

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT ITS LATE

ANNUAL MEETING,

IN

WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY

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AND

Rev. PHINEHAS D. GURLEY, D. D.



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ADDRESS OF JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Esq.,

Members of the American Colonization Society,

Ladies and Gentlemen :

I have been unexpectedly requested by the Executive Committee to occupy the time, this evening, which had been allotted to one or more speakers, who have failed to attend. I cannot do so more profitably than by saying a few words touching the condition and prospects of the Colonization cause.

The question is constantly asked, "What are you doing—how many emigrants are you sending to Africa?" And the invariable reply is, "We are doing little or nothing—we are sending few if any emigrants; and yet, never has the success of our scheme appeared more certain than at the present time."

The paucity of emigrants and the smallness of our collections are susceptible of easy explanation; so, too, are the grounds of our unhesitating confidence in the future.

We are engaged in a contest unparalleled in the history of the world; and the prominence which it has given to the subject of slavery, and the general belief that it will end in the freedom, sooner or later, of all who are now held in bondage, has led many to suppose that the condition of the negro will be so much modified, when peace shall be established, that the separation of the two races, toward which Colonization tends, will be no longer necessary; and that whites and negroes will come to be regarded as equals, socially; or that, at any rate, there will be a fair division between them of the rewards of industry, if not of place and power.

That the negro should be credulous at the suggestion of so pleasant an illusion, is not unnatural; and although his past experience ought to create doubts, as to the probability of such a result, yet, we would be more surprised if he did not wait to see the issue of the war, before he made up his mind about Colonization, than we are at his doing so.

The hesitation of the free negro to emigrate at this time, abandoning the vague and dreamy hope of some great, but undefined good that is to befall him when the war is ended, is thus readily accounted for; and until his eyes shall be opened to the truth, we can expect but very few emigrants from this quarter.

While the war, in this way, affects indirectly the supply of emigrants, it has entirely cut us off from our usual supply of slaves, emancipated by southern masters, for emigration to Liberia. And here, again, Colonization suffers for the present.

But the dreams we have above referred to are not confined to the negro. The whites indulge in them. They lose sight of the mighty and paramount question of our Union; and, because the collateral one of the negro has been made prominent, they seem to imagine that the war will end by overcoming all the prejudices of the whites, annulling the law of races, and fitting the new-made free men for that social equality, which those of their race, born free, educated and refined, have never yet been able to attain. They make no attempt to vindicate these views by argument. They have a faith but no reason for it: and while they wait, in the hope that all they wish for may 'turn up,' they suspend their judgment in regard to Colonization. They suspend their contributions too. And, here again, Colonization suffers.

Verily, if either whites or negroes are right in these anticipations, Colonization is, indeed, *functus officio*; and the most that we can hope to do is, to maintain a respectable position among the missionary associations, differing from them in this only, that we have a peculiar field of operations, cultivated by us in a peculiar manner.

But, are they right? We think not. And in demonstrating their error, we will vindicate our belief that the success of our scheme was never more assured than now. We have often said that African Colonization was destiny. This war will force all men to admit it.

Let us assume, that, sooner or later, immediately, or after some comparatively brief interval, every slave in America finds himself a freed man when peace shall be restored; not freed by Proclamation merely, but actually, practically free—free to work at pleasure, and for whom he pleases. It requires no stretch of the imagination to do this; we have only to fancy ourselves in the State of Pennsylvania, where there are many free negroes, and no slaves.

What, then, will be the condition of the country? We have, now, according to the last census, 482,005 free negroes. We will then have 4,441,765.*

Our population, now, is divided into three classes, whites, free negroes, and slaves. Then, there will be but two classes, whites and negroes, both free.

A mighty change will have been accomplished; and the question is, how will it affect the social condition of the negro race amongst us. Will it reconcile the whites to receive negroes into their families—into their counting houses—to work with them in the same factories—to share with them the same out-door labor—to live with them under even the humblest roofs? Will it do anything, in a word, to obviate the strife and heartburn-

*The figures of the last census are used in these remarks, although the lapse of time is daily changing them. Still, they answer the end of the argument.

ings, that have of late years prevailed wherever the races have been brought in contact, and which have been regarded as making their separation, by means of Colonization, a necessity?

