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NEAR WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS.
1848.
In Convention.

Declaration of Independence.

We the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbiter of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, publish and declare the said Commonwealth a free, sovereign and independent state, by the name and title of the Republic of Liberia.

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of this Republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity, and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:

We recognize in all men certain natural and inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy and secure these rights; and every people has a right to institute a government and to choose and adopt that system or form of it, which, in their opinion, will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right, therefore, to institute government, and to all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right, and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

We the people of the Republic of Liberia were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

In some parts of that country, we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down. We were everywhere shut out from all civil office. We were excluded from all participation in the government. We were taxed without our consent. We were compelled to contribute
to the resources of a country which
gave us no protection.

We were made a separate and dis-
tinct class, and against us every
avenue to improvement was effectu-
ally closed. Strangers from all
lands, of a color different from ours,
were preferred before us.

We uttered our complaints, but
they were unattended to, or only
met by alleging the peculiar institu-
tions of the country.

All hope of a favorable change in
our country was thus wholly extin-
guished in our bosoms, and we
looked with anxiety abroad for some
asylum from the deep degradation.

The Western coast of Africa was
the place selected by American be-
nevolence and philanthropy, for our
future home. Removed beyond those
influences which depressed us in our
native land, it was hoped we would
be enabled to enjoy those rights and
privileges, and exercise and improve
those faculties which the God of na-
ture has given us in common with
the rest of mankind.

Under the auspices of the Ameri-
can Colonization Society, we estab-
lished ourselves here, on land ac-
quired by purchase from the lords of
the soil.

In an original compact with this
Society, we, for important reasons,
delegated to it certain political pow-
ers; while this institution stipulated
that whenever the people should be-
come capable of conducting the go-

dernment, or whenever the people
should desire it, this institution
would resign the delegated power,
peaceably withdraw its supervision,
and leave the people to the govern-
ment of themselves.

Under the auspices and guidance
of this institution, which has nobly
and in perfect faith redeemed its
pledges to the people, we have grown
and prospered.

From time to time, our number
has been increased by emigration
from America, and by accessions
from native tribes; and from time to
time, as circumstances required it,
we have extended our borders by
acquisition of land by honorable pur-
chase from the natives of the country.

As our territory has extended, and
our population increased, our com-
merce has also increased. The flags
of most of the civilized nations of the
earth float in our harbors, and their
merchants are opening an honorable
and profitable trade. Until recently,
these visits have been of a uniformly
harmonious character, but as they
have become more frequent, and to
more numerous points of our ex-
tending coast, questions have arisen,
which it is supposed can be adjusted
only by agreement between sove-
 reign powers.

For years past, the American Co-
onization Society has virtually with-
drawn from all direct and active part
in the administration of the govern-
ment, except in the appointment of
the Governor, who is also a colonist,
for the apparent purpose of testing
the ability of the people to conduct
the affairs of government, and no
complaint of crude legislation, nor
of mismanagement, nor of mal-ad-
ministration has yet been heard.

In view of these facts, this institu-
tion, the American Colonization So-
ciety, with that good faith which has
uniformly marked all its dealings
with us, did, by a set of resolutions
in January, in the year of our Lord
one thousand eight hundred and for-
ty-six, dissolve all political connec-
tion with the people of this Repub-
lic, return the power with which it
was delegated, and left the people to
the government of themselves.

The people of the Republic of Li-
beria, then, are of right, and in fact,
a free, sovereign and independent
State, possessed of all the rights,
powers and functions of government.
In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this Republic feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high considerations of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties, which impart to man his dignity—to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition, to cherish and indulge those aspirations which a beneficent Creator had implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

We were animated with the hope, that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go—to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue and religion.

Among the strongest motives to leave our native land—to abandon forever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connexions, was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship the God of our fathers.

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who were once the doomed victims of oppression, and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralyzing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands, who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches for the worship of our Creator, every where to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and to our acknowledgment of His Providence.

The native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth, while upon that curse of curses, the slave trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion—in the name of the Great God, our common Creator, and our common judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.
CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Declaration of Rights.

The end of the institution, maintenance and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquility, their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity and happiness.

Therefore we, the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude the goodness of God, in granting to us the blessings of the Christian religion, and political, religious and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, insure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate, and constitute ourselves a free, sovereign and independent state, by the name of the Republic of Liberia, and do ordain and establish this Constitution, for the government of the same.

Section 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural inherent and inalienable rights—among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

Sec. 2. All power is inherent in the people; all free governments are instituted by their authority and for their benefit, and they have a right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

Sec. 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God accord-
and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself, and no person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

Sec. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

Sec. 9. No place shall be searched nor person seized, on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause, supported by oath, or solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

Sec. 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts; nor any law rendering any act punishable, in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.

Sec. 11. All elections shall be by ballot, and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

Sec. 12. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature, and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

Sec. 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

Sec. 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial, and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others. This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.

Sec. 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State: it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Republic.

The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

Sec. 16. No subsidy, charge, impost or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid or levied, under any pretense whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

Sec. 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.

Sec. 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service) but by the authority of the legislature.

Sec. 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people
have a right at such periods, and in such manner, as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places, by certain and regular elections and appointments.

Sec. 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident, or presumption great; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

ARTICLE II.

Legislative Powers.

Section 1. The Legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches—a House of Representatives and a Senate, to be styled the Legislature of Liberia; each of which shall have a negative on the other, and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, "It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled."

Sec. 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia, as follows: The county of Montserrado shall have four representatives, the county of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the county of Sinoe shall have one, and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years. The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

Sec. 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

Sec. 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers, they shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserrado county, two from Bassa county, two from Sinoe county, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this Republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election in the Republic of Liberia, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat four years, and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes two years, and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats shall remain in office four years.

Sec. 6. The Senate shall try all impeachments; the senators being first sworn, or solemnly affirmed, to try the same impartially, and according to law, and no person shall be
convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present. Judgment in such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic, but the party may still be tried at law for the same offense.

When either the President or Vice President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

Sec. 7. It shall be the duty of the Legislature as soon as conveniently may be after the adoption of this constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the Republic of Liberia, and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants, and for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census one representative shall be added to that county until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty—afterwards one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

Sec. 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

Sec. 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.

Sec. 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it, if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections—if the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the Legislature with his objection for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him—the Legislature remaining in session during that time—such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.

Sec. 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from the session of the Legislature.

ARTICLE III.

Executive Power.

Section 1. The Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall, in the recess of the legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defense of the republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission all ambassadors, and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of State, of War, of the Navy, and of the Treasury; attorney general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose
appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by standing laws. And in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancies in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed—he shall inform the Legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences, except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two houses, whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

Sec. 2. There shall be a Vice President, who shall be elected in the same manner, and for the same term, as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same; he shall be President of the Senate, and give the casting vote when the House is equally divided on any subject. And in case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office; the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Legislature may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

Sec. 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents, not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

Sec. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons who may by law be charged with the custody of the public monies, shall, before he receive such monies, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties, to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such monies when required by the President or Legislature; and no monies shall be drawn from the Treasury, but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

Sec. 5. All ambassadors and other public Ministers and Consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney General, and Postmaster General, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries public, shall hold their office for the term of two years, from the date of their respective commissions; but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.

