



THE LIBERIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE LIBERIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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MESSAGE FROM EDWIN O.K. FAHNBULLER
PRESIDENT, LIBERIAN HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

We are pleased to present to the public the first issue of our Society's Journal - The Liberian Historical Review. With this publication the Liberian Historical Society, an organization which was formally founded on May 17, 1964, ✓ launches out on one of its ambitious projects - to publish annually a Review containing articles and features contributed by members and guest writers.

It has been said that those who forget history are condemned to repeat it. It was with this awareness that we organized ourselves six months ago in order to explore the past and encourage and promote the study of history and its related disciplines in connection with our nation and its people. If our enquiries can yield fresh results; if interest can be sparked in the valuable elements in our history so that efforts are coordinated for their preservation, enrichment and the creation of new forms; and if we can give impetus to historical

curiosity, the society's existence would have been justified.

But not for us alone is this task of research and discovery. It is for all who love and appreciate the sense of history and who are willing to participate collectively or individually in this fascinating adventure so indispensable in our fast developing and dynamic cultural setting. This is your invitation to join the Liberian Historical Society.

Whence, What and Whither, have been the eternal questions of man and as he has responded to the challenges of his times to that extent has he carved for himself a comfortable niche in the annals of civilization and thereby influenced human progress and development.

May our response to the challenges of our times be far-reaching so that we may with renewed interest, energy and dedication help to deepen, broaden and enrich our milieu.

MEET THE LIBERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

by

Bandeale Bicaise
Director of Home Arts
Department of Education

The Liberian Historical Society extends greetings to
all its readers.

I. Officers:

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	Emmanuel Johnson

We are hopeful that the Liberian Historical Society
will receive not only the moral support of citizens and
foreigners in our land, but also offer their full cooperations
in all ways.

EDITORIAL

PRESERVING OUR RICH HERITAGE

The history of Liberia is rich with examples of the honest desire of citizens to unite, defend and protect this cherished land of ours. Of men of honor, fortitude and patriotism who would rather die than see the land they loved pass into the hands of aggressive, land hungry foreign powers.

The history of Liberia goes far beyond the 140 years of its existence as a country. The religious influence of early Arab traders, the political repercussions after the disappearance of ancient African kingdoms, and the pillage of European explorers, each left its mark on the culture of the early inhabitants. An equally important factor is the similarity yet unique features of the history, culture and customs of the 28 tribal groups of this land. Other than the record of drums, artifacts and the spoken word, little has been recorded about these tribes.

The Unification Program initiated by President William V.S. Tubman bespeaks the need to link the long disconnected chain of events in Liberian history. The Liberian Historical Society was organized in 1963 for the purpose of searching for, organizing and presenting historical facts about the country so as to stimulate Liberians to write about their homeland and foreigners to appreciate the rich cultural heritage of ours.

THE NEEDS FOR RESEARCH IN LIBERIA

by

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Liberia Library

In this article, I shall attempt to discuss and analyze the needs for research in Liberia. The weaknesses will be pointed out, suggestions and recommendations will be made as to how we, as a people, can encourage research among Liberian students and scholars. Specific characteristics of research, and an outline of a few general Research tools will be mentioned. Finally, I shall conclude by indicating the areas in which we should commence research.

Definition and Statement of Problem:

In a growing nation as our, there are urgent needs for up-to-date research and research tools in the Liberian Society. The proper evaluation of a nation's progress and development depends upon the types of research projects in process or conducted. Research is very essential and must be handled and conducted by trained and skillful individuals. These individuals must be quite familiar with revolutions and happenings in the society.

Research as defined by Webster's New International Dictionary consists of "careful or critical inquiry or examination in seeking facts or principles, diligent investigation in order to ascertain something." This definition includes the complete investigation of human resources and progress. Research is

the manipulation of things, concepts or symbols for the purpose of generalizing to extend, correct, or verify knowledge, whether that knowledge aids in the construction of a theory or in the practice of an art. The mechanic or the physician therefore is a research worker only when he attempts to generalize about all automobile or all patients of a given class.

In a community where constant research is conducted, the quality of the research and the community itself is improved. Having been nourished by the enthusiasm and frequent efforts of forward-looking leaders, the infant research movement has experienced considerable growth. Dedicated men have accomplished miracles, but much work remains to be done. The growing pains, problems, and weaknesses common to other areas of human progress in the early days of their development have also plagued research. Platoons of well-trained investigators did not spring up overnight to present the world with flawless solutions to the problems of our civilization. Each generation of research scholars has had to build upon the work of its predecessors--correcting errors when possible, filling in gaps, and gradually constructing a body of concepts that are more useful in solving problems than the guesswork of the laymen. Under the leadership of able men, the research movement has made slow but promising progress.

Needs and Weaknesses in our Society:

On our national scene and in the area of research, what has been done in evaluating our culture, writing history textbooks for the Liberian population, or even in politics and government? Obviously, very little research is being carried on in Liberia. Even the little which is being conducted is not known to the students and scholars; it is done on a narrow and crude scale and very much unattractive. When the question of research comes into focus, one is apt to know the role it plays in the advancement of the national culture and society; also, its improvement and development are considered. It would seem to me that we are further removed from conducting any sound research projects of our own and to better our conditions. The reasons are obvious.

The failure on the part of our society and government to collect and preserve data is the greatest hindrance to our national progress. A research worker today in Liberia is like a stranger in a strange land. We lack the information, encouragement, and the finance. On the other hand, we are aware that there is tremendous need for careful and sound research in Liberia today than ever before.

What are we doing with information in Liberia? Many times I have pondered over this question. It is a very serious question to consider. Why do people preserve information? In Liberia, we have not reached the stage to know the actual values of stored data. Without secured and stored information, research is impossible. We destroy more informa-

tion than we preserve. This one weakness can be attributed to the fact that Liberia lacks trained archivists and librarians. The actual and factual History of Liberia has never been written and will never be written. All of our retrospective data have been destroyed. The present and future History of Liberia will depend upon the kind of information this generation will preserve. We must be convinced that Research opens the doors to the past and holds the key to the future. Because of the lack of research ability and skills, all of the relevant data on the history and culture of Liberia have all disappeared and have slipped into the hands of the foreigners. We always feel proud to invite foreign research teams into the country to perform a job which we can and are capable of performing. This sounds ridiculous, but it usually happens. It is about time that we encourage and invite our own research teams and spend less.

It was quite embarrassing and yet not too surprising when a student wanted to get information on the Speakers of the House of Representatives from 1847 to date. It was very difficult to lay hands on such a vital information which some eager student wanted. In the absence of reliable records, this was a difficult question to answer. It was a research question which required search and the examination of some stored records.

Let us now face the reality of research. There are many areas in Liberia which need searching and researching. Essential among them

are Public Administration, Government and Law, Education, and History. There is much work to be done in the line of improving the quality of each of these areas. The weaknesses which are existing within these areas are due to our ignorance in the philosophical principles, operation, and functions of them. Research is a province of government in most modern countries. Support for research may be expected to increase economic order.

The great weaknesses which have impeded research in Liberia are (1) the lack of the written and preserved information; (2) the lack of financial assistance to indigenous researchers; (3) the lack of encouragement from the Government as a whole and private institutions. These and other weaknesses have largely contributed toward the impossibility of research of any kind in Liberia. There is a constant resistance in Liberia, especially on the part of Government Departments, to cooperate when it comes to the question of research proposed by a Liberian, and permission to examine their records. Those who govern and direct the affairs of the Liberian activities are cognizant of the needs for research in Liberia. Of course, each government department has a few research assistants. Our main concern here is what is being published and how can it be made available to the Liberian scholars who are in need of information and at the sametime engaged in research?

It is very amazing to observe that Liberia does not possess any work produced from sound, valid, and

reliable research. Of course, there are numerous works and other materials published on Liberia, but they have limited themselves and are narrow in scope and coverage because of the inaccessibility of data. How do we expect the Liberian students and scholars to keep abreast of current and retrospective developments in Liberia and its neighbouring countries? It is quite evident that we know very little of the true History of our own country. Others have been able to study our society and history through the process of research grants extended by foreign governments. After the research is conducted and finalized, what benefits does Liberia get from such research projects? Sometimes, we get absolute disgrace, embarrassment, and disappointment. Should these things happen when we can conduct our own research projects and find out our own weakness?

Liberian scholars should become aware of the urgent needs of the preservation of data which will stimulate research. Government departments should begin now to encourage research workers by providing projects; publish findings and make such information available to students and scholars who are interested in research. The Government of Liberia should encourage research both on the national and international levels. Don't let us be quite satisfied with the foreigners coming into the country, taking out the information, and publishing same at our detriments.