The subject is too grave to be dealt with by dogmatic assertions. The happiness and destiny of a people are not to be perilled through pride of opinion. We have no justification in continuing our scheme, and urging it upon whites and negroes, merely because we believe that we are right. Proof is necessary to justify us; and there is, happily, any amount of it at hand.

In Massachusetts, the free negro population is a little more than three-quarters of one per cent. of the aggregate. With a population of 1,221,464 whites, she has but 9,602 negroes. And no where have the wrongs of the negro been more emphatically discussed than in this State. The press, the pulpit, and the platform, have all been eloquent in this behalf. And, yet, after the war began, and when all the contingencies of the future had become prominent, Massachusetts, officially, eschewed the increase of the negro element within her borders. It was thus shown, that words were not to be relied on; that it was one thing to talk of negro wrongs, and quite another thing to take negroes by the hand, and hail them as friends and neighbors. And can it for a moment be imagined, that the feeling in Massachusetts, due to less than one per cent. of free negro population, would be modified in favor of the latter, by increasing the ratio to ten per cent? It is only necessary to ask the question, to see how ineffably absurd would be the idea of any such result. Where there is one hate—or to use a milder word—prejudice, in the one case, there would be ten times as many in the other.

Now, we do not find fault with Massachusetts, when we thus put her forward as our illustration of what must take place throughout the land, when the number of free negroes shall be ten times greater than it is at present! Wise and prudent, keen of observation, learning fast from experience, her own or other people's, with schools everywhere, with thrift everywhere, with hospitals and colleges and libraries, and with soldiers, too, that do her honor, Massachusetts has but manifested a matured judgment, formed with all the means of making it a correct one, of the inexpediency, looking to the happiness and prosperity of her people, of lessening the present great disparity of numbers between the whites and the negroes within her borders. Massachusetts may love the negro race, as she does, if we believe her orators and poets; but it is at a distance that her affection is the strongest.

So far from holding that Massachusetts is to blame in this respect, we would have her example imitated throughout the land, so far as might be consistent with humanity and the duties that we owe to the negro race; and it is because we firmly believe

that it will be imitated, that we are colonizationists. When all the States shall feel as Massachusetts feels, a home for the free negro beyond the sea will be all that can save the race from extirpation; and that home we have prepared in Liberia.

But, while Massachusetts merely protests against the increase of her free negro population from abroad, Indiana, another free State, proud, wise, intelligent and wealthy, brave, too, as the bravest, has gone a step further, and actually taken measures to expel the free negro from her confines.

What will the increase of the free negroes, at the end of the war, or in a comparatively short time afterwards, when all negroes shall be free, do to modify the feeling or the action of Indiana in this regard? Will it cause the repeal of the unkind legislation on her statute book? Will slaves, just freed across the Ohio, in Kentucky, be more welcome in 1866 than they were in 1856? How idle to imagine anything of the kind! On the contrary, unless the war should change humanity, the tendency of circumstances will be to make the legislation of Indiana more severe, rather than more liberal.

We might go on, and refer to New York, where, without law, whites are permitted to exclude negroes from certain employments—to Pennsylvania, where, in Philadelphia, negroes at one time were assailed by mobs—to Ohio, where, in Cincinnati, cannon have been brought into the streets to quell a negro riot. But why multiply illustrations? Surely enough has been said to show that the mere increase of the numbers of the free negroes, after the war, will not operate to remove or lessen the obstacles which now effectually exclude them from social equality with the whites, and threaten to leave them no alternative to extirpation but emigration.

When the negro race shall be a free race here, wherein will they differ from the Indian race; and why should the destiny of the one be different from that of the other. Will it be because negroes are tillers of the soil, and more docile and more amenable to restraint than the Indians? Why, this very mildness of character will operate against them, when the whites, armed with political power, increase in numbers to such a degree as to produce a strife with negroes for the means of livelihood. Will it be because they are mixed up with us in the same communities, while the Indians have been pushed beyond our borders, and maintained as a separate organization remote from us? Why, this very commingling is another element of weakness, should the anticipated struggle ever arise. Is it because there are more educated men among them than are to be found among the Indians, with more refinement, more civilization, more religion? While the fact here is doubted—for John Ross and the Folsoms, and others, yield to few of any race in information and intelligence—yet, even were it conceded, of what avail will all their qualities be when the question of bread presents itself, as

in time it must, to the masses of the population, with whom the negroes will then be intermixed?

