the Negro in America. The middle section covers the achievements of the Negro as soldier, businessman, artisan, farmer, writer, and professional. The concluding chapters analyze possible solutions to the Negro's plight. Writing in 1855, Delany harshly criticized the American Colonization Society for suggesting Negro removal to Africa, yet his pessimism about the Negro's future in America led him to recommend emigration to Central America as the Negro's solution at that time. (By the late 1870's as "white supremacy" returned, he took an interest in African colonization and became a leading force in an association favoring a Negro exodus to Liberia.)

Because of its colonization sentiment, Delany's book was not well received by the great majority of Negroes at the time of its publication, but no one could deny that the author had compiled an astonishing variety of solid information on the Negro American. In doing so he struck a note of racial pride in black America. He believed that all projects for the elevation of the Negroes should originate with them and be implemented by them.

Delany writes in a somewhat plodding fashion and his conclusions are not always concisely summarized. But he reveals a vigorous and original mind that pondered deeply over the condition of the black American in his native land.

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from their native homes, is a new feature in our history, and at first view, may be considered objectionable, as pernicious to our interests. This objection is at once removed, when reflecting on our condition as incontrovertibly shown in a foregoing part of this work. And we shall proceed at once to give the advantages to be derived from emigration, to us as a people, in preference to any other policy that we may adopt. This granted, the question will then be, Where shall we go? This we conceive to be all-important—of paramount consideration, and shall endeavor to show the most advantageous locality; and premise the recommendation, with the strictest advice against any countenance whatever, to the emigration scheme of the so called Republic of Liberia.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA."

That we desire the civilization and enlightenment of Africa—the high and elevated position of Liberia among the nations of the earth, may not be doubted, as the writer was among the first, seven or eight years ago, to make the suggestion and call upon the Liberians to hold up their heads like men; take courage, having confidence in their own capacity to govern themselves, and come out from their disparaging position, by formally declaring their independence. As our desire is to impart information, and enlighten the minds of our readers on the various subjects herein contained, we present below a large extract from the "First Annual Report of the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia." This Extract will make a convenient statistic reference for matters concerning Liberia. We could only wish that many of our readers possessed more historical and geographical information of the world, and there might be little fears of their going anywhere that might be incongenial and unfavorable to their success. We certainly do intend to deal fairly with Liberia, and give the reader every information that may tend to enlighten them. What the colored people most need, is intelligence; give them this, and there is no danger of them being duped into anything they do not desire. This Board was incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, March 19th, 1850—Ensign H. Kellogg, Speaker of the House, Marshall P. Wilder, President of the Senate. Trustees of the Board—Hon. George N. Briggs, LL. D., Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL. D., Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, Hon. William J. Hubbard, Hon. Joel Giles, Hon. Albert Fearing, Amos A. Lawrence, Esq. Officers of the Board—Hon. G. N. Briggs, President; Hon. S. Fairbanks, Treasurer; Rev. J. Tracy, Secretary. The conclusion of the Report says:—"In view of such considerations, the Trustees cannot doubt the patrons of learning will sustain them in their attempt to plant the first college on 14*
the only continent which yet remains without one." In this, the learned Trustees have fallen into a statistical and geographical error, which we design to correct. The continent is not without a College. There are now in Egypt, erected under the patronage of that singularly wonderful man, Mehemet Ali, four colleges conducted on the European principle—Scientific, Medical, Legal, and Military. These are in successful operation; the Military College having an average of eleven hundred students annually. The continent of Africa then, is not without a college, but though benighted enough, even to an apparent hopeless degeneration, she is still the seat of learning, and must some day rise, in the majesty of ancient grandeur, and vindicate the rights and claims of her own children, against the incalculable wrongs perpetrated through the period of sixty ages by professedly enlightened Christians, against them.

A glance at the map will show a sharp bend in this coast at Cape Palmas, from which it extends, on the one side, about 1,100 miles north-west and north, and on the other, about 1,200 or 1,300 almost directly east. In this bend is the Maryland Colony of Cape Palmas, with a jurisdiction extending nearly 100 miles eastward. This Colony is bounded on the north-west by the Republic of Liberia, which extends along the coast about 400 miles to Sherbro.