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In order to conduct and carry out valid and reliable research projects in Liberia, there should be certain factors present which are quite evident of any type of research project. They are (1) well-organized libraries on the different levels; (2) Government documents which constitute the best source for the history of the Liberian people, particularly, on the political, social, educational, economic and military matters. They are also the primary sources for most statistics and form the basis for higher research. Other values include authoritative-ness, up-to-dateness, availability, low cost, and readability; trained and skillful research workers, and the orientation of the techniques of research.

Research Tools:

To carry on any type of research, data are gathered from which the hypothesis may be tested. Many and varied research tools have been developed to aid in the acquisition of data. They are of many and different kinds and employ distinctive manners of describing and quantifying the data. Each tool is particularly appropriate for certain sources of data, yielding information of the kind and in the form that would be most effectively used. These research tools are as follows:

- (1) Inquiry Forms; (2) the Questionnaire; (3) the Opinionnaire or Attitude Scale; (4) Observation; (5) the Interview; (6) Sociometry

(7) Guess-who Technique; (8) Social-Distance Scale.

The tools of research are the instruments that provide for the collection of data upon which hypotheses may be tested. From the great variety of these tools the research chooses those which are most appropriate to the sources of data, and which provide the kinds and forms of information that would be most useful. The quantification of these data makes possible more precise analysis and interpretation.

Characteristics of Research:

An attempt to summarize some of the characteristics of research may clarify many of the concepts of its methodology.

- (1) Research gathers new knowledge or data from primary or firsthand sources.
- (2) Research is expert, systematic, and accurate investigation.
- (3) Research is logical and objective, applying every possible test to verify the data collected and the procedures employed.
- (4) Research endeavors to organize data in quantitative terms, if possible, and to express them as numerical measures.
- (5) Research is patient and unhurried.
- (6) Research is carefully recorded and reported.

Conclusion:

Many undesirable attitudes toward research have developed because the public is not well-informed about scientific procedures

and objectives. Our country must take steps to fill this intellectual vacuum. If citizens remain ignorant of research, they may impede social development and endanger national survival. In a democracy, all men play a part in determining policies. If they do not appreciate the value of scientific investigation, they will not make intelligent decisions when asked to support research projects. Scientific understanding, there, cannot remain the exclusive privilege of an intellectual elite. If citizens acquire sufficient knowledge of research to see the relationship between it and their individual and national well-being, they will be more willing to assume the responsibilities necessary to promote scientific investigation.

The specific areas which need to claim our national and immediate attention in Liberia are (1) Law and Government; (2) Education; (3) Politics; (4) Military matters; (5) Hospitals and Public sanitation; (6) Public Administration, and many other areas need to be developed through the process of Research.

REMINISCENCE

by

Lydia Z. Caine, Assistant
Director, Higher Education
and Textbook Research
Department of Education
R. L.

Dear Africa, sweet land of hope,
When first by God's own hand He made
your mountains high, your trees so
tall,
Your riches vast, your rivers wide.

From day to day, the children blest,
With bounties from good nature's
store;
They toiled not much for what to eat,
For life was simple, gay and free.

They knew no guns, they heard no
shots;
The monarch's rule none did
challenge;
In matters daring, bold and true,
The Sage's pardon no one dared.

At night the wooded village fires
All twinkled "mui mui," through the
cracks
The bamboos walls, and grassy roofs,
Re-echoed folk songs here and there.

As daylight cleared the village
fires
The men, and women and children all,
with baskets fishnets, chicken
coups,
"To work, we'll go; no time to waste."

So sweet was life, on this dear land,
Till dawned the gloom on Africa's
shores;
The wolves did come, the sheep did
flee,
Some west, some east, some north,
some south.

"Good-bye, dear land," now came the
cry,
"Thy foggy mountains, wooded banks,
Thy fishywaters, lofty hills,
No more we'll see; good-bye,
good-bye."

So harsh the tone of voices there,
On board the smoky vessel strong;
They called "hey niggers, go down
below
Strange land, your feet are bound to
tread"!

On platforms high, the strangers
gaze
In faces void of kindness;
Up, step the mes-terers, one--
by--one
Great sons and daughters slaves
to be.

In cornfields wide, great princes
grouched,
The whip went snap; their backs
to bruise;
With upward look through tear-
born eyes
Indentured slaves were now the
chiefs.

At night in cabin number ONE
The princesses and the princes
all,
Old mon, old pop, the little joe
All dressed and ready for the
fun!

"Dear Africa, don't mourn our
loss;
Your place, the Master has
designed;
For you did shelter Jesus Christ
When Herod sought his life to
take."

"Ah yes, I know, dear children
all,
Your tears must dry the Lord
hath said,
He'll bless you more, for
certainty
For you did bear the saviour's
cross."

So God did send a Moses down,
To cornfield masters here and
there;
"You set my children free at
once
Your cornfields all, I'll set
ablaze"!

Then came the cry, 'cross ocean
depths
"Come home, come home, ye weary
ones.
The homeland fire did never
quench
Since centuries ago you left."

So joyful now is Africa,
Be-decked with glories once
bereft;
Her children strong, her riches
vast,
Her future greatness, sucompared.
Join hands and sing, ye Africa's
sons,
Your mother Africa behold;
The ties once broke, the Lord
had mend
No need to fight, let's all unite.

WAS LIBERIA A COLONY OF THE UNITED STATES?

by

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Department of Education
R. L.

The premature birth of the Republic of Liberia in 1847 was agitated by the need to protect her existence and defend her integrity. Like all premature infants, more attention and consideration was necessary for her survival. The epidemic of Africa's partitioning in the late 19th century almost resulted in political and economic strangulation of the little Republic. The existence of a free Negro state on the "primitive" continent was viewed by many, even the United States who was Liberia's closest friend, as a threat to western economic imperialism. The 15 years delay in extending recognition to an independent Liberia by the United States was due primarily to the fact that American administrations at the time were more sympathetic to economic interest of the southern states than to the political ambitions of the Negro Republic.¹ European governments on the other hand viewed our existence as an encouragement to other Africans in their desire for freedom and human dignity, and therefore a threat to European control. Unable to wipe Liberia from the map, these European powers went to no limit in spreading propaganda and indoctrinating their subjects in the belief that the

independence of Liberia was a sham for in reality it was and had always been a colony of the United States.. Any argument for or against this allegation must find evidence in the economic plight of Liberia before the Tubman Era and the influence of the United States in helping to solve its problems.

There were three periods in Liberian history when conditions were so depressing that it had no choice but to turn to the United States for advice and help or be crushed by European imperialists. First was during the colonial period. The word "colonial" gives the impression that Liberia was a possession of the United States. The use of the expression "colony" as related to Liberia's early history refers to the group of American Negroes who migrated to these shores in search of a haven from political and economic oppression. As American citizens the officials (if not the liberated Americans Negroes) were entitled to protection by the United States Government. The presence in Liberia of direct U.S. Government agents was a means of insuring such protection. The founding and governing of Liberia during the colonial period was purely a private venture, although the United States Government frequently gave financial support and political advice to the parent organization - the American Colonization Society.

1. Raymond W. Bixler, The Foreign Policy of the United States in Liberia, 1957

The misconception of the colonial status of Liberia before 1847 can be attributed in part to the dual meaning of the word "colony." The New Standard Encyclopedia distinguishes two definitions of the term:

- (a) "A colony is a populated area held and governed by an outside country. It is a subject territory under the sovereignty (complete control) of the outside country, which rules it either with or without allowing some measure of local self-government."
- (b) "Colony also means a group of people who migrate from their homes to another land but remain under the rule of their native country."²

The 27 years pre-independence period in Liberian history must therefore be regarded as one in which the colonists, migrating from their homeland, were under the control of the American Colonization Society and received the protection of the United States Government, and not as a period in which Liberia was held, governed and controlled by the United States Government.

The second critical period in Liberian history which stimulated the insinuating accusation that she was an American colony was between 1870 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914. This was the period of intense imperialist aggression, when Africa was being butchered up and divided among the European Powers. British and French land gluttons continuously pinched Liberian territory until it was narrowed to a mere

coastal fringe; and Germany, being Liberia's largest trading partner, watched with keen interest and demanded certain economic controls for herself. Although the United States was unwilling to assume direct responsibility for Liberia's international relationships, it felt that unless the little weak Republic had the support of some power commensurate in strength with Great Britain, France and Germany, it would soon disappear from the map as an independent state. The United States made it understood, therefore, that though it did not claim a protectorate over Liberia, it considered it right, as the next friend of Liberia and because Liberia was founded under American fostering care, to aid that Government in preventing any encroachment of a foreign power on its territorial sovereignty.