On more than one occasion, the speaker has asked, what would have been the fate of the negro, had Ireland, during the famine of 1847, been inhabited by a mixed population of whites and blacks, in the proportions in which they exist in the United States, and entertaining the feelings towards each other there that prevail here? Who can doubt which would have starved? This is a question which will bear repetition. It suggests an illustration that cannot be overlooked by those who, regardless of specious declamation, when the interests of humanity are at stake, are not afraid to face the facts in coming to their conclusions.

But, as the effect of the war, in freeing the slaves, is to operate in the States where slavery exists, it would not do, in the examination we are giving to the subject, to omit these in our discourse. To one of them, Maryland, the speaker has the honor to belong. There are, in Maryland, 83,942 free negroes—more than in any other State of the Union—more than in the two great free States of New York and Ohio, put together. Nearly one-fifth of the free negroes of the United States are to be found in this state. In Maryland they have increased to more than twelve per cent. of the entire population, by emancipation, immigration, and births. And in Maryland, with the experience afforded by this large per centage, more has been done for colonization than in all the other States combined. And yet, in Maryland, notwithstanding the kindness which has attracted them from other States, until their numbers have reached the ratio above mentioned, they have been gradually and finally excluded from the ship-yards, from the coal-yards, and from many an old and accustomed calling.

In Maryland the free negro population is already so large, that doubling it by freeing the slaves will not produce so striking a change as where—further South, for instance—the proportion of free negroes is now comparatively small. For years past, free negroes have formed an important portion of the agricultural labor of many counties; and the experiment of working the plantations by hirelings, instead of slaves, has been more than tried. It has become, in fact, a part of the agricultural system of the State. And, without going into the rationale of the fact, at this time, it may be remarked that it has been found necessary, apparently, to make the violation of a free negro contract for hire, on the part of the laborer, a penal offense, instead of leaving it to be punished by a civil action at the suit of the aggrieved party.

That Maryland will, before long, rank as a free State, cannot now be questioned; but there is nothing in her history or experience to make us hope that the increase of free negroes will operate to produce kindlier feelings towards the race than have heretofore existed, and which have not sufficed to make Mary-

land an exception to the operation of the law of races, that renders the existence of two peoples, which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, in the same land, on a footing of social equality, impossible. Amalgamation, extirpation, or emigration, would seem to be the only alternatives.

Going further South with our examination, it is impossible to imagine that emancipation of the slaves will improve the feelings towards them of their late masters. Compulsory, as the emancipation will be, in the vast majority of cases, the angry feelings which the measure will produce, will certainly, not promote relations there between the races, looking in the direction of social equality. Wherever else this condition might obtain, we know enough of the character and temper of the South to satisfy us that *there*, under any circumstances, it must be hopeless. Generations upon generations would have to elapse, before the ignorant uneducated slaves of Carolina and Georgia would attain the condition of the free negroes of the North; and, during all this time, the pride, the very nature of the whites, would be in constant revolt against the very idea of social equality.

We have thus gone over the ground for the purpose of showing, that the idea that the increase of the free negro population of the country, assuming that slavery, sooner or later, is to pass away as the result of the war, will benefit the race, elevate the negro to the white man's level, or operate, in any one particular, in his favor, is an illusion—a vain and idle dream.

We will now proceed to show, that instead of enhancing the negro's prospects of social advancement, the war in which we are engaged will impair them; and, in so doing, make colonization, more than ever, a necessity.

And this requires a word or two touching the theory upon which colonization rests. It may be stated epigrammatically almost, when we say, that colonization rests upon the fact that WHILE THE POPULATION INCREASES, THE LAND DOES NOT.

We learn little new now-a-days. We are living over and over the experience of the past. African colonization is the same as American colonization. The attractions of the new home, the repulsions of the old one, or both combined, have produced all the colonizations that have taken place since the days of Noah. Where population has been in excess, where religious persecution has prevailed, where distinct races have found it impossible to amalgamate, colonization has depended on repulsion; where gold has tempted, where a spirit of adventure has needed a wider field, attraction has fostered colonization.

To produce the great results of African colonization, the repelling agencies, operating in harmony, will be a redundant population, and the distinction between the white and negro races.

The speaker has been told by high authority, that, excluding the vast areas on the maps where arid plains alternate with mountains unfit for cultivation, but little land remains, speak-

ing comparatively, that has not been taken up ; AND THE LAND DOES NOT INCREASE.