Sec. 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature, stating the particular reasons for his removal.

Sec. 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President, who has not been a citizen of this Re-
public for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate, of not less value than six hundred dollars.

Sec. 8. The President shall at stated times receive for his services, a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected. And before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

I do solemnly swear, (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Republic of Liberia, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution, and enforce the laws of the Republic of Liberia.

ARTICLE IV.
Judicial Department.

Section 1. The Judicial power of this Republic shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such subordinate courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the Supreme Courts, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behavior; but may be removed by the President, on the address of two-thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased, but not diminished during their continuance in office. They shall not receive any other perquisite or emoluments whatever, from parties or others on account of any duty required of them.

Sec. 2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which the Republic shall be a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Legislature shall from time to time make.

ARTICLE V.
Miscellaneous Provisions.

Section 1. All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia, until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.

Sec. 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this Constitution.

Sec. 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges, and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office, and act under the authority of this Republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.

Sec. 4. The first election of President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives shall be held on the first Tuesday in October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven in the same manner as elections of members of the Council are chosen in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary, and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by
law provided in case of such members of Council.

Sec. 5. All other elections of President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected shall proceed to organise themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives. And if no person shall appear to have a majority of such votes, the Senators, and Representatives present, shall in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest numbers of votes, a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

Sec. 6. The Legislature shall assemble once at least in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

Sec. 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this Constitution, shall before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of this Republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of such office. The presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation to the President, in convention of both houses; and the President shall administer the same to the Vice President, to the Senators, and to the Representatives in like manner. If the President is unable to attend, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, may administer the oath or affirmation to him, at any place, and also to the Vice President, Senators, and Representatives, in Convention. Other officers may take such oath or affirmation before the President, Chief Justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

Sec. 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the Constitution or by law.

Sec. 9. Offices created by this Constitution which the present circumstances of the Republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.

Sec. 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent, and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise or otherwise.

Sec. 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one-third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her, by devise or otherwise.
Sec. 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless this article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.

Sec. 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.

Sec. 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

Sec. 15. The improvement of the native tribes and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this Government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the Legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

Sec. 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the Commonwealth, relative to emigrants, shall remain the same in the Republic, until regulated by compact between the Society and the Republic: nevertheless, the Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration. And it shall be among the first duties of the Legislature to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this Republic.

Sec. 17. This Constitution may be altered whenever two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature shall deem it necessary. In which case the alterations or amendments shall first be considered and approved by the Legislature, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch, and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two-thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of Senators and Representatives.

Done in Convention at Monrovia, in the county of Montserrado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and of the Republic the first. In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

S. BENEDICT, President.
J. N. LEWIS, Montserrado
H. TEAGE, County.
BEVERLY R. WILSON, Montserrado
ELIJAH JOHNSON, County.
J. B. GRIPON.
JOHN DAY.
A. W. GARDNER, Grand Bassa
AMOS HERRING, County.
EPHRAIM TILLER.
R. E. MURRAY, County of Sine.
J. W. PROUT, Secretary of Convention.

MONROVIA, July 29, 1847.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Having finished our labors, we now have the honor of submitting to your consideration, through the governor, that constitution which in our opinion will best suit the peculiar circumstances of the people of this infant Republic. That our labors will meet the full approbation of every individual citizen, is scarcely to be expected; we trust, however, that a large majority of our fellow citizens...
will approve our doings, and adopt the constitution herewith submitted.

In our deliberations, we endeavored to keep our minds steadily fixed upon the great objects of civil government, and have done what we conceived to be best for the general interest of this rising Republic. We endeavored carefully to arrange every subject that might possibly arise, calculated to disturb in the least the friendly feeling which now so happily subsists between the different counties of this Republic. We felt deeply the importance and magnitude of the work submitted to our hands, and have done the very best we could in order to afford general satisfaction.

In view of the peculiarity of our circumstances, the new position we have assumed, is indeed a gigantic one, and the government now calls to its support every citizen who is at all concerned for the safety and future prosperity of this our only home.

Knowing, however, that our cause is just, we feel encouraged, and believe that under God, by a speedy perseverance, we shall fully succeed.

In publishing to the world our Independence, we have thought proper to accompany that document with a declaration of the causes which induced us to leave the land of our nativity, and to form settlements on this coast, and also an appeal to the sympathies of all civilized nations, soliciting their aid and protection, and especially that they would, notwithstanding our peculiar circumstances, speedily recognise our Independence.

And that the flag of this Republic at no distant day may be seen floating upon every breeze, and in every land respected.

It is our earnest desire that the affairs of this Government may be so conducted as to merit the approbation of all Christendom, and restore to Africa her long lost glory, and that Liberia under the guidance of Heaven may continue a happy asylum for our long oppressed race, and a blessing to the benighted and degraded natives of this vast peninsula. To secure which is our ardent wish and prayer.

With great respect, we have the honor of being, your obedient and humble servants.

By the unanimous order of the Convention.

SAMUEL BENEDICT,
President.

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Flag and Seal of the Republic of Liberia.

The following Flag and Seal were adopted by the convention, as the insignia of the Republic of Liberia, and ordered to be employed to mark its nationality.

Flag: six red stripes with five white stripes alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, a square blue ground covering in depth five stripes. In the centre of the blue, one white star.

Seal: A dove on the wing with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean with a ship under sail.

The sun just emerging from the waters. A palm tree, and at its base a plow and spade. Beneath the emblems, the words REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, and above the emblems, the national motto, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE.

The former seal of the Commonwealth is ordered to be used until that for the Republic shall be engraved.

By order of the Convention.

S. BENEDICT,
President.
Remarks on the Constitution by the Editor of the Liberia Herald.

On the first page of the present number our readers will find the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia.

Pursuant to the Act of the Legislature, the delegates met in Convention in the Council Chamber, in this place on the 5th instant, set heartily to work, and concluded their labors on the 26th. The result of their labors we present in the constitution, which is now submitted to the consideration of the people, and which it is hoped will be acceptable to them. Should they adopt it, our Government will, by the act of acceptance, be re-organized and go fairly to work a complete and entire system.

This act upon which the people of these colonies have been forced by stern necessity, is pregnant with weal or woe; and should be regarded as the first in a series which conducts infallibly to credit or disgrace.

Apart from the solemnity that must ever attend the act, by which a young community throws off the yoke of its tutelage, and asserts its character of political manhood, there are circumstances attendant upon our case of a most impressive character. These circumstances stand out with a striking prominence upon every page of the history of the colony so obviously as renders it unnecessary that we should mention them. This fact will, in some measure, account for the deep and undefinable sensation which ran through the hall, and almost stilled every bosom, when on the 26th instant, the members in presence of a numerous assembly composed of males and females, advanced one by one to the Secretary's desk to put their names to the Declaration of Independence and appeal to the nations of Christendom. It seemed like entering upon a new era, the commencement of a new existence—the launching upon an ocean vast in its extent, and unexplored by any whom we can call to the helm.

That man amongst us who does not feel, that by this act he has entered upon a new career; has assumed new responsibilities, and has received a new impetus and a new motive to action, is to be pitied for his blindness, rather than envied for his indifference, and to say the least, he is not yet prepared for extensive usefulness.

