America. I want to know how it seems to be a man before I die; when I die, I want to be buried in a free soil, and to leave you free and happy." Nay, if the means of procuring a passage for my family to Liberia could be obtained in no other way, I would beg for the money from door to door. And now, to plead with and for others is my understanding of the Golden Rule; I do as I would be done by; my conscience bearing me witness, and so strongly that it would not let me rest, if I were to remain silent.

I know our colored brethren have had other counsellors, and have listened to them. "This is your native land," say they; "you were born here, and you have as good right to stay as any white man who advises you to emigrate to Liberia. Stay where you are, and

stand up for your rights till you get them." But how are they to get them? Would any body advise them to resort to the sword for redress; to rise and force themselves up to a social and political level with a vastly out-numbering white population? Surely no body would give them any such advice. It would be madness for them to attempt it, in this way, if they might. As well might a few and scattered Swiss peasants, clinging with half-frozen fingers to the cliffs of the Alps, rebel against the avalanches.

"You were born here, and have a right to stay." Who disputes the right? I do not. But so were the Israelites born in Egypt, and had a right to stay if they pleased. Their fathers had been two hundred years longer in Egypt, than the children of Ham have been in America. But was it not better to return to Canaan, whence their fathers came, and there build up a great nation, than to remain in bondage, or than to have remained, if they could have been, though not slaves, no freer, no better off than the colored people are amongst us? I would *compel* no free black to go to Liberia, if

I could; but I would fain persuade many thousands. While they choose to remain, let us do them all the good in our power. Let us wait patiently the openings of Providence, and help prepare them for going home as fast as they can. As fast as they are willing to go, let us help them. As their prospects grow darker and darker here, and brighter and brighter in Africa, they will see where their interest lies, and be impatient to be gone. I have much greater fears that there will be a lack of funds to aid them, than that there will be any want of applicants to emigrate.

If colonization could urge no other plea for money but this, that it is bestowing priceless blessings upon the free blacks in the United States of America, to carry them back to their fatherland as fast as they wish to go, I should regard it as a benevolent enterprise, second to no other of the age. But this is only one of its benign aspects. There are other cogent arguments, (unanswerable they appear to me,) either of which recommends the cause to my warm enlistment and humble advocacy.

List of Emigrants,

By the Barque *Morgan Dix*, Captain *Washington Coward*, from *Baltimore*, November 1, 1851, for *Bassa*.

No.	Names.	Age.	Occupation	Education.	Religion.	Born free or slave.	Remarks.
	<i>Culpeper Co., Va.</i>						
1	Margaret Miller,	26	Weaver,		Baptist,	Slave,	Em. by Miss Miller.
2	Henrietta " dtr.	7				do.	do.
3	John Joseph " son	6				do.	do.
4	Judy Ann " dtr.	3				do.	do.
5	Emily Miller,	35				do.	do.
6	Albert " son	14				do.	do.
7	Susan Eliz. " dtr.	8				do.	do.

No.	Names.	Age.	Occupation	Education.	Religion.	Born free or slave.	Remarks.
8	Mary Miller, dtr.	5				Slave	Em. by Miss Miller
9	Lotty M. " "	3				do.	do.
10	Charles S. " son	1				do.	do.
11	Eliza Miller,	37	Weaver,	read,	Baptist,	do.	do.
12	George Wm. " son	7				do.	do.
13	Mary Miller,	40	Spinner,			do.	do.
14	Lucy M " dtr	18			Baptist,	do.	do.
15	Catha'e M. " "	17			do.	do.	do.
16	Sarah Jane " "	15				do.	do.
17	Joanna " "	14				do.	do.
18	Fayette W. " son	11				do.	do.
19	Ed. Henry " "	9				do.	do.
20	Philip M. " "	5				do.	do.
21	Andrew J. " "	3				do.	do.
22	George E. " gr. ch.	4 mos.				do.	do.
23	Lucy Miller,	46		read,		do.	do.
24	Lotty " dtr.	23	Seamstress		Baptist,	do.	do.
25	James E. " son	21	Shoemaker	read,		do.	do.
26	Mary F. " dtr.	17			Baptist,	do.	do.
27	Eliza Ann " "	16				do.	do.
28	Harriet M. " "	15				do.	do.
29	Matilda C. " "	9				do.	do.
30	Peter Miller,	33	Shoemaker	read,	Baptist,	do.	do.
31	Alexander Miller,	30	do.			do.	do.
32	Infant,	2 mos.				do.	do.
33	do.	2 mos.				do.	do.
	<i>Rockbridge Co., Va.</i>						
34	Henry Alexander,	54	Cooper,			Free,	
35	Hannah " wife	50			Presby.	Slave,	Em. by J. Hamilton.
36	Elizabeth " dtr.	9				do.	do.
	<i>Augusta Co., Va.</i>						
37	Zechariah Miller,	34	Farmer,	read & write	Meth.	Free,	
38	Lucinda " wife	30				Slave,	Pur. by her husb'd.
39	David J. " son	6				do.	Pur. by father.
40	Sarah C. " dtr.	2				do.	do.
41	Wm. A. " "	9				Fre,	
42	George R. " }	7				do.	
43	Mary F. " }	6				do.	
44	Lucinda " }	3				do.	
45	James Miller,	30	Farmer,			do.	
46	Nancy " wife	34				do.	
47	Hannah " mother	68				do.	
48	Jane " }	19				do.	
49	Levi " }	14				do.	
50	Henry " }	9				do.	
51	Louisa " }	6				do.	
	<i>Shenandah Co., Va.</i>						
52	Elias Grant,	31	Farmer,			do.	
53	Jane " wife	27				do.	
	<i>Rockingham Co., Va.</i>						
54	John Peters,	30	Farmer,			do.	
55	Matilda " wife	31				do.	
56	Ansy Ann " dtr.	12				do.	
57	John " son	8				do.	
58	Penleton G. " "	6				do.	