But the population, which was 3,929,827 in 1790, and was 31,445,089 in 1860, will be 100,000,000, in round numbers, at the close of the century, and upwards of 200,000,000, much upwards, in 1930, only three score years and ten, a single lifetime, from to-day.*

Of this teeming, stirring, jostling mass, the negroes, all made free by the war, will form but an inconsiderable part, even though they number millions. Deprived of the protection which they enjoyed as slaves, thrown upon their own resources, the vast majority of them hirelings, and nothing but hirelings, they will be subjected to a competition which the increase of the aggregate of population will render inevitable. The competition that has heretofore been felt by the free negroes in the great cities, only, with the effects we have referred to, will then be felt every where, with none of those alleviations arising from the kindly feelings which, in the slave States, have ever existed towards the race, feelings which, in the slave State of Maryland, go far to account for the accumulation of its immense free negro population.

We are not speaking of to-day or to-morrow, but of a distant period, which is as sure to arrive, however, as is the rising of the sun.

For years, the demand for labor will preserve the freed negro from the consequences here indicated. He did not anticipate, during the revolutionary war, what he has experienced in New York and Indiana within the last twenty years ; but in less time than has elapsed since the revolution, will he suffer, if he remains here, not in the cities only, but everywhere, what we foretell.

Without the war, this antagonism of races in the South would have been long postponed. Even then it would have come at last with the increase of population. With peace, and without slavery, it will be at once inaugurated.

One thing seems to be conceded in this connection, that white labor will find its way to the South more rapidly than it has yet done. It will be attracted by the demand for it. The Southern climate, the productiveness of the soil, the value of its great staples, and the fact there being no longer any slaves, free white labor cannot be invidiously compared with, or likened to, slave labor, will all have their effect in producing this result. So long as the owner of land was a slave-owner also, it was his interest to work his land with the slaves. Ceasing to own slaves, and having offered to him a choice between free white labor and negro labor, he will be governed by his interest in choosing between. The whites will thus be brought into

* These calculations, long since made and appreciated by colonizationists, have been communicated to Congress by President Lincoln in one of his Messages.

competition with the negroes; and there will soon prevail the same antagonism at the South that exists elsewhere; an antagonism embittered and made intense by the peculiar circumstances that have produced it.

If there be any who assert that this can never be, because the necessity for negro labor, to produce the great Southern staples, will make the negro a necessity there, and secure for him better treatment as a hireling than he has received as a slave, it may be replied, that this is by no means certain. The assertion has been repeated a million times, that cotton could only be produced by associated negro labor; and this, too, by those, who, being planters, might be supposed to know. But not one of them ever tried the experiment under circumstances that made the result reliable. The white laborer has always heretofore had a choice of toil, and has chosen that which was most agreeable to him, and has kept away from fields in which slaves were fellow-workers. But this cannot be so always; and it is the speaker's firm belief, founded on many years of careful observation, that when the necessity for it arises, cotton, not here and there, but universally, will be grown by white men. That the war will hasten the coming of this time, to the destruction of the *prestige* of negro labor in this direction, admits of little question.

In the many addresses which the speaker has been called upon to deliver in the last thirty years, he has always anticipated the time, when, through the operation of natural causes, at the instance of the owners of slaves, prompted by their own interest, slavery would cease, and America would be inhabited by an homogeneous population of white men; and he clung to this theory the more, perhaps, because it was a pleasant one, involving no painful disruption of old ties of affection, which were independent of color or race, causing neither loss nor suffering, leaving the old, when their days of labor were over, to die in their beds, in comfort, and opening to the young and adventurous a field of honorable ambition in the land from whence their fathers came. It was a theory that looked to the oozing, as it were, from amongst us, slowly, but certainly, in the course of generations, of the whole negro race.

But the war, from present appearances, at least, ends the theory referred to, in many of its aspects, and certainly not to the comfort of the negro.

We cannot close our remarks without a word in reply to those who insist that the sad losses of the present contest, in human life, will of themselves give to negro labor a value that will operate to elevate the race, and bring them nearer to social equality, if it does not establish them upon that footing; and that this effect will be enhanced by the fact that the negro is now made a soldier, and is uniting with the whites in sustaining the Union so prized and so cherished.

