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SPEECH

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SPEECH.

WHEN a stranger presents himself on such an occasion before such an audience, he often does it under the disadvantage of an undeserved reputation, conferred upon him by the partiality of friends.

When an old man, commanding the imposing influence which grey hairs and the services of almost half a century confer upon him, stands, and asks to be heard in behalf of suffering humanity, he feels a deep regret, that he has little to present to his audience, but the gleanings of some industry, combined with experience. In such cases it often happens to the stranger orator, as in optical illusions. The object when seen at a distance or through a mist, has put on all the grandeur of vastness, but when approached becomes less and less until it loses all its imposing character. In the present case the justice and magnitude of the cause must plead in behalf of its advocate.

If I were asked what is the leading characteristic of the third part of the nineteenth century which is past, I would say, *compassion for the poor and oppressed*. Long had the mind of the philanthropist and christian lingered around, and hovered over the world's mass of ignorance, and crime and misery, and oppression. Indecision and despair marked their counsels and their efforts. The gospel held up her lights, THE CROSS, and pointed the benighted millions of our world to the star of Bethlehem. Humanity wept over her desecrated rights, while the cries of slaughtered millions pierced the heavens. Liberty too, put in her claims, and announced that all men are, by nature, equal, and ought to be free. But the world seemed not to heed, and the tide of human misery continued to flow on undisturbed, and daily engulfed its thousands.

About forty or fifty years ago, christianity, humanity, and the genius of liberty seemed all to wake up at once, as by a touch of heavenly energy. The enquiry of millions of the best of our species has been, how shall the hundreds of millions of human beings, who sit in darkness, be enlightened? The philanthropist has asked, with painful solicitude, how shall the deep fountains of human misery be dried up or diminished; and in company with them, the genius of liberty has deeply lamented the degradation and wretchedness induced by political oppression or more degrading slavery.

The state of the world demanded an association which should embrace all these objects. Such is found in the American Colonization Society.

Like many of the devices of wise and good men, the object of the founders of the Colonization Society seem to have been isolated.

They, probably, thought of nothing more than to promote the happiness of the free people of color in the United States. This was a noble and worthy object. It was sufficient to give birth to the plan, and energy to the effort. But human things are linked together, both in the divine plans, and in their ultimate results. In a government of infinite wisdom and beneficence, it is impossible that a wise plan can be isolated, or a good action stand alone.— They are like the first rays of the morning sun. Diffusive and increasing. Or, like the fertilizing stream, seen first now as a lone little fountain—presently as a pearly rivulet, and ultimately a mighty river, pouring innumerable blessings upon thousands. How many glorious results will, in future, appear to have been connected with the American Colonization Society, time can never develop. It is reserved for eternity. We know it now stands forth as the emancipated black man's friend; and, 1st, proposes to elevate him to that dignity and happiness which all the boasted liberty and patriotism of America can never confer upon him; 2d, it promotes in America, the emancipation of slaves, by holding out to slave holders a rational prospect of amending the condition of their slaves; 3d, it presents to the philanthropist and patriot the means of putting a stop to the slave trade—and lastly it points out the only possible method of christianizing Africa.

I. The Colonization Society holds out to the free man of color the only possible method by which he can hope to attain to the dignity or enjoy the blessings of a free man.

The plainest principles of human nature announce to every thinking being, that the *name* of liberty without the *thing*, always has been, and always will be a curse, either to a nation or an individual. And what is the utmost of that liberty which the benevolent master bestows upon his slave when he emancipates him? It is but the *mockery* of liberty. It simply frees him from the control of his master. It deprives him also of his protection, and subjects him to all the impotency of nonage, coupled with a black skin, leaving him exposed to the villainy and imposition of unprincipled men, unprotected by the laws of the land, and even forbidden to defend himself with those weapons with which the author of nature has furnished him for self-defence. If there be a human being in America to be pitied, it is the emancipated man of color, who, while young, has been trained up in all the degradation, ignorance and impotency of slavery, feeling that inferiority, which contracted, if not innate prejudice has entailed upon the whole race of men whose skin has been stained by a vertical sun. I see such an outcast in the day of his grey hairs and poverty. He is far from the cabin in which he drew his infant breath. Far from the fields which, in happier days, he cultivated, and from which he obtained a plentiful supply of food. Far also from the pitying eyes of that humane master, who thought he was doing good when he made him a free man. He looks around him for help—he finds none—for pity—he is told he is nothing but a worthless black free

