





A L E C T U R E

ON

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

INCLUDING A BRIEF OUTLINE

OF THE

SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF AFRICA;

AND THE RELATIONS OF

AMERICAN SLAVERY TO AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF THE STATE OF OHIO, JANUARY 19, 1850.

BY DAVID CHRISTY,

AGENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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COLUMBUS, Feb 5th, 1850.

DEAR SIR:—The undersigned members of the General Assembly of Ohio, being desirous of securing to the public the means of fully and calmly investigating the subject of the provision which ought to be made for our colored people, and, believing that the facts contained in your Lecture on African Civilization, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the 19th ult., would materially aid in the promotion of that object, we would respectfully request a copy of the same for publication.

To DAVID CHRISTY, Esq.
Agent of the African Colonization Society.

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M. S. MUSTIN.

GENTLEMEN:—It affords me pleasure to comply with your request for the publication of my *Lecture on African Civilization, as connected with, and dependent upon, American Colonization*; my only cause of regret being, that more of time and of talent has not been employed in its discussion, than it has been in my power to devote to the subject.

Since I had the honor, one year ago, of addressing the Representatives of the people of Ohio, on the subject of African Colonization, many events have transpired which serve to encourage us in our great work. One or two of these I may mention. Dispatches from President Roberts, recently received, state that agreements are now about completed for the purchase, from the native authorities, of the territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and that he is only awaiting the arrival of funds to perfect the titles. The effect of buying this region, and extending over it the laws of Liberia, will be the total suppression of the slave trade, and the emancipation from slavery, of the population included within its limits—numbering, perhaps, over 100,000 men. But the principal point of importance, connected with this movement, is the fact that the purchase now being made, to a considerable extent, will be paid for by the liberal donation of \$5000, by CHARLES M'ICKEN, Esq., of Cincinnati, and that the lands purchased by his donation, are to be presented, *as a free gift, to the colored people of Ohio*, to afford them an opportunity of putting forth all their energies, intellectual and moral, in aiding to impart to Africa, a Christian Civilization. And a still further subject of interest presents itself, in the very recent movement of some of the intelligent colored men of Ohio, who are adopting preparatory measures to take possession of this territory at the earliest practicable moment.

Yours, respectfully,

DAVID CHRISTY.

LECTURE

ON

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

THE close of the last century exhibited the social and moral condition of the world in such an aspect as to prove the excellency of Christianity over all other religious systems. Paganism had long since wrought out its legitimate results, and demonstrated its impotency to produce a high degree of human happiness. Mohammandanism, a shade better in its principles, had progressed but little beyond Paganism in promoting the welfare of its votaries. Both of these systems, constructed on principles consonant with fallen human nature, were, of necessity, becoming effete, and stood before the world as gigantic edifices, whose foundations were giving way, and the whole structures tumbling into ruins.

Christianity, embracing principles antagonistic to all impurity and every form of injustice, and demanding of men implicit obedience to God, was no welcome visitor upon earth, but had to endure, from its earliest introduction, the most bitter enmity and the most sanguinary opposition. At the end of 330 years from Christ, in addition to the hostility of the Jews, it had passed through ten successive persecutions by the Roman Emperors, which, failing to suppress it, only served to prove that the religion of the Saviour of the world was *indestructible*.

When, therefore, despots discovered their inability to annihilate the new religion, combinations were formed to adopt it in the room of preëxisting systems, or rather, perhaps, to engraft it upon them, and mould it to suit their purposes. But notwithstanding that Christianity was thus corrupted and perverted into an engine of political and ecclesiastical despotism, it still retained much of its innate vitality, and greatly advanced the social and moral welfare of those subjected to its influence; thus proving its superiority over the false religious systems which had so long prevailed.

It being an essential element of the religion revealed by Christ to generate *independence of thought*, its believers were often found

holding opinions at variance with those established by law. These tendencies, it was feared, would make the unrestrained toleration of Christianity dangerous to Despotism, because freedom of thought and of speech, allowed to the people, would weaken confidence in the infallibility of the judgment of kings, and thus peril the stability of thrones. The art of printing being undiscovered, the *living teacher*, for a long period, was the chief agency for the propagation of the new faith. To silence his voice, when not in unison with despotic will, it was conceived, would limit independence of thought, and the desired uniformity of opinion and implicit obedience to rulers be secured. Hence arose efforts, extending through many centuries, and leading to the shedding of torrents of blood, to force upon the world a unity of faith. But the employment of the rack and the dungeon, the gibbet and the stake, only tended more fully to evolve another inherent principle of the doctrines taught by the Son of God—the *natural equality of mankind, and the individual responsibility of man to God, demanding for the human race equal rights and liberty of conscience.*

A doctrine so inconsistent with preconceived opinions, and fraught, it was perceived, with such dangers to civil and ecclesiastical despotisms, could not but lead to the most vigorous exertions for its suppression. Success so far attended their efforts, that the light of the Gospel became dimmed and ages of darkness ensued, during which despotism reposed in safety amid the moral night it had produced, until the forgotten Bible, chained within walls of massive stone, as if to hide it from the people, was discovered by the master-spirit of his age, and its divine light made to reillumine the world.

The occurrence of this event with the nearly simultaneous discovery of the art of printing, which led to a rapid and indefinite multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, now imposed upon despots the double task, of exterminating the living teacher, and of preventing the circulation of the printed Bible. Persecution again followed persecution, until, under the guidance of a kind Providence, a few of the advocates of civil and religious liberty, fleeing for their lives from Europe, Bible in hand, found a refuge in the new world. Here the legitimate fruits of Christianity, when untrammelled by the devices of men, were soon developed, and the American Republic arose, as a beacon to the world, teaching what a *Free Christianity* can accomplish for mankind.

In the mean time the principles of religious liberty had gained some favor in a few of the nations of Europe, and produced their appropriate results, though in a more limited degree than in the United States, because religion was left less free. And thus there was a progressive movement on both sides of the Atlantic, leading to a higher civilization and a greater sum of human happiness than the older systems had ever produced, or than has yet been attained where they still prevail.

Near the close of the last century, therefore, the contrast could be clearly drawn between Paganism, Mohammedanism, a Christianity

excluding the Bible from the people and modeled to fetter the freedom of thought and of speech, and a free Christianity taking the Bible alone as its basis, and, without the intervention of any human agent, placing the soul of man directly in communion with God. The effects of these various systems, in advancing or retarding human happiness, and in promoting or checking civilization, had become so manifest, that the Christian philanthropist, acting under the impulses of the law of love, resolved upon giving to the world a *Free Christianity*.

It is unnecessary, before an intelligent audience, to enumerate the obstacles which impede the progress of the agents employed to bestow a Free Christianity upon the world, with the view of securing to mankind a higher civilization and increased enjoyment in this life, as well as to impart to the hearts of men the hope of eternal happiness in the world to come. It is only necessary to our present purpose to say, that, in all these efforts there has been no field selected which was so dark and unpromising, and none that so long baffled all exertions, and so utterly failed of success, as that of Africa previous to the colonization of its coast by civilized and Christian colored men. The facts in relation to this subject were fully presented in our lecture, one year ago, in this hall. It is there shown that two hundred and forty years of effort by the Catholics, and one hundred and forty by Protestant missionaries, including the period of the operations of our Liberia Colony, had proved, conclusively, that the redemption of Africa from barbarism cannot be accomplished by *white men*, but that *colored men* must be employed in that vast work of benevolence. It was also proved, that the slave trade, after the expenditure, by England, of more than one hundred millions of dollars for its suppression, instead of being diminished in extent, has been steadily and rapidly increasing; and that the conviction is forced upon the public mind, that this greatest of crimes against humanity can only be suppressed by surrounding the coast with colonies of intelligent colored men, who must be protected and sustained by Christian governments until the civilization of the native population can be effected.

The important truth being ascertained, that the agents in the civilization of Africa must be men of African blood, the great question which presses itself upon the consideration of the philanthropist and the Christian, is this: Where can we obtain colored men in sufficient numbers, who are properly educated and enlightened, and who are themselves the subjects of redeeming grace, to act as agents in bestowing a Christian civilization upon Africa?

To answer this question, is a prominent object of the present lecture. But, to obtain a just conception of the magnitude of the work that lies before us, it becomes necessary to determine the extent and character of the social and moral evils existing in Africa; and this is the more necessary, because of the prevalence of the opinion, that the degradation of Africa is chiefly due to the slave trade. Our investigations, we believe, will fully sustain the truth of the assertion, that even if it were possible to break up the slave trade by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity

and little good accomplished for Africa; and that if the benevolent designs toward the African race, which so generally prevail among good men, be executed, there must be a union of effort of all the friends of this oppressed people, in supporting and extending the work of colonization in Africa; and further, that the United States is placed in such a peculiar position, as clearly to indicate that we alone, of all the nations in the world, are able to give to Africa that form of Christianity and of civil government which will secure to her the highest degree of civilization and the greatest amount of prosperity. The materials collected have been arranged under the following heads.

- I. The social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade.
- II. The modifications produced by the slave trade upon the social and moral condition of Africa.
- III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

I. The earlier travelers in Africa, meeting with many acts of kindness, formed favorable opinions of the natives, and the impression has been created, that the greater part of the evils oppressing that country have had their origin in the slave trade, and are not a necessary consequence of her own social and moral condition. A better acquaintance with the state of the interior has tended to correct the first impressions. The iron despotism of their kings, the absoluteness of their domestic slavery, the objects of their idolatrous worship, the modes of performing their religious rites, the cruel superstitions existing everywhere, their degrading customs, their human sacrifices, their cannibalism, it was discovered, must have dated their origin far back beyond the period of the commencement of the slave trade, and produced the most debasing effects upon the inhabitants. The slave trade, it was evident, had not originated the *greater evils* under which Africa groaned, *but was itself one of the legitimate fruits of the social and moral degradation previously existing and still perpetuated on that continent.* A brief statement of facts will prove the accuracy of the view here presented.

When England, in 1808, prohibited the slave trade, it was anticipated that, as this traffic diminished, and a legitimate commerce increased, the civilization of the African people would necessarily be accomplished. While she had the monopoly of the slave trade, she had erected many forts on the coast of Africa, and on declaring it illegal and commencing her operations for its suppression, they were immediately transformed into trading posts for opening up a legal commerce with the natives. This change of policy, requiring many agents to reside on the coast and to visit the interior, soon made the world better acquainted with Africa.

As the power of Great Britain was considered almost omnipotent, it was not doubted at first, but that the slave trade would be annihilated through her influence and exertions, and the consequent civilization of Africa immediately follow. But *the elements of*

civilization were not then so well understood as at present. It was believed that to extend *commerce* was to extend *civilization*. The commerce conducted between the enlightened nations of Europe, it was known, had greatly promoted their *civilization*. It was soon found, however, that the causes of African degradation lay deeper than had been conceived. The difference between the intellectual and moral capacities of the civilized and uncivilized man was found to be almost infinite. The horrible superstitions by which the minds of the people of Africa had been darkened and bewildered must first be eradicated before *civilization* could progress. Commerce, unaided, it was soon demonstrated, could not accomplish this work. An active commerce at Cape Messurado, conducted for three hundred and fifty years, had failed to advance the natives a single step toward *civilization*. Similar results had followed elsewhere. Barbarous tribes, then as now, it was discovered, were incapable of comprehending moral truth while in the savage state; and could only be brought under its influence by a careful course of moral teaching. But the appetites and passions of their natures being the same as with other men, *commerce unavoidably imparted to them the vices of civilization, and introduced among them the elements of physical destruction, instead of planting the seeds of moral renovation*. The result of missionary efforts elsewhere, had led to the discovery that the light of the gospel must be let into the soul before the darkness of heathenism, in which it was shrouded, could be dissipated, and the intellectual and moral elevation of the people be promoted. Christianity, the only parent of a pure morality, it had been perceived, was the *primary element* in raising men from barbarism, and that *civilization, industry, and commerce* were necessary fruits of the gospel wherever planted. These facts being observed, though as yet but dimly and by few, led to efforts for the introduction of Christianity into Africa, and the missionaries thus employed furnished to the world additional light upon the subject of its social and moral condition. The establishment of colonies upon the coast has also afforded further opportunities of investigation and supplied fuller information in relation to the terrible moral gloom overshadowing Africa.

It is, then, from the investigations of British agents, travelers, missionaries and colonists, that we derive our facts in relation to the social and moral condition of Africa.

We shall begin with their *human sacrifices*. According to their ideas, the future world will be a counterpart of this; will present the same objects to the senses, the same enjoyments, and the same distinction of ranks in society. Upon this belief are founded proceedings not only absurd, but of the most violent and atrocious description. A profusion of wealth is buried in the grave of the deceased, who is supposed to carry it into the other world: and human victims are sacrificed, often in whole hecatombs, under the delusion that they will attend as his guards and ministers in the future mansion. This savage superstition seems to have prevailed to a peculiar extent in those

great interior monarchies, which, in other respects, are more civilized than the rest of Western Africa.

The Ashantees have two annual customs, as they are called, says Mr. Bowditch, a British agent, of 1819, in which the King, and chief men, seek to propitiate the departed spirits of their ancestors, by the sacrifice of a crowd of human victims. Foreign slaves and criminals are selected in preference, but as each seeks to multiply the number, unprotected persons cannot walk abroad without the hazard of being seized and immolated. At the death of any of the royal family, victims must bleed in thousands; and the same is the case when the king seeks from the powers above, favorable omens respecting any great projected undertaking. On the death of the king, a most horrid scene of human slaughter takes place; all the sacrifices that had been made for the death of every subject during his reign being required to be repeated, to amplify that for the death of the monarch, and to solemnize it in every excess of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously among the crowd. Few persons of rank dare stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but drive forth their slaves as a composition for their own absence. The king's household slaves are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. As the king is allowed three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives, and as the immolation of the wife on the death of the husband is customary in Africa, it is probable that many of the slaughtered women are the wives of the king, despatched to attend their deceased lord in another world. The king of Ashantee, otherwise a very amiable and benevolent sovereign, on the death of his mother, says Mr. Bowditch, devoted three thousand victims to water her grave, two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.

That this is no fabled account of the cruel superstitions of Ashantee, is evident from very recent testimony. As late as 1844, intelligence from Liberia, published in the African Repository, states that at the death of the late king, one thousand human victims were sacrificed.

The kingdom of Dahomey is governed upon the same system as Ashantee, and with all its deformities—which it carries to a still more violent excess. The bloody customs take place on a still greater scale; and the bodies of the victims, says Mr. B., instead of being buried, are hung upon the walls, and allowed to putrify. Human skulls make the favorite ornament of the palaces and temples, and the king has his sleeping apartment paved with them.