The greatest crisis during this period grew out of the financial condition of Liberia. Unable to pay previous financial obligations and to make the necessary internal reforms so strongly demanded by envious neighbors, Liberia obtained an international loan of \$1,500,000 in 1911 shared by bankers of the United States, Britain, France and Germany. In return it was compelled to accept a multiple receiver to manage custom receipts. The United States furnished the general receiver while the other countries

2. The New Standard Encyclopedia, Standard Education Society, 1963.

furnished assistants. In addition, the United States provided other fiscal agents and military officers to organize and control the frontier force. Because this new American control replaced a similar previously held position of Great Britain, the jealousy of the European counterparts was intensified and a propagandist war was launched charging the United States with imperialist activities in Africa and Liberia of colonial status.

The third and perhaps the most unforgettable influence of the United States in Liberia to perpetuate the belief that Liberia was an American colony, was the loan of 1926 which brought the Firestone Plantations Company into the country. The financial plight of Liberia necessitating the floating of this loan can best be understood by visualizing the economic catastrophe thrust upon the struggling Republic by the outbreak of World War I.

The Liberian Government depended entirely on custom duty for the revenue during this period; and more than 50% of the foreign trade was carried on with Germany. When the Allied blockade destroyed German sea commerce, the revenue of Liberia was badly depleted. As a result foreign commitments on previous loans could not be met and the salaries of government employees could not be paid. In this desperation to obtain a loan at all cost to meet its obligations, Liberia once more turned to the friend it trusted and best knew,

the United States, for a loan of \$5,000,000. Partly because of the complex system in the United States of congressional approval for such matters and partly because the American Government saw an opportunity to rid itself of the high price placed on rubber by British and Dutch monopoly of the rubber industry in the East Indian Islands, the United States recommended a private investor, Harvey S. Firestone, to make the loan to Liberia. In spite of Liberia's poverty stricken condition and the urgent need for the loan, however, President King and his trusted officials put up a strong fight to insure that the terms of the loan agreement would not undermine the sovereignty of the Negro Republic. The 99 years agreement, however, gave Firestone certain monopolies over Liberia's economy, thus providing a basis for the allegation that Firestone, an American enterprise, owned Liberia. Such long term agreements were also in common practice between the United States and Latin America. In 25 years the Firestone loan was completely paid at an interest rate of 4% per cent, thanks to President William V.S. Tubman's Open Door Policy.

In conclusion it must be emphasized that the economic and territorial crises of Liberia demanded that outside help must be speedily obtained. As a foster mother of the little African Republic, the United States was the most logical one to provide that help. The fact, however, that the United States never intended to extend political control over Liberia nor was Liberia ever willing to sacrifice an inch of its integrity and sovereignty in return for any aid, are sufficient evidence to prove that Liberia was never a colony of the United States.

EDWARD JAMES ROYE-TRAITOR OR
PATRIOT?

Part One

by

Christopher T. Minikon, M.A.L.D.

The Headquarters Building of the National True Whig Party is to be named after Edward James Roye, fifth President of Liberia. Apart from the scattered references made to him in texts on Liberia, and in Liberian newspapers, no biographical work has appeared to give full details of Roye's life and career. In fact some misunderstanding and misinterpretation exist about his complicity in the loan of 1871. The impossibility of locating major documents--preferably from Roye's official and personal files, or from collections of the True Whig Party--creates further difficulty. What follows is only an attempt to examine the political conditions existing in the country at the time of Roye's election as president and of a critical analysis of the question of the loan.

When Roye emigrated to Monrovia in June, 1846, from the United States, he had already attained a reputation as a shrewd businessman. This he soon made his community to recognize, for not long after his arrival, his activities led him to be one of the richest and leading merchants in Monrovia. Furthermore, his interest in the political,

literary and judicial life of the country led to his election as Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1849, his selection as publisher of the "Liberian Sentinel" in 1854 (it suspended publication the following year), and his appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 1865-1868.

At the time of Roye's arrival, the political life of Liberia was contested by two political parties, the "True Liberian Party", and the "Anti-Administration Party." The former elected the first President of Liberia, J.J. Roberts, and it is reported that the latter became known as the "Old Whig Party."

It is alleged that the ruling True Liberian Party adopted discriminatory and unfair practices to the extent that it admitted only mulattoes in its ranks and in the affairs of Government, excluding all others.¹ As a reaction to these practices, the Old Whig Party reorganized itself under the name of the "True Whig Party" in 1860 and became politically active in the election of 1869. Thereupon it advertised the discriminatory policies of the True Liberian

1. Abayomi Karnga, History of Liberia (Liverpool: D.H. Tyte & Co. 1926), p. 45.

Party, leading that Party to reorganize itself into the "Republican Party" in an effort to bypass the propaganda associated with its name.²

However, the election of 1869 was a victory for the True Whig Party whose candidate was E.J. Roye. It is significant to note that one of the objectives of the True Whig Party in the campaign was the prohibition of foreign interference in the affairs of, and settlement in, the Republic. It was without surprise therefore that the Party which supported "ethnocentrism" and nationalistic idealism" won the election. Thus Roye was the first President to be elected by the True Whig Party.

Roye inherited a border dispute with Sierra Leone, then a British possession, concerning ownership of the Gallinas territory -- a territory west of the Sulima river -- which Liberia claimed was hers but which the British Governor of Sierra Leone disputed as Liberia's. Furthermore, British traders evaded payment of customs on Liberian coasts in the disputed territory.

President Payne, Roye's predecessor, finding the status quo in the area thus irksome and unbearable, sent Liberian revenue officers to the territory ostensibly to collect customs fees due Liberia. They met with difficulty in the execution of their duty, but they succeeded in "impounding" the schooner "Elizabeth" and other properties said to have belonged to Sierra Leonean traders.

This act of the revenue officers enraged Sierra Leone's Governor who undoubtedly persuaded his government to frighten Liberia into making restitution to the traders. He succeeded in this, and Liberia, under threat of bombardment from a British warship, hurriedly collected produce valued at five hundred pounds sterling and promised to pay, on a monthly instalmental basis, the balance of the three thousand three hundred seventy pounds sterling she was required to pay as penalty for impounding.

In those days, Liberia found herself in deep financial straits, and this was made double, it is reported, by the withdrawal of American financial support in the period immediately following the American civil war.³ The financial debacle thus facing the Republic made the meeting of the country's obligations to the Sierra Leonean traders impossible. And when Roye took over in 1870, it was clear that, considering the country's financial situation, Liberia could not live up to her promise to liquidate the balance of the compensation to the traders. Roye must therefore now look for other avenues to restore the financial balance of his government.

In his Inaugural Address, Roye, among many things, said

2. A. Doris Banks-Henries, The Liberian Nation (New York: Herman Jaffe, 1954), p. 101.

3. John D. Hargreaves, Prelude to the Partition of West Africa (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1963), pp. 86-87.

to be undertaken by the government. He spoke of the need to develop a road system to open up the interior and to unify all elements of the country; he discussed the desirability of establishing a national banking institution for discount and deposit; and he believed that there should be a program to educate the people. These, he thought, would improve the general condition of the masses.⁵

When the President was inaugurated in 1870, Liberia was only twenty-two years old. Colonial powers whose territorial possessions surrounded the country were bickering with it for boundary disputes designed to shrink the size of Liberia and increase that of their possessions. However, it is recalled that this was the era when seeds of colonialism were being sown in Africa, and it also marked the beginning of a period when the Colonial powers looked for any excuse to end the independent existence of Liberia. This was the era too when Italy and Germany were fighting wars of unification to attain the status Liberia had been enjoying for over two decades. Internally, the country was bankrupt, and the defeated Republican Party, according to the historian Abayomi Karnga, made secret

fair and reciprocal comity. His desire to open up the interior by building roads, and to pay the balance due the Sierra Leonean traders caused him to authorize the negotiation of a loan with Great Britain. For this purpose he appointed W.S. Anderson and E.R.W. Johnson, the Secretary of State, to join D. Chinery, honorary Liberian Consul General in London, to comprise the delegation.