We would warn our people against the infatuation of supposing that because we have declared ourselves sovereign and independent, therefore we have fulfilled our destiny, and attained the summit of political perfection; and we would also warn them against despondency, in view of any difficulties we may be called to encounter. Our condition affords no scope for idle enthusiasm, nor for unmanly timidity. All great undertakings are attended with difficulties, and usually demand an effort proportioned to their magnitude. It is of the last importance for us to know where, and by whom this effort is to be made. We need, and if we are wise, we will seek the sympathy and friendly countenance of foreign nations. It will be encouraging to be recognised as forming one in the great community of nations, and to receive the usual comities of that relation; still we must learn to call off all unreasonable expectation from every foreign quarter, and be penetrated with the conviction, that the proper scene of this extraordinary effort is the Republic of Liberia, and the effort itself to be made by us.
On another page will be seen the Declaration of Independence, followed by a brief statement of the causes which have led to that act. The peculiarities of our condition seemed to require some little explanation which is here attempted to be given. Thus we have fairly launched upon the ocean, expanded our sails to the breeze, trusting to the merits of our cause—to the genius of justice and humanity, and to the guidance of a benignant Providence.

Directly after signing the Declaration of Independence, the following resolutions having been drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose were presented and unanimously adopted.

Whereas the people of these colonies, after a careful survey of the present exigencies of the state, have thought proper to act upon the suggestions of their friends in America, to withdraw from political relation with the American Colonization Society: We the undersigned, their representatives in Convention assembled, deem the present a proper occasion on which to record the sentiment of the whole people of these colonies, in respect of that institution: Therefore,

Resolved, That we individually and collectively cherish the liveliest gratitude for the American Colonization Society; that we repose undiminished confidence in its disinterestedness and sincere desire for our welfare.

Resolved, That to the guiding and beneficent hand of that institution, we owe all the good which has been accomplished in us individually, and all that is cheering in the prospect which now opens before us as a people.

Resolved, That in the past unwearied labors of its members, as well individual as combined, we have a pleasing earnest of their future regard.

Resolved, That we are now, and will remain deeply solicitous to maintain such a friendly feeling and correspondence with the Board of Directors as will enable the society which it represents, as well as the American people at large, to carry out their benevolent designs in regard to the colored people of the United States, the colony of Liberia, and the continent of Africa.

Resolved, That the Governor be furnished with a copy of these resolutions accompanied with a request that they be forwarded to the Board of directors of the American Colonization Society.

[From the Liberia Herald.]

Celebration of Twenty-fourth of August;

The Day Appointed for Elevating the Flag of the Republic of Liberia.

Special Orders.—The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the first regiment, are hereby notified to assemble for parade, in front of the Town Hall, on Tuesday, the 24th inst., at 9 o'clock, A. M., in full uniform.

The captains or commanders of the volunteer companies of Monrovia, are hereby notified to parade their respective companies in this town, on Tuesday, the 24th inst., at 9 o'clock, A. M., in full uniform, as the law directs, in Broad street. The line will be formed at the usual place of rendezvous, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

By order of

BEVERLY P. YATES,
Colonel of First Regiment.

JAMES C. MINOR,
Adjutant of the Regiment.

Monrovia, 6th August, 1847.
ORDER OF THE DAY.—Order for the celebration of the 24th day of August, when the Flag of the Republic will be unfurled.

All foreign as well as colonial vessels, that may be in harbor on that day, are requested to display their respective national flags.

Each warehouse and grocery will be closed, and all persons will desist from mercantile operations on that day.

1st. One gun from Central Fort Hill, will announce the dawn of day.

2d. At 9 o'clock, A. M., the line will be formed in Broad street.

3d. At 10 o'clock, A. M., the troops will be formed in front of the Government House, to witness the reception of the Republic's flag.

At 12 o'clock, there will be a national salute fired from Central Fort Hill, at which time the flag of the Republic will be displayed.

The troops will then form to escort His Excellency, the Governor, and other civil officers, to the Methodist Church, to hear an oration to be delivered by Mr. James S. Payne.

One gun from Central Fort, will announce the moving off of the troops from the Government House, up Johnson street to Chavers' corner; thence down Warring street to the corner of the Presbyterian Church, thence down Broad street to Wilson's corner, and thence up Gurley's street to the M. E. Church.

After the exercises at the church, the troops will form to escort His Excellency, the Governor, and other civil officers, back to the Government House.

B. P. YATES,
J. B. GRIPON,
Committee of Arrangements.
MONROVIA, 6th August, 1847.

ATTENTION MONROVIA LIGHT INFANTRY.—You are hereby notified to assemble, for parade, on Tuesday, the 24th inst., at half past 8 o'clock, A. M., at the usual place of rendezvous, in full uniform.

By order of
J. B. McGUILE, Captain,
A. GREEN, Orderly Sergeant.
MONROVIA, 6th August, 1847.

ATTENTION MONROVIA STATE FENCIBLES.—You are hereby notified to assemble, for parade, on Tuesday, the 24th inst., at half past 8 o'clock, A. M., at the usual place of rendezvous, in full uniform.

By order of
J. W. BARBOUR, Captain,
THOS. ROBERTSON, 1st Sergt.
MONROVIA, 6th August, 1847.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH.—The celebration of the 24th inst., is at present the all absorbing topic. The ladies of Monrovia are preparing a flag to be presented on that occasion to the Republic. Of this, more hereafter.

Among the preparations for the occasion, that for the table is by no means the least. We have seen more than one list going about asking subscriptions for dinner, supper, &c., and, if we may judge from the names attached to them, they have not asked in vain.

[From the Liberian Herald.]

THE TWENTY-FOURTH.

The dawn of this day was announced to the inhabitants by the thundering of a cannon from Central Fort. At sunrise, the staff intended to bear the testimony of female patriotism and ardor in the cause of
Liberia's independence rose and towered proudly in the air, ready to receive the stripes and the star, which, in the language of one of Liberia's sons, "after ages of wandering, has at length found its orbit." A little afterward, the unusual activity and bustle in the streets—the rattling of drums, and the huzzas of boys testified how heartily all classes and descriptions of people entered into the business for which the day had been set apart. All business was suspended, and all appeared animated by a common sentiment.

At 9 o'clock, A.M., the Governor, with the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the first regiment, assembled at the Courthouse, and at the same hour Capt. McGill's company of Light Infantry, and Capt. Barbour's State Fencibles, formed in Broad street. By this time the people were pouring from all quarters in the direction of Government square, and the Government House and piazzas were already crowded to overflowing with ladies. At 11, the companies escorting the Governor and other officers marched up, and formed a line in front of the Government House, and soon afterward a message was sent to the ladies that His Excellency was ready to receive them. The committee appointed by the ladies to represent them on the occasion, consisting of Mrs. S. E. Lewis, Mrs. M. L. Hunter, Mrs. R. Johnson, Mrs. C. Hazel, Mrs. E. M. Teage, Mrs. C. Ellis, and Mrs. W. N. Yates, descended, bearing the flag, and advanced towards the Governor, who met them a few paces in front of the troops. As soon as the ladies appeared issuing from the door, the line presented arms. Mrs. Lewis presented the flag, accompanied by a neat patriotic speech. At the conclusion of the speech, three cheers went up from the troops and the assembled multitude, which made the welkin ring, while the waving of bann in the streets, and handkerchiefs from the piazzas and windows, testified how heartily every one was pleased. The Governor received the flag with his accustomed gallantry, unfurled it, and handed it to the standard bearer, who, on the present occasion, was Captain F. Payne, of the Monrovia Militia. He then replied, in the best speech we ever heard him make. He briefly adverted to the past history of the colony—noticed the rapidity with which it had advanced, and its present position! acknowledged the pride he felt as representative of the Republic of Liberia, in receiving the flag at the hands of the ladies of Monrovia; assured them on his behalf, and on behalf of his fellow soldiers, it will never be disgraced by cowardice or treachery; and that it shall be preserved among the archives of the Republic, as a testimony of their patriotism to rising generations. Three lusty cheers announced the conclusion of the ceremony—the ladies retired, and the flag with the guards took the centre of the line.