man, to whom no man is bound to open his doors. Does he look to the laws of the land? They provide for the helpless, if they be white. But, in how many parts of this land of liberty, do the laws make provision for the orphans of the free black man or for his parents or himself if they become poor? Where can these hapless beings look? On earth they find none, except here and there one to pity them. Does he look to heaven? It is with a darkened eye, for slavery has doomed him to invincible ignorance. The christian's bible is to him a sealed book. The white man's Saviour a strange God.

If the legislative enactments of all the states comprising our confederation on the subject of the free people of color be examined, there is not one of them which does not degrade the free black man. A law passed a year or two ago in Georgia, subjects to a quarantine of forty days all vessels having free colored persons on board. This law prohibits all intercourse with such vessels, by free colored persons or slaves. It imposes a penalty for teaching free people of color to read. A law passed in Maryland directs the removal of all emancipated slaves from the state. There is, it seems, a law of North Carolina which subjects any free colored persons who may enter the state to a fine of \$500—and, in the event of non-payment, he is to be sold as a slave. Who is ignorant of the disgraceful, but abortive attempt lately made by the state legislature of Ohio to expel free people of color from that state. Or, the still more recent attempt of the state of Massachusetts of somewhat a similar character; so that antipathies, which if not growing out of the physical constitution of the two races, certainly are deeply rooted in the very foundations of society, combine with many legislative arts of our common country, to degrade and press down the unhappy black man among us. "You may call him free, you may even do what has never yet been fully done in America, protect his rights by legislation; you may invoke the spirit of humanity and christianity to bless him, but still he is degraded. A thousand malignant influences around him are conspiring to wither all that is manly and noble in his nature. Such being the situation of the free people of color in this country, without one ray of hope of a change, surely they ought to long as eagerly for a settlement on the land of their ancestors as the captive tribes of Israel breathed for a return to the land of Canaan."

These and similar considerations have awakened the attention of the reflecting and benevolent part of the American people. The legislatures of the fourteen states have passed resolutions recommending the scheme of the colonizing the free colored population, and most of them approving the objects of the Colonization Society. Among these are six slave holding states. Permit me to add two or three of the resolutions of the legislatures of the states on this interesting subject. "Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the state of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That in the opinion of this General As-

sembly, the American Colonization Society eminently deserves the support of the national government, &c. Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the state of Kentucky, That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the coast of Africa for the free people of color of the United States, &c." The legislature of Indiana thus speaks: "Be it resolved by the General Assembly of Indiana, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, be, and they are hereby requested in the name of the state of Indiana, to solicit the assistance of the general government, to aid the laudable design of the Colonization Society in such measures as Congress, in its wisdom, may deem expedient." To these testimonials in favor of this society might be added the resolutions not only of eleven other states, but also of all the leading ecclesiastical bodies in our country. Of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church as early as 1818. Of the convention of the Protestant Episcopal church in 1819. Of the Congregational clergy of Connecticut in 1827. The Ohio Methodist Episcopal church in 1827. The Baptist General Convention of the state of Ohio in 1827. Of the Lutheran Synod in 1827. Of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed church, and of other minor ecclesiastical bodies.

What voice can be more distinct and imperative, than the united voice of the civil authorities and the church? And where is the interest, except that of the freed man of color, in which the wisdom of the patriot, and the breathings of christian benevolence and piety have as harmoniously blended? The judicious politician declares, much as he may pity the black man, he cannot, he dare not elevate him to all the civil privileges of our happy country. Feelings, copious as the blood that flows in our veins, and deep seated in our bosoms as life itself, call upon us to weep over the indelible degradation of our fellow men, but at the same time forbid us to open to them the forum, the bench, the halls of legislation, or even the elective franchise. The church, yes the church, adorned as she is with all that humanity and beauty which has been put upon her by her master, while she admits the pious free man of color to a participation of all the blessings of God's house, will not permit him to enjoy the communion of a private family, or the equal hospitality of a brother's board.