No.	Names.	Age.	Occupation	Education.	Religion.	Born free or slave.	Remarks.
	<i>Augusta Co., Va.</i>						
59	Peter S. Ringold,	65	Farmer,		Baptist,	Free,	
60	Nancy " wife	35				do.	
61	Wm. N. " son	19				do.	
62	Lucinda " dtr.	16				do.	
63	Mary C. " "	14				do.	
64	David A. " son	12				do.	
65	Daniel J. " "	10				do.	
66	Sarah E. " dtr.	8				do.	
67	Harvey M. " son	6				do.	
68	Charles Glen,	25	Farmer,			do.	
69	Francis " wife	21				do.	
70	George Vaney,	60	Farmer,			do.	
71	Polly " wife	56				do.	
72	Stewart " son	23				do.	
73	Sarah C. " dtr.	18				do.	
74	Ellen " "	16				do.	
75	John Henry " gr.ch.	1				do.	
76	Betsy Vaney,	45				do.	
77	William Rice,	53			Baptist,	do.	
78	Elijah Blair,	60	Farmer,	read,	Meth.	Slave,	Em. by G. Rubush.
79	Maria " wife	50				do.	do.
80	John " son	14				Free,	
81	Sally " dtr.	12				do.	
82	Mary " "	9				do.	
83	Susan " "	7				do.	
84	James Seal,	26	Farmer,			do.	
85	Lewis Randolph,	40	do.	read & write	Meth.	do.	
86	Nancy " wife	25		do.		do.	
	<i>Rockingham Co., Va.</i>						
87	Jerry Holly,	34		read,		do.	
88	Louisa " wife	27				do.	
89	James " son	5				do.	
90	John A. " "	3				do.	
91	Thos. J. " "	1				do.	
92	Charles W. Williams	26				do.	
93	Henry Rice,	48		read,	Meth.	do.	
94	Peter Branham,	30	Farmer,			do.	
95	Mary " wife	28				do.	
96	Rebecca " dtr.	4				do.	
97	John " son	3				do.	
98	Mary " dtr	2				do.	
99	Samuel " son	1				do.	
100	Levi Lewis,	31	Farmer,			do.	
	<i>Pendleton Co., Va.</i>						
101	Martha Ruppelt,	22		read,		do.	
	<i>Frederick Co., Va.</i>						
102	Mary Lewis,	24				do.	
103	John Willis,	61	Farmer,	read,	Meth.	do.	
104	Mary " wife	35		do.		Slave,	Em. by Mr. Stackhouse.
105	Anne " dtr.	20		read & write		Free,	
106	Fleming Jordon,	34				do.	
107	Margaret " wife	25				Slave,	Pur. by her husb'd.
108	Charles Sabry,	22	Cab'mak'r			Free.	
109	Phebe Griggs,	54			Baptist,	do.	