This statement is confirmed by the testimony of the Rev. J. L. Wilson, missionary in Western Africa, in 1839, who writes, that "human sacrifices are still offered in great numbers, not only in Ashantee, but in all the petty principalities of the surrounding country. The story that the king of Dahomey has his yard paved with human skulls is no fable. There are Europeans on the coast who have seen it, and can bear witness to the truth of the statement."

Governor Abson, of Cape Coast Castle, visited the king of Dahomey

at a time when six slave ships were at Whydah, anxious to make purchases, and when, owing to the scarcity of slaves, the prices had risen to nearly thirty pounds. But such was the strength of superstition over avarice, that the king refused to sell his prisoners to the slave traders, preferring to put them to death for their skulls, in the contemplation of which the people seemed to take a horrible delight. When the governor inquired of the king, if his going to war was not to obtain captives to sell to the slave traders, he replied, "I have killed many thousands without thinking of the slave market, and shall kill many thousands more. Some heads I place at my door, others I throw into the market place, that people may stumble over them. This gives a grandeur to my customs; this makes my enemies fear me; and this pleases my ancestors, to whom I send them. Dahomeans do not make war to make slaves, but to make prisoners to kill at the customs."

The king of Dahomey used to hold a constant communication with his deceased father. Whenever he wished to announce to him any remarkable event, or to consult him on any emergency, he would send for one of his ablest messengers, and after delivering to him his errand, chop off his head. It sometimes happened, that after the head was off, he recollected something else which he wished to say, in which case a second messenger was dispatched, in like manner, with a postscript to his former message. Gov. Abson was present on an occasion of this kind. The poor fellow selected for the honor of bearing his majesty's message, aware of what was to happen, declared he was unacquainted with the road, on which the tyrant, drawing his sword, vociferated, "I'll show you the way," and with one blow severed his head from his body—highly indignant that an European should have witnessed the least expression of reluctance in the performance of a duty which is considered a great honor.

Such seems to have been the inefficiency of British arrangements on the coast, at the period when Mr. Bowditch visited Africa; and such the want of moral influence exerted by the residents over the natives, that Sir James Yeo informed the committee of African merchants, that the impotence of their outposts were such, that they could not even prevent the offering of human sacrifices under their walls. Two victims, says Mr. B., had been sacrificed, with the most refined barbarity, in *broad day*, close to the fort of Acera.

Human sacrifices, on a more limited scale, seem to be of common occurrence. The Rev. Mr. Schon, of the English Church Missionary Society, who accompanied the Niger Expedition in 1843, says that human sacrifices are offered by the Ibo people, residing one hundred and twenty miles above the mouth of the Niger. The usual modes of destroying life are to fasten the victims to the branches of trees close to the river and leave them to famish, or to tie their legs together and drag them from place to place until they expire, when the bodies are cast into the river to be devoured by alligators. In a tour of exploration along the coast, in 1839, the Rev. J. L. Wilson says, "We were informed that only a few days previous to our arrival, a neighboring chief had, in consequence of an eclipse of the sun, which

was regarded as ominous of approaching calamity, buried several of his subjects alive; and it was not known how many more would be subjected to the same fate."

On the gold coast, the shark is worshipped by the inhabitants. Every year, says Dr. Porter, the inhabitants of Bonney doom a guiltless child to expiate, with its life, the follies and crimes of its destroyers. The poor babe is named for this bloody rite at its birth, from which time it is called their Jewjew, and allowed every indulgence that its fancy can wish for, until it arrives at nine or ten years of age, when its sanguinary doom must be fulfilled. Its tears and lamentations avail not; its parents have placed their feelings of nature on the altar of a mistaken devotion; it is therefore left alone to plead with those that hope to benefit by its destruction. The sharks collect as if in expectation of the dainty meal being prepared for them. The spot chosen is a point of sand, into which a stake is driven at low water mark. The mother sees her innocent offspring bound to this, and as the tide advances, left alone. Various noises are made to drown the cries of the terrified child. Its little hands are seen imploring, and its lips calling for her aid; the water soon reaches the stake, and the greedy monsters are seen by the tender victim quickly approaching with the deepening tide. The shouting mob stand watching the stake until the advancing tide has emboldened the sharks to approach their prey—then their dreadful revelry begins. No tear is shed for the poor sufferer, but the day is concluded with rejoicing and festivities.

But we will only trespass upon your patience so far as to present one more case under this part of our investigations. The Liberia Luminary, of 1848, gives an account of the sacrifice of a human being, a short time previous, under circumstances which prove that there is no abatement of the power of superstition over men's minds in Africa, where the light of the gospel has not been reflected.

A famous Goulah chief, anxious for success in a military campaign upon which he was setting out against the Condoes, applied to a Mahomedan priest to know what he should do to insure success. The priest inquired of him whether he was *able* to make the necessary sacrifice, to which he replied that he could make any sacrifice that could be named. The nefarious imposter then told him he must sacrifice his son! and, taking his dead body upon his shoulders, his feet swung around his neck, and his head hung behind him, in this manner advance before his troops to the contest, and victory would be certain!! The directions were complied with. Calling his son into a house, he caught him, deliberately tied him, and then, with his own parental hand, he cut his throat! Having offered this sacrifice, he and his troops prepared to advance toward the jurisdiction of their enemies; then was this inhuman father seen with his dead son on his back, in the manner directed, without any display of parental affection or of emotion, save that aroused in his barbarous breast by the confident expectation of victory. Being successful in three subsequent engagements, this horrible sacrifice will, no doubt, be hereafter considered as the sure precursor of victory.

Such was African superstition in 1848, and such will it continue to be until Christianity dispels the gloom which overcasts the native mind.

We turn now to African *Idolatry*. The native Africans, generally, have very obscure conceptions of the nature and attributes of God and of a future state of moral retribution; while almost every superstition that can degrade the human mind reigns in full sway.

To express generally what is sacred, what is forbidden, what is endowed with supernatural powers, either beneficent or malignant, they employ the term *fetiche* or *gri-gri*. Everything which strikes the fancy of a negro is made his *fetiche*. This word is derived either from the Portuguese word *fetisso*, a block adored as an idol, or from *feticzira*, an enchantress. The Portuguese gave the name to the idols of the negroes on the Senegal, and afterward the word received a more extensive meaning. The general signification now given to *fetiche*, seems to be, an object worshipped, not representing any living figure. The grand natural fetiches are rocks, hills, or trees of remarkable size and beauty. But there are fantastic objects of veneration, which each individual adopts and carries about with him. Such are a piece of ornamented wood, the teeth of a dog, tiger, or elephant, a goat's head, a fish bone, or the end of a ram's horn. They believe the material substances which they worship to be endowed with intelligence, and the power of doing them good or evil: and also that the *fetichere*, or priest, being in council with their *fetiche*, is made acquainted with all that those divinities know, and thence is familiar with the most secret thoughts and actions of men. The household, or family *fetiche*, narrowly inspects the conduct of every individual in the house, and rewards or punishes each according to his deserts. The public *fetiches* are supposed to be equally watchful over community in general.

These *fetiches* they set up in the houses, the fields, or the entrance and center of the villages, erect altars to them, and place before them dishes of rice, maize, and fruits. The better sort of families have weekly festivals on which they sacrifice a cock or sheep. This *gri-gri* or *fetiche* worship is universal, and hours would not suffice to detail the particulars connected with it, or the debasing influence which it exerts over the mind. The Rev. Mr. Schon found it practiced far up the Niger. He says, 1843, "They showed me their gods. Under a small shade erected before almost every house, among the people of Iddah, were broken pots, pieces of yams, feathers of fowls, horns of animals, broken bows and arrows, knives and spears. Such are their gods! It is easy to attack them or to expose them to ridicule, but not so easy to eradicate the superstitious belief in them from out of the hearts of men."

The framing of these fantastic objects of African worship, consecrating them, and selling them at enormous prices, forms the chief occupation of the African priesthood. Various are the expedients resorted to by these priests, or *gri-gri* men, to obtain presents from the people, by operating on their superstitious notions. One mode is

by teaching that food must be placed at the graves of the dead for the deceased person. The Rev. J. L. Wilson visited one town, where the bones of the deceased king, who had been dead many years, have been enclosed in a box, and deposited in a house appropriated exclusively for this purpose. Fresh food, water, and every comfort which a living man could wish, are daily deposited in the house. These provisions, the people are told by a *gri-gri man*, who stately visited the place to hold converse with the deceased majesty, are devoured by the king. Mr. Wilson, after some difficulty, obtained leave to enter this sacred place, through the small opening affording admittance, and found a bed, chairs, table, &c., used, no doubt, by the superintending priest during his visits.

But in addition to the fetiche idol worship, *idolatry* of the more common form among pagans, seems also to be practised in Africa.

In 1833, the Rev. Mr. Schon wrote the Church Missionary Society, from Sierra Leone, that he had been assured that idol worship was practised in the town, but that those engaged in it, desired to evade detection. Seeing a number of people surrounding a house, he went to the spot and found indications convincing him that some idolatrous ceremonies were being conducted within doors. Attempting to enter, he was repulsed. Returning some time afterward, in company with another missionary, and removing a little of the thatching, he looked in and beheld ten or twelve women prostrated before a hideous idol. Finding themselves discovered, the natives were thrown into the greatest confusion, and opening the door, allowed the missionaries to enter. The mere view, says Mr. Schon, was sufficient to fill the mind with horror. The large idol actually represented the devil, with a blood-stained face and two horns. Before him stood a water pot half filled with the blood of animals that were sacrificed to him. In another corner of the room were smaller idols and *gri-gris*, lying and hanging in great number; and fowls, which were sacrificed to them, were lying in their blood on the floor of the room.

Another peculiar form of the African superstition is their *Devil-worship*. The people cherish the general belief of a future state, little connected, however, with any idea of moral retribution. The question is, whether they have faithfully observed the promise made to the *fetiche*. They uniformly, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, ascribe the works of creation to God, but regard the devil as the author of all providence. Hence will be seen at every entrance into their towns, a *gri-gri pole*, with a rag upon it, or something of the kind, either to prevent his entrance, or conciliate his favor. They never open trade on board of a ship, without pouring a libation of rum into the water, as a portion with which the devil is particularly pleased.

The Rev. Mr. Wynkoop states, that at all the entrances in the enclosure, or roads to the town, are small houses called the *grand devil-house*, where the people deposite different articles in them to conciliate his dreaded majesty. These presents, of course, form a part of the perquisites of the priests.

Dr. A. C. Wilson, writing from the station at Fishtown, 1840, says. "Today there was a bullock sacrificed to conciliate the devil, asking those favors of him that should be asked of God, and giving him the honor which belongs to Jehovah alone."

The God whom the Africans are supposed to worship, says Dr. McDowell, who spent some time at the colonies, has been called the "*devil*," by European visitors. The place selected for the performance of the mysteries connected with his worship, is in the center of some thick forest, called the *gri-gri bush*, or *devil-bush*. The influence which it is made to exercise over the people generally, is partly superstitious, partly political. The chiefs or head men meet once a month, and offer goats or other animals, as a sacrifice to this evil being or devil. Into this sacred forest no woman or boy is allowed to intrude, the penalty being death, foreign slavery, or a fine. The young freemen of the tribe are initiated into manhood by being taken into the *devil bush*, where they are shown a wooden cross erected, and a loud hoarse voice addresses them from the deep recesses of the wood, telling them certain things they must not do, upon the penalty of being seized by the evil demon, or spirit, and hung upon the cross to be an example to others. These instructions, as might have been expected, are of a purely selfish character, having reference to themselves and their own tribe.

After any one has been initiated into these *gri-gri* mysteries, and offends the chiefs, they are liable to be taken into the *devil-bush*, from which they never return. Nor dare any one ask, "Where is he?" "The devil has taken him," ends all further inquiry or hope, and his friends must not mourn for him. If a chief suffers in this way, his people and his wives must suffer along with him, unless by timely notice from the priest, they desert the doomed one, and attach themselves to another chief or tribe before the arrival of the day of execution.

When Bob Gray, chief at Grand Bassa, sold the *devil-bush*, which now forms a part of the settlement of Edina, to the Agent of the American Colonization Society, the whole surrounding tribes were about to arm against him for his impiety, and he had to pay a heavy fine, as well as solicit the protection of the colony to save his head.

The Methodist church now stands not far from the spot where the blood of the victims of their superstition and cruelty has flowed profusely. Many a wretch has been dragged into the depths of that forest gloom never to return.

The superstitions of the African tribes seem to be the operation of a wild veneration manifested in the form of vague fears of some evil influence being continually impending over them, which they try to obviate by the performance of some ridiculous mummeries, and suspending round their persons their *gri-gris*. Out of this feeling arises the common belief in *Witchcraft*, and the overwhelming superstitious credulity which everywhere prevails, affording to the priests immense power over the inhabitants. Dark and magical rites, numberless incantations and barbarous customs, are continually

practised, and in the power of which the people have unbounded confidence; and such is their influence upon the general mind, that they are accompanied by all the terrors that the dread of a malignant being and the fear of unknown evil can invest them.

In the attempts to bewitch any one, the usual mode of operation is said to be, to take a gourd or vessel, containing, among other ingredients, a combination of different colored rags, cats' teeth, parrots' feathers, toads' feet, eggshells, fishbones, snakes' teeth, and lizards' tails. This is secretly placed near the dwelling of the person intended to be brought under its influence, and upon whom the operator wishes to inflict an injury. Terror immediately seizes the individual, and either by resigning himself to despair, or by the secret communication of poison, in most cases, death is the inevitable consequence.

Upon the death of any one, therefore, suspicion is excited that he has been bewitched or poisoned, by some one, and the friends invariably institute an inquiry into the question of who had "*made witch*," for the deceased. The power of determining this question rests with their priests, and of course constitutes one of the chief sources of their influence over the people. The instances of cruelty growing out of these trials are frequent and horrible. A certain number of witnesses are selected, and every individual who can be an object of suspicion is required to plunge his hand into a pot of boiling oil. If innocent, it is alleged, he suffers no pain; if guilty, his hand is severely burnt. Should the person thus found guilty, assert his innocence, he is subjected to another, and what everybody regards as a sure and infallible test, that is to swallow a strong and large potation of *sass-wood*. It either produces death, or violent and distressing vomiting. The quantity of the tea, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1836, that is given to the man, when his accusers are bent on his destruction, is altogether incredible—enough, were there no poisonous qualities in it, to destroy the life of any one. Several deaths occurred from this practice, near Mr. Wilson's station, but he finally succeeded in putting a stop to such glaring injustice and cruelty.