The flag is made of silk. On one side, in the blue field, it bears the motto of the Republic in large letters, thus—over the star "The love of liberty"—under it "brought us here." On the other side, is "Republic of Liberia." The staff is of rose wood, with a gilt head in form of a spear.

At half past 11, the troops marched up to Central Fort, and formed on the right of the flag staff. The staff is about thirty feet high, and erected on the most elevated spot in the centre of the town. The flag was then detached from the spear, and bent on to the halliards. At 12, the first gun of the national salute sent forth its thunder, when the flag rapidly ascended to its place, and floated on the breeze. At the same moment, a responsive gun was heard from signal hill, and the flag displayed...
there. A salute of twenty-one guns was then fired—every alternate gun being from signal hill.

As soon as the salute was over, this flag was lowered, and one of bunting raised in its place. The flag was then attached to the spear, took its place in the line, and the whole marched off and halted in front of the Government House. After a halt of a few minutes, the troops marched off escorting the Governor, other officers, and a number of citizens, to the Methodist Church. When they arrived, they found the church already filled to overflowing. The flag of the Republic was stationed on the right of the altar, near Mr. E. Johnson, the Marshal of the day: the left was occupied by a flag and banner of Mr. James' school. These also bore appropriate mottoes. The exercises in church were conducted in the following order: First, singing. Second, Prayer of supplication, by Rev. Mr. Ellis, of the Presbyterian Church. Third, singing. Fourth, Reading of the Declaration of Independence, by Hon. J. B. Gripon. Fifth, singing. Sixth, Oration by Rev. J. S. Payne, of the Methodist Church. Seventh, singing. Eighth, Prayer of thanksgiving, by H. Teage, of the Baptist Church. Ninth, Doxology. Tenth, Benediction, by Rev. A. D. Williams.

In regard to the oration, as it will be published, we will now merely say, it is a production highly creditable to Liberia, and honorable to the young man who brought it out; and we will all do well to listen to its advice, and act upon its suggestions.

The services in church over, the line was again formed, and marched to Government House, when the companies were dismissed.

At 2 P. M., a number of gentlemen sat down to dinner at Colonel Hicks'. Considering the great dearth of all foreign edibles, the dinner was a good one; and if any thing were wanting in the way of table supply, it was more than made good by the determination on all hands to be pleased. About 4, the party retired to gossip and prepare for an evening's entertainment, which the indefatigable Mr. Cary was getting up in the Governor's new building. At half past seven, about ninety persons, gentlemen and ladies, sat down to supper. Many patriotic toasts were given, and many gallant sentiments were offered, but, be it remembered, they were drunk in the very best and purest water which Monrovia affords. The amusements of the evening were increased by a band of music; and after the tables were removed, the guests entertained themselves in conversation until one in the morning, when they retired, well pleased, no doubt, each with himself, and every other. We should not omit to mention, that there were other entertainments on that day, but we can mention the particulars only of those at which we had the good fortune to be present.

In concluding, we feel bold to assert that nothing could exceed the good order, decorum, and regularity of the proceedings of the day. Everything was conducted in the most admirable order. It was a day which will be long remembered. During the ceremony of presenting the flag, many eyes were suffused with tears. And, indeed, who that remembered the past could forbear to weep?—Who that looked back to America and remembered what he saw and felt there, could be otherwise than agitated? It is indeed a great undertaking; but that Almighty Being who hath conducted us thus far, can and will conduct us to the goal at which we aim.

An Oration delivered on the celebration of the Independence of Liberia, 24th of August, at the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Rev. J. S. Payne.

My Fellow Citizens:—Having been requested to address you on this day, and being desirous of doing anything that lies in my power, for the good of my countrymen, I have come to attempt a compliance; and while I acknowledge it a great honor conferred upon me, I regret my inability to comply with your wish, in a manner corresponding with the importance and interesting character of this auspicious day: however, as a citizen, and as one who holds the doctrine that true religion is intimately connected with the love of country, I cannot be backward to do whatever lies in my power, for the edification of those with whom I am associated. With this assertion I hope you will bear with me, while I endeavor to comply with your request, as I best can.

In order to call into exercise that gratitude, and those patriotic feelings which should on this day fill every bosom, it becomes necessary to “call to mind the former days”—to compare the past with the present, and to infer as far as human foresight is capable of doing, from certain irrefragible and all important considerations, what the future will be. In casting the eye back upon the history of our race, and tracing its annals to the present, a dark spot, which fills the whole retina, immediately arrests our attention—a spot that has been in historical existence for centuries; augmenting with scarcely an opposition, to the nineteenth, and bidding fair, to all human appearance, to increase its blackness and dismal aspect unto the twentieth century. If the prophetic denunciation of Noah involved the whole of Ham’s descendants, affecting his youngest son almost immediately, but the other members of his family remotely, as some believe, we have a clear and certain fulfilment of that denunciation in the entire subjugation of the descendants of Canaan, and in the miseries and barbarities inflicted for centuries upon the Africans; which in their duration are unparalleled in the history of any nation. History informs us of the sufferings of many nations, but in few instances have they been otherwise than short-lived. The Canaanites were, shortly after the introduction of the Israelites into Palestine, subdued and lost in the mass of other barbarous nations. The Punic wars, which terminated with the destruction of the Carthaginian empire, compared with the duration of African suffering, were momentary. The sufferings of the descendants of Abraham, though compelled to abandon their former and delightful land and were in great numbers sold into foreign countries, are mitigated by the privileges they of late enjoy in all civilized governments. But it is to Africa, that troubles and unheard of atrocities have found their way, and brought about its fall, from which it has not yet risen. Long has it lain in its fallen condition, as if by that fall it had been deprived of all life, and broken to pieces. And, indeed, it cannot be said that the evils that have come upon it have not had a powerfully enervating effect.