No.	Names.	Age.	Occupation	Education.	Religion.	Born free or slave.	Remarks.
110	John Griggs, son	25	Farmer,			Free	
111	Robert " "	23	do.	read & write		do.	
112	James " "	15				do.	
113	Benjamin " "	14				do.	
114	David " "	12				do.	
115	Rebecca " dtr.	10				do.	
116	Lee Jefferson,	24				do.	
117	Sarah Jane " wife	18				do.	
118	Charles W. " son	1				do.	
119	Mary Porter,	31				do.	
120	Mary " dtr.	9				do.	
121	Henry " son	7				do.	
122	Martha " dtr.	5				do.	
123	Emma " "	3				do.	
124	Anna " "	2				do.	
125	Harrison Murry,	36	Blacksmith	read & write		do.	
126	Mary " wife	35				do.	
127	Lany Davis,	60				do.	
128	Harriet Baker,	9				do.	
129	John Murry,	4				do.	
130	Charles Webb,	22				do.	
131	John Smith,	43	Engineer,	read,	Epis'pal.	Slave,	Pur. himself.
132	Mary " wife	35			Baptist,	do.	Pur. by her husb'd.
133	Geo ge " son	7				do.	Emancipated by D. W. Barton.
134	Fanny " dtr.	2				Free,	
135	Frederick Taggart,	30				Slave,	Em. by Rev. Dr. W. Hill.
136	Elijah Johnson, Elizabeth City, N. C	25				Free,	
137	John Morris,	51	Farmer,		Meth.	do.	
138	Henry Morris,	25	do.	read,		do.	
139	Grice Guilford,	25	Carpenter,		Baptist,	do.	
140	John Cartwright,	23	Farmer,			do.	
141	Sabra Bo nes,	30	Cook,		Meth.	do.	
142	Mary Robbins,	21	Washer,	read,		do.	
143	Tully Morris, Edgecomb Co., N. C.	21				do.	
144	Sarah Nettles,	65				Slave,	Em. by J. Nettles.
145	Washington " son	24	Farmer,			do.	do.
146	Wedley " "	20				do.	do.
147	Laura " dtr.	22				do.	do.
148	Sarah N. " gr. "	3				do.	do.
149	Alice Ann Jones,	1				do.	do.

NOTE—These 149, added to the number previously sent, 6,484, make 6,633 emigrants sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society, and its auxiliaries.

Letter from Deserline Tippon Harris, Esq.

MONROVIA,

MAY 27, 1851.

Rev. and Dear Sir: The sailing of the "Sea Mew," presents an opportunity, which I accept to address you a line.

I was so closely pressed for time just prior to the departure of the "Liberia Packet," that I did not say in my letter

to you by that vessel, a word concerning the recognition of Liberia by your Government. I noticed in an American paper of February last, which I received opportunely some weeks ago, that the subject of the recognition of this government had received the attention of the Hon Secretary of State and the President of the United

States, who express themselves favorable to the measure, and would exert all the influence in their power, consistent with the policy of the United States to effect it. I am aware of the "*peculiarities*" that this question is most likely to excite by its agitation in your Government; yet, notwithstanding, a sound and practical policy would dictate the recognition of Liberia by the United States and the stipulations of a treaty of amity and commerce based upon strict reciprocity. There are several reasons affording, in my opinion, strong arguments in favor of the act, which are here briefly noticed. And first—The recollection of past services rendered to the Republic of America in her infancy, to give her a footing upon the platform of nations, by Africans and the descendants of Africa, some of whom, and their children are now Liberians—are facts that strongly claim for themselves a fair and impartial consideration. These services have not yet been repaid. Promises of freedom to many who bore arms in your defence when struggling for your rights against the powers of a formidable nation, were not redeemed. Many *fought, bled, and died*, others were wounded for life, and are still unpensioned. Liberia now stands forth and loudly calls for your comity—for your friendship; will you deny her even this request. It is now eminently within your power to requite *somewhat* for these good offices rendered when most needed, and therefore the more important, by a frank acknowledgment of what exists in fact, and what will and must be felt even by those who may not prove thus friendly—a *free and independent State!* It is the duty and privilege of the United States to, and it would be very wrong if she did not now by this public act, prove what she has so often asserted in regard to the moral relations which she sustains towards domestic slavery within her bosom. *Verbum sat.*

Second—*The necessity of the subsistence of good feelings and a good understanding between the two countries,* is an argument in favor of the measure.