But this cruel mode of trial is still prevalent outside of the colonies and mission stations. The journal of the Rev. Mr. Payne, of the Protestant Episcopal Mission, Dec. 9, 1848, records the death of three women, in rapid succession, from this ordeal, who had been accused of causing the death of a man wounded in battle. Upon Mr. Payne remonstrating strongly and endeavoring to put a stop to the work of death, the chief accosted him thus: "Payne, what kind of a man are you? We are trying to rid ourselves of the witches who have caused our late reverses, and you are angry? We verily thought the *deya*, who declared these women to be witches, lied; but, behold, on trial, all prove guilty!" "Alas," adds Mr. Payne, "for a bloody superstition which receives new strength from every additional victim! Help Lord, for vain is the help of man."

The cases arising under this means of detecting supposed crim-

inals are numerous, one only, in addition, will be presented. The Liberia Herald, 1844, says, "Directly after the death of King Shaka, of the Gallinas, a secret inquisition was set on foot to ferret out the *witch-man*. For a long time the search was fruitless; at length a *gri-gri man*, by continued incantations and daring diabolical communications, succeeded, and the hapless regicide was brought to light. Confronted with his accuser, he protested that he was innocent—the *doctor* protested he was guilty, and the all-discovering ordeal was resorted to, to decide the question. Of course the man was condemned to die, and as King Shaka was *big king too much*—the severity of the punishment was proportioned to the dignity of the deceased. Sentence was pronounced and thus executed—the man was taken to the mouth of the river, his tongue cut out, and he thrown alive to the sharks.

"This ordeal," continues the Herald, "is a most powerful engine of state policy in Africa. It is the right arm of an African monarch. He has only to keep on terms with the *doctors* or *gri-gri men*, who are the constituted inquisitors, and nothing is easier than to rid himself, at any time, of a dangerous or aspiring subject. Whether the ordeal be the *sassy water*, *the boiling oil*, or *the heated iron*, they are never at a loss for means to produce any result they wish. If it be the first process, they weaken or strengthen the decoction, and increase or lessen the quantity so as to render it innocent or fatal, just as interest or inclination may lead. If the second or third, they can, by previous application of some preparation to the part to be operated upon, enable it, for a short time, to resist the effect of heat; and then, by hurrying the ordeal, the accused escapes unscathed. If they conclude to murder the victim, they reverse the operation, and guilt is as clear as noonday. Thus this system puts the life of the whole community in the hands of this class of men, and renders it a formidable fraternity of conjurers."

Polygamy, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1834, is universal. A man's importance in society is according to the number of his wives. These are regarded as his property, and in reality are his servants. They are usually purchased at a very early age. One of the wives in any family is the mistress of the others, and is honored by them as such. They are all in strict subjection to their husbands, and not unfrequently are severely chastised for the slightest offense. The women perform all the drudgery. At the age of about twelve the females are taken to the *devil-bush*, and retained for something like two years. They are under the care of the *grand devil-man*, who, at stated times, rushes out into the midst of them, and utters his oracles. They are induced to believe that he is a supernatural being, and his dress and manner both confirm it. So far as the object of this confinement could be learned, it was to prepare them for the duties of life—one of the chief of which is to make a full and unreserved communication of everything they may know to their husbands.

In 1839, Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the east coast of Africa, says, "That in all the tribes bigamy was common. No sacredness was attached to the marriage relation. They retain their

wives as long as they are pleased with them, and then sell them. In some tribes one man would have from one to twenty wives. The Manomoisies sometimes have as high as eighty. Wives are bought and sold. The females do the work; men work till they obtain wherewith to buy a wife, then work no more, only trade and fight."

It has been stated already, that the king of Ashantee, 1819, kept three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives. All the female sex is considered as at the king's disposal, says Mr. Bowditch, and an annual assemblage takes place, when, having made a large selection for himself, he distributes the remainder among his grandees, who are bound to receive them with the humblest gratitude.

The number of wives possessed by the king of Dahomey equalled those of the king of Ashantee. The stoutest of them, says Mr. Bowditch, were enrolled into a military regiment, regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general and subordinate officers: and according to the testimony of several Europeans, went through the exercise with great precision. Governor Abson was present at Abomey when the king marched against the Eyoës, on which occasion he was attended by a body guard of eight hundred women.

English papers, for May, 1849, brought us some details of recent negotiations by an English agent, with the king of Dahomey, from which we learn that the number of his armed women is near six thousand at present. They constitute his body guard, and never leave him, and are answerable for the safety of his person.

It was the boast of the king of Eyeo, that his queens, linked hand in hand, would reach from one end of the kingdom to the other. These women, says Mr. Bowditch, act as the king's body-guards, perform the most menial offices, and are seen in every part of the kingdom, carrying on their heads heavy burdens from place to place, favored only with an exemption from ordinary toil.

But we need not multiply quotations. Enough is given to prove that one of the greatest evils which can mar the social condition of any people—polygamy—prevails to a vastly greater extent in Africa than in any other portion of the world.

Next in order comes the *domestic slavery of Africa*. In addition to the degrading customs and cruel superstitions, which cannot have had their origin in the slave trade, slavery, to a frightful extent, exists in Africa, and the wars and demoralization produced by ambition or the hope of making prisoners, for slaves, and to secure plunder, would still continue if slavery in all the world beside were abolished. On this subject the materials are ample, but we must limit ourselves to some of the more prominent facts. This view was forced upon the mind of Burkhardt, the African traveler, who, on concluding his labors, says, "Europe will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, which is trifling compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan, tending to the civilization of the continent."

Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the eastern coast of Africa,

says that "slavery is common in all the tribes. They buy their own people. Some Manomoisies own four or five hundred slaves."

Major Denham, the English traveler, states, that on the occasion of the marriage of the shiek of Bornou with the daughter of the sultan of Mandara, a combined expedition was sent against the Musgow nation, which, after a desperate struggle, brought in three thousand slaves; and the nuptials were celebrated with barbaric pomp, furnished out of the tears and captivity of so many victims."

The Major further states, that, "For the last eight years the shiek of Bornou has carried on a very desperate and bloody war with the sultan of Begharmi, who governs a powerful and warlike people, inhabiting a very large tract of country south of Bornou, and on the eastern bank of the Shary. Although meeting with some reverses, and on one occasion losing his eldest son in the wars, who was greatly beloved by the people, he has, upon the whole, been successful; and is said to have, from the first to the last, destroyed and *led into slavery* more than thirty thousand of the sultan of Begharmi's subjects, besides burning his towns and driving off his flocks."

Kano, the capital of a province of the same name, and one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Soudain, has a population of from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. Of these, according to Captain Clapperton, who visited it, more than half are slaves. The sale and purchase of slaves is as common as the sale or transfer of any other species of property. He describes the slave market as very extensive.

Even the wives of the kings, as already stated, are no better than slaves, in the common and harshest acceptation of the word; and as the pomp of the sovereign consists principally in the multitude of his wives, it is easy to conceive the numbers of one class alone who are reduced to servitude.

Dr. Goheen, the very intelligent and successful physician to the African mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, after more than a year's residence in Liberia, thus writes:

"Slavery in the United States, in its worst form, and under the lash, is not as bad as slavery here in its mildest form. It is a well known truth, that in Western Africa nine-tenths of the whole population are in a state of slavery. The females are all sold at an early age, to be, when they grow up, wives, or *beasts of burden*, as their proprietors may require. If the majority here were not slaves, how would they ever get into the foreign slave dealers' hands? They are sent in hundreds from the interior to the slave-factories and sold. They are not deprived of their liberty when they leave these shores—they only change masters. Slaves they are, and such they have been to the most savage rulers, who inflict upon them the severest punishments, and feel free to kill, to eat, or to throw them alive upon the funeral pile, at pleasure. Slavery in the United States, though an evil, cannot possibly be as great a one as it is here. Here is the country where slavery, with all its legitimate and concomitant horrors exists. Africa is the mother that clings to it as her only, her dearest offspring. And here is the country so deeply dyed in the

sin of slavery as to require all the Abolitionists and all the Colonizationists, and their united means and labors for centuries, in clearing its skirts and removing the foul stains that make her the prize money of other nations."

The testimony in relation to the domestic slavery of Africa might be greatly amplified, and the truth of the proposition, that it would continue, though slavery in all the world beside were abolished, be more fully proved, but what has already been presented is deemed quite sufficient for our purpose.

The evils arising from the *tyranny, cruelties, and wars* of Africa, have been incidentally presented, in the course of our investigations, and we shall not dwell upon them at length, though volumes might be filled with details of the most shocking character.

The Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1839, says, "Only a few years since, the king of Ashantee sent the governor of Cape Coast sixty jaw bones of human victims which he had killed, as an evidence of his despotic power, thinking at the same time it would prove to be a present of great value. The king of Ashantee thinks as little of taking off the heads of his subjects as those of his chickens."

The Rev. Mr. Shrewsbury, an English missionary in South Africa, 1829, thus describes a native chief, recently deceased. "His cruelties almost exceeded belief; he rioted in blood; and never had higher enjoyment than when killing his own subjects. When his mother died, immense numbers of his people were summoned together to weep, and the mourning was appointed to continue three days and nights. Every artifice was made use of to provoke sorrow, and cause the tears to flow; but it was impossible for the multitude to continue weeping constantly; and yet, when any one did not shed what the tyrant considered a sufficient quantity of tears, he was instantly despatched for want of affection to his mother's memory. In the course of those three days three hundred persons are said to have been put to death. And whenever a man was killed, his wife or wives, and all his children were destroyed on the same day."

The Rev. Mr. Champion, missionary in King Dingaan's country, South Africa, says, 1836, "The king holds his eminence by many customs that are in vogue. He eats the first green corn, and at the celebration calls all the nation together to dance before him. Sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, and such like, are cultivated and reserved for the king. No one can sit in a chair but the king. One of his captains was here not long since, who was afraid even to sit on a box, lest he should resemble the king. Blankets, except the very meanest description, are royal ones. For the common people to obtain and wear them would be instant death. Anything at all fine goes to the king, and for others to wear or use them is to aspire to be like the king. The ivory comes all to the king, and for this purpose he sends out many men to hunt elephants. With the teeth he obtains of the whites presents of beads, cloths, &c., which he bestows on his immense family and his favorite captains. When they return from war, all the cattle are driven to the chief town as the king's property.

Some he bestows on the brave and on his generals, but the many are reserved to increase his immense herds and for slaughter.

“He has another stern grasp on his people, in that punishment which is inflicted for small as well as great offenses. A word that bears in any way against the king, or is suspected even, and the die is cast, the man is counted for dead. A captain is killed, and often his family and dependents follow him. The king wishes perhaps to show his power, and to see spoils coming in from slaughter, and he sends, as lately, and in one night, after by stratagem he had collected all at home, cuts off a rich country of his own tribe or his own subjects.

“Cases of individuals put to death are almost always occurring. The people are shy to talk about the subject, after they have told you it was by order of the king. It is almost always because they are alleged to have done something wrong, but where or when, no one knows; only when reasoned into a corner, they say the king knows. Always it is, yes, father, it is all right—when even son, mother, father, or brother is slain.”

Infanticide of a peculiar nature prevails in Africa: twins are never allowed to live. As soon as they are born, they are put into two earthen pots and exposed to beasts of the forest; and the unfortunate mother ever afterward endures great trouble and hardships.

The exposure of the aged and infirm, says Mr. Moffat, after they are incapable of supporting themselves, is common. They are left in desert places, with an allowance of food and water to subsist them for a time, after which, if not sooner devoured by beasts of prey, they are suffered to perish of hunger.

“Another sanguinary custom grows out of the superstitious veneration of the Africans for the shark. The person upon whom suspicion of crime has fallen, is ordered by the king to swim across the river, when, if innocent, he is expected to arrive safe upon the other side; but if otherwise, the sharks are to have him for breakfast. The trial takes place, says Dr. Porter, before his majesty and an immense concourse of people; the suspected person is brought forth and forced into the river, when the poor victim makes every exertion to reach the destined goal, but, strange to say, the king has never yet left the beach without being fully convinced of the truth of his suspicions, as no instance is on record of the sharks ever allowing him to be in the wrong.”

The testimony already adduced, proves that many of the sanguinary wars of Africa have their origin in other causes than the stimulus furnished by the slave trade. Were additional testimony needed in proof of this point, much is afforded in Moffat's *Southern Africa*. The writer, long a resident missionary, and an active agent in many of the scenes described, has given the world a work of great interest and value. The army of forty thousand Mantatees, who approached and attacked the tribes in which Mr. Moffat was laboring, were themselves refugees, robbed of their cattle and driven from their homes, by superior force, and compelled, in turn, to rob others, that they themselves might live. Having heard that there were immense

flocks of sheep at the English colony at the Cape, which they wished to possess, they were fighting their way in that direction, when compelled to change their course by the valor of the better armed forces which they encountered. They do not seem to have had any connection whatever with the slave trade.

The Rev. Dr. Philip says, that king Moselekatse, who had descended on the thickly-peopled regions of the north, like a sweeping pestilence, capturing thousands of slaves, and leaving in his course nothing but dilapidated walls and heaps of rubbish, mingled with human bones and skulls, had never traded in slaves. The cruelties of the Matebele nation, of which Moselekatse was king, is thus depicted by Mr. Moffat, and will furnish an appropriate conclusion to these investigations. "Nothing less than the entire subjugation, or destruction of the vanquished, could quench their insatiable thirst for power. Thus, when they conquered a town, the terrified inhabitants were driven in a mass to the outskirts, when the parents and all the married women were slaughtered on the spot. Such as had dared to be brave in the defense of their town, their wives and their children, were reserved for a still more terrible death; dry grass, saturated with fat, was tied around their naked bodies and then set on fire. The youths and girls were loaded as beasts of burden, with the spoils of the town, to be marched to the homes of their victors. If the town was in an isolated position, the helpless infants were left to perish either with hunger, or to be destroyed by beasts of prey. On such an event the lions scent the slain and leave their lair; the hyenas and jackalls emerge from their lurking places in broad day, and revel in the carnage; while a cloud of vultures may be seen, descending on the living and the dead, and holding a carnival on human flesh. Should a suspicion arise in the savage bosom that these helpless innocents may fall into the hands of friends, they will prevent this by collecting them into a fold, and after raising over them a pile of brushwood, apply the flaming torch to it, when the town, but lately the scene of mirth, becomes a heap of ashes."

In relation to the *cannibalism* of Africa, a subject so revolting, we will not be expected to give many details. Of the existence of this practice there can be no doubt. The annual report of the American Colonization Society, 1828, contains the following statement:

"The most fierce and atrocious conflicts, instigated by slave traders, have prevailed during the last two years, among the tribes in the vicinity of Monrovia. The crime of cannibalism, shocking, it may be supposed, even to barbarous natures, has been perpetrated during these wars. On the capture of a small town among the Gorahs by the Deys, thirty victims were sacrificed to this detestable practice."