The faculties of the soul by oppression had sunk into a state of dormancy; no longer did the mind work as once it did, when it sent forth from its own resources, exhibitions
of its powers which quickened in their progress remote nations:—Its mental and moral powers had become so stunned by the fall, that it has become a problem of difficult solution, whether minds of the same stock with those that originated and sent forth the arts and sciences to bless and aid mankind in their toils, be capacitated for equal attainments with the Caucasians. So truly had they lost their ancient energy, so oppressed were their souls within, that the consideration of their former glory, of the attainments of their ancestry, and of the once polished state of society, and the flourishing of Christian principles, in their fathers' land, was not sufficient, while they remained under the weight of the intolerable incubus, to quicken and resuscitate them. In a word, the humiliating and deplorable condition of the African race, especially in America, is too obvious to all who may have traveled there, or read of their unhappy situation, to be dwelt upon here—because being generally known a rehearsal of it is unproductive of the nobler feelings. But it should not be forgotten that amidst this general oppression there were honorable exceptions; there were some of the pious of all Christian denominations, and there were those who, though they made no Christian profession, were nevertheless friends to humanity. These individuals looked upon and sighed over the lamentable condition of beings differing from them in caste, but of the same nature, and having with them a common destiny. Great as was the prejudice of the generality, there were some who waited only an opportunity to vent their nobler feelings in the amelioration of the condition of the colored population. Evident in this—for, as soon as a way opened to accomplish the deliverance of some, by procuring an asylum in the land of their fathers, it was eagerly embraced, and with a degree of energy that has ever since accompanied their labors, they began the great work of deliverance. The Colonization Society thus took its rise. It rose to relieve and to bless. From a popular sentiment, and the cause of this general oppression, it was ascertained by the humane that the only way in which they could be a blessing to this unhappy race, would be to aid in their removal beyond the reach of oppression, and those influences which opposed all their efforts to resuscitate. This entire work was undertaken by a Society; and we are witnesses this day of its success. It was not only, begun, for the God of Mercy was continually prompting to its execution, and therunto actually disposing the hearts of his servants to contribute their means and energies to the gigantic undertaking, when, lo! we see it approximating to a glorious completion.

This Society cannot be impeached; nothing unholy or sordid can be brought to impugn its motives. It aimed at the accomplishment of a great object. It was fraught with immense good to the oppressed in the United States, and the degraded beings of this peninsula. Very easily can one arrive at this conclusion, if he will be at the pains to examine the statistics of these colonies, and of the Colonization Society. It may be enquired what has that society received as a remuneration from the colonists? Naught but their gratitude; it asked no more; no more was expected: for could a remuneration of a pecuniary kind have been made, on no principle of justice could that society have received it, without going to the trouble of making a dividend thereof, between all the contributors to this great and humane scheme: hence that society never anticipated any thing of the kind. It
is true, remittances of African produce, in small quantities, have been made to it by its agents, but we apprehend they were never turned to personal benefit, but to the augmentation of its funds, the better to enable it to continue the prosecution of its great work. Nor was it to acquire territory on this extended coast for the United States that the Colonization Society exerted itself. This has been amply and authoritatively declared to the world, in the diplomatic correspondence of the governments of the United States and Great Britain. Here let all such surmisings terminate, and let us come to the conclusion, that the Colonization Society is purely benevolent and uncontaminated in its motives. This society was not local in its operations: its resources were not to be spent upon the accomplishment of one object only; they were to diffuse themselves, that their healing influences might extend to others than those immediately benefited; therefore, while it contemplated the amelioration of the oppressed of the United States, it planned the bestowment of the blessings so that the wretched of this land might ultimately partake of the effects emanating from it. The society knew that as there was in Holy Writ, a denounced upon the descendants of the unfortunate Ham, there was also a prophetic declaration, that signified the termination of the miseries and barbarities, which were looked upon as a vivid fulfilment of that curse.

Now the great question was, how shall these two great works be started? How can the condition of the degraded of the United States be so relieved that they may in time be the instruments in the hand of the Lord of bringing about the fulfilment of the prophecy—"Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God?"

We have seen that a removal of the first unhappy class was indispensably necessary to their elevation to the dignity of men; we have admitted the truth of the sentiment that it is impossible, under existing prejudices and humiliating considerations, for the two races to live together on equal terms in peace. And now, we ask, where were they to be sent? In what part of the globe could a spot be found on which they might stand "self-poised and erect"—Where on the whole globe had they a better right to come, than to the land of their fathers?

"God draw a water and assign them their lot, To all the nations. Ample was the boon He gave them, in its distributions fair, And equal; and bade them dwell in peace."

Here it was thought, very properly, they could find a home, an asylum from all oppression; here, also, it was justly supposed that the blessing of Christianity and civilization, emanating as it were from a focus, would irradiate this benighted waste, and, in God's own time, be instrumental in approximating the fulfilment of that remarkable prophecy. Whether this consideration entered distinctly into the plans of the Colonization Society, or was only ranked among the things that might possibly take place, we would not say, though some of them must have had some distinct recognition of the idea from the ready encouragement given to all missionaries of the orthodox faith. However, it can be safely concluded that it entered into the providential arrangement of the God of nations, without whom nothing comes to pass. It accords with what was His manner of accomplishing similar good in past ages. If we carry our minds back, we shall notice in the annals of history, that colonizing was early practised with great advantage to both parties, and, if we admit the supreme rule of Him who orders the
affairs of the children of men, we designed that this heathen and barbarous country should be enlightened in the same way. It is not enough that missionaries should spend among them a few years; this may be attended with infinite good, but it may not be as permanent as if enforced continually by the precept and example of those domiciled among them. In no other way do we believe the Most High intends the enlightenment of this dark land; nor are we singular in this belief; circumstances are continually transpiring which convince the world that this is the case. We are here then for the amelioration of our condition—for the reformation and ultimate elevation of those that "sit in darkness?" For these purposes we have been conducted by the providential hand of the God of nations, to this our ancient and patrimonial possession.

We realize a great blessing from the active and philanthropic exertions of the Colonization Society. A blessing which we hope will not lose its proper effect upon, nor be limited only to us; the effects of which begin already to exhibit themselves among the general darkness and wretchedness of this miserable country. But it may be enquired why this separation from this disinterested and philanthropic society? Not for any evil they have done to us, nor for any discontinuance of their efforts to accomplish their humane purposes, but because it is now ascertained that the great good contemplated for our race cannot be secured to it without the assumption of independent prerogatives. It has been made known officially that these colonies sustain relations to no government. From this information it became a question, how it was that colonies under a society should be exercising national powers without having acquired them in the manner in which they are
usually acquired? Considering the short period of the settlement of these colonies, it must be acknowledged that an unusual degree of interest had been awakened by them; yet, the privileges and powers necessary to consummate the great design of their benefactors were denied them. Their laws could be violated and advantages taken of them, because neither they nor their benefactors could treat with sovereign powers on these subjects. They had no national flag, that signaled them as one of the nations. It is a universal custom, that laws to which other nations or individuals of sovereign powers are required to conform, must have been enacted by similar powers; that treaties of friendship and commerce are the productions of only similarly independent powers. The weight of these appropriate arguments was felt, and has impelled these colonies to assert to the world, that their object is not to make addition to the United States, nor the establishment of trading markets to monopolize the products of this country, but to obtain and enjoy in quiet possession a home, an only asylum, and equal rights and privileges, to take a stand in the world, and by laudable and just conduct to arrive to manly dignity and honor—to lay the foundation and rear up a government that our children may call their own, and where they may dwell safely. But these privileges we have been denied, unless we signalize and declare to the world who we are. Now it is enough that we give the world to understand that we have come in possession of this territory by lawful and honorable purchase, and that therein we have become possessed of the sovereignty of its original owners, for while this might be acceded to, it would only place us upon a level with the native tribes of whom we acquired it: no more would be acceded to us unless nations in their urbanity saw proper to do so; but we wanted more;—though our ancestors were certainly of this land, we claimed to be a civilized and Christian people, and desired to be treated as such. Again, it is not the policy of the civilized world to accede to any people what they have not claimed; too great is the thirst for territory to accede one point likely to prove a national benefit, or a valuable accession, or to allow the quiet possession of that, the claim to which has not been asserted. Therefore, it became necessary, if these colonies were sovereign and independent, to declare the same to the world, and set up those claims, without which no prosperity can attend them; a step it was agreed by the Colonization Society we should take as soon as we attained a proper condition, and were possessed of ability to conduct the work. It is true there has been some opposition to it, but it arose from groundless apprehensions, not from a carelessness about the position, if it could be assumed and maintained without destruction to the government; but when all learned that there was no other alternative than to answer the question, "who are you?" they united to give the hearty declaration that Liberia is a Sovereign and Independent Government. It is done—the step is taken—the position is assumed, and the Rubicon is passed: not to engage in hostilities, not to encroach upon another's dominions, but to take a stand upon the field of nationality—to exercise those privileges and national prerogatives peculiar to independent and sovereign powers. We congratulate the Republic of Liberia. But we would not tender the congratulation to the citizens of Liberia, were we not firm in the belief that it is the only course that can be pursued by this government. No, too dear is it to us, too,
deeply interested are we in it, to hail its entrance upon a career which we believed untenable. However far short we are of equaling some of its citizens, in love for it and strong and enduring interest in its prosperity, we presume to vie with the greatest; we would not have engaged in this undertaking, we would not raise our voice in its defence, nor participate in this celebration, but from the belief we entertain of the propriety and practicability of the position we have this day assumed.