The amount of the loan was one hundred thousand pounds sterling at seven per cent interest payable over a period of fifteen years. The bankers retained thirty thousand pounds sterling as advanced interest and discount. The loan was guaranteed on the Liberian customs revenues, but it is believed that the bankers deducted their interest in advance because they were not satisfied with the management of the customs revenues, and they were somewhat uneasy because they feared that if the loan was repudiated by Liberia no steps might be taken by the British Government to exact payment from Liberia.

It may be argued that the bankers should have refused to grant the loan since they felt that way about the management of the customs, or that the negotiators should have rejected the conditions. But it may be pointed out that this arrangement remained perhaps because the Liberians could not find any other bankers ready to help with a loan, thereby enabling the present bankers to take advantage of the situation. One cannot help but raise the question why the bankers felt uneasy about Liberia's fulfilling its obligations!

According to reports, President Roye, who was in London at the time to discuss the Gallinas territory question (already discussed above), gave his approval to the interest rate and the advance deductions. It is further reported that this action of the President's was the basis for a misunderstanding between him and the Secretary of State who, because of this, returned to Liberia.

When news of the transaction reached Monrovia, the people were angry, and they blamed Roye for approving of the high rate of interest as a result of which a large percentage had been deducted from the principal. In fact, some of them accused Roye of having accepted a bribe from the bankers to get his approval.

Many commentators have labelled the charge that Roye might have received a bribe a "political ruse", but there has been no concrete proof

to repudiate it. However, the charge could be dismissed as a "political ruse" because Roye's political opponents were desirous of getting rid of him and could therefore fabricate anything; it could be dismissed too on grounds that Roye was wealthy and sought the loan only for internal improvement and to pay the country's debts, and could not therefore have approved of the interest rate and the deduction -- a usual banking practice -- for remuneration. Nevertheless, it is not sufficient to pass judgement in the absence of evidence, and on the basis of the absence of the report of the Liberian Negotiators of the Loan, or of the inavailability of the records of the bankers to ascertain if there appears no item of questionable nature pertaining to the Liberian loan, conclusions can be reached only on speculation.

It must be observed that in a matter of this nature, especially if the character of the President was to be questioned, there should have been no resort to an inclination to act from feeling rather than from thought, or to have exhibited a too narrow concept of social responsibility. An investigation, or a publication of the Delegation's report, would have been in order at the time.

(In the next issue: Roye's Deposition and Death).

book Research, Education Department; R.L.

The founders of the modern state of Liberia had among their objectives not only the securing of a haven for Liberians and for the people of African descent but also that Liberia would fulfill a special divine mission in becoming a beacon light for liberty and freedom for all of Africa to behold. Indeed, in the old colonial regime African colonies were prohibited from having close dealings with Liberia because it was infested with the "independence disease." The first century of the existence of Liberia has been spent, it would seem, preparing for this great task which has just begun to fulfill itself within the last twenty years under the leadership of President William V.S. Tubman.---Editor's note.

Under the long administration of President Tubman Liberia gained the respect of people in many countries. In the United Nations Organization Liberia with others welcome African and Asian nations as they rapidly gained their independence. When the United Nations Organization was formed in 1945 only two African countries were independent and members. By 1960 there were over twenty-four free African nation member states and in 1964 thirty-four African countries were recognized as sovereign states.

The first African summit con-

ment officials to represent their people. Eight countries in all were in Accra. Unity and freedom of Africa were the most important subjects discussed at that historic assembly. Among the many decisions made was one on the observance of Africa Freedom Day each year on April 15. When Liberia celebrated this day for the first time in 1959 President Tubman reminded his people of the way that this country had helped other African countries to gain their freedom. He said,

"Liberia's contributions to the liberation of Africa have been made in numerous forms. Long before the Conference of Independent states, even in the teeth of bitter opposition by more powerful nations, we upheld the inalienable rights of the people of this continent to be free and independent. Even before the present upsurge of African nationalism, Liberia, as a Charter Member State of the United Nations, supported and in some instances spearheaded every movement to free the whole of Africa from the bond of servitude and the state of dependency."1

Liberia was host to a summit meeting held at Saniquellie in 1959. There, President Tubman with President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and President Sekou Toure of Guinea talked about African Unity and means of helping to free the whole African continent from foreign control. A proposal was made to form an organization which President Tubman said would permit, "each signatory to maintain its sovereignty, and its peculiar identity. This organization would speak in one concerted voice" on behalf of all Africa. The following year in May, 1960 twenty African heads of state and government met in Monrovia to make plans for their countries to work together more closely and to help other countries to get their independence.

The two leaders of African Unity have been President William V.S. Tubman of Liberia and President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Although both of them agreed that it is necessary for all African states should be united they disagreed on the form of union that should be formed and the way it should be formed. President Nkrumah believed that all independent African states should be joined together in a political union under a single head. President Tubman believed that each country should be governed by a leader elected by the people and that all independent states should join together for strength in economic,

social and cultural affairs; he did not think political union would be possible for many years. It would be difficult for the president or ruler of any nation to agree for a foreign ruler to control his people. This would be especially difficult for new African nations who had just gotten rid of foreign rulers. The differences between President Tubman and President Nkrumah caused the formation of two groups. One was called the Casablanca Powers; it consisted of Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, the United Arab Republic and Mali. Its first meeting took place at Casablanca. This group was interested in political unity of Africa. The second group of twenty African states held its meeting in Monrovia in 1960 and was called the Monrovia Powers. It was convinced that President Tubman's view of an organization known as the Associated States was more practical than political union.

For several months discussions continued on the platform of the two groups of African states. A number of attempts were made to bring together the two organizations. Both of them wanted unity. Both of them wanted all of Africa to be free. Why, then, should they be divided? Finally, Emperor Hailie Selassie of Ethiopia succeeded in getting both groups to agree to meet in Ethiopia.

On May 23, 1963 representatives of thirty-two African states met in Addis Ababa to make a unified approach to the solution of problems of the continent. For four days the largest summit conference in African history took place. President Tubman was one of the four conference chairmen to preside over the meeting. When it ended, the views of President Tubman were contained in the charter of the Organization of African Unity. Thirty countries signed the charter. There were five objectives spelled out in the charter:

1. To reinforce ties of unity among African states and Malagasy
2. To co-ordinate efforts to raise the standard of living of member states
3. To defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states
4. To eliminate colonialism in all its forms from Africa
5. To promote international co-operation, acceptance of the United Nations and adherence to the Universal Declaration of the Right of Man.

The Addis Ababa conference also decided to raise volunteers in each state to help African liberation movements and to set up a special fund to give them practical and financial aid. Other important decisions were made against racial discrimination, especially in South Africa. May 25 of each year was to be observed as Africa Liberation Day.

The charter for the Organization of African Unity became effective

after the end of the conference when representatives returned home and the governments of two-thirds of the member states ratified it. The organization has four main institutions:

1. An annual assembly of heads of states and governments which would pass resolutions by a two-thirds majority
2. A council of ministers to meet at least once a year and pass resolutions by a simple majority
3. A general secretariat (Ethiopia to organize a provisional secretariat aided by six other countries)
4. A commission of mediation, conciliation and arbitration.

There are also five other commissions including defense, economic and social development; education and culture; health, sanitation and nutrition; and scientific and technical research.

Before the Organization of African Unity became fully established as a functioning international body it was forced to deal with a number of problems. Among these were border disputes of Morocco and Mauritania; (Morocco refused to be a full member of the summit conference because she claimed Mauritania as a part of Morocco and Mauritania had been accepted as an independent state at the conference); as well as Ethiopia and

Somalia. However, peace was maintained and solutions were worked out. From February 24-29 foreign ministers of the thirty-three African nations with their delegations met in Lagos, Nigeria to prepare the agenda for the second African summit meeting. Two hundred delegates participated in this preparatory meeting.

While President Tubman had an important part in keeping peace in Africa, he continued to strengthen relations with other African nations through personal contacts and mutual assistance. For ten days before the All Africa Summit Conference he was guest of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Thereafter, he visited Tunisia. Scholarships were given to students from several English and French speaking countries to study at institutions of higher education in Liberia.

In international organizations Liberia has worked cooperatively with representatives of all countries. It has been of special importance to insure the wholehearted participation of all African independent nations in the work of such bodies. The Liberian Secretary of State was one of four African representatives sent by the conference of foreign ministers to speak on behalf of Africa at the debate on apartheid in South Africa by the Security Council of the United Nations Organization in June, 1964. At this meeting Honourable J. Rudolph Grimes urged an economic boycott

of South Africa. In this way the world could express its disapproval of racial discrimination practiced by the government of South Africa. Over the years Liberia has fearlessly and persistently fought for racial equality. With African nations and nations in other parts of the world Liberia has sought to have injustices corrected in South Africa, in Angola and in Southwest Africa. In these areas of the continent black people were denied human rights. Through the United Nations Organization it is hoped that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which went into effect December 10, 1948 will be adhered to by all member states.