* It may be, that the Medical and Legal Schools, are adjacent departments of the Scientific College, which would make the number of Colleges in Egypt but two: as we are certain that the Military is separate entirely from the Scientific School, and spoken of by travelers as a splendid College.
libraries. They have a Manual Labor School and Female Academy. The number of Day Schools is not reported; but seven of the missionaries are reported as superintendents of schools, and the same number have under their charge several “native towns,” in some of which there are schools. The late superintendent of the missions writes:—

“It appears plain to my mind, that nothing can now retard the progress of our missions in this land, unless it be the want of a good high school, in which to rear up an abundant supply of well qualified teachers, to supply, as they shall rapidly increase in number, all your schools.”

The Baptists are next in number to the Methodists. The Northern Baptist Board, having its seat in Boston, has in Liberia one mission, two out-stations, one boarding-school, and two day schools, with about twenty scholars each, one native preacher, and four native assistants. The whole mission is in the hands of converted natives. The Southern Board operates more extensively. More than a year since, the Rev. John Day, its principal agent there, reported to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, United States Commissioner to Liberia, as follows:

“In our schools are taught, say, 330 children, 92 of whom are natives. To more than 10,000 natives, the Word of Life is stately preached; and in every settlement in these colonies, we have a church, to whom the means of grace are administered; and in every village we have an interesting Sunday school, where natives as well as colonists are taught the truths of God's word. Say, in our Sunday schools, are taught 400 colonists, and 200 natives. * * * * We have this year baptized 18 natives and 7 colonists, besides what have been baptized by Messrs. Murray and Drayton, from whom I have had no report.”

The missionaries are all, or nearly all, Liberian citizens.

The Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States has five missionaries at four stations in Liberia. The first is at Monrovia, under the care of the Rev. Harrison W. Ellis, well known as “the Learned Black Blacksmith.” While a slave in Alabama, and working at his trade as a blacksmith, he acquired all the education, in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Theology, which is required for ordination as a Presbyterian minister. The Presbyterians of that region then bought him, and sent him out as a missionary. His assistant, Mr. B. V. R. James, a colored man, was for some years a printer in the service of the American Board at their mission at Cape Palmas and the Gaboon River. He first went to Liberia as a teacher, supported by a society of ladies in New York. In the Presbyterian church under the cure of Mr. Ellis are 39 communicants. During the year, 24 had been added, and 8 had been dismissed to form a new church in another place. Mr. Ellis also has charge of the “Alexander High School,” which is intended mainly for teaching the rudiments of a classical education. This institution has an excellent iron school-house, given by a wealthy citizen of New York, at the cost of one thousand dollars, and a library and philosophical apparatus, which cost six hundred dollars, given by a gentleman in one of the southern States. The library contains a supply of classical works, probably equal to the wants of the school for some years. The land needed for the accommodation of the school was given by the government of Liberia. The number of scholars appears to be between twenty and thirty, a part of whom support themselves by their daily labor. The English High School under the care of Mr. James, had, according to the last Annual Report, 52 scholars. At a later date, the number
in both schools was 78. Mr. James has also a large Sabbath school; but the number of pupils is not given.

The second station is at the new settlement of Kentuckey, on the right or north bank of the St. Paul’s, about fifteen miles from Monrovia, and six miles below Millsburgh. The missionary is a Liberian, Mr. H. W. Erskine. On a lot of ten acres, given by the government, buildings on an economical scale have been erected, in which is a school of twenty scholars. The church was organized in November, 1849, with eight members from the church in Monrovia. They have since increased to fourteen. Here, too, is a flourishing Sabbath school. The citizens, and especially the poor natives in the neighbourhood, are extremely anxious that a boarding school should be established. To this the Committee having charge of this mission objects, as the expense for buildings and for the support of pupils would be great, and would absorb funds that can be more profitably expended on day schools.

The third station is on the Sinou river, 150 miles down the coast from Monrovia, where, at the mouth of the river, is the town of Greenville, and a few miles higher up, the newer settlements of Readville and Rossville. It is under the care of the Rev. James M. Priest. The number of communicants, at the latest date, was thirty, and the field of labor was rapidly enlarging by immigration. The station is new, and it does not appear that any mission school had yet been organized.