And we would enquire of any that may oppose it—whether they have thought upon it in all its bearings—whether they have dispassionately considered the subject—whether they would have us remain in a condition in which, when necessity required us to speak for ourselves, neither we nor our benefactors could with propriety? Would such persons have the great scheme of colonization approximate to a consummation devoutly wished by all its friends? And can this be done in any other way than by entering upon a national career—and sending forth upon the wings of the wind, the declaration of our sovereignty and independence? What can we lose by doing so? In the condition in which we were, we had all to lose, and had lost considerable, without the privilege to speak for our rights. We could as individuals speak and write; but there was none to treat officially. This power was possessed neither by the society nor our chief executive officer; and to have remained in that condition, was to throw back for years the revival of our race, to thwart to an indefinite period the completion of the national fabric.

Do we lose the aid of the society? Do they, after having recommended this government to take this step, discontinue their humane operations? Have they not, in strong language, assured us of their continuance? and how can we disbelieve them? Have they ever deceived us? Have they ever advised us to do that which they at the same time knew we could not safely undertake? We have more confidence in that society; they, with all other well wishers to this cause, see it is the only plan that can be adopted. There is no reason to apprehend a cessation of the principles and form of a republican government; these are too highly appreciated, and too long have Liberians been accustomed to their enjoyment, to sacrifice them for any consideration whatever. We have no desire to unite with any government or national power, any farther than friendly and commercial treaties will unite us. We have not taken this step for any purpose of the kind; in this we know we echo the sentiments of all Liberians; it is our joy to remain as we are. While no sacrifice will be too dear to maintain existing friendship, and secure it where it does not exist, we wish to be an adjunct to no government. These things all have learned, that we are acquainted with the discussions to which this subject has given rise; therefore, because Liberia has this day placed herself in a condition in which, while her friends are doing what their friendship and humanity prompt them to, she can act for herself; we congratulate her. We hail with feelings of delight the expiration of her non-age; we behold the birthday of her nationality; the thundering of cannon, the unfurling of yon flag, the unusual delight felt by all Liberians, the smiling countenances of the citizens of this Republic, tell us that the long oppressed and fallen are about to resuscitate and breathe the breath of nationality once more. Hear it ye nations of Africa—hear it ye descendants of our fathers—bear it in your migrations,

[January.

Talk of it in your wretched huts, until it becomes extensively known, throughout the length and breadth of this devoted land. Not for ourselves only, do we return from oppression and degradation, with the great blessings of Christianity and civilization, to circulate among you. O! ye spirits of once broken-hearted parents, whose animated hearts wept blood when your sons and daughters were by ruthless hands torn from you. God permitted us thus to be for your good; and lo! we come laden with good for your wretched posterity. And may it not be told them who are not of our race? Are there not some who, having heard of our once miserable condition, are disposed to sympathize with us?—Will not the trouble through which we have come enlist their sympathy? When we tell the nations of the earth why we are here, when we refer them to the impossibility of our becoming any thing like men, in the land from which we came, when we tell them, if they need be told, of the obstacles and oppositions that lay in our way, preventing us from rising to the dignity of men and enjoying the privileges peculiar to such beings, will they retain their suspicions?—When the Christian religion ceases to exert its sanctifying influences, when it ceases to kindle and refine humanity, we may tell our tale of wo and not be heard; but from the pure benevolence and christianity that exists now, we feel sanguine that none will object to our position; if they do, they have only to object; they can meet nothing from us but the appeals of helpless infants, praying for the privilege to live and enjoy themselves in the land of their fathers.

Encouraging ourselves with these reasonable anticipations, we can hardly restrain our feelings, when we think of the day we celebrate: the birth day of Liberia's national existence! The day on which she breaks the long silence in this land and tells who she is. The difficulties encountered and borne down by this modern phoenix—the wars in which we have been constrained to engage in this land—all conspire to fill our hearts with gratitude and ambition: gratitude to the God of hosts, whose wisdom directed and whose power preserved us; and to that body of American philanthropists whom he made His instruments.—Ambition; to prove to the world that the colored man's susceptibility of equal improvement and refinement with the white, is no longer a problem; and ambition to preserve untarnished the memories of those veterans, who, by their bravery and patriotism, bequeathed us this isolated government, when they took their departure from among us. It would afford them uncontaminated pleasure were they yet with us, to join in the celebration of this auspicious day. They longed for the arrival of the time when it would be proclaimed to the world that Liberia is a sovereign and independent Republic; but they never anticipated the arrival of the period so soon, when there would be hoisted on Montserado a national flag, with a lone star, which, after ages of wandering, has at length found its orbit; and probably it would not, but for the providential circumstances which have impelled us to the assumption of this position.

Were these veterans with us to rehearse, on this day, their toils and difficulties in maintaining this position; were they here to speak of their signal victory over their foes, how would it augment our gratitude; but while theirs is a nobler celebration, we will hand down their names and deeds to unborn generations.

Fellow citizens—we have arrived
at an important crisis. We have assumed a position which, if properly maintained, is only the beginning of a more glorious and prosperous era in the history of this Republic; but it is a position requiring for its new responsibilities and important departments, suitable men to give it that efficiency so heartily desired by all its friends. It cannot be expected that this great undertaking will proceed well without proper management. Difficulties peculiar to all works of importance will arise; and while men of firm principles will be required to contend with them, others especially set apart and qualified, will be required at all times to direct in our national affairs.

"We cannot all be masters, nor all masters Cannot be truly followed."