In 1962 Liberia and Ethiopia appeared before the World Court at The Hague, in Holland and argued the case against South Africa and its apartheid policy in Southwest Africa as well as in the Union of South Africa. It has been difficult to get Great Britain and the United States of America to vote for economic sanctions against South Africa; but both nations warned that country against racial discrimination, all without success.

Liberia was very active in the World Trade Conference which met in Geneva, Switzerland in April, 1964. At this largest

trade meeting that the world has ever held, African and Asian nations urged greater consideration for developing countries by industrial nations. They argued that price control for raw products was in favor of wealthy nations. Highly industrialized countries purchased products from African and Asian countries at very low rates and sold manufactured goods at high prices. This caused people of Africa and Asia to remain poor while rich nations grew richer.

African countries want fair prices for their exports and more assistance in the development of their trade.

While Liberia rejoiced over the liberation of the African continent she was greatly distressed over misunderstandings. Although the British and the French had established arbitrary boundaries for their respective colonies, Liberia thought it wise to allow these boundaries to remain as they were at the time that each nation gained its independence. It was in accord with this opinion that Liberia accepted the boundaries that separated our country from Sierra Leone, Guinea and the Ivory Coast. Our government knew that legally these countries should have returned land taken from Liberia by Britain and France in the late 19th century and early 20th century. However, peace with our neighbors has been considered more important than entering into controversy over boundaries. Some other African states believed that bound-

daries made by European colonial powers should be changed. As a result international conflicts arose in North Africa, West Africa and East Africa, because of disagreement on boundaries. President Tubman advised his colleagues who led their governments to be patient and to meet on friendly terms for discussion of their problems. Some matters could be placed before the Organization of African Unity; others could be placed before the United Nations for settlement. Those who were in authority in the various countries appeared to be eager to avoid war even though border raids frequently occurred.

On April 25, 1964, President Tubman set out to visit African countries on the east coast and the Malagasy Republic. On the journey, he made a goodwill stop at Mombasa, Kenya. The personal contacts made with the President and people of Madagascar and the Federal Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar served to strengthen relations between west and east Africa. Most leaders of Africa believe that unity can best be gained by meetings of the heads of African states. Before World War II the people of Africa knew little about each other. Opportunities for international or intercultural activities were rare. In fact, Africans were taught more

about Europe and America than about their own continent. Knowing that knowledge is the basis of understanding African leaders travelled more and more in their own continent. Besides this, the number of conferences increased, some governmental; some non-governmental. For the first time Africans became acquainted with large groups of other Africans from many countries. The greatest handicap to closer unity was the language barrier. To remedy this situation all African countries agreed to make the teaching of English and French compulsory in the schools. Some people objected to this on the basis that these two languages are foreign to Africa. However, it became clear that to learn English and French was the most practical way to free exchange of ideas, because the majority of African people know one of these languages. It would take a long time to select one of the two hundred African languages for all Africans to master.

In the early years of the Republic, Liberia had two or three political parties. There were the Republicans and the Whig parties. But as time passed the True Whig Party dominated the scene and for nearly one hundred years it has been almost uncontested except for sporadic mushroom parties which have sprung up near election time. Most Liberians are not accustomed to a multi-party state.

Although much has been done to encourage those who wish, to organize new parties; people are generally afraid that they will be mistaken as enemies of the government if they form an opposition party. Some people believe that contests can go on within a party; therefore many parties are not necessary for a democratic state. Whatever is the opinion, the fact is evident that the majority of African countries have adopted a one-party system of government. It remains for the future to prove that this is a peril to democratic government in Africa.

SOME APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF LIBERIAN HISTORY

by

Abeodu B. Jones, Ph.D.

This article attempts to introduce a monographic approach to the understanding and writing of Liberian History. The chronological approach with heavy emphasis on political development and interpretations has always been the general pattern pursued in interpreting our history. It is hoped that the monographic approaches briefly discussed below will lead to new interpretations. Liberian history is a fascinating subject minus politics. A brief bibliography is attached at the end of the discussion on each approach.

1. The Humanitarian Approach:

A great deal of the early literature on Liberian History stress the view that Liberia was founded as a result of the efforts of humanitarians in the United States as evidenced in the work of the American Colonization Society. This view has been preserved by Liberian crators and teachers of Liberian History who refer to this class of American citizens as philanthropic men. This interpretation is further closely associated with the occurrence of miraculous acts of a benevolent God who despite wars, boundary squabbles and international interference in our national affairs, has preserved for us our liberty in these dark periods in our history. It therefore became the duty of the founding fathers and those who came

after them to preserve this humanitarian approach by helping the Africans to understand the mind of the west as portrayed by them and to "civilize" them.

Religious groups and missionaries too are engaged in the task of preserving the humanitarian tradition.

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2. The Economic Approach:

Two popular views to this approach are discussed: One has been to analyze Liberia as an escape valve for troublesome Americans of African descent whose constant revolts against an oppressive economic system threatened the economic stability of the Southern states in the United States of America.

The Second approach develops this thesis further that having arrived in Liberia the immigrants from America were to adhere to the economic philosophy of the South and establish an agrarian society. In the final analysis the issue becomes an unending

search to establish a viable economy. In the process of so doing was to emerge vicious attacks from without and within which not only undermined our sovereignty but heaped upon us many of the unsavory expressions and adjectives which even today arouse Liberian sensitivity, resentment and a defensive attitude. There need be no apologies for these economic shortcomings since almost every nation in the process of development has undergone experiences of economic embarrassment from which at times the most inhumane and sadistic methods were undertaken to remove them.

In the early days there were attempts to establish a merchant marine which was a fairly successful business enterprise. The vessels of E.J. Royce sailed the waters of the North Atlantic to the ports of Liverpool and New York. Unfortunately by the last decade of the 19th century Liberia's merchant marine was unable to withstand competition from European colonial powers who by now had begun to ply the shores of the Atlantic along the West Coast of Africa in superior vessels.

Facing a shortage of much needed revenues during the last quarter of the 19th century there was resort to loans, and contracts of migrant labor in which Liberians so engaged in this type of work were by law to be protected. Because of the distance involved making the task of policing and supervision difficult the terms of the contracts were open to much abuse. In the course of time the League of Nations Investigation Commission re-

vealed many inadequacies, conducted under this system which through the lack of vigilance had escaped the attention of those Liberians responsible for the general management of the contracts. And in all fairness it should be mentioned that such a method of employing labor was alien to the Liberian mind. They had no previous experience in conducting business of this nature.

Liberia remained in an economic plight during the world depression. It is often alleged that one side effect of this shortage of currency was the provision to extend the presidential terms from four to eight years there being insufficient funds for the observance of inaugural ceremonies quarterly. The same pecuniary argument led to extension of the presidential term from two to four years during the first decade of the present century.

There was a dramatic and positive turn however toward the development of a dynamic economic growth with the advent of Foreign investment in the Republic. Foreign business operations such as Firestone (1926), Bomi Hills (1952) and Nimba (1960) introduce a new economic system based on industry. It was quite a contrast to an agricultural based economy. Never before in the history of Liberia had there been so much money in circulation.

The results can everywhere be seen - more schools, better roads, more hospitals, better salaries. Nevertheless, the search for a viable economy continues.

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(3) The Diplomatic Approach:

Using this approach Liberia history becomes meaningful from the incipency of the early plans to found a settlement to the final act of repatriating the settlers during the third decade of the 19th century. The diplomatic maneuverings of the American Society whose membership claimed many distinguished United States Congressmen, among them Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, President Thomas Jefferson and President James Monroe who while promulgating the Monroe Doctrine had no qualms about the feasibility of seeing the settlers safely over in Africa, are among some of the engaging features in Liberian history inviting research. How else could it be explained that the Good Ship Elizabeth

was a naval vessel refitted to transport the American immigrants to Liberia. What, if the diplomatic mission of Samuel Mills and Ebenezer Burgess to Great Britain and to Governor Charles McCarthy in Sierra Leone had been successful and the immigrants were welcomed into the colony of Sierra Leone? That more diplomatic maneuverings are undertaken for two years in order to obtain land first at Sierra Leone and a second and successful attempt from the Mesurado Kings late in 1821.