Many are the witnesses who have borne testimony to the general prevalence of cannibalism over large districts of Africa. Very recent reports of scientific exploring companies sent out from France, also give sufficient evidence to prove the truth of the previous reports, leaving us under the painful necessity of believing that all that has been said of cannibalism in Africa is true.—*See Appendix.*

As stated in the outset, the object of the investigations of the subjects coming under our first head, has been to show the true state of Africa's social and moral condition, independent of the slave trade; and to prove that even if it were possible to break up that traffic by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity and little good accomplished for Africa. And have we not succeeded? Have not facts enough been given, to prove that Africa's degradation is complete—that if the slave trade were this hour annihilated, and all the evils which we have enumerated as not dependent upon the slave trade still existing, the social and moral condition of that continent would demand the utmost efforts of Christians everywhere for its recovery from the horrors of barbarism.

It might, by some, have been supposed that the catalogue of woes oppressing Africa, *and belonging legitimately to herself*, were enough to atone for her iniquities. But no: such heaven-daring violations of divine law, such impious disregard of the principles of justice and humanity, could not escape the indignation of the Almighty. The sufferings of wicked men, the consequence of their own transgressions, *can never make atonement for their sins*. There is no principle of God's moral government of nations, that will permit the stay of execution of judgment for transgression, *but upon repentance*. Africa had not repented, but was adding iniquity unto iniquity. Justice, therefore, cried for vengeance, and the slave traders, resembling more the demons of the lowest pit than men, were let loose upon this doomed people, to involve the oppressor and the oppressed in one common ruin.

We shall see, however, before we close, *that mercy was mingled with judgment*. And we shall find that in the history of the African slave trade, and the events connected with it, we have another illustration of the truth of the proposition, that when God has designs of mercy toward a wicked people, the judgments with which he visits them for their sins, are adapted to secure their repentance and lead them back to Himself.

II. The Modifications which have been produced on the Social and Moral Condition of Africa by the Slave Trade.

Until introduced by the Moors, it appears that the trading in slaves was little known to the inhabitants of the interior of Africa. The prisoners taken in battle were reduced to slavery by the captors, and formed the marriage portions given to their children. It seems that, in general, they were humanely treated, excepting when the cruelties of their superstitions led to opposite results. It is, says Denham and Clapperton, to the pernicious principles of the Moorish traders, whose avaricious brutality is beyond all belief, that the traffic for slaves in the interior of Africa not only owes its origin, but its continuance. The eagerness of the interior population to possess the alluring articles of merchandize offered, tempted them to sell their slaves, while the enormous profits on their sale, in the cities along the Mediterranean,

caused the Moorish traders to refuse to receive anything in exchange for their goods but slaves.

On the western coast of Africa, as briefly detailed in our former lecture, the slave trade was commenced by the Portuguese. For a long series of years the supply was obtained by forcibly seizing the natives, and confining them on board their vessels, until a sufficient number for a cargo were obtained. This practice, though inconsiderable at its commencement, became general, says Rees' Cyclopædia, and was prosecuted by Portuguese, Spaniards, French, English, Dutch, &c. The wretched inhabitants were thus driven from the coast and compelled to take refuge in the interior. But the Europeans still pursued them, entering their rivers, and thus penetrating the heart of the country. The increased demand for slaves, however, soon became so great as to require a less precarious mode of securing a supply. Accordingly, forts and factories were established, merchandize landed, and endeavors made, by a peaceable deportment, by presents, and by every appearance of munificence, to allure the attachment and confidence of the Africans.

These traffickers were not long in discovering the chiefs or kings of the African tribes, and making treaties of peace and commerce, by which it was agreed that prisoners of war and convicts for crimes should be sentenced to European servitude; and that the Europeans should, in return, supply the kings with the luxuries of the north. These treaties were immediately carried into effect, and the terrible consequences which might have been anticipated were soon developed. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that the results were foreseen by the traders, and this scheme of extending their operations, seemingly under the sanctions of justice, was thrown before the world, in this plausible form, to prevent the indignant frown of public sentiment from prohibiting the further prosecution of the traffic in slaves.

The number of persons convicted of crimes, fell so far short of the wants of the slave traders, that other means had to be adopted to augment their numbers. Not only those fairly convicted of crime were now sentenced to slavery, but even those who were suspected; and with regard to prisoners of war, they delivered into slavery, not only those who were taken in a state of public enmity and injustice, but those also who were taken in the arbitrary skirmishes of the venal sovereigns of Africa. Wars were made among the tribes near the coast, not as formerly, from motives of retaliation and defense, or from love of conquest, but for the sake of obtaining prisoners alone, and the advantages resulting from the sale of them. When a European ship came in sight, this was considered as a motive for war, and a signal for the commencement of hostilities. The despotic sovereigns of Africa, influenced by the venal motives of European traffic, first made war upon the neighboring tribes in the violation of every principle of justice; and if they did not thus succeed in their main object, they turned their arms against their own subjects. The first villages at which they arrived were immediately surrounded, and afterward set on fire; and the wretched inhabitants seized, as they were escaping from the flames.

In a few years the traffic in slaves became systematized, and the residents remaining along the coast became the regular agents between the slave merchants and the tribes in the interior, who were better able to procure slaves to send to the ports where they were in demand. The slave trade was thus gradually extended from the Atlantic and Pacific coasts into the interior, by Europeans, as it had been from the Mediterranean by the Moors, and it has been no uncommon occurrence for the slaves sold to the traders on the Atlantic coast, to have been brought from the interior a distance of 700 miles.

The influence of this horrible traffic upon Africa was most pernicious. Deplorable as was the social condition of her people, independent of the slave trade, it would seem, at first view, to have been rendered infinitely worse by it.

On this occasion, however, time will not allow us to present the wide range of facts which we have been able to collect upon this branch of our subject. At present we can only remark, that from the testimony of many witnesses—embracing travelers in Africa, and missionaries, and colonists—it appears that the slave trade, besides vastly aggravating some of the social evils previously existing, and greatly multiplying the causes of war among the different tribes, has exerted a paralyzing effect upon the little agricultural industry which previously existed; and that there is less of social happiness and less of personal enjoyment in the districts where the traffic prevails, than in the interior where its influence has not so fully reached; and further, that the king of Dahomey is at present largely engaged in supplying the slave traders with slaves, amounting to the number of 30,000 annually, to obtain which he makes annual slave hunts, the dangers of which he himself shares.

One case only we shall present, and of recent occurrence, to afford an idea of the cruelties practised at the depots for slaves on the coast, where they are collected for transportation; and to present a well-attested account of the horrible atrocities to which the slave trade leads those who are enlisted in it.

In July, 1842, Rev. J. L. Wilson visited a slave factory on the Gaboon, to inspect its condition. On his arrival at the gate of the barracoon, which was an enclosure of more than an acre, the slaves were talking and laughing cheerfully, but the moment the gate opened, the most profound silence ensued, and they became terrified, supposing that a victim was to be selected to be eaten. Among the slaves were persons of both sexes, from five to forty years of age, not one of the number having any covering. Most of the men were fastened two and two, one ankle of each being fettered. The women, girls, and half-grown boys were made secure by a brass ring encircling the neck, through which a chain passed, grouping them together in companies of forty or fifty each. Boys and girls under ten years of age were left unshackled. The poor wretches had to sleep on bamboo platforms arranged round the building, without any covering to protect them from the cold and the mosquitoes, both of which were intolerable to persons in their situation at that season of the year.

“But there was one company which particularly arrested my

attention—affected my heart. It was made up of mothers who had recently been bereft of their children. How they came to be chained together, I cannot tell, unless their keepers, yielding to what they considered an innocent and harmless desire, allowed them to be drawn together by their sympathies and sorrows.

“Their owner knew, perhaps, what had become of their children, but he was unaffected by the reminiscence. Not so with them. Their countenances indicated an intensity of anguish that cannot be described. Though heathen mothers, a flame had been kindled in their hearts which no calamity could extinguish.

“When infants are born in the barracoon, or when they are brought there with their mothers—because it is inconvenient to keep them in the factory, and almost impossible to carry them across the ocean—they are subjected to a premature and violent death. I speak advisedly, when I affirm, that this is a common occurrence in the operations of the slave trade; and it was in this way, I was credibly informed, that these sorrowing females had been sundered from their offspring. * * * I left the barracoon with my curiosity amply satisfied, and with emotions which will never allow me to visit another.”

The horrors of the *middle passage*, as the transportation of the slaves from the ports in Africa, to the countries where they are sold, is called, are so well known to every reading man, that I shall only present one instance of the revelations made by the capture of a slaver, with the view of affording an idea of the capacity of our Liberia colony to receive and provide for emigrants who may land upon its territory.

The Pons, a slave ship on the coast of Africa, was captured by an American vessel, in December, 1845, and her cargo of slaves landed at Monrovia, and provided for by the Liberians. She had eight hundred and sixty-six slaves on board, eighteen of whom died during the night after the capture. The vessel had no slave decks, and these poor wretches were almost literally piled in bulk on the water casks below. As the ship appeared to be less than three hundred tons, it seemed impossible that one-half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. Forty-five or fifty of the number were females, who were confined in the round-house cabin on deck. Notwithstanding this crowded state of the vessel, it had been the intention of the captain to take on board an additional four hundred slaves. The stench from below was so great, says Capt. Bell, that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. The men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick in a few minutes, when all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor slaves when the hatches were closed? “I am informed,” says Capt. Bell, “that very often, in these cases, the stronger will strangle the weaker; and that this was probably the reason so many died, or rather were found dead, on the morning after the capture. None but an eye witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures endure in their transit across the ocean.”

The vessel was fourteen days in reaching Monrovia, during which

time one hundred and fifty died. "When they were landed," says the *Liberia Herald*, "nearly the whole population collected on the beach to witness the sight. The colonists, with the exception of a very few, had never witnessed such a spectacle before. The slaves were much emaciated, and so debilitated that many of them found difficulty in getting out of the boats. Such a spectacle of misery and wretchedness, inflicted by a lawless and ferocious cupidity, so excited our people that it became unsafe for the captain of the slaver, who had come to look on, to remain at the beach. Eight slaves died in the harbor the day before they were landed. The prize master says, as soon as a slave became helpless through debility or sickness, those nearest would throttle him, in order that his body removed, they would have more room. They were all, men and women, with the exception of two or three called headmen, landed in a state of perfect nudity!"

Dr. Lugenbeel, the United States' agent, immediately put them all out among the people of Liberia as apprentices. The Methodist mission took charge of eighty boys and twenty girls. The education of many of them has been progressing well, and a number of them are at present, 1849, members of the church, and rejoicing in the faith of the gospel. Oh what a kind Providence to turn the captivity of these poor creatures into a blessing of inestimable value!

Since the employment of a naval force on the coast for the capture of slavers, many expedients are adopted by the heartless villains engaged in the slave trade to escape detection. One instance only need be noticed to give a true idea of the recklessness of life which prevails. In 1830, Captain Homans, having taken on board six hundred slaves, on the coast of Africa, set sail for Cuba, found himself about being surrounded by four cruizers who had watched his movements. Favored by the darkness of the night, which soon set in, he extended a heavy chain cable around his vessel outside the railing, with a ponderous anchor attached, and bringing his slaves one by one on deck, by means of their handcuffs of iron he fastened them to the cable. The penwork of the hold and every thing that could create suspicion, was also brought on deck, bound in matting well filled with shot, and thrown overboard. The cable, by a single blow of the axe, was then cut loose, a heavy plunge was heard as the anchor reached the water, and a crash as the cable fell off the side, above which arose one terrible shriek—it was the last cry of the murdered Africans. One moment more, and all was still. Six hundred human beings had gone down with that anchor and chain into the depths of the ocean. Two hours after daylight the captain was overhauled. There was no evidence that his vessel was a slaver, and her captors were obliged to let her pass.

We have said that the slave trade did not originate the degradation into which Africa has been sunk, but that, though it aggravated many existing evils, and introduced some new elements of woe, by arousing the cupidity of the inhabitants, *yet it was itself only a legitimate fruit of the social and moral degradation previously existing on that continent.* Listen to the reasons upon which we base our opinion.

Africa, sunk in the gloom of the darkest superstitions known to the world, and neglecting all that industry which creates a surplus of products to constitute the elements of a legitimate commerce, and which secures to nations those comforts and luxuries not produced in their own latitudes; when an intercourse with civilized countries was opened up, had not an adequate supply of agricultural fruits, or mineral wealth, to exchange for the European commodities of which she found herself in want. This neglect of necessary labor on her own soil, which was so well adapted to yield abundantly the tropical products then beginning to be in demand in civilized countries, left her but one resource to secure the articles she desired—*and that resource was the selling of human flesh!* Alas, for poor Africa! Human flesh was the only commodity which she could supply, in sufficient quantity, to the commerce of the world. No proposition is more susceptible of demonstration than this, *that the slave trade is a legitimate fruit of Africa's degradation.* Had she not rejected the gospel which once blessed her, and, as a necessary consequence, lost her industry and sunk into barbarism, she would not have been under the necessity of selling her children, nor would it have been possible to have persuaded her to adopt a measure so unnatural, so cruel, so inhuman, so infernal, and fraught with such a deluge of woe. And there is but one way of suppressing the evils under which Africa groans, and that is, to restore to her that blessed gospel which she rejected, and that industry which she lost; and then, the causes creating the slave trade being removed, that traffic itself must necessarily be annihilated, and Africa permanently redeemed.

Had time allowed the presentation of all the testimony collected in reference to the modifications produced upon the social and moral condition of Africa by the slave trade, the picture, though dark indeed, would have been faint when compared with the sad reality, and limited when contrasted with the vast extent of that traffic and the agonizing sufferings which are its attendants. The slave trade, it will be perceived, had no tendency to check or suppress the domestic slavery of Africa, but made its perpetuation of greater importance as furnishing a principal means of keeping up the traffic with the slave trader. It has done nothing to break down the idolatry, the devil-worship, the witchcraft, the tyranny, and cruelties of Africa, which have deeply degraded her, but has left these all unchanged. The tropical cultivation employing slave labor, makes a demand upon Africa chiefly for males, and thus the slave trade, leaving an excess of females in that country, has, no doubt, increased polygamy, and the miseries growing out of that social evil. The slave trade did not originate the sanguinary wars of the powerful kings of the interior, who, actuated by ambition of conquest, or love of plunder, laid waste the weaker nations that surrounded them, strewing the earth with their corpses, that they might decorate their rude halls with skulls; but it has greatly multiplied the petty feuds of smaller tribes and led the larger ones to make regular slave hunts, to supply the increasing demand for slave labor. And though the

slave trade, by awakening the passion of avarice into a predominance over that of superstition, may have limited the number of human sacrifices, it was but to prolong a life that it might be subjected to all the vicissitudes of foreign slavery.