It is true, in a republican form of government, all the citizens are eligible to office, but all are not qualified or otherwise suitable for all offices; therefore it is hoped that our republican principles will not be abused by a carelessness to the dignity and prosperity of that government with which Providence has provided us. Let the whole Republic then be cautious and alive to her interest; then will her most important offices be filled with men competent for the duties assigned them, and upon whose faithfulness she can rely. It is to such men that we look, (not for deviations from justice and the constitution of the Republic, but) to honor the former, and by watchfulness see that the latter, in the integrity of its principles, is adhered to by all who have sworn allegiance thereto, and hold offices under it. Painful must it be to every patriot to behold at any time the perversion of those principles upon which the stability and prosperity of the government hang, impossible as it is for such deviations and corruptions to pass without leaving a blighting effect;

and if in a few years the Republic of Liberia is not seen skulking back into the darkness from which she has just emerged, it will be owing to her strict adherence to those principles so intimately connected with her political existence. The power with which your officers are endowed, emanates from you, and yours is the duty to see that it is not perverted to the injury of the Republic. But, fellow citizens, great privileges usually involve corresponding duties; such is the fact in your case; and if all the power with which your officers are invested emanated from you, yours is the duty to harmonize with them, and obey those laws and political regulations enacted and adopted from time to time by them. It is indispensably necessary that you support your officers and your government by obedience to its laws. Your officers cannot carry into execution any law without the support of the people, especially if its execution be contested. This duty is not peculiar to a few, but to all that are citizens; and I presume it is thus felt by all, unless there should be among us some who would leave these shores; such characters have lived in Liberia, and may again, who, it cannot be expected, will be otherwise than careless about the prosperity of this Republic, and disobedient whenever an opportunity offers. But you, who consider this your only home, who are resolved here to live and die, in laying the foundation of a government to be perpetuated and enjoyed to the latest generations, must feel the importance of obedience to the laws of your country. The consequences of national disobedience have been felt by different parts of the world to their great injury; and we would admonish you to let the past warn you of what your condition will be, if you countenance an irregular course in any tending to
mar the peace of the public. Consider that all the benefits of a proper management of this Republic, accrue alike to all; protecting their rights and securing to them their civil and religious liberty, and when the laws are energetically enforced, there will be no murmur. Hitherto, to some extent, it would appear that laws were enacted for no purpose; but the change in your government requires that the subsequent administration of the laws be marked with efficiency and energy; therefore, Liberians, prepare yourselves for the great duties and responsibilities which are imposed upon you by the new position you have this day assumed. Call upon the spirit of the American patriots, and let similar feelings possess your bosoms, and break forth into manly exertion, and yours will be the honor of having founded and reared up a republican government for the oppressed of our race. The vastness of the undertaking makes it too much for any portion less than the whole community, to sustain and conduct it prosperously; therefore, it is highly important that we be united. Great evils have been entailed upon nations—mighty kingdoms and empires have fallen to rise no more, by discord which ultimately genders into anarchy and bloodshed and destruction. The sagacious politician, having an eye upon what is the dreadful consequences of the want of union, was enabled to predict, as if he caught the true spirit of prophecy, “United we stand, divided we fall.” This principle may well be denominated the national pulse, the regular beatings of which are indispensably necessary to the vitality of a nation. “If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand;” and as sure as these words are true, so will the destruction of this Republic be, if union be not maintained among us. Be united, Liberians; understand one another; know your common object; let all animosities fall this day at the foot of you staff; and declare henceforward, we be brethren, aiming at the common good. These are not the only promises from which we would infer the future prosperity or indestructibility of this Republic; for the history of nations teaches us there are other indispensable virtues, from among which we will extract only two more.

One is industry—the origin of all physical, mental, and political advancement—the foundation of all national grandeur, forgetfulness of which is an impassable barrier to all personal or national prosperity and happiness. It is utterly inconsistent with the course of Providence, to expect these without the employment of the means ordained for their production, and accordingly attended to by all thriving nations. I need not remind you of the importance of agriculture to a nation’s prosperity; you have only to cast your eye whence you came, and contemplate the riches extracted by the industrious from a soil in few respects better than yours. With a country capacious and fertile, abounding with products much demanded by some nations, what can hinder you from becoming prosperous and happy, but idleness, the bane of society, and fruitful cause of many evils!

Mental improvement is also absolutely necessary. “Knowledge is power,” is an axiom worthy of attention. The enlightened of all ages have paid becoming attention to it, and even to this day, we behold them offering their petitions and adorations at the shrine of wisdom, acknowledging their indebtedness to her for all that is good and virtuous in the transactions of the affairs of life. While all nations thus show their estimate of knowledge, shall we be dormant?
Shall we enter the political world without the qualifications necessary to maintain our national existence? Shall we, if we ever gain a footing in that world, remain where we are, when all nations are moving forward in this respect. Was ever there a time in the history of Liberia, when men of intellectual stamp were more needed? It requires no small portion of knowledge to conduct the affairs of a people. Here, then, is room for improvement, and for the exercise of laudable ambition; here is an adequate stimulus to apply to ourselves and our children.

In reflecting upon our present condition and the new career just entered upon, it would not be improper to inquire by whose aid and protection we have been sustained and delivered from the imminent dangers that have at different times gathered around and threatened us with destruction. We feel it just to acknowledge that it is not owing to any skill or might in us, that we have succeeded, notwithstanding these oppositions, but to the protection and aid of that Being who rules the nations, and holds the destiny of each in his hand; and if, when we look back, we are led to exclaim "what hath God wrought," we see every reason that induced us to trust in Him, occupations the same place, and teaching us it is our duty to do so in future.

I can do nothing better in concluding this address, than to direct your attention to the propriety of depending upon the Omnipotent arm of the Almighty. Remember that He hath said, and what he says is true, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." A tenacious adherence to the principles of the Christian religion; obedience to its precepts, encouragement of its institutions and ordinances, among ourselves and children, will, with the other indispensables mentioned above, insure stability and prosperity to this Republic, while its happy influences will ooze out to water and make glad the moral Sahara around us. But, fellow citizens, the reverse of these things, and an indulgence in national sins, will not only disgrace us in the estimation of the good and virtuous of the world, but bring down upon us the judgments of the God of holiness. We have only to inquire of you, Libereans, shall this Republic be prosperous and advance in national importance? Doubtless it is destined to do so; but may we not retard and make it a reproach to the world?—Naught should inspire us with a greater resolution to advance this arduous but glorious work, than the consideration of the rising and future generations. Shall they be cast out and oppressed in future, when we have it in our power to hand down to them a government well founded and built upon sanctified principles? Shall they have cause to lament that their fathers were so base and inconsiderate, having had it in their power to bequeath them inestimable blessings, yet, through supineness and degrading carelessness, failed to do so? Eternal and merited infamy will be attached to our names. Again, will you not endeavor to wipe away the opprobrium from the colored race, and prove to the world that it is equally susceptible, with any other, of mental culture and good government? If Liberia have enemies, if prejudice would prompt to laughter at the non-success of this Republic, how would the joy of such be augmented, to hear of a failure in this undertaking? O! Libereans, think of these considerations; and let the thought inspire your hearts with a holy and indomitable resolution to advance your cause, that the Republic may be safe and respected.
Diversity of Sentiment. [January,

by the world, that the light of that
lonestar may illuminate this be-
nighted land: and, as you fade
away from among the living, yours
will be the great satisfaction of see-
ing your descendants established and
happily situated, in a government
founded and reared with great exer-
tion, and rendered permanent by the
strict observance of the principles of
good government, by you, their pa-
rents, whose memories will be en-
circled in their estimation with a halo
of never-fading glory.

[From the Liberia Herald.]

Diversity of Sentiment.