What would so signally manifest to the civilized world, and especially to Liberia, the national sympathy in practice, which the United States have professed in theory towards the infant Republic, as a manly recognition at this time must certainly ensure? Marked disrespect offered by one individual to another, can have but one effect—the alienation of the good feelings and kindly regards of the slighted, and perhaps injured individual, from the one

who offered the slight or injury. The same cause invariably produces the same effect, whether upon a larger or smaller scale of operation. So in relation to the two Republics. If the United States by refusing to accede to the recognition of the independence of Liberia, offers her a national indignity, it can only produce the same effect that a like cause would produce in the case of two individuals. But, if the conduct be different, be friendly and sympathetic, the feelings produced will partake of the same character; and if the two Republics act thus, they will mutually promote each others interest; a result, which, in the very nature of things, will not and cannot be expected unless a mutually friendly course be pursued. *Liberia is a jealous and a sensitive nation, and is not sufficiently regardless of her national honor to yield one tittle more to, than she receives from another;* and in this, I am confident the United States are equally careful. Reciprocal action, it may be expected, will be sedulously regarded by Liberia, and you are aware that hostility to each others interests, and embittered feelings towards each others general welfare, can result in no good to either of the Republics.

Third—*The inducements it would hold forth, conducive to the promotion of an integral emigration from the United States to Liberia,* may not be regarded as an insignificant argument in favor of the recognition.

That the presence of so large a community of people in the United States as the colored class compose—where the laws and popular sentiments are frowning upon, and in many places severely oppressing them—and which people too, are, in their caste, interests, privileges and feelings, so entirely dissimilar from the constitutional components of that government, is calculated to be injurious to all classes, yet, more injurious to the weak and denisen class, and yet, perhaps, *most injurious to the weaker portion* of said class, is regarded as a stubborn fact, supported by various and good political and social reasons. It is also a fact, and equally clear too, that for the United States to resort to coercive measures to rid herself of this class, would be a piece of injustice unparalleled, while their emigration to Liberia, of their own accord, would ensure to their benefit, and inspire within them feelings of respect for the government and people, who aided in any way the acquisition of their benefits they would enjoy.

Now, it is known, that such an emigra-

tion materially depends upon the actions that may be had upon this question by your government. If Liberia be recognised by you, your most sanguine hopes will be realized in the willing emigration of the free people of color of the United States, to Liberia; and gradually others will be made free for the same purpose; and thus you will honestly, justly, and with the design of bettering their condition, get rid of a class of people the most unfortunate in the present condition, of any known in history. Not to recognise Liberia, however, by the United States, will be a sure means of preventing those happy results, and may entail consequences opposite and disastrous.

Fourthly—*The certain extension of our domain—the increase of our population—the growth of arts and sciences among us, are considerations of importance in favor of the measure* I here commence by saying, now is the favorable moment for action by the United States Government. Liberia has been, and is now being felt, like Hercules in his cradle. England, France, and Prussia, have acted promptly and wisely; they know that Liberia is destined at no very distant period, Colossus-like, to stand astride this vast continent, and their policy dictates them a course which it is likely they will have reasons to regret. And why then will you stand aloof, and be content at seeing your rivals possess *all of what you may rightfully have a large share?*

The affinity between our institutions—the oneness of our aim—the sameness of political purpose, are feelings and principles which should be mutually grafted into the national interests and foreign policies of the United States and Liberia.

That we will continue to stretch out, is certainly so obvious from what we have done that it amounts to the highest degree of probability. Look at what has been accomplished in three years? At the time of the political change in the Government of Liberia our coastwise territory by actual purchase did not extend farther northwest than Little Cape Mount, nor farther southeast than the Grand Cestors country, (excluding the intermediate spots not then purchased,) a line of not 200 miles in extent; now our borders are, on the northwest, at the southern limit of Gallinas; and on the southeast, within a few miles of Cape Palmas—in extent near 400 miles—and we have territory on our northwest, by political jurisdiction, or pre-emption, that we do not yet possess by purchase; and from this increase in three years it may

not be considered idle for me to assert that in 1860 we shall have added 1000 miles more to our domains, for the ratio will double every five years for every twenty-five years to come, at least.

With an increase of territory we will have an increase of population. In President Roberts' inaugural address, January, 1848, it is stated that the population of Liberia at that time amounted to about 80,000 souls, of whom about 5,000 were colonists. Since that period the population has increased to over 200 000 souls, in which number there are more than 8,000 colonists: thus the increase of population in less than three years has been nearly equal to the entire population for twenty-five years preceding the declaration of independence, (which proves to a demonstration the superiority in point of influence, &c., of the *Republic of Liberia*, over the *colony of Liberia*;) and from this ratio, it is deducible that in 1860, the population of Liberia will exceed 800,000 souls, in which number there will be over 30,000 colonists. I assert this as a political fact, provable by the same course of reasoning and deductions that other such facts are proved. There were more colonists in Liberia in 1848, than at any period prior to that date, at that time the number was estimated at 5,000; in 1850, two years thereafter, the number was estimated at 8,000, showing in two years only, an increase over the first number equal to eight over five, or a three-fifths improvement in the population. During the first of these two years, the increase could not have exceeded 1,100; but during the last year the increase was nearly double that of the first year. There are five causes for this: first, the means of human subsistence have been increased more abundantly than at any time before; secondly, immigrations are larger and more frequent now than before; thirdly, and fourthly, marriages have become much more frequent, and births more constant; and, fifthly, mortality is comparatively small. These causes will continue to exist and operate for a considerable time yet, and will make the ratio of increase in our population seven to four of every two years that will precede the estimated year of active influx.*