And thus, while the social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade, was truly deplorable, and sufficient to rouse to action every man whose heart can sympathize with human suffering, the slave trade rendered its condition still more dismal, making the call upon the Christian world for relief still more urgent.

III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from Barbarism.

No great movements of mankind, either voluntary or compulsory, uprooting the population of one country and transplanting it into another, have ever occurred without producing important results, for good or for ill, to the people transferred and to the world. The removal to North America of portions of the populations of Europe and Africa—the first voluntary, and the second compulsory—the one the most enlightened and upright of the human family, and the other the most ignorant and debased—the extremes of humanity—and their coalescence, upon our soil, in the relation of master and slave, was one of those strange and incomprehensible events, the design of which cannot be fathomed by any depth of human wisdom and foresight, but can only be understood when time has wrought out its ultimate results.

Our first settlers from Europe were the advocates of a Free Christianity, who had been exiled by an intolerant zeal for religious uniformity, and forced to flee from persecution to a land where they could obtain equal rights and liberty of conscience. No sooner had they become fairly seated in their wilderness homes, than they began to afford examples of the practical tendencies of their religious faith, by attempting the education and conversion of the native Indians! The substance of their religious belief, so far as it had a controlling influence in modeling their course of policy, may be thus stated.

They believed that man was originally created a pure and holy being, and in the possession of an extent of happiness that was only limited by his capacity for enjoyment; but that by an act of disobedience he lost his original purity of character, and involved himself and all his posterity in moral ruin, and thus the whole race fell under the condemnation of the law of God. They believed, that all the ignorance, suffering, injustice, and oppression existing in the world are a necessary consequence of the depravity of men's hearts; and that these evils must continue until mankind are brought back to their allegiance to God, and the rebel receives pardon and is released from the curse of the divine law. They believed, that notwithstanding man's transgression, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life;" and that the Lord Jesus Christ, as the substitute for sinners, by his obedience, sufferings, and death, having

satisfied the demands of divine justice and made an atonement for sin, thus secured pardon, justification, and eternal life, for all who should believe in his name: but that those who believed not, must forever continue under condemnation and wrath. They believed that human misery would disappear from earth, in the proportion that men could be persuaded to embrace the religion of Christ, and to conform their conduct to the teachings of his gospel; and that as soon as the whole world could be brought under the influence of that gospel, Humanity would dry up her tears and peace and joy become universal. They believed that the command of the Saviour to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is as fully binding upon believers in after ages, as it was upon those to whom it was at first delivered, and that the consequences which he declared should attend that preaching—"He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned"—will continue to accompany it to the latest generations of men; and that, therefore, the responsibility of spreading the gospel as fully rests upon all believers, in all time, so far as their circumstances, pecuniary abilities, opportunities, talents, and spiritual gifts will allow, as it did upon Paul, when, in view of the sinfulness of men and their liability to wrath, he exclaimed, "for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel."

Entertaining such views of their responsibilities to God and to man, the desire to promote the temporal and eternal interests of their posterity, and of the world, became a ruling principle of action with the first emigrants to New England. They commenced their labors on such a scale as their circumstances permitted, and in a few years mastered the language of the Indians, established schools for their education, and translated and printed the Bible in the native tongue, thus enabling the savage of the forest to read the words of eternal life. Such was the spirit of the Pilgrims, and such the origin, in this country, of that Christian philanthropy which includes within its embrace the whole human family, and is now exerting its energies to give the gospel to the whole heathen world.

The first of our supply of the population of Africa, dragged from their homes by the promptings of avarice, to gratify an unhallowed commercial cupidity, were landed in the colony of Virginia in 1620, the same year in which the Puritan Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. This is a remarkable coincidence. The first advocates of a Free Christianity, and the first African slaves who touched our coast were landed in the same year.

In thus bringing together darkness and light—in mingling the lowest form of Pagan ignorance and depravity with the highest development of Christian intelligence and integrity—it would seem that Divine Providence designed to demonstrate to the world the capability of a Free Christianity *to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined, and thus to prove the unity and natural equality of the human race.*

Our investigations under this head have been directed, though but

incidentally, to the facts connected with the solution of this great problem—the *sufficiency of a pure Christianity to restore to man his lost happiness*—with the view, principally, of pointing out the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

The best authorities make the number of slaves exported from Africa, up to 1847, about seven millions eight hundred and forty-five thousand. Great as this number appears, the estimate is no doubt within the actual number of the victims of the slave trade. And then, to have a proper conception of the extent of the sufferings following in the train of this traffic, it must be remembered, that the number of lives lost in Africa during the wars for the capture of slaves and their transportation to the coast, equals the number exported, making her entire loss fifteen millions six hundred and ninety thousand human beings. This statement will give a just conception of the extent to which Africa has been robbed of her children. To obtain the facts which we need in our discussion, our plan has been to follow the more prominent lines along which the slave trade has borne the population of Africa, and ascertain what results have followed, in the several countries to which the African people have been taken, with the view of determining the intellectual and moral progress they may have made, and the present qualifications of each group to act as pioneers in the work of Africa's redemption.

Passing by, for the present, those transported to the British West Indies, to Brazil, to Cuba and to Mexico, we find that those imported into the colonies now composing the United States, were very differently situated from each other and from their brethren left behind in the pagan darkness of Africa. A part of them fell into the hands of men, not so scrupulous, perhaps, as others of the colonists, on the subject of equal rights, but who, to say the least, were so far under the influence of Christian principle, that they deemed it an imperative duty to teach their households to read the Bible, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. The term *household*, according to their interpretation, included slaves. At that day apprentices were not *masters* in the shops where they learned trades, nor students *sovereigns* in colleges to which they were sent to be educated. The judgment of age was respected, because the experience of years was supposed to impart wisdom. Implicit obedience to those in authority, whether parents, teachers, masters or magistrates, was demanded and yielded; and the consequence was, that while education enlightened the mind, and religious instruction moulded the heart, a generation of men were ushered upon the stage of action, with a love of order and submission to law, as unalterable as was their hostility to despotism, and their determination to secure to themselves the rights of conscience, and the blessings of civil liberty—of liberty under the restraints of law. But while they rigidly held the doctrine of *the natural equality of the human race*, they as unchangeably believed *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government*

The school house and the church, the sources of intelligence and morality, with them were objects of the first importance, because the perpetuity of the free institutions they were founding would depend, they believed, not upon any magic in the mere possession of freedom, but in the intelligence and moral principle of their posterity. While, therefore, they labored for the intellectual and moral elevation of the Indian and the African, they refused to admit them to the privileges of citizenship. No morbid sentimentality upon the subject of equal rights could induce them to forget the peril into which they would cast the precious jewel of the elective franchise, by conferring it upon savage or half-civilized men, necessarily destitute of the ability through ignorance, of making a discreet use of the privilege. While, then, they believed the savage man to be equal, *by nature*, with the civilized man, and that, by education, he could be made his equal, also, *intellectually and morally*, until thus educated and capable of being controlled by moral principle, they would have conceived it to be madness to make the savage man the equal partner in commercial business with the civilized man, and much less would they have considered it a measure of safety to make him the equal in the administration of government.

It was into the midst of such men as these, though contrary to the principles and wishes of the majority, and in opposition to their remonstrances and legislative enactments, that England forced the population of Africa. And, as if by an instinctive forecast, despotism seems to have anticipated the effects, on this continent, of a Free Christianity, generating independence of thought, and demanding for men equal rights and liberty of conscience, and sought, by casting in a mass of ignorance from Africa, to retard if not to prevent the full development of these great principles. This disposition was clearly indicated by the English statesman, who declared, as a sufficient reason for turning a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Colonists against the further importation of slaves, that "Negroes cannot become Republicans—they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly Colonists."

That such motives prompted England to prosecute the introduction of slaves into the colonies with great activity, was fully believed by the American statesmen of the Revolution, and their views were thus energetically expressed, by Mr. Jefferson, in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, but which was afterward omitted :

"He (the king of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms

among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he has obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, by crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

But that desire to impart the blessings of the gospel to their fellow-men, which had prompted that yet feeble colony to attempt the conversion of the Indians, could not but lead also to efforts for the elevation of the poor African slave. In accordance with this view, we find that the slaves were subjected, more or less, to the rules of their masters' families, affording, to many of them, opportunities of intellectual and moral improvement, which soon began to elevate them in the scale of being from that of the lowest state of barbarism, which they had occupied in Africa, to one of approximate civilization. Pious ministers, also, being generally allowed free access to the slaves, obeyed the injunction to preach the gospel to every creature, and labored for their improvement and conversion. Thus nearly the whole mass of the victims of the slave trade, who were brought to the territory now forming the United States, were ultimately placed under circumstances which afforded to them advantages of infinite value, and from which, to this day, they might have been excluded, had they not been brought from Africa.

Many generations of men have been ushered into existence and disappeared again from the earth, while these causes have been in operation. Of the number of thousands of colored men who have lived, during this period, embraced the gospel, and died in the hope of a blessed immortality, we can form no estimate. But the number of professors of religion of African descent, now living in the United States, may be estimated at nearly three hundred and fifty thousand.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, many years since, commenced a systematic course of missionary labors among the colored people, but designed principally for the slaves. The Reports of this Church, for 1849, show that a large number of missionaries are employed in this field, and give twenty-eight thousand five hundred and eighty-nine colored persons as members at the North, and one hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-eight at the South. We find it stated in a southern paper, that the number of colored members, in the slave States, belonging to the Baptist Church, is over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. The Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Associate Reformed Presbyterians, in the South, have also long been engaged in the religious training of the slaves, and have received many of them into church membership. At the present moment, the Sabbath schools of these several religious bodies are very extensive and very efficient. The Cumberland Presbyterians, we understand, are not inattentive to the religious wants of the slave, but we are without statistics on the subject of their operations. The number of colored members in the Baptist Church at the North is not known to us, but must amount to several hundreds. Our estimate of three hundred and fifty thousand, as the whole of the colored members of churches in the United States, is, therefore, probably not above the true number.

But besides these pleasing results of the agencies accompanying slavery in this country, it must be added, that we have at present about four hundred and sixty thousand free persons of color, from whom the shackles of slavery have fallen, and many of whom possess an amount of intelligence which indicates, very plainly, that equal advantages only are needed to enable them to attain a high standard in all that adorns the character of the civilized and Christian man. And, in addition to all this, it must be noticed, that the whole colored population of the United States, which will number, in 1850, about three millions six hundred and ninety-seven thousand—though the standard of morality, with the larger part, is known to be very low—may be said to be freed from the degrading influences of African superstition and idolatry, and thus made more accessible to the Christian teacher. This result was greatly hastened by another most singular coincidence. Scarcely had the work of the religious training of slaves been fairly undertaken, and its practicability determined, when the further influx of heathenism was prevented by the prohibition of the slave trade, and the task of overcoming their pagan superstitions and idolatrous customs was thus more easily accomplished.

But this does not yet complete the catalogue of good results accompanying the transportation of the population of Africa to this country. In addition to the blessings of Christianity secured to them, in connexion with slavery, their captivity among us seems to have been but a preparatory step toward the development of another of the results to be produced in permitting the cupidity of the Christian world to make merchandise of the sons of Africa; and that result is their being constituted a distinct people, a civilized, enlightened and powerful nation. The indications of this are unmistakeable. In the progress of intelligence among the Africans of the United States, that passion for equal rights and privileges which characterized those who laid the foundations of American Independence, was also infused into their breasts, animating them likewise with the love of liberty and the determination to secure to themselves and their children the blessings of free government. But being conscious of the secondary position which they must necessarily occupy in the social relations of this country; and in view also of the important fact, that the respect and esteem of the world could not be secured to the colored race short of the demonstration of their capacity for self-government; and knowing the impossibility of *testing that point* where such a preponderance of whites existed; and where, by the more rapid increase of the whites, by foreign immigration, the colored people must necessarily for ever constitute a very small minority, and their influence scarcely be felt, excepting as their votes would be in demand during party contests: in view of these and other considerations, after the most mature deliberation, a few colored men were led, thirty years ago, to accept the proposition of making a noble and daring effort for nationality in Africa itself, where eighty millions of their brethren might be civilized and incorporated with them, thus creating a government whose numerical strength would be four-fold that of the one they would leave.

The encouraging success which has crowned this enterprize of the colored people, is well known, and proves as fully that it is of God, as that our own happy Republic was planted by the right hand of the Almighty, as a model to the world of the power of a free Christianity to promote human happiness. The Republic of Liberia, now numbering within its limits one hundred thousand souls, is but a transplantment to Africa of American civilization, American views of the rights of man, and American principles in relation to the freedom of religion. These principles are already beginning to produce their ameliorating effects in Africa, and their power to elevate and ennoble mankind are becoming more and more manifest every day. It is a fact, now acknowledged in Europe and America, that the moral influence already exerted by Liberia, has done more for the cause of humanity, in the suppression of the slave trade, and in the abolition of slavery and the other evils afflicting Africa, than has been accomplished by the combined efforts of the civilized world.

We have now traced the prominent results following the enslavement of the Africans in the United States, until we have seen the tide of emigration begin to flow back from our shores to Africa, bearing her children to her again, not as received from her, with minds darkened by heathenish superstitions, but, many of them, enlightened and christianized men, able to bless her and redeem her. The plan of our investigations leads us to follow the other lines of dispersion of the population of Africa; to ascertain the results in other countries, with the view of determining the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

We shall turn first to the British West Indies, and as Jamaica is the most prominent of these islands, and will best serve as a type of the whole, our inquiries will be chiefly confined to it. We have obtained our facts, principally, from the recently written history of Jamaica, by the Rev. J. M. Phillippo, for twenty years a Baptist missionary in that island.