This is but a narrow view of the matter. There is, already, a foreign immigration, the *avant courier* of a still greater, which is filling our numbers, not of the army, but of the people, as fast as war is depleting them. The ordinary immigration of past years, which has been felt in maintaining that uniform ratio of increase which enables us to fix the population of the country, at any given period in the future, has been increased by the war, and the demand for labor, and the high price of wages due to it. That the census of 1870 will show the same ratio for the preceding decade that has been shown by the census of 1860, for that then closed, can scarcely be questioned.

And this immigration! Ask the free negro what he thinks of it. Who hung him to the lamp-posts in New York, and kindled fires under his body as he swung there, before suffocation came to rescue him from torture? Who have ever been the bitterest enemies of the negro? Who but the foreign emigrant. It is not from this quarter that he can hope for assistance in realizing his vain and idle dream of social equality—nor even the more reasonable, but still impracticable expectation of an equal division of industrial occupations.

But then he has been a soldier! Well; will he be treated better on that account, than the learned and refined men, negroes, who for the last thirty years have illustrated the capacity of the race to take an honorable rank in Science, Literature and Art, to conduct the affairs of government in Liberia with ability and reputation? Will the soldier who has survived the war, and attained some smaller rank, perhaps, he better received in society, or be recognized as having done more to elevate his race, than Crummell, and Blyden, and Roberts, and Russwurm, and Benson, and McGill? There is no reason why he should be. There are many reasons why he should not; reasons unnecessary to enumerate, as they suggest themselves naturally. "They employ us as porters, but do not employ us as clerks," said a most intelligent and accomplished negro in New York, when speaking, not many years ago, of some loud-voiced friends. It can hardly be hoped that the war will open the doors of the counting houses to the race, after they have so long been closed against commercial intelligence and clerical capacity, because their possessors were negroes.

No! the war will not change, for the better, one feeling, or modify one principle, for the negro's advancement in the social scale. On the contrary, he will find when it is over, that where he had before one motive for emigration, he will then have two.

War! why, it softens none of us. Its tendency is the reverse. Even now, we are as the spectators at Spanish bull-fights, whose satisfaction is in proportion to the slaughter that distinguishes the spectacle. Years since, a steamboat explosion on the western waters, accompanied with the loss of some score of lives

caused a thrill that pervaded the country, and draped the newspapers that first announced it in mourning. Now, we consult the list of killed and wounded to determine the importance of a victory, and are disappointed at successes whose misfortune it is to be bloodless! We do not acknowledge this; we hope it is not so. But the fact is not changed by our silence or our hopes. And the negro, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, will find himself less thought of, and of less consideration, with his whole race free, than when a part of it was in bondage.

He doubts us, we well know, when we speak in this way—we who have, as colonizationists, recognized his ability, made him the governor of our colonies, the professor in our colleges, and entrusted him with thousands and tens of thousands of dollars, when our only security was in his honesty and truth; we, who, while we rejoice in his freedom, are still the friends who proclaim to him his fate if he remains here.

And whence does he derive the hopes that retain him in America? From the press, the pulpit, and the platform. But what do they know of his troubles and difficulties? Neither the orators nor writers, nor their hearers or readers, ever met with the negro in the walks where he is striving for bread. What effect has the most eloquent oration ever delivered in his behalf upon the hungry whites, who, with every one a vote, insist that negro waiters shall no longer be employed in a fashionable hotel. What effect has the most vigorous article ever penned upon the gang of laborers who, rioting along the wharves, drive off the negro stevedores? Was the negro to be seen working with whites in manufactories at alternate benches, associating with the laboring class of white men in the streets, there would be far more reason to hope for his social advancement than can fairly be derived from all that the press, the platform, or the pulpit has ever said in reference to negro wrongs. They have caused negroes to be seen at anniversary meetings, scattered here and there through the audience—the *racinantes in gurgite vasto*, of the poet—but as to any permanent effect produced by them upon those on whom the negro's comfort depends, it has been worse than nothing; for the white man, the poor man, has felt himself neglected for the negro, and has hated the latter for the prominence that has been given to him.