That arts and sciences will increase among us is very certain. High schools and seminaries are here, and *soon* we will have a college, which institutions will give tone and vigor to the nation, and spread their influence far and wide. Improvements have been made in agriculture,

* We think the author's figures are rather too large.

architecture, and manufactures, that promise much good to the country.

Another and a last argument, and one that, by the United States, may be considered more important than the others is, that *commercial considerations* present an argument of the first magnitude in favor of the recognition of the independence of Liberia by the United States of North America.

Our commerce increases almost daily, and must continue so to do for a long time yet, before it shall fluctuate. And those who *now* avail themselves of its benefits, and assist in its more permanent and flattering establishment, will *then* enjoy in preference those benefits that will arise therefrom.

England *now* receives her annual millions from Africa, by means of an interesting commerce. France, too, is following in her wake. The United States may find a ready market here for her cheap manufactures of all kinds; (which I hope, however, will not be the case *very* long;) her pork, beef, bacon, flour, tobacco, and other articles of growth, also, will be received by us; for which we can give in exchange, our coffee, arrow-root, ginger, pepper, palm-oil, camwood, ivory, and other valuable products of the country. These benefits may not be expected to accrue from us to another nation, by whom we are not regarded as worthy of comity and national respect; nor so far as

her individual action is concerned, admitted as a sister into the community of nations.

The Libricians are a working people, and are in possession of the means of their own prosperity, and if used will as certainly produce their effect as that life will produce motion. And if thus we fall back upon our own resources, as we may justly do, and shut our doors against all that is American, even as America in the incipency and progress of her revolutionary struggles shut her doors against all that was British, thereby bringing Britain to those terms that no other means were considered equally capable of accomplishing, we will be but acting politic, and in accordance with precedent.

These are a few of my views calmly, plainly, and succinctly stated, upon the grave, important, and to us, all-absorbing subjects of the recognition of the Independence of the Republic of Liberia by the United States of North America.

Our affairs are moving forward peaceably and prosperously. Now the election is over, the community and nation enjoys wanted quietude and peace. We are at peace with the world, and which is better, at peace with ourselves!

Believe me, with high considerations, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,
DESERLINE TIPPON HARRIS.

REV. WM. McLAIN,
Col. Rooms, W. City, D. C.

Items of Intelligence.

WILL OF DR. JOSIAH SHEDD, LATE OF PEACHAM, VT.—We learn that Dr. Shedd has left the following legacies to the following Benevolent Societies:

To A. B. C. for Foreign Missions	\$5,000
American Home Missionary Society	4,000
“ Colonization	“ 4,000
“ Tract	“ 2,000
“ Bible	“ 2,000
Caledonia County Grammar School	2,000

VA. CONFERENCE OF THE M. E. CHURCH, SOUTH.—The annual meeting of this Conference has just concluded its session in the neighboring city of Alexandria. Some eighty or ninety ministers were present, and we are informed that a spirit of harmony and earnest resolution in the holy cause to which they are devoted animated their counsels and debates. The venerable Bishop Andrews presided. We are happy to know that the subject of African Colonization was referred to a committee

of this body, who through their chairman, the Rev. Mr. Rozzer, made the following report:

“Your Committee, appointed in behalf of the Colonization cause, respectfully beg leave to report; That recognizing clearly, as they do, the missionary aspect of African Colonization, and the special interposition of Divine Providence in the enterprise to introduce the habits of civilized life and the blessings of the Gospel of peace among the ignorant and degraded aborigines; and that amid the exciting elements of party spirit and sectional jealousies which threaten to interrupt our political harmony and disturb the affairs of our great Republic, regarding as they do the Colonization cause as common ground on which the Church and the State may unite, not only to avert great evils from our own nation, but greatly to facilitate the redemption of Africa; and believing as they do that the free colored people in our country can never enjoy equal im-

munities with the whites, we propose to the Conference that they adopt the following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved*, That we regard the enterprise of African Colonization as the most feasible plan to meliorate the condition of the African race, and as worthy of en-

couragement from the Virginia Annual Conference.