The Island of Jamaica, discovered in 1494, was settled by a colony of Spaniards in 1509, who, by their oppressions and savage cruelties, in less than fifty years, wholly exterminated the native population, originally numbering from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand. African slaves seem to have been introduced at an early day as substitutes for the natives, and up to 1655, when the English, then at war with Spain, took possession of the island, forty thousand slaves had been imported by the Spaniards, only fifteen hundred of whom were then surviving. Jamaica, by this change of masters, was not much improved in its social and moral condition, which, under the one hundred and forty-six years of Spanish rule, had been deplorable. It now became the rendezvous of buccaneers and piratical crusaders, a desperate band of men from all the maritime powers of Europe, who continued to perpetrate almost every degree of wickedness, both on sea and land, until 1670, when peace was made with Spain, and a more vigorous administration of law attempted. Twenty-six years after England conquered the island, 1696, up to which period the importation of slaves was still continued, the whites numbered fifteen

thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, and the slaves nine thousand five hundred. At the end of an additional forty-six years, 1742, during nearly the whole of which time the monopoly of the slave trade was held by England, the whites numbered fourteen thousand, and the slaves one hundred thousand. The annual importation of slaves into Jamaica now reached sixteen thousand, so that, at the end of another twenty-eight years, they numbered two hundred thousand, while the whites had scarcely increased two thousand. These numbers show, that from 1742 till 1770, a period of twenty-eight years, the number of slaves who sunk under the lash of the Jamaica task-master, must have been two hundred and forty-eight thousand, or almost nine thousand annually. The whole number of slaves imported by the English, up to 1808, when the slave trade was forbidden by Parliament, was eight hundred and fifty thousand, to which must be added the forty thousand imported by the Spaniards, making the total number of the population of Africa, transported to Jamaica, amount to eight hundred and ninety thousand men. And yet, the startling truth must be told, that when the census of the slave population of this island was ordered by government, in 1835, under the emancipation act, instead of an increase on the numbers imported, they amounted to only three hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and ninety-two.

It will be an easy task for any person of ordinary intelligence, to picture to himself the state of morals and the social condition of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, during the several periods of its history to which we have referred; and what must have been the reflex influence of such a population upon the poor ignorant savages from Africa. To say that the moral character of the whites of Jamaica was the extreme reverse of that of the early settlers of the United States, would, perhaps, be strictly true. On this point, however, we shall not dwell. Our object is to see what were the results to the Africans introduced into that island, that their progress, intellectually and morally, may be contrasted with that of the colored population of the United States, that we may learn their qualifications to give to Africa a Christian civilization.

On this point we are not left to conjecture. The Rev. Mr. Philippo is very full upon the subject of their social and moral condition, and the facts stated by him in his history, before referred to, are confirmed by the missionary history of the island. He represents the slaves as having retained, in full practice, all the gross and debasing superstitions which were capable of being transferred from Africa, and that "upward of one hundred years after Jamaica became an appendage of the British crown, scarcely an effort had been made to instruct the slaves in the great doctrines and duties of Christianity; and although, in 1696, at the instance of the mother country, an act was passed by the local legislature, directing that all slave owners should instruct their negroes, and have them baptised, 'when fit for it,' it is evident, from the very terms in which the act was expressed, that it was designed to be, as it afterward proved, a dead letter—a mere political maneuver, intended to prevent the parent state from interfering in the management of the slaves."

From this time to 1770, a period of seventy-four years, the question of slave instruction lay dead in Jamaica, when Parliament put certain questions to Mr. Wedderburn as to the actual state of the religious instruction of slaves in the Island. He replied, "There are a few properties on which there are Moravian parsons; but in general there is no religious instruction." The same testimony was borne at the same time by Mr. Fuller, Agent of Jamaica, and two others, who, when asked, "What religious instructions are there for the negro slaves," answered, "We know of none such in Jamaica."

The Rev. Dr. Coke, who was sent out on a missionary exploration in 1787, says, "When I first landed in Jamaica, the form of Godliness was hardly visible; and its power, except in some few solitary instances, was totally unknown. Iniquity prevailed in all its forms. Both whites and blacks, to the number of between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand, were evidently living without hope and without God in the world. The language of the Apostle seems strikingly descriptive of their entire depravity: "There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. Their throats are an open sepulcher; with their tongue they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; their feet are swift to shed blood, and the way of peace they have not known."

In 1796, Mr. Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, in his place in the House of Commons, when speaking of sending missionaries to a certain point in Jamaica, said, "I speak from my own knowledge when I say, that they are cannibals, and that instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly *eat* him."

But this must complete our testimony of the effects of slavery upon its subjects in Jamaica. Mr. Philippo shows very conclusively, that the colored population of Jamaica, up to a very recent period, were elevated scarcely a jot above the natives of Africa. They had brought with them from Africa nearly all its gross and debasing superstitions, and all its social moral evils, making their new homes in Jamaica almost a *fac-simile* of those from which they had been torn in Africa.

One additional fact, however, must not be overlooked; and that is, that this fearful moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, and their total destitution of all the means of *religious instruction*, did not render them peaceful and contented, and secure the safety of their masters. This is abundantly proved in the fact, that during the period in which the Island was held by England, nearly thirty insurrections of the slaves took place. This fact, when contrasted with the comparatively few attempts at insurrection which have taken place in the United States, where religious instruction among the slaves has been common, should teach the slaveholder, that the perpetuation of the ignorance and degradation of the slaves, is no safeguard against servile insurrections, but that the teachings of Christianity, while it opens up the way of eternal life to the slave, and prepares him to take upon himself the duties of a freeman, do not necessarily endanger the safety of the master.

We have already stated the fact, that *commerce* is incapable of civilizing savage men. In the history of Jamaica, we have still more positive evidence that *slavery* is equally powerless in the promotion of civilization, and that it can only be considered as a link in the chain of events which may bring savage tribes into the midst of a civilized people, but that the civilization of savages, under such circumstances, is no more a necessary result of slavery, than it is of their imprisonment in the slave ship that transported them across the ocean, or the manacles that bound them during the voyage. Let us look at the facts. The English conquered the Island in 1665. The last testimony on the subject of the want of religious instruction for the slaves, dates in 1796. The Island, therefore, had been under British rule for a period of one hundred and forty years. If, then, slavery could elevate, and improve, and civilize its victims, surely there was time enough for it to have produced these fruits in the one hundred and forty years of British rule in Jamaica. But no such fruits had been borne. The slaves were still savage. Now, to these one hundred and forty years must be added at least twenty more of British rule, because missionary operations, introducing the Gospel, were not actively commenced until twenty years after this period. But if longer time is claimed, then add the one hundred and forty-six years during which the Island was under the Spaniards, to the one hundred and sixty under the British, and we have three hundred years of absolute slavery in Jamaica, and yet the slaves made no advancement in the scale of moral being beyond the condition in which they had been originally found in Africa. The results of African slavery in Jamaica, at the end of these three hundred years, is thus graphically described by Mr. Phillippo, "It may be emphatically said, that darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people. And if one ray of light glimmered in its midst, it only served to render the surrounding darkness still more visible—more clearly to exhibit the hideous abominations beneath which the Island groaned."

This particular reference has been made to this point, because of the fact, that many have a vague, indefinite, ill-defined notion, that the great good which has resulted to the slaves of the United States, in connection with slavery, *is a fruit of slavery*. And should it still be claimed, that the moral elevation attained by the African race in the United States, is a necessary fruit of slavery, with equal propriety it can be urged, that the moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, for the three hundred years preceding the beginning of the present century, was also due to slavery. Both these propositions cannot be true. The fact is, that they are untrue in both cases. That the intellectual and moral elevation of the slaves of the United States is not due to slavery, is amply proved by the fact, *that the least advancement has been made by them where slavery exists in its greatest strength, and where the Christian teacher has been the most carefully shut out from them*. And so far as Jamaica is concerned, it is true, beyond all doubt, that its slavery did not degrade its African population into savages. It found them savages, but was wholly powerless for their moral elevation, as long as the only

influences exerted over them were from a white population destitute of a Christian morality.

But if slavery, of itself, be powerless in the moral elevation of its subjects, it does not necessarily *prevent* all moral improvement. The truth of this proposition is fully sustained by the results in both the United States and Jamaica. It is further proved by the effects following the introduction of Christianity into all the British West India Islands. The work of missions in Jamaica, as well as in the other Islands, met with the most rancorous opposition from the planters, who viewed the religious instruction of the slaves as "incompatible with the existence of slavery." The mission work, though begun in Jamaica, by the Baptists, in 1813, and by the Methodists, under Dr. Coke, in 1789, and again in 1815—made but little progress, being resolutely opposed, until about 1820. In 1824, the Moravians, who had commenced in 1754, had four stations and four missionaries; the Wesleyan Methodists eight stations and eight missionaries; and the Baptists five stations and five missionaries.

Here then, are the dates of the commencement of regular religious instruction in Jamaica. Though overawed by the mother country, the planters still manifested bitter hostility to the religious instruction of the slaves, and in 1832, on a partial insurrection of the Blacks, their wrath overflowing all bounds, they destroyed fourteen chapels, with private houses and other property, belonging to the Baptists, amounting in value to \$115,250, and six chapels, belonging to the Methodists, and property worth \$30,000. Every species of cruelty and insult were inflicted upon the missionaries. The emancipation act of the next year, 1833, for ever put it out of the power of the planters to repeat such acts of injustice and violence, and the missionary work, uninterrupted, has been eminently successful. In 1842, says the Rev. Mr. Phillippo, the whole number of converts in Jamaica was one hundred thousand, out of a population of near half a million; the number of regular places of worship were two hundred and twenty-six, and the out stations swelling them to three hundred; while the number of missionaries were over one hundred and seventy, with nearly an equal number of native assistants. Thus stood the question of the religious instruction of the African population of the Island in 1842. Superstitions and immoralities were fast disappearing under the influence of the gospel, and the marriage relation was respected. But the fewness of the missionaries and teachers, in proportion to the population, rendering it impracticable to bring all under a course of instruction, makes the progress slower than is desirable, and leaves many portions of the Island still sunk in ignorance.

Previous to the year 1823, there were not more than one or two schools for the colored people on the whole Island. In 1824, the whole number of missionaries was seventeen, in a slave population of three hundred and eleven thousand, and a free colored population of forty thousand. Here, then, were the educational agencies of Jamaica, twenty-five years ago—not over nineteen missionaries and teachers to a population of three hundred and fifty-one thousand souls, or only one to each eighteen thousand four hundred.

In this brief outline of the history of Jamaica, ample evidence is furnished to show that slavery is powerless for good to its victims. It also proves, that a free Christianity can transform, and elevate, and civilize, even slaves. But, as a barbarous people cannot make much progress in a single generation, Jamaica, at present, can supply little aid in the bestowment of a Christian civilization upon Africa. In relation to Cuba, the tale is soon told. According to McQueen, its slave population, some years ago, was four hundred and twenty-five thousand, of whom one hundred and fifty thousand were females, and two hundred and seventy-five thousand were males. This disproportion of the sexes will sufficiently indicate the social evils growing out of such a condition of things. Since that period, the slave trade has received a great stimulus, by the opening of the English markets to slave-grown sugar, and the continued importation of slaves into Cuba, gives her at present six hundred thousand. She has also one hundred thousand free colored persons, and six hundred and ten thousand whites.

A report read before the London Anti-Slavery Society, 1843, represents the plantation slaves of Cuba as never receiving the least moral or religious instruction. "Most of them are baptized, because the curate's certificate of baptism serves as a title deed in the civil courts of the Island. They live, in general, in a state of concubinage. They have not the most distant idea of Christianity. The annual decrease by deaths over births is, among the plantation slaves, from ten to twelve per cent., and among the others from four to six per cent. The births exceed the deaths among the free colored population, from five to six per cent. The hours of labor were from four, A. M. until ten, P. M., including eighteen hours of the twenty-four, with an allowance of an hour for dinner."

An extract of a letter from an eyewitness in Cuba, which was addressed to Lord John Russell, and copied into Blackwood's Magazine, February, 1848, says, "It was crop time: the mills went round night and day. On every estate, (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact,) *every slave was worked under the whip, eighteen hours of the twenty-four*, and in the boiling-houses, from five to six, P. M., and from eleven o'clock till midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work, the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed it was necessary, to keep the overtaxed wretches awake. The six hours which they rested, they spent locked in a barracoon—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex. While at work, the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent bloodhounds. There was no marrying among the plantation slaves. On many estates females were entirely excluded. It was cheaper and less troublesome to buy than to raise slaves." * * * * * "Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination."

But a sense of propriety forbids that we should complete the quotation. Enough, truly, is given to show that the social and moral

condition of the slaves in Cuba is most deplorable. Nor have any ameliorating agencies been introduced to work a change. In a careful inspection of the operations of English and American missionary societies, we cannot find that any missionaries of a free Christianity have gained a foothold in Cuba. The exclusiveness of the established religion of Spain, which forbids freedom of religion, has, no doubt, been extended to her colony, and the poor African still toils beneath the lash of his merciless taskmaster, unconscious of his accountability to God, and of the offer of salvation through faith in the Saviour.

After this picture of the results accompanying the enslavement of the Africans in Cuba, no one will look to that island for aid in the civilization of Africa, until the self-denying missionaries of a free Christianity, are permitted to labor therein, for the instruction and salvation of the poor slave.

The slaves transported from Africa to Brazil have been subjected to influences as unfavorable to intellectual and moral improvement as those taken to any other country. Unfortunately for Brazil, a free Christianity was not secured to its early settlers from Europe, and the consequences have been deplorable. In accordance with the views and policy of the times, the most rigid and extreme measures were adopted to preserve unity of faith. Two ministers and fourteen students, sent out to Brazil by the Protestant Church of Geneva, were prevented, by the sanguinary fanaticism of the adherents of the established religion, from introducing a Bible Christianity. The leading men of the party of Huguenots, who fled to Brazil in 1555, from persecution in France, were thrown into prison, and after eight years' confinement, John Boles, the most prominent of the prisoners, was martyred, at Rio de Janeiro, "for the sake of terrifying his countrymen, if any of them should be lurking in those parts." The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, a few years since, attempted to enter into Brazil as a missionary field, but the effort, proving unsuccessful, has been abandoned.

Without the Bible as a moral instructor of youth, and without the presence of the advocates of a free Christianity, *as rivals to stimulate and liberalize the state religion*, it is not a matter of wonder that the Brazilians should have sunk in the scale of moral being. The rising generations, coming more or less under the influence of the native heathenism, could not attain as high a standard of intelligence and morals as those which had preceded them. It was to be expected, therefore, that the costly church edifices, erected by the pious zeal and profuse liberality of the early Portuguese emigrants, should often be perverted from the use to which they were originally consecrated; and, as is asserted in KIDDER'S BRAZIL, that the preaching of the gospel should not be known among the weekly services of the church; and, also, as is declared by SOUTHEY, that its practices should be those of polytheism and idolatry.