For the next twenty-six years the status of the colony and later the commonwealth became a thorny diplomatic question, unpleasant controversy and embarrassment involving Liberia, the American Colonization Society, the United States and the colonial powers, chiefly Britain, and France, Spain and Cuba. There being no other way out of the impasse independence was proclaimed in 1847. Many persons including Liberians living then wondered and asked if the country was ready for independence just as it is being asked today of other independent countries in Africa.

/ It is further significant to note that while Liberia remained under the tutelage of the American Colonization Society no one called it corrupt nor inefficient. There is evidence that these adjectives were made use of

after the Society had withdrawn supervision and control. Again, this has been the case with many newly independent colonial territories. They too suddenly become corrupt and inefficient but only after independence is achieved.

Liberia is further engaged in more diplomatic intrigues over boundary problems with the French and British. These problems became acute after the Berlin Conference of 1885. And though Liberia was not invited to participate in this Conference she was expected to abide by the decision and resolutions of the Conference especially those which related to effective occupation of territories in Africa and adequate policing of boundaries. The effects of the Berlin Conference were traumatic. One President collapsed under the weight of these boundary problems and resigned. Blyden was accused of bargaining away Liberian territory to the colonial powers. The period also witnessed the Golden Age of Liberia letters as Liberians took up the pen to defend with their minds what they could not do with all their collective might.

At this time, the United States-Liberian Treaty of Friendship was in operation since the beginning of the Lincoln Administration. But it would seem that its effect on the British and French was less apparent while a great deal more effective in assisting the young Republic to guarantee its control over the coastal tribal population especially in Sinoe and

Maryland. While already involved with boundary problems with colonial powers, there were instances when certain colonial powers aligned themselves with some of the tribes of the Republic to cause unrest. Probably the last of these instances was the Jush Nimley case arising out of the League's investigation in which the British were reported to have encouraged resistance against the Liberian Government.

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It has been said that biography humanizes history, and in the case of Liberian History the life of Edward W. Blyden (1832-1912) is an illustrious example. Blyden was active on the Liberian scene for more than half a century. Just as the British speak of Victorian England so is it possible to speak of an Age of Blyden in Liberia. It is true that Blyden never became President, though he aspired to win that exalted position, his influence on Liberian Presidents from Joseph Jenkins Roberts to Arthur Barclay was nonetheless formidable. He also probably knew every President from Roberts to Tubman and taught nearly all of them in school or privately. President Tubman was 17 years old when Blyden died.

Blyden's versatility in many areas of knowledge also won for him the reputation of being a controversial figure. At his death he was eulogized by Momolu Massaquoi as : having lived a century ahead of his time. His ideas were at once liberal, enlightened and controversial. But this essay is not meant to be a biography of Blyden - a subject as inexhaustive as Shakespeare. It will suffice to limit this discussion to two items in the areas of Liberian political and intellectual history in which he left an indelible mark - the settlement of the Northwest boundary dispute with Britain, and his contributions largely to the African Repository.

(a) The Northwest Settlement. A popular view persists that Blyden bargained away Liberian territory to the British during the scramble for Africa eighty-two years ago. It is still not evident whether this charge is a judgment of history on him or a propaganda of history. While conceding that certain myths never die no matter how many facts are marshalled to fight them, the indictment cast upon Blyden can be appreciated in this wise: The lion being hungry saw a rabbit and when he was about to eat it up saw a little mouse come to intervene so that the lion may spare the rabbit's life. The lion was suppose to listen with sympathy to the mouse's plea and release the rabbit.

The concept was too humanitarian to be appreciated in these times. The temper of the age which gave birth to the partitioning of Africa also brought on the First World War and the Second World War. In simple language that meant, might was right. It therefore is a cause for reflection whether even the mighty genius of Blyden could conquer or persuade the British lion, in back of which stood the greatest military might known in human history at that time, to relinquish its hold on Liberian territory. Besides, Blyden could never hope to accomplish what Cleopatra achieved with Caesar and Antony.

All he had was a brainy head which was given to him to reason. But then these were times when reason fled and forsook man, or did man flee and forsake it. Moreover there were no gun boats put to his use which could aid Liberian diplomacy, nor could they in any way match British gun boats in this age further aptly described as the age of Gun Boat Diplomacy.

To conclude then, Christopher Fyfe has revealed in his monumental work, A History of Sierra Leone (p.431) that:

Boundary commissions having proved fruitless, it was proposed to offer the Liberians an exchange. The British government would compensate the traders ... in the Gallinas ;...and settle damages Harris claimed: in return Liberia would accept the Maffa River (which emptied at Cape Mount) as a Boundary.

Havelock went to Monrovia in March 1882 to offer these terms. The Liberian Commissioners (Blyden was one) denied the British claims. Havelock agreed to drop Harris's which were all based on breaches of Liberian Customs laws, that but upheld damages (assessed at 8,838 pounds) \$4,075, the sum the Liberian government had spent making treaties with Chiefs beyond the Maffa. Thus both claims, the British to compensation, the Liberian to territory, would be extinguished without either side having to pay anything. If these terms were refused, he insisted the full 8,838 pounds be paid.

Unwillingly the Commissioners accepted the ultimatum and submitted it to the President: Havelock, as a conciliatory crumb, offered the Mano as frontier instead of the Maffa, thirty miles distant. There was a storm of protest in Monrovia. Under the Liberian

constitution the Senate had to ratify treaties. The President (H.R.W. Johnson) caught between Havelock and his naval escort, and the popular execration that awaited him if he accepted gladly delayed decision until the legislature met in December. Blyden, made a scapegoat, had again to flee from Monrovia.

(b) The African Repository

Blyden's contribution to the African Repository was immense. The African Repository and Colonial Journal, as the periodical was officially known for many years until superseded by the Liberia Bulletin (1892 - 1912), was first published in 1825. Blyden appeared on the Liberian scene from the Danish West Indies in 1851, then 19 years old. Every issue of the African Repository carried an article written by him, so that, to a large extent, to understand the African Repository or to be provided with a readers guide to its encyclopaedic literature on Liberia and the Continent of Africa, means further to understand the mind of Blyden. This extremely useful publication ceased to be published in 1912. One wonders whether it was purely a coincidence that in that year Blyden too died.

Besides his contribution to the African Repository Blyden also wrote and published about twenty books, pamphlets and speeches. Among his works he is well-remembered for Islam, Christianity and The Negro Race. He wrote many letters to friends in America and Europe. Most of his American Correspondences are preserved in his own hand writing in the Library of Congress, Annex Division. These have been copied and preserved by Edith Holden of Rockridge, Greenwich, Connecticut.

Blyden also kept up a lively friendship and correspondence with Gladstone, one of England's great 19th century Prime Ministers.

The study of Blyden is without exaggeration comparable to a study of Shakespeare. His literary contribution to Liberian and African Intellectual history are immeasurable, and no study of the African Continent can be definitive without taking note of his many accomplishments in every discipline on the study of Africa.

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for Dr.*

BOOK REVIEW

by
Henry B. Cole, Editor
The Liberian Star

TRIBE & CLASS IN MONROVIA

by
Merran Fraenkel, London
Published for the International
African Institute by Oxford
University Press, 1964

This study of the social strata and behaviour pattern of the inhabitants of Monrovia (excluding foreign residents) proves Mrs. Fraenkel is a resourceful and skillful researcher. The book is a valuable documentation produced under difficult circumstances particularly in a country where the people do not share the "Britisher's reverence for carbon paper and filing cabinets." That is, until now.

The regrettable aspect of the book is that chapter two entitled "Monrovia Today" and appendix "C" on the interior administration are now completely out of date. Conditions have changed so much that what she has written is now history and the title becomes a misnomer.

Liberia, often erroneously referred to as the first African Republic (the Republic of Griqua was the first African Republic) indeed is the existing oldest Republic as well as the fastest changing country in Africa. Her economic growth in the last five years was one of the highest in the world, second only to that of Japan.

Equally so the political changes that have taken place have considerably altered the pattern of the country's administration of the

By the formal creation of four new counties, thus dividing the country's entire land mass into nine counties, the balance of political power has swung from the coastal areas to the interior—a fact which has not gone unnoticed with alarm by some sections of the population.

The "Monrovia Today"

Mrs. Fraenkel describes and pictured does not exist any more, particularly the dilapidated buildings between pages 52 and 53. Her photo selections leave one with the impression that she was not out to give a balanced idea of what Monrovia was at the time, but to prove that Monrovia is about the worst spot in Africa.

Equally so the map on page two has been scrapped since Liberia's political re-arrangement is now entirely different.