Therefore, what is to be done for the free man of color in America? In the midst of happiness he is wretched. In the midst of wealth he is poor. In the midst of honor he is degraded. In the midst of liberty, he is at best a bondsman, and in a christian brother's house he is sent to the kitchen, or seated on a stool by himself. I answer, he must be colonized.

What a contrast to all this will be his situation in the colony at Liberia. There they will feel themselves at home, in a country they can proudly call *their own*. Lands which they may cultivate, and call them and their product *their own*. They will

behold a new creation rising up around them. It is all *their own*. They will enact laws, and create institutions, all *their own*. They will fill offices of trust and honor, which their learning and their worth shall make *their own*. They shall feel the elevation of full grown humanity, unincumbered by natural antipathies, or factious distinctions. They shall have homes and wives and families, and sympathies and virtues and piety, all *their own*—never to be interfered with by the hand of power.

II. The Colonization Society promotes the emancipation of slaves in America.

This is done in three ways. I have lived in slave states all my life, till about a year ago. For half a century I have been an attentive observer of the progress of public sentiment, on all subjects connected with the people of color, both slaves and emancipated persons. I can only speak with confidence of the change and great amendment of public sentiment in Kentucky. In that state there are a thousand sympathies for the colored man now, for one that existed forty years ago. These kind feelings have increased far beyond the most sanguine hopes of the black man's friends, especially within the last eight or ten years, or since the success of the Colonization Society has ceased to be a problem. To what is this change to be attributed? To the calculation of interest? Certainly not; for slave labor has become doubly valuable since hemp has become so important a staple in Kentucky. Is it owing to the increase of wealth in that state—the wealthy having less need for the labor of black men? Certainly not. Generosity, justice and liberality, are plants which do not generally grow in the garden of the rich man. The change of public sentiment is owing to the diffusion of light on the subject of the black man's rights, together with the fearful anticipations of interminable slavery. These subjects never were placed distinctly before the public eye till it was done by the Colonization Society.

In the south forty years ago, to talk of the rights of black men was deemed as idle as to talk of the rights of cattle. The first public address I ever delivered was on the day of my lauration. It was a plea for black men, and I was only preserved from public insult and violence by the age and authority of those who surrounded me. The increase of light and a better spirit on this subject during the last ten or fifteen years has been unequalled, and it is to be ascribed to the Colonization Society more than to any other single cause.

But in the second place, the Colonization Society has contributed to the emancipation of slaves by presenting to the public more distinctly than was ever done before, what no one apprehended, and what some will not now believe, viz: that the black population of our country is gaining ground with a fearful rapidity upon the white. The following statements are taken from the returns of the census.

	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Blacks.</i>
The population of S. Carolina in 1790, was	131,181	107,094
1830,	237,878	315,565

Thus it appears that while the slaves nearly trebled their number in forty years, the whites did not quite double theirs. Let it not be said that this is an isolated case, and that similar results cannot elsewhere be made out. The relative situation of the white and colored population east of the Blue Ridge in Virginia places this subject in a striking point of light. It appears that the latter have gained upon the former in forty years 106,176, and this too while the transportation of slaves from that portion of the state, has been carried on to an enormous extent.

	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Blacks.</i>
Population east of the Blue Ridge, in 1779,	314,528	289,425
1830,	375,935	457,013

The increase of the free colored population of these United States exceeds the apprehension, no doubt, of every person in this assembly. In 1790, their number was only 57,481. In 1820, 233,530, and in 1830 it was 319,467. A multiplication of nearly six fold in forty years, and of 33 per cent. in the last ten years.

In the five slave holding states, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, there were, in 1790, 1,122,045 whites, and 632,593 slaves. In 1830, in those five states, there were 2,012,457 whites, and 1,352,136 slaves.

Thus it appears, that in forty years the whites increased only about eighty per cent. while the slaves increased nearly one hundred and twelve. In North Carolina the whites increased in forty years but sixty-four per cent. while the slaves increased one hundred and forty-five per cent. If we go on with the calculations for which the above facts furnish data, and what fearful presages must arise in the mind, when we consider that in 1880 the population of the United States will then be about 54,000,000, and will embrace more than 10,000,000 of a distinct race, between whom and the majority must and will exist any thing but confidence. What a matter of fact argument in favor of colonization.