The fourth station is at Settra Kroo, where there are five or six miles of coast, to which the native title has not yet been extinguished. This station has been maintained for some years, at a lamentable expense of the lives and health of white missionaries. About 200 boys and a few girls have been taught to read. The station is now under the care of Mr. Washington McDonogh, formerly a slave of the late John McDonogh, of Louisiana, so well known for the immense estate which he has bequeathed to benevolent purposes. He was well educated, and with more than eighty others, sent out some years since at his master’s expense. He has a school of fifteen scholars, with the prospect of a large increase.

The mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church is located in the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas. Its last Report specifies seven schools, and alludes to several others, in actual operation; all containing from 200 to 300 scholars, of whom about 100 are in one Sabbath school. Five other schools had been projected, and have probably gone into operation since that time. The greater part of the pupils are from native families. The Report states the number of communicants at sixty-seven, of whom forty are natives. A High school was opened January 1, 1850.

The laws of the Republic of Liberia provide for a common school in every town. It is supposed, however, that where there is a mission school, accessible to all children of suitable age, no other school exists; so that, in fact, nearly all the common schools in Liberia are connected with the different missions, the missionaries have the superintendence of their studies, and the Missionary Societies defray a large portion of the expense. Yet it must be remembered that a large majority of the missionaries are citizens of the Republic, and some of them native Africans; so that the immediate control of the schools is not generally in foreign hands. A portion, also, of the missionary funds, is contributed in Liberia; and something is paid by parents for the tuition of their children. Yet the Republic evidently needs an educational system more independent of missionary aid and control; and for that purpose, needs a
supply of teachers who are not raised up in mission schools. And we have it in testimony, that the missions themselves might be more efficient for good, if well supplied with teachers of higher qualifications.

Here, then, we have a Republic of some 300,000 inhabitants, of whom 7,000 or 8,000 may be regarded as civilized, and the remainder as having a right to expect, and a large part of them actually expecting and demanding the means of civilization and Christianity. We have,—supplying as well as we can by estimate, the numbers not definitely given,—more than 2,000 communicants in Christian churches, and more than 1,500 children in Sabbath Schools; some 40 day schools containing, exclusive of the Methodists, who are the most numerous, and of whose numbers in school we have no report, about 635 scholars. The whole number in day schools, therefore, is probably not less than 1,200. We have the Alexander High School at Monrovia, where instruction is given to some extent in the classics; the English High School, at the same place, under Mr. James; the Methodist Manual Labor School and Female Academy at Millsburg; the Baptist Boarding School at Bexley; and the Protestant Episcopal High School at Cape Palmas. These institutions must furnish some students for a higher seminary, such as we propose to establish; and such a population must need their labors when educated.

However foreign to the designs of the writer of ever making that country or any other out of America, his home; had this been done, and honorably maintained, the Republic of Liberia would have met with words of encouragement, not only from himself, an humble individual, but we dare assert, from the leading spirits among, if not from the whole colored population of the United States. Because they would have been willing to overlook the circumstances under which they went there, so that in the end, they were willing to take their stand as men, and thereby throw off the degradation of slaves, still under the control of American slave-holders, and American slave-ships. But in this, we were disappointed—grievously disappointed, and proceed to show in short, our objections to Liberia.

Its geographical position, in the first place, is objectionable, being located in the sixth degree of latitude North of the equator, in a district signally unhealthy, rendering it objectionable as a place of destination for the colored people of the United States. We shall say nothing about other parts of the African coast, and the reasons for its location where it is: it is enough for us to know the facts as they are, to justify an unqualified objection to Liberia.

In the second place, it originated in a deep laid scheme of the slaveholders of the country, to exterminate the free colored of the American continent; the origin being sufficient to justify us in impugning the motives.

