industry may effectually remove. It should be remembered, that the cause of colonization in New England has never been sustained by a permanent organization located in the midst of us, and wielding all those means of acting on public sentiment, which other societies find indispensible to success. There have been some local associations, too small to act steadily through the year, and from year to year, either by agencies, by the press, or in any other mode, and there have been occasional visits of agents from the parent society; but there has been no permanent system pleading our cause, and securing friends and support continually throughout our whole territory. The cause has been left, for the most part, to stand or fall by such knowledge of its merits, as the newspapers and other channels of information might happen to diffuse. Thus left to itself, its works praised it, and it made many friends.

"Opposition, however, for the last ten years, has not been wanting in system or industry, or extent, or continuity of effort. We do not speak by way of crimination or complaint; for our fellow citizens have an undoubted right to be industrious in disseminating what they believe to be the truth. But, in order to understand our own position, we must remember, that for ten years past, our opponents have been fully organized, and have been systematically and industriously using, in every part of the commonwealth and New England, the influence of agencies, of the press, and of other means by which public sentiment is moulded. Nor is this all. Soon after this organized opposition commenced, the greater part of our friends among the clergy and many of our other friends found it necessary, as they thought, to become practically neutral, for the sake of peace. Pastors of churches who had annually advocated our cause and taken up collections for its support, thought it necessary to stop, and not only to become silent themselves, but to exclude the subject wholly from their pulpits, and as far as in their power, from the minds of their people, lest their churches should be rent by the violence of party, and all the interests of piety should be brought low. This fact also, we mention without approving or condemning it, and simply as one of the facts which explain our present position."

In the following passage Mr. Tracey alludes to a most important fact, viz: That in forming an estimate of the colony we are too apt to compare it and the character of its people with the most enlightened communities in the long civilized and temperate regions of the world, which certainly is any thing but fair. Just compare the Liberians in point of enterprise, industry, intelligence and morals, with even the white inhabitants of any—yes, *any* portion of the tropical world, and we fear not the result. Our own personal observation extends to Trinidad de Cuba, and its port Cassilda, to Aux Cayes and Port au Prince in Hayti, and to the island and port of St. Thomas, and we hesitate not to declare our preference for the Liberian colonies to either. True, there is not so much wealth there, and not so many wealthy people, but then there are not so many poor, and the poor are not so degraded and wretched. And in point of morals the Liberians are far in advance.

"The state of the colony, too, is encouraging. But on this point there is a false rule of judging, which needs to be set aside. The colony is only about twenty years old. It is composed of emancipated slaves and free coloured people from the United States, nearly all of whom were so poor that their passage had to be paid by charity. They have had to struggle with all the difficulties of a new settlement, with primitive forests and savage beasts and savage men. No reasonable person will expect their

towns to equal those of New England, where men of giant minds and their descendants have been making improvements for two centuries. From the necessity of the case, the colony must appear a wretched place to a thoroughbred New Englander who never saw any other part of the world, and who compares it with his own almost faultless home. The judgments of such men, formed while suffering from the coast fever and home sickness, must, of course, be unfavourable. It is certain, too, that the coloured man, who emigrates to Africa, like the white man who removes to the West, must encounter hardships and privations which he might have avoided by remaining quiet in his old home, with no attempt to improve his condition. It is certain, too, that the colony has not been so well managed as it would have been, had the colonists been better, and abler, and richer men, and had the society possessed, from the beginning, all the information it has acquired by twenty years of experience and inquiry; and there are, doubtless, defects there now, growing out of erroneous management. It must also be conceded, that this colony, like all others that ever have been or ever can be planted, consists in part of persons destitute of piety; and that the style of piety which prevails there is much the same as among people of similar attainments in the United States, containing a larger proportion of animal excitement, self-deception, and inconsistent conduct, than is found in the best churches in this country. All these things might safely be conceded from the nature of the case, even if there were no evidence in relation to them.

"Still the testimony is conclusive that the colony is fulfilling all reasonable expectations. Captain Stoll, of the British Navy, thinks it the only institution on the coast of Africa which promises to be successful in raising the slave into a freeman, extinguishing the slave trade, and promoting the religious and moral improvement of Africa at large. In his opinion, colonies on the principle of Liberia ought to be established as soon as possible, if we wish to serve Africa, and the materials of such colonies can be procured only from the United States.

"Colonel Campbell, for three years Governor of the British colony at Sierra Leone, bears witness to the intellectual and moral superiority of the Liberians over the people of his own colony, and asserts that it is by the establishment of such colonies as Liberia, that the civilization of Africa will be effected.

"The Rev. Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London Missionary Society's missions in South Africa, says of Liberia: 'I regard this settlement as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half a dozen such colonies conducted on christian principles might be the means, under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe.'

"Of the same character is the testimony of such Americans as, from their personal acquaintance with the facts, their capacity for appreciating them, and their freedom from temptations to judge unfavourably, are most worthy of our confidence. Official despatches and other accounts from the colony confirm this testimony. In short, there is no reason to doubt, that with all its defects, it is far the best specimen of a civilized and christian community in that part of the world, and excepting, perhaps, some of the white settlements in South Africa, superior to any other, on that whole continent. Even if we take the most unfriendly statements ever made as unexaggerated truth, the colonists are far superior in morals, piety, education, and all civilized customs, to the emancipated slaves of the British West Indies. And yet the latter are said to be doing well, and it is truly said, for they are rapidly improving."

Maryland Historical Society

The Maryland State Colonization Society Papers

XII. Newspapers
A. Maryland Colonization Journal

2. June 1841 (n.s. I, 1)—May 1861 (n.s. X, 24)

1843