III. *Planting Colonies along the western coast of Africa presents the only means of putting a stop to the slave trade.*

Well did the apostle say, "the love of money is the root of all evil." It is one of the earliest and latest, and most deeply seated depravities of our nature. It is the parent of the most heinous sin ever committed by man, the *trafic in human flesh and bones, and souls*. That any nation not wholly savage, should for a day tolerate the slave trade is only equalled by the fact, that there should be found parents who would sell their children for money, or that which is still more worthless. Yet the half of Europe and half of Africa have stood by for two or three hundred years, and beheld and participated in this horrid crime. At last the civilized world has become awake upon this subject. They have enacted laws, and annexed penalties, and England and America are expending

thousands in guarding the coast of Africa against the slavers.— What has it all effected. The total number of slaves recaptured by British vessels and emancipated in nine years, from 1819 to 1828, was, according to Mr. Walsh, only 13,281. While during that period it was pretty well ascertained, there were annually transported as slaves from different parts of the coast 100,000 human beings.

How does it come to pass that slavers so often escape the vigilance of those who are set to watch them, and that the number of those detected, when compared with those who are successful, is it not as great as one to fifty? It happens from two causes, the one having its seat in our moral, and the other in our physical nature. It is a well known fact that the hired pursuer uses less vigilance and effort to overtake or detect the culprit than the culprit makes to elude him. It is also true that a slave ship can see as far as those who are in quest of him. The truth is, the slave trade never can be legislated or watched down. This can only be effected by the combination of two causes. When colonies can be stretched along the western coast of Africa within one or two hundred miles of each other, and the inhabitants for forty or fifty miles inland, can be brought within the pale of civilization and christianity, then and not till then will parents and depredators cease to sell their children and neighbors, and the slave dealer be prevented from having access to those who will. The fact that proves these remarks to be well founded, is, that for two hundred miles partly north of the colony of Sirrea Leone and part south of Liberia, the slave trade is almost extinguished.

I cannot forbear making a quotation from the proceedings of a public meeting held in Great Britain for the formation of a British Colonization Society, Lord Bealy in the Chair, Lieut. Rosenberg stated, “that he had been employed on duty on the African coast previous to the settlement of Liberia, and that he had visited the settlement subsequently. He bore testimony to the beneficial change which had taken place. He found the spot where he had seen six or eight slave vessels at anchor, and which had been one of the greatest marts from whence their cargo had been procured under circumstances of every aggravation, the parent selling the child, and the child the parent; converted into the abode of peace and happiness, and the slave trade entirely extinguished.”

I see Africa *lying* in the dust in which she has long lain. She remembers Egypt with its unrivalled pyramids and labyrinths.— She remembers her Hannibals and Hamilcars, her Origin, Turtulian, Cyprian and Augustine, those lights of christianity; and Carthage with its 700,000 inhabitants contending with Rome for the sovereignty of the world. She indignantly scoffs at the philosophy of Buffon, and the whole tribe of infidel sophists who would make her inhabitants nothing more than the blot of his hand, who of one flesh hath made all the inhabitants of the earth. She proudly commands these ignorant speculators to go learn their horn book,

and when they have studied the alphabet of Jehovah's works, let them read her history, and see if in her they do not find the birth place of science, and the cradle of letters. She does not disown her vertical sun, nor her burning sands, nor blush at their combined influence, which has made her children black, but which has warmed their bosoms with a generosity, and richness of kind and social feelings which the slavery and oppression of two hundred years in America have not been able to extinguish. She weeps in company with millions of those who have inhabited happier climes, now buried under the ruins of former civilization, enveloped in the darkness of the Prophet's law, or in all the cruelties of paganism. She calls upon freemen, upon the freemen of America to look at her now, if indeed they can indure the sight, and to weep with her. It is the wailing of *Africa*, such as the world never heard before. Her's are the tears of a mother—a bereaved mother, a violated mother. She has forgotten her olden glory. Her two thousand years of seclusion from science and christianity. These minor evils are with her as though they had never been. For two hundred years she has sat alone. Envied by none—pityed by none—trampled on by all. Her eye is cast to the west—she curses the Atlantic and the white man.