As Colonizations, we deal with the negro question as it is presented to us. We have prepared a home to which the negro can escape when he becomes satisfied that the evil day is at hand. We compel none to go to Liberia. Not every one is fit to go, or ought to be received there. That it is a land flowing with milk and honey—that the emigrant will not have to encounter difficulties and submit to privations there—we have never pretended to assert. But we have always said, what we now repeat, that it is a land where labor will meet a fair reward in the cultivation of a fertile soil, where there is a wide

field for commercial enterprise, where negroes have established, and now maintain with honor, a government, republican in form, and recognized by the leading nations of the world; and where it is our assured belief that an emigration, voluntary and self-paying—just such an emigration as brings the European to our shores—will, in the inevitable course of human events, build up a great nation, vindicating, in its own prosperity, and in the christianizing of Africa, the ways of God towards man.

Such have been the views of Colonizationists heretofore. Confessedly incompetent, with any means at their command, to transport the free people of color, or any considerable portion of them to Africa, even before the war, infinitely absurd would be the idea that, when all shall be free, of the negro race, they would be able to do so. But, blessed by Him who liveth and reigneth, their feeble strength and limited means have founded Liberia, and have made it, and will be able to continue to make it sufficiently attractive, to cause, when combined with the pressure of increasing population here, the exodus, in time, of the whole negro race from amongst us.

We are weak, very weak; we, the friends of Colonization! But mighty agencies (this very war not the least of them) are at work to vindicate the wisdom of the founders of our Society. Time and circumstances are our great auxiliaries; and upon these we depend. Nor do we doubt that the day will come, when, on the coast of Africa, the thanks of grateful millions will be rendered to even the humblest of those who have wrought in the great cause of African Colonization.

Address of Rev. P. D. GURLEY, D. D.

MR. PRESIDENT: When an honorable member of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society called upon me a few days ago, to ask the use of the New York Avenue Church for your anniversary exercises, he, at the same time, requested that on this occasion I should say a few words in favor of the cause. I promised to do so: not to make a speech, but briefly to add my testimony to that of other speakers on behalf of African Colonization. I stand here to redeem that promise; and for the sake of brevity and precision, I have reduced what I wish to say to writing:

Though the Colonization Society is merely a voluntary association, and though it has had to labor with many difficulties growing out of misapprehension and prejudice, still it can boast of achievements which are enough to silence its enemies and fill the hearts of its friends and supporters with gratitude and joy. What has it done?

1. In the first place, it has opened an asylum for the free people of color, to which they may go and enjoy all the rights and immunities of freemen indeed. There stands Liberia—the

fruit of Colonization—on the Western coast of Africa, the only bright spot of any considerable magnitude, save one, on the whole of that dark, dark continent. There is a republican government modeled after our own. There are schools, and churches, and temperance societies, and newspapers, and agriculture, and the mechanical arts, and a legitimate commerce. There are legislative assemblies, and wholesome laws, and courts and officers of justice, and all the elements of an advanced civilization—all the agencies that usually accompany and promote true national growth and prosperity. There are several thousand persons, the most of whom were once in bondage, removed from this country, and organized into thriving communities. They are, for the most part, moral and religious. Perhaps a greater proportion of them are members of some Christian church than in any other community of equal dimensions in the world. So much has been done; and if this were all, it would be enough to vindicate the cause of African Colonization, and commend it to the hearty approbation of all benevolent men. Yes, while the enemies of this scheme have been cavilling, and gravely doubting the possibility of establishing *one* colony, behold a *constellation* of colonies has arisen, star by star, and shed its light along the dreary coast, reminding us of the words of the prophet, and renewing their fulfilment:—"The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up." There, I repeat it, has been opened a blessed asylum for the free colored people of this country. *Here* they lie under political and social disadvantages; *there* they are organized into an independent empire of their own. They are stimulated to improvement by everything around them; they are inspired by all laudable motives of ambition, and effectually aroused to that energy, determination and hope, which are indispensable to their advancement, and which we are persuaded they will never put forth while they remain in this country. The fact that we can now take our colored brethren by the hand, and encourage their hearts and hopes with the assurance that there is one spot in the world where they can become a great, and powerful, and independent nation, all this we owe to Colonization.