The interior administration she describes in appendix C on page 236 has changed. There is no interior administration as she describes it. In fact the Department of Interior does not exist any more. We now have a Department of Internal Affairs. There are no provincial areas either.

Mrs. Fraenkel's work is most valuable in the documentation of tribal administration of justice in Monrovia (chapters III, IV and V), and even at writing, the powers of Justice of the Peace enjoyed by the tribal authorities there have been withdrawn, and those commissioned as such have had with

Facts are sometimes not only stubborn things but also often unpleasant. Despite this, it must be refreshing to Liberians to see a foreign independent observer highlight the duality of the Liberian judicial system. This is a problem Liberians fully appreciate and although they may seem helpless to resolve it, the fact that they recognize it proves they are one step nearer to a solution. Besides, the duality of the Liberian judicial system is a common problem to all African South of the Sahara. We have it in the Congo, we have it in Ghana.

It would be a formidable task for the Liberians, or even the Ghanaians to replace the role of the Chiefs as arbiters of offences connected with native customary laws.

One disturbing aspect of the book under review is that the author has regrettably allowed herself to fall victim to numerous misleading generalities.

On page 101, for instance, in discussing life insurance she stated rather erroneously that "...life insurance companies and policies are unknown in Liberia..." Lloyds has been represented in Liberia for several decades by Patterson Zochonies. Although they met with failure, Liberians did organize insurance companies in the past and no less today they are in insurance business.

There are no less than six such operating companies in the country including the Royal Exchange Assurance, one of the best known in Britain.

One cannot but challenge some other generalities which in the light of a wider background to African affairs, could have been avoided.

For instance, Mrs. Fraenkel writes on page 43 that "Despite the economic boom and the alleged shortage of labour, wage levels are generally low, and poverty - by any definition - widespread". I find the statement rather contradictory - poverty in an economic boom. I do not choose to argue the point, but suffice it to say that poverty is not the exclusive disadvantage of Liberia alone.

The point that concerns me is that in 1964 conditions have changed so much that her figures are meaningless. The minimum wage has risen three-fold; a policeman who was making ₦22 in 1957 now makes a minimum of ₦50, and a messenger who made \$20 six years ago now makes twice as much. No one in present day Liberia would be in his right mind to offer a clerk \$25 - that is, if he really wants a clerk.

I find Mrs. Fraenkel's references to the Masonic Order in Liberia as highly mischievous. Her statements on page 194 are not only speculative but include rumours and popular conversation when better talking points are lacking.

In the course of general reporting, rumours are dangerous things to print, consequently, I find her repetition of rumours and

popular fallacies in a scientific research as not only completely out of place but also ill-advised.

On the whole the book is a useful study and Mrs. Fraenkel at least did give a pointer to the future with her statistics on "Occupational aspirations of schoolboys" on page 212. They prove that the old Liberia which three decades ago emphasized law as the leading profession is dead. The new Liberia gives medicine, engineering and agriculture priority. One must feel satisfied that the youths, the hope of the future, have the right vision in demanding preparation for the challenges of tomorrow.

Monrovia, Liberia,
June, 1964.

The Liberian Historical Society,
Monrovia, Liberia.

Attention: L. Z. Caine,
Organizing Secretary.

Gentlemen:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo informing me of my election as one of the Patrons of this esteemed Society and wanting to know my reaction.

In reply, I wish to inform you that I accept with much pleasure my election as one of the Patrons of this Society and assure you that I will abide by the requirements of a deserving Patron of this esteem Society.

Please convey to the Members of the Society my sincerest appreciation for their thoughtfulness of me in this respect.

Kindest personal regards and best wishes.

Very truly yours,

(SGD) Harrison Grigsby
Harrison Grigsby

Monrovia, Liberia,
June 3, 1964.

The Liberian Historical Society,
Monrovia, Liberia.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel indeed honoured by my selection as
Patron of the Liberian Historical Society.

The purposes of the Society seem timely at this
stage of our Nation's development. So much valuable
events and experiences of the past have been lost,
through failure to preserve them; and this your
attempt to salvage what is left of our past and to
lay a foundation for conserving the future, is worthy
of support.

I welcome the appointment.

Yours very truly,

(SGD.) Richard S.S. Bright
Richard S.S. Bright

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Department of State
Monrovia, Liberia
3rd August 1964

Dear Dr. Jones:

With reference to your letter of 20th
May 1964 requesting me to serve as a Patron
of the Liberian Historical Society, I wish
to advise that I have no objections to serving
in this capacity.

Sincerely,

J. Rudolph Grimes

Dr. Abeodu B. Jones,
c/o The Department of State,
MONROVIA.

Liberian Embassy
Abidjan, Ivory Coast
July 10, 1964

Ref. No. LEA-30/236/64

Dear Madam,

I respectfully hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter addressed me and dated May 20, 1964 in which you inform me of my election as one of its patrons by the Liberia Historical Society at its fifth regular meeting.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the Society and to pledge my sincere and loyal service in any-way required and is possible.

I must congratulate the founding members and wish them all possible success as they pursue so worthy a course in our national life.

I thank you for the copy of the Constitution of the Society which you sent me and look forward to receiving more information in the future.

Very truly yours,

(SGD.) Ernest C.B. Jones
AMBASSADOR

Mrs. L. Z. Caine,
Organizing Secretary,
Liberia Historical Society,
MONROVIA, Liberia

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE
LIBERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE CONSTITUTION

Preamble

We, the members of the Liberian Historical Society acknowledging the importance of History to all nations;

Realizing that in order to promote and advance the study of History and related disciplines our concerted efforts, knowledge and abilities are required;

Realizing further that no nation without knowledge of its History can long endure;

Have organized ourselves into a body and hereby ordain this constitution for the governance of same.

Article I - Name

The name of this body shall be the Liberian Historical Society.

Article II - Objectives

The objectives of this Society shall be:

- To arouse national pride, interest, and appreciation for Liberian History.
- To revive and preserve unselfishly for posterity Liberian History and Literature.
- To provide an atmosphere of free inquiry for the study of Liberian History and Literature on a scientific basis.
- To contribute articles to African and International journals of historical research.

- To provide a training ground for scientific research in Liberian History and related subjects through annual meetings and seminars.
- To raise the standards for studying and writing Liberian History objectively and scientifically.
- To encourage the writing of Liberian History text books on the elementary, secondary, and college levels.
- To provide for better understanding of Liberian History in its global context.
- To arouse international appreciation for Liberian History and Historiography.
- To provide an avenue for mutual understanding and the free exchange of ideas by those interested in the Society.
- To publish annually the Liberian Historical Review based on articles contributed to the Liberian Historical Society.
- To make available for use in schools, through the Liberian Historical Review, reading material hitherto inaccessible.
- To maintain a research center.
- To promote respect for our national history

Article III - Motto

The motto of this Society shall be, "We are dedicated to enlighten."

Article IV - Seal

The seal of this Society shall consist of three concentric circles with an open book inscribed within the center, the motto in its Latin version written in the circle adjacent to the center, and the official name of the Society inscribed within the outer circle.

Article V - Scope

This Society shall execute its aims within the limits imposed by the Constitution and Statutes of the Republic of Liberia.

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Article VI - Membership

- Section 1. Seven patrons shall be elected by the Society. They shall serve as advisors to the Society.
- Section 2. The membership of this Society shall be open to all by written application subject to approval of the majority of members present at any regular meeting.

Article VII - Officers

The Society shall consist of the following officers:

President
Vice-President
Recording Secretary
Corresponding Secretary
Treasurer
Parliamentarian

Article VIII - Election of Officers

- Section 1. Election of officers shall be by secret ballot under the supervision of the Recording Secretary assisted by tellers appointed by the presiding officer.
- Section 2. Only members who are in good financial standing with the Society shall be eligible to vote or hold office.
- Section 3. Elections shall be held annually on the first Tuesday in March.
- Section 4. Installation shall take place not later than one month after election.

Article IX - Meetings

- Section 1. The regular meetings of this Society shall be held quarterly at a designated place and time which shall be mentioned in a citation by the Corresponding Secretary.
- Section 2. The President shall authorize the Corresponding Secretary to cite members to called meetings whenever necessary.