"2. *Resolved*, That we recommend the agent of the Colonization Society, and that we will afford him whatever facilities in our power in accomplishing the noble objects of his agency."

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 20th of October, to the 20th of November, 1851.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Meredith Bridge—From the Congregational Church, by Rev. E. J. Lane, Tr. Stafford Conf.... 5 00

CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. John Orcutt:—

East Haddam—Rev. Isaac Parsons, \$4.50; Mrs. Anne Cone, \$3; W. D. Shipman, Esq., Mrs. Polly Lewis, each \$2; J. C. Palmer, Esq., Wm. Palmer, L. Boardman, T. Green, R. W. Chapman, S. N. Williams, S. Tyler, H. S. Tyler, Dr. W. E. Nichols, R. S. Pratt, A. Day, Wm. Brainard, J. Silliman, each \$1; J. Hutchins, Wm. Palmer, Geo. Higgins, Geo. E. Goodspeed, Orin Chapman, Miss E. Cone, W. H. Goodspeed, Mrs. H. Brainard, each 50 cents; D. S. Chapman, G. Higgins, G. Douglas, M. H. Silliman, D. Williams, S. Belden, J. C. Chapman, Miss M. M. Taylor, each 25 cents; to constitute the Rev. Isaac Parsons a life member of the Am. Col. Soc..... 30 50

Hadlyme—Collection in Congregational Church..... 7 00

Clinton—Geo. Ely A. Elliott, \$10; Dr. Hubbard, \$5; W. Hull, \$3; H. Tainter, \$2; Mrs. Buckingham, J. L. Hull, J. D. Leffingwell, Geo. E. Elliot, ea. \$1; H. Hull, J. C. Chittenden, Chas. Stevens, E. Bacon, each 50 cents; Cash 7 cents..... 26 07

Madison—E. C. Scranton, \$10; S. H. Scranton, A. O. Wilcox, each \$5; Col. Wilcox, Baldwin Hart, each \$3; Mrs. Hand, M. L. Doud, each \$2; Henry Scranton, Mrs. Wilcox, Austin Doud, T. Scranton, J. W. Dudley, T. V. Meigs, Dr. R. Webb, F. L. Whedon, Selah Lee, D. Crittenden, each \$1; Miss A. Meigs, Cash, H. Scran-

ton, each 50 cents; Mrs. P. Meigs, Miss Mary E. Meigs, Cash, each 25 cents; to constitute the Rev. Samuel N. Shepard a life member of the Am. Col. Soc..... 42 25

Guilford—F. R. Griffin, \$10; Joel Tuttle, \$5; Samuel Fowler, \$3; S. Graves, \$2; Jasper Morse, A. S. Fowler, Comfort Starr, Joel Davis, Cash, Dr. A. Talcott, S. C. Johnson, R. Stone, M. Bradley, each \$1; Miss M. A. Lee, 50 cents, Cash 25 cts. 29 75

135 57

PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia—Pennsylvania Colonization Society..... 500 00

VIRGINIA.

Triadelphia—Mrs. Mary Brown. 10 00

NORTH CAROLINA.

By Rev. Jesse Rankin:—

Mecklenburgh Co.—Rev. A. L. Watts, \$3; David Paterson, Hugh Wilson, John Orr, J. H. Stuart, R. Morrison, each \$1; R. King, S. A. Cosby, each \$2; W. S. Pharr, 50 cents..... 12 50

Salisbury—Cash, Cash, each 50 cents..... 1 00

Gold Hill—C. B. Rice, \$2; Cash 50 cents..... 2 50

Albemarle—Daniel Freeman, \$3; P. H. Woolly, \$2; J. M. McCorkle, S. C. Freeman, J. O. Ross, each \$1..... 8 00

Wadesborough—W. E. Troy, \$3; H. Lance, R. T. Hall, each \$2; Rev. C. S. Walker, S. H. Smith, S. D. Waynick, A friend, ea. \$1 11 00

Richmond Co.—W. L. Steele, \$3; Hampton Legrand, T. Little, J. P. Little, W. B. Cole, J. W. Covington, each \$2; P. N. Stanback, Cash, Cash, each \$1.