Details of the social and moral condition of the Brazilians is uncalled for on such an occasion as this. But, as connected with our investigations, we must be permitted to say, that such were the evil

tendencies of the religious system of Brazil, that, in 1843, the minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, addressed the Imperial Legislature as follows :

“The state of retrogression into which our clergy are falling is notorious. The necessity of adopting measures to remedy such an evil is also evident. On the 9th of September, 1842, the government addressed inquiries on this subject to the bishops and capitular vicars. Although complete answers have not been received from all of them, yet the following particulars are certified :

“The lack of priests who will dedicate themselves to the cure of souls, or who even offer themselves as candidates, is surprising. In the province of Pará, there are parishes which, for twelve years and upward, have had no pastor. The district of the river Negro, containing some fourteen settlements, has but one priest ; while that of the river Solimoens is in similar circumstances. In the three comarcas of Belem, and the Upper and the Lower Amazon, there are thirty-six vacant parishes. In Maranham, twenty-five churches have, at different times, been advertised as open for applications, without securing the offer of a single candidate.

“The bishop of St. Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese, and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere. In the diocese of Cuyaba, not a single church is provided with a settled curate, and those priests who officiate as stated supplies, treat the bishop’s efforts to instruct and improve them with great indifference.

“In the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but during nine years past not more than five or six priests have been ordained per year.

“It may be observed, that the numerical ratio of those priests who die, or become incompetent through age and infirmity, is two to one of those who receive ordination. Even among those who are ordained, few devote themselves to pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular pursuits, as a means of securing greater conveniences, emoluments, and *respect*, or they look out for chaplaincies, and other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements, without subjecting them to the *literary tests*, the trouble and the expense necessary to secure an ecclesiastical benefice.

“This is not the place to investigate the causes of such a state of things, but certain it is, that no persons of standing devote their sons to the priesthood. Most of those who seek the sacred office are indigent persons, who, by their poverty, are often prevented from pursuing the requisite studies. Without doubt, a principal reason why so few devote themselves to ecclesiastical pursuits, is to be found in the small income allowed them. Moreover, the perquisites established as the remuneration of certain clerical services, have resumed the voluntary character which they had in primitive times, and the priest who attempts to coerce his parishioners into payment of them, almost always renders himself odious, and gets little or nothing for his trouble.”

After such a picture of the inefficiency of the established religion of Brazil, and such evidences of its decay and want of sufficient vital energy to preserve it from extinction, it will excite no surprise to find the government, in 1836, proposing to employ *Moravian missionaries* to catechise the Indians of the interior.

An American in Brazil, writing to the Boston Advocate from Rio, Sept., 1849, says: "Every one, on his first landing at Rio, will be forced to the conclusion that all classes indiscriminately mingle together; all appearing on terms of the utmost equality. If there be any distinction, it is perceptible only between freedom and slavery. There are many blacks here quite wealthy and respectable, who amalgamate with the white families, and are received on a footing of perfect equality. The mechanical arts are at least half a century behind those of our own. The churches, some fifty in number, are falling to decay, which gives to the city a look of dilapidation; few are still observant of its ceremonies; but little or no attention is paid to the Sabbath. The stores do business, and the workshops are open the same as on other days. A few may be seen going to worship on the Sabbath, but a greater number resort to billiard tables in the afternoon, and to theaters at night. The slave population is estimated at three times the number of that of the whites. *They are allowed to go almost naked, the upper part of the body of both male and female entirely so.*"

Amid this general dearth of religious interest among the Brazilians, it will of course be expected that the moral training of the poor slave has been totally neglected, and that he yet remains in all the darkness and degradation of African heathenism. Treated as a beast of burden, he can know but little more of his moral responsibility to God than the mule he drives.*

We find no evidence, thus far, that will warrant our adopting any other agency than Christianity as a *primary* means of moral improvement for the African slave, or in the civilization of any barbarous people. Nor do we find any agency elsewhere than in the United States, upon which reliance can be placed for extending a Christian civilization to Africa.

"But," says one, "you have passed by an element of human progress, more certain in its operation than any you have named. Give the slave but *liberty*, and he will vindicate his humanity, and rise to an equality with his imperious oppressor. This language once seemed oracular, but time, which tests opinions and theories, has fully shown that there is no magic power in *liberty and equality*, any more than in *trade and commerce*, to originate civilization and produce a moral revolution among a savage or semi-barbarous people.

In proof of this proposition, it is only necessary, to our present

* The population of Brazil, at present, is as follows:

Slaves.....	3,000,000
Indians and Free Negroes.....	2,500,000
Whites.....	1,500,000

A large majority of the army, as well officers as privates, are of African descent.

purpose, to refer to Hayti, where, after enjoying liberty and equality for nearly half a century, the people have with apparent willingness submitted to despotism, and bid fair, if regenerating agencies from abroad are not introduced, to relapse into barbarism. Hayti, like Brazil and Cuba, having only a *fettered Christianity*, derived from France, made no provision for the instruction of the slaves. School houses for the people, *those earliest off-shoots of a free Christianity*, had not been provided by the French proprietors for their slaves. Hence, when the shackles of slavery were removed from the slaves of Hayti, by the act of the Constituent Assembly of France, *Intelligence* not prevailing, the *Industry* of the Island, formerly *compulsory*, was soon abandoned. Before emancipation, says Blackwood's Magazine, 1848, the exports from Hayti, of sugar alone, reached six hundred and seventy-two millions of pounds, and the consumption of French manufactures, in the island, reached \$49,450,000; but at present, she neither exports a single pound of sugar, nor imports a single article of manufactures.

In this result we have a startling confirmation of the truth of the proposition stated in our former lecture, when discussing the results of West India emancipation, *that intelligence must precede voluntary industry*.

Nor has the Christian world neglected to offer to Hayti a free Christianity, that she too might be blest by its transforming power. The offer was made and rejected, and this day she is reaping the bitter consequences. In 1835, the American Baptist Missionary Society made an attempt to establish a mission in Hayti, which at first promised success, but was abandoned in 1837. When Mr. Phillippo visited that Island in 1842, about a dozen members, fruits of this mission, yet remained.

As early as 1816 the English Wesleyans commenced a mission in Hayti, but in 1819 the missionary had to leave on account of persecution from the adherents of the prevailing religion. The converts, left behind, faithful to the truth, endured a series of persecutions, bitter and relentless, only stopping short of actual martyrdom. In 1830, they numbered only ninety members, under the care of a native preacher ordained in England.

The missionaries found ignorance and immorality predominant at this period, and, in one or more instances, had evidence sufficient afforded to prove that idolatry was practised in Hayti.

Between 1820 and 1829, a brisk emigration from the United States to Hayti, was conducted, transferring, according to Benjamin Lundy, eight thousand free colored persons to that Island, the expenses of six thousand of whom being paid by the Haytien government. But this infusion of Republican leaven, though equaling in number the whole of the emigrants sent to Liberia, seems not to have wrought any wonders in the civilization of their brother Republicans. All have quietly sunk down together into despotism.

The present social and moral condition of Hayti may be inferred from the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Graves, one of the editors of the *Christian Reflector*, who recently visited the Island.

“The Sabbath is the great business day of the week to the middle and lower classes, while the rich employ it as a holiday. It is the day especially devoted to military parade and marketing. The public squares are crowded with buyers and sellers, and all the shops thronged with customers as on no other day of the week. The marriage relation is, for the most part, sustained without a marriage contract, and divorce and polygamy are too common to excite attention. The faithful husband of a wife is a character so rare as to be a marked exception to the general rule. * * * * In a word, the institutions of the Sabbath and of marriage, are alike prostrate. Both have a name; but the divine object of neither is secured, with a vast majority of the population. As a legitimate consequence, profaneness, intemperance, and vulgarity extensively characterize all classes of society.”

The revolution in Hayti, which expelled Boyer from the Island, led to a correspondence having in view the introduction of missionaries from the United States. One of the letters from a prominent citizen of Jeremie, 1843, says, “You have exactly hit on the essential points in recommending the establishment of individual families by marriages, to serve as a basis of the great social family, the establishment of institutions for the diffusion of moral and religious instruction,” &c.

The inference to be drawn from this letter is, that in 1843, as in 1849, the marriage relation was not established and respected in Hayti.

Here, then, in Hayti, we have the proof that *liberty and equality*, enjoyed socially and politically, to its fullest extent, are also powerless in the promotion of civilization. Even its newly made emperor, we are told, still practises some heathenish rites allied to the *devil-worship* of Africa. We shall not go to despotic Hayti for agents to help to build up Republican Liberia.

But shall we go to Mexico for aid in the civilization of Africa? A part of the population, torn by the slave trade from Africa, was taken to Mexico. As our plan contemplates the tracing of the various lines of dispersion, so as to inquire into the results, a glance at Mexico will be appropriate, especially as we have in that government still a different phase of the movement exhibited to us for our instruction.

The character of the earlier Spanish adventurers and colonists in Mexico, and the means by which they subdued and enslaved the natives, is too familiar to all to need a notice at present. From a statement in Jay's Review of the Mexican War, we learn that the population of Mexico stands as follows:

Indians, . . .	4,000,000
Whites, . . .	1,000,000
Negroes, . . .	6,000
Mixed breeds, . . .	2,009,509 = 7,015,509.

Judge Jay, it must be remembered, is a warm abolitionist, and of course not disposed to asperse the character of the descendants of Africa anywhere. By this statement it will be perceived, that

one important object has been gained in Mexico, and which, in the opinion of many, constitutes the sole barrier to the colored man's elevation in the United States. We refer to *prejudice against color*. In Mexico it seems to have had no existence, but that, on the contrary, *amalgamation*, on an extended scale, has been practised, producing a population of *mixed breeds*, amounting to more than two millions of souls, out of seven millions, and reducing the pure negro stock, imported from Africa, to the meager number of six thousand. But this was not the only point gained for the African in Mexico. In due time, *liberty and equality* were also bestowed. Mexico, in 1813, threw off the yoke of Spain, and declared herself a Republic. But the attempt of Iturbide, to restore a despotism, raising up a race of military chieftains for his overthrow, afterward produced a struggle for power, resulting, in 1824, in the prohibition of the slave trade, and the adoption of a constitution declaring *free* all born after that date. Pedraza being elected President, Santa Anna at the head of the military, interposed, and placed in the presidential chair the defeated candidate, Guerrero, who, to strengthen himself, and the better to resist an invasion from Spain, then in process of execution, issued a decree, September, 1829, emancipating all the slaves. Thus was liberty and equality at once secured to the slaves of Mexico.

But Mexico, under Spain, had a *fettered Christianity*, transplanted to her soil, which is still retained, and she has carefully excluded from her limits a free Christianity, *with its schoolhouses and Bibles for the people*. The third article of her constitution of 1824, declares, that, "The religion of the Mexican nation is, and will be perpetually, the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibit the exercise of any other whatever." It is true, that when Bustamente, who deposed Guerrero, was overturned in 1833, by Santa Anna, this general attempted to pursue a liberal course of policy, and abolished ecclesiastical tithes, monastic vows, and the authority of the Pope; and took the education of youth out of the hands of the priests, appointing the professors in the five free colleges which he established, without regard to country or religious faith. But this effort to liberalize the religion of Mexico proved an abortion, the President, after putting down several revolts, being forced to readopt the old system as the established faith of Mexico.

Now let us see what has been gained for the Africans who were taken to Mexico. First, the abolition of *prejudice* and the adoption of *amalgamation*; and second, *emancipation with liberty and equality, including the right of suffrage*. Here, then, in the opinion of many, is a vast gain for the African, above what he has had granted to him elsewhere; because, though, in Hayti, he had liberty and equality, yet *all being African together*, there was not the *honor* conferred which was secured in Mexico, by making him the equal to the descendants of the proud Castilians who had conquered Montezuma. Now for the results of these favoring circumstances. But, happily for us, Judge Jay has drawn the picture of Mexico, for 1846, to the life.

"The Republic of Mexico had long been the prey of military

chieftains, who, in their struggles for power, and the perpetual revolutions they had excited, had exhausted the resources of the country. Without money, without credit, without a single frigate, without commerce, without union, and with a feeble population of seven or eight millions, composed chiefly of Indians and mixed breeds, scattered over immense regions, and for the most part sunk in ignorance, and sloth, Mexico was certainly not a very formidable enemy to the United States." In addition, the Judge states, that the exports from Mexico, in 1842, were, exclusive of gold and silver, \$1,500,000, or a little over forty-nine and a half cents per head to her population, excluding the Indians. To those who are curious in seeking for contrasts, it may be interesting to them to know, that the export commerce of Liberia is about \$100 per head for each emigrant residing in the Republic.

Here, now, are the results of the movements in Mexico. She adopted a Republican form of government, denounced the foreign slave trade, and emancipated her slaves, placing the whole population in a condition of social and political equality. But in thus obeying the dictates of one of the fundamental principles of the North American confederacy, which declares the *natural equality of mankind*, she overlooked the other still more important one, *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government*. This fatal error, the source of all her misfortunes, was the result of another oversight which Mexico committed in the outset of her career. In casting off the shackles of political despotism, she retained the *fettered form of Christianity* which had been adopted to give security to crowned heads, and which is so antagonistic to the spirit of republican institutions. This system, where not stimulated by the rivalry, of a free Christianity, makes no provision for general education. The Republican leaders, therefore, who wished to advance the general intelligence of the people, could not accomplish the task, nor take the educational interests out of the hands of those who had previously possessed their control. The ignorance of the masses being thus perpetuated, the severing of the ties binding the slave to the master left the freed man, in consequence of his ignorance, a constant prey to the intrigues of military chieftains. The right of suffrage was thus rendered almost utterly valueless in Mexico, because the decisions of the ballot-box were repeatedly set aside, and the power of the sword interposed to give to the nation its rulers. How far emancipation in Mexico may have arrested the prosperity of the nation, and tended to destroy its internal peace, rendering property and life insecure, by letting loose a large number of semibarbarous and savage men from the restraints of slavery, to be controlled at will by ambitious chieftains, we shall not wait to inquire. Our concern is with the effects produced upon the Africans by their transfer to Mexico. Their history tells us, that liberty and equality in Mexico, have fallen far short in the production of the good to the slave which his wants require; *not that these privileges are valueless and ought to be withheld, but because that the intellectual and moral culture, which impart intelligence and moral integrity, were not included in the gift.*

We have now completed the circuit of our investigations. The facts revealed in relation to the intensity of the wretchedness of the African race, not only in Africa itself, but in many of the countries to which they have been transported, are well calculated, at first view, to cause the philanthropic heart to shrink from making an effort to afford relief, because of the immensity of the obstacles to be overcome, before their deliverance can be accomplished. But, upon a closer view of the subject, it would seem that their dispersion to the different countries in which they have been enslaved, was permitted by Divine Providence, with the view of teaching the world some great lessons upon the subject of *the true elements of human progress*, and at the same time to make ample provision for the recovery of Africa from barbarism. Let us see.