Thirdly and lastly—Liberia is not an Independent Republic: in fact, it is not an independent nation at all; but a poor miserable mockery—a burlesque on a government—a pitiful dependency on the American Colonizationists, the Colonization Board at Washington city, in the District of Columbia, being the Executive and Government, and the principal man, called President, in Liberia, being the echo—a mere parrot.
of Rev. Robert R. Gurley, Eliot Cresson, Esq.,
Governor Pinney, and other leaders of the Coloniza-
tion scheme—to do as they bid, and say what they
tell him. This we see in all of his doings.
Does he go to France and England, and enter into
solemn treaties of an honorably recognized in the
independence of his country; before his own nation
has any knowledge of the result, this man called
President, dispatches an official report to the Coloniza-
tionists of the United States, asking their gracious
approval?—Does king Grando, or a party of fisher-
men besiege a village and murder some of the inhab-
itants, this same “President,” dispatches an official
report to the American Colonization Board, asking
for instructions—who call an Executive Session of
the Board, and immediately decide that war must
be waged against the enemy, placing ten thousand
dollars at his disposal—and war actually declared in
Liberia, by virtue of the instructions of the American
Colonization Society. A mockery of a govern-
ment—a disgrace to the office pretended to be held—a parody on the position assumed. Liberia in Africa, is
a mere dependency of Southern slaveholders, and
American Colonizationists, and unworthy of any re-
spectful consideration from us.
What would be thought of the people of Hayti, and
their heads of government, if their instructions eman-
ated from the American Anti-Slavery Society, or the
British Foreign Missionary Board? Should they be
respected at all as a nation? Would they be worthy of it? Certainly not. We do not expect Liberia to
be all that Hayti is; but we ask and expect of her,
to have a decent respect for herself—to endeavor to
be freemen instead of voluntary slaves. Liberia is
no place for the colored freemen of the United
States; and we dismiss the subject with a single
remark of caution against any advice contained in a
pamphlet, which we have not seen, written by Hon.
James G. Birney, in favor of Liberian emigration.
Mr. Birney is like the generality of white Americans,
who suppose that we are too ignorant to under-
stand what we want; whenever they wish to get rid
of us, would drive us anywhere, so that we left them.
Don’t adhere to a word therein contained; we will
think for ourselves. Let Mr. Birney go his way, and
we will go ours. This is one of those confounded
gratities that is forced in our faces at every turn
we make. We dismiss it without further comment—
and with it Colonization in toto—and Mr. Birney
de facto.
But to return to emigration: Where shall we go?
We must not leave this continent; America is our
destination and our home.
That the continent of America seems to have been
designed by Providence as an asylum for all the
various nations of the earth, is very apparent. From
the earliest discovery, various nations sent a represen-
tation here, either as adventurers and speculators,
or employed seamen and soldiers, hired to do the
work of their employers. And among the earliest
and most numerous class who found their way to the
New World, were those of the African race. And
it is now ascertained to our mind, beyond a peradventure, that when the continent was discovered, there were found in Central America, a tribe of the black race, of fine looking people, having characteristics of color and hair, identifying them originally of the African race—no doubt being a remnant of the Africans who, with the Carthaginian expedition, were adventitiously cast upon this continent, in their memorable excursion to the "Great Island," after sailing many miles distant to the West of the Pillars of Hercules.

We are not inclined to be superstitious, but say, that we can see the "finger of God" in all this; and if the European race may with propriety, boast and claim, that this continent is better adapted to their development, than their own father-land; surely, it does not necessarily detract from our father-land, to claim the superior advantages to the African race, to be derived from this continent. But be that as it may, the world belongs to mankind—his common Father created it for his common good—his temporal destiny is here; and our present warfare, is not upon European rights, nor for European countries; but for the common rights of man, based upon the great principles of common humanity—taking our chance in the world of rights, and claiming to have originally more right to this continent, than the European race. And had we no other claims than those set forth in a former part of this work, they are sufficient to cause every colored man on the continent, to stand upon the soil unshaken and unmoved. The abori-

ginee of the continent, is more closely allied to us by consanguinity, than to the European—being descended from the Asiatic, whose alliance in matrimony with the African is very common—therefore, we have even greater claims to this continent on that account, and should unite and make common cause in elevation, with our similarly oppressed brother, the Indian.

The advantages of this continent are superior, because it presents every variety of climate, soil, and production of the earth, with every variety of mineral production, with all kinds of water privileges, and ocean coast on all sides, presenting every commercial advantage. Upon the American continent we are determined to stay, in spite of every odds against us. What part of the great continent shall our destination be—shall we emigrate to the North or South?

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CHAPTER XX.

THE CANADAS.

This is one of the most beautiful portions of North America. Canada East, formerly known as Lower Canada, is not quite so favorable, the climate being cold and severe in winter, the springs being late, the summers rather short, and the soil not so productive.