But behold *Africa* lifting herself from the dust. The cup of her suffering is full. The dawning of her day has commenced; and she is about to bless the Atlantic, and the white man. This brings us to say in the last place.

That the colonization plan holds out the only possible method of christianizing Africa, and of affording her civilization and liberty.

The christian's motto is the SALVATION OF THE WORLD. The philanthropist steps in and says be it my business to spread the blessedness of civilization and self-government to the ends of the earth. Now, it is the ordinance of Heaven that these men should work together. They never have labored efficiently apart, and never can. The truth of God's bible is the only means by which savage man ever has, or ever can be civilized. Am I asked what, upon this principle, I am to do with celebrated Greece and Rome. Were these people not civilized? I would only ask the inquirer to attend the olympic games of Greece, and see the judge of those games sitting, in the eye of thousands, in a state of perfect nudity. See them throw any female who might ignorantly have wandered into the presence of those games, or who have come there in disguise, over the next precipice. See them pay public homage to mere brute physical strength or agility, and draw in splendid chariots the stupid victors of these games. Were these people civilized? notwithstanding the refinement of their language, the beauty of their poetry, or the vigor of their orators.—Let the admirer of Grecian and Roman refinement visit the *Gladiatorii Ludi* of the Romans, performed first over the graves of deceased persons. It was supposed that the ghosts of the dead were rendered propitious by human blood. A these shows, made

afterwards for the amusement of the people, multitudes of human beings were sacrificed. To civilization? No, to savage barbarity, I repeat it, the apostle of Christ and the apostle of civilization and liberty must work together. As well might you expect your field to be productive because you had ploughed and sowed it, though the genial warmth of the sun should be withheld, or the clouds should refuse to drop down their fatness, as to attempt to civilize a nation of barbarians by the plough, the ~~ox~~ or the hoe, accompanied by the cold maxim of political justice. The voice of God must be superadded. The *Bible* and the *Crass* must form the corner stone of the fabric. The projectors of the Colonization Society seem fully to have realized this principle. Who do we see at the laying of the corner stone? It is Finley, and Clay, and Bushrod Washington, and the devoted Mills. And who have ever been its chief builders? The leading christians, and the leading politicians of America and of Great Britain.

Africa is to be free, she is to be evangelized and christianized, or the hopes of the philanthropist, the statesman and the christian are to be equally frustrated. And what is still more, God's covenant is to fail. Let us hear the voice of one statement on this subject. We quote it with the more pleasure because it is the voice of the West. Says Henry Clay, in one of his addresses as Vice President of the Colonization Society: "We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature, for the record of any plan for the amelioration of the condition, or the advancement of the happiness of our race, which promises more unmingled good, or more comprehensive benevolence than that of the African colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purposes are not limited to one continent, or to the posterity of a solitary race, but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and happiness of both the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. She appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty, here and elsewhere. Every emigrant to Liberia is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion and free institutions."

Is Mr. Mr. Clay alone? Shew me the enlightened patriot in America whose eye is not turned towards suffering Africa. The meltings of real philanthropy ever have, and ever must blend with those of the christian. The lover of mankind asks, how shall Africa become the land of freemen and civilization? The christian asks how shall Africa become a christian land. These inquiries are made by a different set of men; and to a superficial observer, the means to be pursued to obtain their purposes, must be entirely different. We do not say that christianity and civilization are the same thing. But we do say the former is the root—the stock—the latter but the branches.

I am not extensively acquainted with the history of colonies, but have some knowledge of those of Massachusetts, of Virginia, of North Carolina, and of Liberia. That of Massachusetts com-

enced in 1620, consisting of about 120 persons, and although they received several reinforcements, they only amounted in 1630 to about 300. The colony of Virginia was still more unsuccessful. The first attempt at a settlement took place in 1585. Several reinforcements joined them afterwards. In 1610 the heroic Smith, the father of the colony, brought out a strong reinforcement, with a large supply of provisions and live stock; yet, in less than one year only 60 survived, and nothing but the return of Smith, who had gone to England, saved the colony from utter ruin. All the difficulties and disasters that have occurred in Liberia, from the commencement of the settlement till the present time, fall far short of a tithe of the calamities which befel the settlement of Virginia in six months. The colony of North Carolina commenced in 1688; and in 1694 the list of taxables was only seven hundred and eighty-seven. Being but little more than half the number of in 1677, seventeen years before. Such, says Mr. Williamson, in his history of North Carolina, "was the baneful effects of rapine, cruelty and idleness."