We are truly pleased at the unani-
mity which prevails among our fel-
low citizens, especially in Montserra-
do, and Sinoe counties, with respect
to the proceedings of the late con-
vention. It was hardly to be supposed,
that any set of men, without the
special inspiration of the Almighty,
could form a constitution, which, in
all its parts, would be unexceptiona-
ble. We are happy to find that the
draft which has been submitted to the
people seems everywhere, except by
a few in Grand Bassa, to be favorably
received, and will, no doubt, be
adopted by a large majority of the
people. It is pronounced, by per-
sons capable of judging, to be as
well adapted, in all its important
parts, to the circumstances of the
people of these colonies as any that
could be produced. The delegates,
no doubt, feel exceedingly gratified
to find that their labors are so gene-
 rally appreciated by their constitu-
ents. Indeed, the conduct of their
constituents in this instance clearly
shows what confidence virtuous and
honest representatives may place in
the judgment, integrity and moder-
ration of an intelligent and free people.

While we rejoice at the patriotism
of our fellow citizens in this county;
we have reason to regret that in the
county of Grand Bassa, to some ex-
tent, a different feeling prevails. We
are informed there are a few disaffec-
ed individuals in that county, who,
intent only upon romantic schemes,
and their own mistaken interest and
aggrandisement, are deceiving the
people by the most false assertions
and insinuations of oppression on the
part of the people of this country—and
even daring to question the sincerity
of the Colonization Society.

For two years past those men, they
are well known to us, have been un-
remitting in their efforts to sow dis-
content and dissatisfaction among the
inhabitants of Bassa, and to prejudice
their minds against the people of this
county.

When the question of independ-
ence was seriously agitated, and
found to be popular in this county,
they seized upon the occasion to pro-
pagate the most base and scandalous
falsehoods respecting the motives
of the people of Montserrado coun-
ty. We allude exclusively to those
persons who are now endeavoring to
excite the people in Bassa to acts of
insubordination. We know well that
there are gentlemen in that county, as
in this, who opposed from the com-
mencement, any change in our rela-
tions with the Society, and did so
from honest and patriotic motives.
They feared that the time had not
arrived for such an important change,
that we should not be able to sustain
the government without enormous
taxation, &c. &c. Not so with these
demagogues, though, at the time, they
assumed that position. A majority
of the people, however, determined
upon the measure, and men of in-
telligence, in the minority, at once
submitted to the will of the majority,
hence it was sincerely hoped, and confidently believed that unanimity would prevail—notwithstanding the low artifices of those discontented and factious spirits.

Great harmony prevailed in the convention—the delegates from Bassa taking the lead, and one or two of them loud in their declamations for immediate action. A solemn declaration of independence was issued, and a new government drafted. Now those promoters of sedition and rebellion, in Bassa, have changed their position and partially thrown off their masks. They are now endeavoring to mislead the people by impugning the motives of the society. Telling the people that the constitution should not be adopted until the society has actually transferred all its property in the colony, to the commonwealth; advising them in the mean time to withdraw from this county, and form a separate government. We are informed that they have succeeded too well in imposing falsehood on a number of innocent people of that county, and have shaken their allegiance to the constitution and laws of their country—strange infatuation. We have reason to believe, however, that some of their wild schemes and atrocious purposes are known to the authorities, and unless they are more cunning than we suppose them to be—we predict, that before they will be able, even for a moment, to gratify their lust of power, and lawless ambition, they will have to account for their conduct, and receive that punishment which the laws of their country inflict upon such atrocious offenders. We do sincerely hope that the good people of Bassa will consider well the measures proposed by those men, who set themselves up as their leaders in this unnatural opposition.

We doubt not that upon cool and sober reflection the people will soon be convinced of the ruinous consequences that must result from the measures in which their selfish leaders would engage them, and their resentment and indignation would be justly turned against the wicked contrivers and promoters of their ruin.

Our Bassa readers will please understand, that we apply the term leaders exclusively to three or four swaggering boasters among them, whose plans and designs are somewhat known to us; and it is our object to warn you against them. Will you be involved in a criminal connection—as one of them has been—with a certain dealer not many miles from you? Will you be guilty of the gross inconsistency of another? Consent to be dupes of the third? And submit to the tyranny of the fourth? Surely you will not. Be not deceived. Tear from those men the masks which cover them, expose their real character, and your rights and liberties are secure.

You have nothing to fear in regard to public lands, the society has promised, and will deal with us on the most liberal principles. As to separating from this county, and forming a distinct government, the idea is preposterous, it is suicidal; dismiss it at once from your minds. Aside from every other consideration, how unreasonable the suggestion.

You sent delegates to the convention, they were unanimous in their action: our relations with the society were changed, formally declared, and a new government drafted; now to talk of separation is perfect nonsense. Should the constitution be adopted by a majority of the people of the whole commonwealth, it will go into operation; and be as binding upon you as upon the citizens of any other part of the commonwealth. Then take our advice, co-operate with your fellow citizens in the other counties, let us unite our efforts in advancing the interest of our common country.
**Anniversary of the American Colonization Society.**

**Curiosity of the Natives of Liberia upon seeing a Clock.**

Native curiosity.—The following extract of a letter from sister Wilkins, dated May 10, presents an interesting and amusing specimen of native curiosity and original ideas, as well as the very limited extent of their knowledge:

I thank you for sending the clock; I set it up and it goes as yet very well, except having stopped once, and then I am not sure but the girls by their meddlesome curiosity stopped it. It is a source of great curiosity and wonder to the native girls and boys. They thought, while I was making it strike to the right hour, that I was talking to it and told it to "talk" as some of them expressed it; and in the morning after I had set it going at night, some of them told, with a great deal of seeming astonishment, of hearing the clock in the night; and asked if I had told the clock to talk in the night—I had told them it would tell us when to get up, when to have prayers, the time for breakfast, for opening and closing school, for dinner, &c.—some of them then wanted to know if I was going to take it to church, saying they thought I would want it to tell me when to come home. Mary Garretson said, "clock-e—watch-e be, sister."—Liberia Herald.

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**To the Reader.**

We have given up the whole of the present number to the new Constitution of Liberia, and other documents connected therewith; all emanating from the citizens of the new Republic. In order to lay these things before our friends at the earliest day possible, we have deferred all comments upon them ourselves.

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**Anniversary of the American Colonization Society.**

The Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society and Board of Directors will take place in this city on the 18th instant.

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**Receipts of the American Colonization Society,**  
From the 20th of November, to the 20th of December, 1847.

**MAINE.**  
Hallowell—From H. Tupper, Esq.,  
$10, balance due on account of life membership of the Am. Col. Soc., and $10, a donation.....  
20 00  
North Yarmouth Centre—Rev. Caleb Hobart, 4th instalment for life membership.....  
6 00  
Freeport—Nathan Nye, $5, Dr. John A. Hyde, $3, Rev. E. G. Parsons, $1.  
9 00  
NEW HAMPSHIRE.  
Hancock—From W. B. Bunnell..  
1 50

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**VERMONT.**  
Montpelier—From Vermont Col. Soc., by Daniel Baldwin, Treas.  
80 00  
Saxton’s River Village—From Benjamin Smith, Esq., $3, Judge Kellog, $2, Esquire Chandler, $1, Deacon Mason, $1. Rev. S. S. Arnold, $1 50, collected by Rev. Seth S. Arnold.  
8 50

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**MASSACHUSETTS.**  
Newburyport—From Ladies’ Col. Soc. of Newburyport, of which $30 is to constitute Rev. W. W.