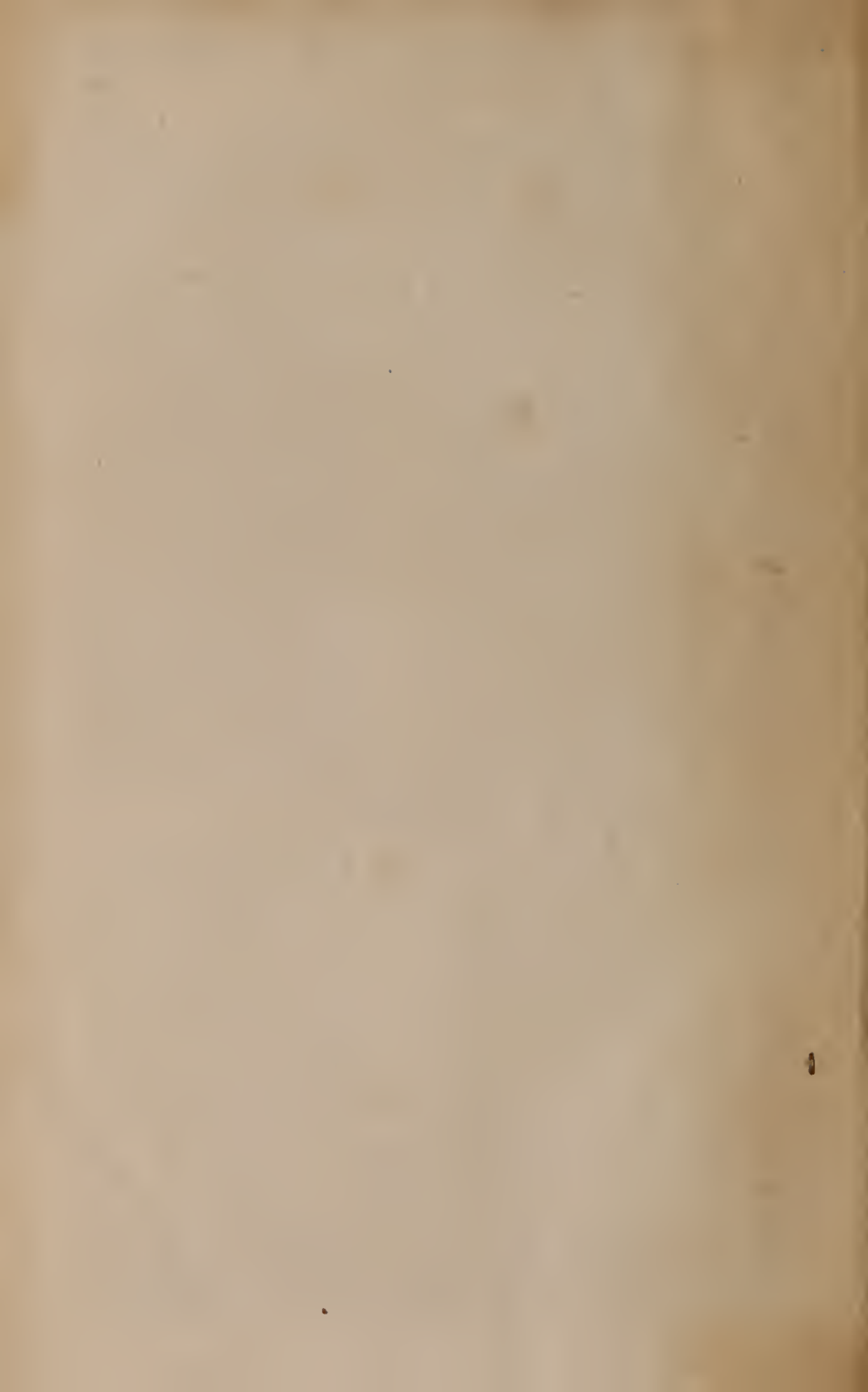
Laurel Hill Congregation—J. Fairly, \$5; M. McIntosh, \$3; D. Johnson, Mrs. M. Living-