Article X -- Duties of Officers

- Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside over all meetings of this Society; enforce the observance of law and order among the members; appoint all committees; propose measures for the promotion of this Society. He shall with the Recording Secretary or the Treasurer sign all contracts or other written obligations of the Society which have been approved by its members; he shall make a general report of his administration at least one month prior to election of new officers.
- Section 2. The Vice-President shall assume all duties of the President during his absence. In case of resignation, impeachment, or death, he shall automatically become President until the term of his predecessor expires.
- Section 3. The Recording Secretary shall take and keep a clear and accurate record of the proceedings of this Society during the time of all meetings; he shall be the custodian of all documentary properties belonging to the body; he shall act in the absence of both the President and Vice-President; he shall receive all moneys paid to the Society and turn them over to the treasurer.
- Section 4. The Corresponding Secretary shall cite members to meetings, and shall direct and receive correspondence in behalf of the Society in consultation with the President. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to assist the Recording Secretary in the execution of his duties, and to act as Recording Secretary during the absence of said officer.
- Section 5. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep all funds of this Society, and to disburse the same by the direction of the President. All funds deposited in the Treasury must be receipted by the Treasurer who will in turn open an account in the name of the Society and deposit same with a chartered bank in Liberia. Authorized signatures for the withdrawal of funds from the Treasury shall be two out of three signatures including the President, Treasurer, and Recording Secretary.

Section 6. The Parliamentarian shall advise the President, Officers and members of the Society on correct parliamentary procedures, and shall see to it that the constitution and By-Laws are adhered to during the deliberations of meetings.

Article XI - Special Committee

Section 1. There shall be eight Special Committees, and with the exception of the Executive Committee, all Committee Chairmen shall be appointed by the President. The Chairmen of the various committees shall recommend to the President members to serve with them.

Section 2. The Special Committees shall be:

- Executive Committee
- Research Committee
- Editorial Committee
- Publications Committee
- Programme and Publicity Committee
- Finance Committee
- Scholarship Committee
- Nominating Committee

Article XII - Duties of Special Committees

Section 1. All duly elected officers shall comprise the Executive Committee. This Committee shall serve as a planning group; its special duty shall be to discuss important matters and make decisions when it becomes impossible for the general assembly of members of the Society to convene. The President shall be chairman of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. It shall be the duty of the Research Committee to collect research material and inform the Society from time to time of the sources of research literature and where and how to obtain them. It shall further prepare suitable articles for publication. It shall prepare a quarterly review for publication.

Section 3. The Editorial Committee shall work in conjunction with the Research Committee. Its special duty shall be to edit and censor research material for publication. It shall prepare the Liberian Historical Review quarterly for publication.

- Section 4. The Publications Committee shall work in harmony with the Editorial Committee. Its special duty shall be to publish the Liberian Historical Review.
- Section 5. The Programme and Publicity Committees shall make arrangements for discussions, symposiums, seminars, and History workshops. It shall be its further duty to contact new members, advertise the work of the Society, and lend assistance to institutions of learning in the country in planning history programmes whenever such help is requested.
- Section 6. The Finance Committee shall devise ways and means of providing funds for the Society, and its accounts shall be subjected to review and inspection by an independent auditor or auditing firm.
- Section 7. The Scholarship Committee shall make recommendations for the award of scholarships to outstanding students in History and related disciplines.
- Section 8. A Nominating Committee shall be appointed by the President at the fourth quarterly meeting of the Society. Its duty shall be to observe the activities of the members of the Society and to make recommendations for their elections to office.

By-Laws of the Liberian Historical Society

- Section 1. All voting for election of officers shall be by a two-thirds majority vote of members present.
- Section 2. Any six members including the Presiding Officer shall constitute a Quorum, and their acts shall be binding on the Society within the limits of the Constitution.
- Section 3. An agenda must be prepared by the President or Presiding Officer which shall be distributed before the opening of the meeting.
- Section 4. The Admission Fee payable to this Society shall be ten dollars (\$10.00). Students shall pay five dollars (\$5.00).

Section 5. Every member of this Society shall pay a yearly due of twelve dollars (\$12.00) or three dollars quarterly. All payments shall be made to the Treasurer.

Section 6. For installation or other activities for which members are to be taxed, each member shall be taxed an equal amount of money, the total of which shall completely defray the entire expense, but in no case shall such tax exceed five dollars (\$5.00).

Amendments

These By-Laws and Constitution may be amended in the following manner:

- (a) A member or group of members wishing to make an amendment shall make the proposal to this Society during a Regular Meeting of the General Assembly.
- (b) Any amendment can be adopted by a two thirds vote of the total membership of the Society.

Constitution Committee

Abeodu B. Jones, Chairman
Lydia Z. Caine, Member
Chauncey Cooper, Member
J. Dwalu Kimber, Member

THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

Article I.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

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

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

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

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

Section 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others. All persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of law in the free exercise of their own religion; and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect, but all shall be alike tolerated; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

- Section 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic; nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.
- Section 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the government or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.
- Section 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor by due course of law. Justice shall be done without denial or delay; and all cases not arising under martial law or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.
- Section 7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment, cases arising in the army and navy, and petty offences, unless upon presentment by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have a speedy, public, and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself; and no person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.
- Section 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.
- Section 9. No place shall be search nor person seized on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause supported by oath or solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

- Section 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts, nor any law rendering any act punishable in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.
- Section 11. All elections shall be by ballot; and every male citizens of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.
- Section 12. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.
- Section 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.
- Section 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the legislative, executive, and the judicial; and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others. This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.
- Section 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State: it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Republic.
- The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

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

- Section 16. No subsidy, charge, impost, or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.
- Section 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.
- Section 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains by virtue of that law (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service), but by the authority of the legislature.
- Section 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments.
- Section 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences when the proof is evident or presumption great; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious, and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

Article II,

LEGISLATIVE POWERS

- Section 1: The legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches, a House of Representatives and a Senate, to be styled the Legislature of Liberia, each of which shall have a negative on the other; and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, "It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled."
- Section 2: The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia as follows: The County of Montserrado shall have four representatives, the County of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the County of Sinoe shall have one; and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years. The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.
- Section 3: When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.
- Section 4: The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers. They shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

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

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

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

- Section 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business; but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.
- Section 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.
- Section 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it; if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections: If the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the Legislature, with his objection, for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him, - the Legislature remaining in session during that time, such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.
- Section 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from, the session of the Legislature.

Article III.

EXECUTIVE POWER

- Section 1. The Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and Navy. He shall, in the recess of the legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the Republic.

He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission, all ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of state, of war, of the navy, and of the treasury, attorney-general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by standing laws. And, in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancy in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; he shall inform the Legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences, except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two houses whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Section 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.
- Section 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons who may by law be charged with the custody of the public moneys, shall, before he receive such moneys, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such moneys when required by the President or Legislature; and no moneys shall be drawn from the treasury but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.
- Section 5. All ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney-general, and Postmaster-general, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries public, shall hold their office for the term of two years, from the date of their respective commissions, but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.
- Section 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office, by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature, stating the particular reasons for his removal.
- Section 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President who has not been a citizen of this Republic for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate, of not less value than six hundred dollars.

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

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

Article IV.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

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

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

Article V.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

- Section 1. All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia, until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.
- Section 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this Constitution.
- Section 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges; and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office, and act under the authority of this Republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.
- Section 4. The first election of President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held on the first Tuesday in October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven, in the same manner as elections of members of the council are chosen in the Commonwealth of Liberia; and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary; and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by law provided in case of such members of council.
- Section 5. All other elections of President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons

apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected shall proceed to organize themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives; and, if no person shall appear to have a majority of such votes, the Senators and Representatives present shall in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest numbers of votes a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

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

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

- Section 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the constitution or by law.
- Section 9. Officers created by this constitution which the circumstances of the Republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.
- Section 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.
Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent; and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise, or otherwise.
- Section 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent, the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one-third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her by devise or other.
- Section 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless, this article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.
- Section 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.
- Section 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

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

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

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

Done in Convention at Monrovia, in the County of Montserrado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and of the Republic the first.

In witness whereof we have hereto set our names:

S. Benedict, President,	)	
J. N. Lewis,	)	
H. Teage,	)	
Beverly R. Wilson,	)	Montserrado County.
Elijah Johnson,	)	
J. B. Gripon,	)	
John Day,	)	
A. W. Gardner,	)	Grand Bassa County.
Amos Herring	)	
Ephraim Tilier,	)	
R. E. Murray,	)	County of Sinoe

J. W. Prout, Secretary of Convention.

Monrovia, July 29, 1847

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With great respect, we have the honor of being

Your obedient and humble servants.

By the unanimous order of the convention,

Samuel Benedict
PRESIDENT