Without at present recapitulating the facts upon which we base our opinions, or stating the arguments by which they may be supported, the investigations, just completed, afford much material to sustain the following conclusions :

- I. That a *Free Christianity*—revealing the individual responsibility of man to God, producing a pure morality, generating independence of thought, begetting a spirit of philanthropy, and teaching the natural equality of mankind—is the *primary* element of civilization and all useful human progress.
- II. That the *secondary* but essential elements of civilization and useful human progress, and which are included in and necessarily dependent, for their full development, upon the primary, are these :
 1. Liberty of conscience in the worship of God
 2. Both secular and religious education.
 3. Personal freedom.
 4. Social and political equality.
 5. The sacredness of the marriage relation, and the possession and control, by parents, of their offspring.
 6. The right of property in the fruits of industry.
 7. Time, for the operation and development of these elements.

From the possession of these rights and privileges, and their *constant exercise*, there necessarily is produced among men : First, The fear of God and just conceptions of moral responsibility. Second, An enlightenment of conscience, begetting moral integrity and a pure morality, thus securing confidence between man and man, and creating the basis of the safety of society. Third, A proper estimate of man's relations and responsibilities to his fellow-man. Fourth, Philanthropy, or the desire of the welfare of our neighbor. Fifth, The love of home and of offspring, leading to untiring efforts for their welfare. Sixth, Industry, to accumulate property for the individual's or the family's use. Seventh, Trade and commerce, to supply the artificial wants which advancing civilization creates.

The truth of these conclusions being admitted, it will follow, that just so far as the *primary* and *secondary* elements of civilization and useful human progress are possessed, or not possessed, in whole or in part, by a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, to the same

extent and in the same proportion may we expect them to advance or retrograde. And if we find that the progress or non-progress of the Africans, who form the subject of our inquiries, has been in the proportion in which they have enjoyed, or not enjoyed, all, or some, or none, of the blessings, rights, and privileges named, then we have evidence to establish the truth of the proposition, that the catalogue given, constitutes the elements of civilization. And further, it being thus proved, that a free Christianity necessarily begets intelligence and moral integrity, and therefore tends to restore man to his original state of knowledge and uprightness; and as such a moral condition necessarily secures the welfare of society, it follows, that our proposition, heretofore stated, is true, viz: *that Christianity, uncorrupted, is capable of restoring to man his lost happiness.* Now let us see how far our conclusions are sustained by the facts brought out in our investigations.

In the United States, where the *primary* element, a free Christianity, had its birth, the commencement of the slave's elevation is of equal date with his touching the shore. But as the *secondary* elements of progress have been mostly denied to the slave, and the primary often enjoyed but imperfectly, his advancement has been impeded, and his progress falls short of what it would have been, had his privileges been more extended, so as to include more of the elements of civilization. This view is fully sustained by the fact, that the greater advancement made by the *free colored man* over the *slave*, in the United States, is about in the proportion of the extent of the additional privileges which he has enjoyed.

In Jamaica, which, for three hundred years, was emphatically *without religion*, and where, during that time, neither the primary nor a single one of the secondary elements of civilization were in the possession of the slaves, no progress was made by them until a free Christianity was introduced and their religious education commenced. Nor was the progress rapid until the emancipation act, of 1833, put them in possession of an increased number of the elements of civilization. As they still lack an essential element, social and political equality, and as secular and religious education is not supplied to the extent of the wants of the population, retarding causes exist in Jamaica, which will prevent that high intellectual and moral development that should be secured to the African.

In Cuba and Brazil, it does not appear that the slaves possess either the primary or secondary elements of civilization, and, consequently, the first step in human progress remains to be taken. Unlike Jamaica, which was without religion, Cuba and Brazil had a fettered Christianity, but sunk so low as to have lost what little vitality it once possessed, and consequently, in these countries no one has cared for the soul of the slave, but he is still left to toil on in mental and moral night, and in anguish and in woe, until a premature death kindly wrests him from the oppressor's grasp.

In Hayti, one fact presents itself, of peculiar importance in proof of our proposition, that a free Christianity is the *primary* element of civilization. The primary element alone existed among the slaves

of the United States, and all the secondary, except liberty of conscience, and religious education, were wanting; yet progress was made, and an approximation to civilization attained. But in Hayti, for nearly half a century, *all the secondary elements of progress*, excepting liberty of conscience and secular and religious education, were in possession of the people, but instead of progress under these advantages, there has been retrogression; and no other sufficient reason can be assigned for it, but that the primary element, a free Christianity, which alone can develop the moral powers of man and impart life and activity to the secondary elements, was wholly excluded from the island. Had Hayti, when she became republican, possessed the primary element of progress, she would have been dotted over with schoolhouses and churches; secular and religious education would have prevailed everywhere; the sacredness of the marriage relation would have been respected; the welfare of offspring promoted; *voluntary industry* adopted, and the energies of its inhabitants roused into action. Under these circumstances despotism could not have reëntered the island.

The facts in relation to the colored population of Mexico, are so strictly the same with those of Hayti, that we need not state them. Twenty years' possession of nearly all the secondary elements of civilization, but in complete destitution of the primary, has scarcely impelled them forward a step beyond their original barbarism. To the white population of Mexico, the results have been very similar to what has occurred in Brazil. In both countries, there is danger, it would seem, *from the natural tendencies of fallen human nature to barbarism*, that the civilization transplanted from Europe, in the absence of the primary element of progress, may greatly retrograde, in consequence of the overpowering influence of heathenism, by which it is surrounded. This remark will equally apply to nearly all the South American governments, which, on throwing off the European yoke of political despotism, and giving freedom to the slave, made no provision for public education, either secular or religious.

But this examination of the different results that have grown out of the various degrees, in which the African has been brought under the influence of the elements of civilization, in the countries where he has been enslaved, may now be closed. Facts enough are given, certainly, to teach us important lessons in relation to the elements of useful human progress—facts enough to show that Christianity is the primary element of civilization; not Christianity, as fettered and made an engine of despotic sway over mankind, holding them in ignorance of their rights and obligations; but a free Christianity, based upon the Bible, demanding for men, equal rights and liberty of conscience, and teaching them that respect for the rights of others, and that moral integrity which gives security to governments, based upon law—facts enough, too, to prove, that unless all the elements of progress, *primary and secondary*, be enjoyed unrestrained, and in *full exercise*, by a people, there will exist impediments to their advancement—facts enough, further, to prove that it is dangerous to

withhold from men, the elements of *moral* progress, when conferring upon them those of social and political advancement—and facts enough, furthermore, to prove, that for a civilized community, or state, or nation, to admit a barbarous or semi-barbarous people into its bosom, or to retain them when forced upon it, without supplying to them the elements of intellectual and moral elevation, is to cherish an agent antagonistic to civilization, and which must react unfavorably upon itself, in retarding, if not preventing, its further prosperity.

Our investigations also show, that the African race is not in possession of all the elements of civilization in any of the countries to which they have been transported. A further investigation would show that there is no prospect, at present, of their ever attaining them in these countries. But as their possession and free exercise, is essential to the production of the highest mental and moral developments of which the race is susceptible, the establishment of the Republic of Liberia, becomes a matter of the highest importance, and most profound interest to the colored race.

In the Republic of Liberia, and in Liberia only, can the *colored man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. In the Republic of the United States, and in the United States only, can the *white man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. Here are two facts, not to be controverted. There exists at present, no European government, whose population possesses all these elements of progress. France has put herself in possession of the secondary, but is destitute of the primary. England may be said, in a good degree, to possess the primary, but withholds a part of the secondary from a large portion of her people. We repeat the assertion, therefore, that the Republic of the United States, is the only nation under the sun, where the *white man* can enjoy all the elements of useful human progress, and that the Republic of Liberia, is the only point, on the whole earth, where the *colored man* can enjoy them. And, further, we assert, that the United States is the only country, where the colored man has had the opportunity of *enjoying any part of these blessings, and of witnessing the workings of the whole, and of comprehending their nature, and learning their value.*

And now we are prepared also to assert, that the United States, only, of all the governments of the earth, *possesses the necessary agents, in the persons of intelligent and industrious colored men, to recover Africa from barbarism, and to bestow upon that benighted land, as we are now doing in Liberia, all the elements necessary to the production of the highest degree of civilization, and of thus securing to her, the greatest amount of prosperity, and of happiness.*

Here, then, are the results of bringing together, on the soil of the United States, the highest developments of Christian intelligence and integrity, and the lowest form of pagan ignorance and depravity. Here are the results of the experiment which, seemingly, was to test

the capability of a free Christianity to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined—proving the unity and natural equality of the human race. Here is ample testimony, to prove the sufficiency of a pure Christianity, to restore to man his lost happiness. And here, now, is unfolded to view, the solution of the great question involved in all our investigations, *the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.*

The people of Liberia are themselves a standing wonder to the world. The greater part of them were slaves, until the hour they left our shores, and of all men in the world, would have been pronounced, and were pronounced, the least able to accomplish the work they were sent to perform. But the elements of progress were borne along with them. The missionaries of a free Christianity offered themselves as a willing sacrifice, from year to year, to plant the elements of civilization in Africa, that there, amid moral darkness and degradation, the evidence might be furnished, that the religion of their Lord and Master was divine; and able, not only, to secure eternal life to the soul of the believer, but to redeem the world from oppression and woe.

Europe stands astonished at the mighty progress of the United States, in all that is ennobling and great. Its people imitate our example, and aim at our results, without understanding the secret of our success, and therefore fail. They seem to be wholly incapable of comprehending the nature of our free institutions. Liberty, under the restraints of law, is an enigma they cannot solve. Thus far, we have stood alone, as a monument of the power of Republican Institutions, to advance the welfare of man. And, indeed, such seemed to be our unique position, that we were ready to boast that only the Anglo-Saxon could be safely free. But now Liberia, as if to rebuke us for our pride, stands forward, and begins to loom up as another monument of the power of free institutions. He that was once a poor slave, and cowered beneath the voice of the white man, now stands erect in Liberia, like his own native palm tree, nor bows in meek submission but to the voice of the Eternal.

The citizens of Liberia are beginning to realize the relations and responsibilities of their new position, and call loudly for help to execute the high destiny to which they are called. Said the Rev. Mr. Paine, of Liberia, when on a visit to New York, with President Roberts, 1848: "Nearly every one of the officers, from the least even to the greatest, are communicants in some evangelical church, and adorn their life by a holy walk and conversation. You do not find them on the Sabbath day, strolling about the streets, and seeking for pleasure, as I have seen your people in this country, but they are found in the school and sanctuary. As an evidence of their being a strictly moral and religious people, he would state, that out of eleven members in the House of Representatives, and six in the Senate, seventeen in all, only one was not a professor of religion. Intelligent Liberians," continued Mr. Paine, "are impressed with the conviction, that the Supreme Disposer of events, has called them to a

high mission; that they have transferred Plymouth to Africa, and that civilization, republicanism, and Christianity, are to proceed from them over a vast continent that lies in the shadow of death. They are nerving themselves to the fulfillment of such a destiny. They have grasped the great idea, and have incorporated it with the foundations of the Republic."

A P P E N D I X .

 Attention is directed to the following movement :

OHIO IN AFRICA.

At a meeting of colored citizens of Cincinnati, held on the 14th inst., the following preamble and resolutions were offered and adopted :

Whereas, Believing, that with all the exertions on our part, and the assistance of those friendly to our elevation, we must despair of ever seeing the prejudice manifested against our people done away in the United States, for centuries yet to come, from two ostensible reasons :

First, As no colored persons ever voluntarily emigrated to this country, but were brought here in chains, consequently, we that are here, are either slaves or their descendants; and being thus situated, the vain *pride* of the white race will never admit the *social equality* of a people who are their bondsmen, or whose fathers have been their slaves.

Second, We believe all nations, or men, are respected according to their ability to control, by *numbers*, or *intelligence*; we, possessing neither, can never expect to enjoy a *political equality* where we must fail to command and enforce respect.

Under these considerations, having feelings and aspirations such as other men, we feel it to be a duty which we owe to posterity, to seek a home where we may be free and our children reared under the blessings of liberty. Other nations have colonized and prospered, and why not we? When blessed with the same advantages, we are equal to any and inferior to none. Therefore,

Resolved, That we believe that Liberia offers to the oppressed children of Africa a home where they may be free: and that it is the only place where we can establish a nationality, and be acknowledged as men by the nations of the earth.

Resolved, That the present meeting enter into the organization of an Association for the purpose of emigrating to the territory now being purchased on the coast of Africa, by CHARLES McMICKEN, Esq., of this city, for the colored people of Ohio.

Resolved, That we believe it expedient, before emigrating to Liberia, to send out efficient agents to examine the country, and bring back some satisfactory report to our people.

Resolved, That this preamble and resolutions be published in several of the papers of this city.

ELIAS P. WALKER, Chairman.

WM. BYRD, Secretary.

The following important letter, from the Rev. J. P. PINNEY, formerly Governor of Liberia, was not received in time for insertion in the proper place :

DAVID CHRISTY, Esq.

Dear Brother—Your interesting letter of the 16th ult., lingered, and then my absence for a few days, to attend a meeting at Annapolis, delayed a reply until it is probably too late to do you a service. In Mr. Tracy's pamphlet, entitled "Missions in Africa," there is a note with some interesting facts relative to cannibalism.

I never saw men eating human flesh, but have heard of its being done in the vicinity of Liberia.

The letters of Sion Harris and Rev. G. Brown, who were attacked at the mission of the M. E. Church, at Heddington, in 1840, by Gotorah, the famous Condo warrior, (he had threatened to eat the missionary), state that the dried limbs of men slain previously were thrown away in their flight.

This same warrior visited Gov. Buchanan, in 1839, to treat for a peace, and while there gave, in public council, as an objection to making peace, that he would have nobody to eat.

In 1835, while I was agent of the Colonization Society, I sent two Methodist ministers, who were men of high standing, each having before been elected to the office of Vice Governor of the Colony, as commissioners to negotiate a peace between the Veys and Condoes. While they were at Bo-poro, the chief town of the Condo nation, they stated that human flesh was offered in the market for food.

In 1833, I made a tour sixty or seventy miles, to a king north-east of the Bassa Cove Colony. My purpose was to proceed several hundred miles, but the king resolutely refused leave, and no bribe or importunity prevailed to change his decision. The reason assigned was, that as I came with letters from the Governor, the King was responsible for my safety, and the neighboring tribe, Pessa men, would kill and eat me.

The missionaries from England to Coomassie, capital of Ashantee, stated in their published journal, in 1841, that they saw men returning from the market with human limbs for food.

Of the Gallinas, I know nothing from actual observation. I imagine that Cape Mount would furnish you as good a point for a settlement. By occupying Gallinas, you would more surely exterminate the greatest slave mart in western Africa.

Very respectfully, yours,

J. B. PINNEY.

New York, March 2, 1850.