ston, each \$2; Mrs. C. White, J. McNeill, each \$1; Wm. B. McMillan, \$3; John McNeill, \$2; A. McMillan, Rev. H. McLaurin, Rev. John Monroe, each \$1; J. A. McKay, A. Patterson, John H. McLean, A. Mource, P. T. Roper, John Patterson, each 50 cents; Mrs. Margaret McIntosh, \$3.....	44 00
<i>Robeson County—Centre Congregation</i> —Dr. A. D. McLean, \$5; A. McLean, A. Smith, M. Purcell, J. B. McCallum, J. McNeill, James McLean, John McLean, each \$2; Rev. F. K. Nash, J. McInnis, A. Watson, A. McLean, Mrs. A. Whitted, T. Bethea, J. McEachan, Miss B. Murphy, E. McCallum, A. S. Baker, J. McNair, Mrs. A. Sellers, N. McNair, D. W. McLean, A. McLean, M. C. McNair, Col. A. McKay, each \$1; Thos. F. Ellerbe, H. Leach, M. McKenzie, each 50 cents; Mrs. E. McKay, 25 cents; Mrs. S. Morrison, 30 cents, Cash 25 cents, \$38.40. <i>Bethel Congregation</i> —Rev. Hector McNeill, \$10; J. Gilchrist, \$4; P. McRae, Alex. Purcell, each \$1; A. McMillan, J. H. McMillan, each 50 cents; John McKae, \$2;—\$19.00.....	57 40
OHIO.	136 40
<i>Putnam</i> —Zanesville and Putnam Col. Society, by H. Safford, Esq., Sec and Treas.....	150 00
<i>Xenia</i> —Green County Col. Soc., \$27.73; Bell Brock Pres. Congregation, Rev. John Shields, Pastor, \$4.10; Associate Reformed Congregation in Xenia, Rev. R. D. Harper, Pastor, \$11.17; Balance of legacy left the Am. Col. Soc. by the late Mrs. Margaret McClelland, \$82, by James Gowdy, Treas. Green County Col. Soc.....	125 00
<i>Granville</i> —Serenio Wright, Esq, annual life subscription.....	10 00
	285 00
Total Contributions.....	1,071 97

FOR REPOSITORY.

<i>NEW HAMPSHIRE</i> — <i>Gilsum</i> —Rev. Mr. Hayes, to Nov. 1852, by Rev. Seth S. Arnold.....	1 00
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<i>MASSACHUSETTS</i> —By Rev. Jos. Tracy— <i>Milford</i> —P. P. Parkhurst, to Aug., '51, \$1. <i>Townsend</i> —Joel Adams, to July, '52, \$3; Polly Giles, to Nov. '52, \$1, \$4. <i>Beverly</i> —Hon. Albert Thorndike, to Jan. '52, \$7; Hon. John Safford, to Jan. '52, \$5.55; Edward Burley, to Jan. '52, \$5.25; Capt. Henry Larcom, to Jan. '52, \$5.50. <i>Medway Village</i> —Mrs. Achsah Fisher, to July, '52, \$1. <i>Salem</i> —Hon. D. A. White, to Jan. '53, \$5. <i>Millville</i> —Mrs. Lovina Benson, to Nov. '52, \$1....	35 00
<i>CONNECTICUT</i> —By Rev. John Orcutt— <i>Saybrook</i> —George H. Chapman, to Oct. '52, \$1. <i>Guilford</i> —Wm. Faulkner, Esq., to Oct. '52, \$1.....	2 00
<i>NORTH CAROLINA</i> — <i>Fayetteville</i> —By Rev. Jesse Rankin—Wm. S. Taylor, to Nov. '52, \$1. <i>Lumberton</i> —Robert E. Troy, Esq., to Nov. '52, \$1.....	2 00
<i>KENTUCKY</i> — <i>Henderson</i> —Isaac Sheffer, to 1 Oct. '52.....	1 00
<i>OHIO</i> — <i>Xenia</i> —By C. W. James Esq.:—James Gowdy, Esq., to Jan. '52, \$3. <i>Talmege</i> —Dr. D. Upson, to Dec. '51, \$4.50. <i>Elyria</i> —H. Ely, to Dec. '51, \$1.50. <i>Pais</i> —L. Cox, to Jan. '52, \$4.50. <i>Norwalk</i> —John R. Osborn, to Jan. '52, \$3. <i>Cincinnati</i> —H. J. Shaw, to Nov. '52, \$1.....	17 50
<i>INDIANA</i> — <i>Eugene</i> —J. Green dyke, to May, '51.....	1 00
<i>ILLINOIS</i> — <i>Elk Grove</i> —F. T. Miner, Esq., to Jan. '52.....	5 00
<i>MISSISSIPPI</i> — <i>Rodney</i> —Miss Susan McGill, to Nov. '52, by Dr. Guy, through David Christy, Esq.....	1 00
<i>MISSOURI</i> — <i>Palmyra</i> —S. T. Glover, to July, '51.....	5 00
<i>MICHIGAN</i> — <i>Ann Arbor</i> —By C. W. James, Esq.:—Prof. G. P. Williams, to Dec. '51, \$4.50. <i>Sylvan</i> —W. Buck, to Aug. '51, \$3. <i>Cold Water</i> —E. G. Fuller, to Oct. '52, \$3.....	10 50
	81 00
Total Repository.....	1,071 97
Aggregate Amount.....	\$1,152 97



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