Let us make the contrast. The first expedition to Liberia, was in 1820, but the colonists met with so many difficulties at the commencement, that it was not till the year 1824 that order and good government were established. So that all that has been done was accomplished in eight or nine years. There are now upwards of two thousand colonists there, who are contented, happy, and prosperous; enjoying a regular government. Agriculture and commerce daily improving—their settlements rapidly extending—a large territory, fairly and honorably purchased, extending one hundred and fifty miles along the coast and inland about forty miles—several slave marts destroyed, and the slaves liberated—the slave trade abolished for forty or fifty miles above and below the colony. The aboriginal inhabitants tranquilized, regarding the colonists with reverence, and looking up to them for protection from the ferocious violence of those "*hostes humani generis*," the slave traders—education advanced, the children of the natives instructed—morals and religion attended too—houses of public worship filled with devout worshippers. In a word, the most sanguine expectations of the founders of the Society have been fully realized.

An interesting question here presents itself. Why has God, in his holy providence, signalized the African colony above any other colony, ancient or modern, of which we have any knowledge? I know it becomes men when asking and answering questions respecting God's providence, to do it with great modesty, yet it may be done without presumption.

I would then say, that God, in the course of his providence towards this Society, does announce to men his approbation of the new and elevated principles upon which the American Colonization Society was formed. And secondly, that he means by this and similar associations to civilize and christianize Africa.

One feature in this colony in a most honorable manner distin

gushes it from every other colony of ancient or modern times.— The founders of other colonies were impelled by a desire of conquest, thirst for aggrandizement, or the acquisition of personal liberty. The founders of Liberia were actuated by no such motives. The benefit of the colonists was the leading object. Philanthropy gave birth to the project. Christianity and philanthropy have carried it on thus far. It has been the noble work of private munificence.

But again. Who can view the western coast of Africa without anticipating the most glorious results to the whole country, from the colony of Liberia and kindred colonies. Africa must be christianized and civilized. Are the hands of white men to carry the lamp of science, and of the gospel to central Africa? I think not. To say nothing of the unhealthiness of the climate to white men, are there no physical obstructions—no antipathies, seated deep in the bosoms of all white men which never can be removed? If there lives a man in whose bosom every thing of this kind ought to be extinguished, I am that man. Among the earliest recollections of my life is the kindness of a slave, who taught me my letters in company with his own children when his day's work was finished. I was brought up in a family where the authority of the master was tempered with the kindness of the father. Such was my father to his slaves. And since I have had the felicity of being the pastor of one church for almost half a century, among my happiest rewards have been those of leading many of the poor oppressed children of sorrow to the Lord's table, and in company sealing our hopes of immortality. Still, to see my son go to Africa, carrying with him the partner of his life, and see them mingle the blood of their children with that of a black man, is abhorrent to my nature. It may be an unholy feeling, and one which I ought to eradicate; but, I fear it is the feeling of most men, however devoted they may be. I therefore conclude that if ever Africa is to rank among the nations of the earth, as a civil and religious nation, it is to be the work of black men. I therefore look to Liberia with the deepest interest. There are we to realize ere long schools for the missionary and civilian. And it is in Africa that we are to see the most stupendous moral changes taking place. Here are no *casts* to contend with as in Hindostan—no national pride the growth of many centuries ignorance as in China. Here nature presents herself in her simplest form to the plastic hand of the missionary and the civilian. And all these blessings will be more readily accepted, simply because presented by the hands of black men.

Fellow citizens, it would be paying but a poor compliment either to your understandings, or your hearts to ask you to patronize this Society. To this course you are urged by the best feelings of your hearts. The man who labors in this cause does it in company with the wisest and best men of our country, and every christian heart breathes forth the prayer—may Ethiopia stretch out her hands to God.