2. Secondly: Colonization has done more for the suppression of the slave trade than all the united navies of the world. The history of all the efforts which have been made by armed forces to arrest the progress of this inhuman traffic, is full of defeat and discouragement. It is now we think generally admitted that the slave trade can never be arrested and abolished by the efforts of men-of-war, however earnest, and strong, and vigilant they may be; and that the only hope of effectually doing this great work is by planting colonies along the coast, operating upon the minds of the natives themselves, inducing them to abandon their trade in men, with the view of enga-

ging in lawful commerce, and thus effectually cutting off the *supply* of slaves. Now, this is just what our colonies in Liberia have done all along the coast, wherever their influence extends. Yes, it is a fact that Liberia has suppressed the slave trade for hundreds of miles (700) along the seaboard; and whereas that whole region was little less than a storehouse and an outlet for slaves, before it was occupied by Christian colonies, it may be fairly estimated that, through their instrumentality, at least twenty thousand Africans are kept back from slavery every year. This is no small achievement, and, it seems to me, it should endear the cause of African Colonization to every philanthropic heart.

3. Again, As a means of carrying the blessings of Christianity to the 150,000,000 of heathen on the continent of Africa, Colonization seems to be our best and only hope. What has ever been done for Africa apart from Colonization? Very little indeed. The missionaries have either died in a short time, or been driven from the country by the severity of the climate, or else they have fallen an early sacrifice to the barbarity of its inhabitants. The climate is fatal to the white man. He cannot endure it. And if the enterprise of kindling the lights of civilization and Christianity in every part of that dark continent is to depend upon him, it *must* fail. If Africa is ever to be redeemed, it must be through the instrumentality of colored men. This seems to be a settled question. But how are even colored men to operate in that country against the combined influence of war, plunder, cannibalism, and the slave-trade? Can they accomplish much single-handed and alone? Certainly not. If they would do good in Africa, they must go together, and in such numbers as to form an organization strong enough for the purposes of self-defence. Rely upon it, all past experience proves that *colonies of colored people* are the only means whereby the blessings of the Christian religion can be carried to the benighted millions of Africa. By a close and critical historical examination, made within the last twenty years, it has been demonstrated that Roman Catholic missions for three centuries, and Protestant missions for one century past, *disconnected with civilized colonies on the coast*, have been an utter failure. This examination has also shown that colonization has had the most marked and marvellous influence in protecting and sustaining Christian missions. Indeed, it has been their great safeguard and defence, and is now regarded by those who have carefully attended to the subject, as the only medium through which they can extend their redeeming power over the continent, and usher in the day when "princes shall come out of Egypt, and Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."

We bless God, then, for Liberia; for what it has done and promises to do for the free man of color; for what it has done and promises to do for the suppression of the slave trade; for what it has done and promises to do for Christian missions,

and, through them, for the complete redemption of Africa. Its various benevolent bearings, and what it has actually accomplished for the cause of God and humanity, give it a strong and unquestionable claim upon our sympathy and assistance, our confidence and prayers; and unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, as connected with current and coming events in our own beloved and bleeding country, they point to a day near at hand when Liberia and African Colonization will assume an importance in the estimation of the American people such as they never had before; and when thousands now indifferent to their claims, or disposed to call them in question, will confess their mistake, and admire, as we do, the wisdom that devised so blessed a scheme for the deliverance of a suffering people and a suffering continent from the pressure of darkness and sorrow.

I will only add in conclusion, that, in my humble judgment, the success that has attended the Colonization enterprise, considering the feebleness of its means, and the scantiness of its resources, is one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. The smile of heaven has evidently rested upon it from the beginning, and rests upon it still. I have no doubt of its complete success. I believe the colonies planted on the western coast of Africa are but the opening of a house of refuge to which thousands and tens of thousands of the colored people of this land and of other lands will yet be seen fleeing every year with gratitude and gladness, hailing it as their surest retreat and their most inviting home. I believe that the little State of Liberia is but the germ of a great and glorious Republic, which will carry light and liberty, and blessing to benighted and down-trodden millions, over whom it will extend its peaceful sway. Nay more: I believe African Colonization is to be very conspicuous among the distinguishing events of the nineteenth century, and that when the future historian shall write the history of the age in which we live, among the brightest pages in all the record will be that which chronicles the achievements of that blessed, blessed enterprise we are this evening endeavoring to promote.

I will only add, Mr. President, that when the slavery question shall have been solved, and solved it may be, in blood, *the negro question will remain*; and when an anxious and an agitated people shall seek the solution of that question, they will find it—where? *In the work of this blessed Society.* The free and prosperous Republic of Liberia will then be hailed with gratitude and gladness as the true solution of the difficult and perilous problem, and thenceforth the memory of the men who founded that Republic and of the friends who fostered it in its days of darkness and trial, will be precious, very precious. The friends of God and humanity everywhere will give thanks for their work of faith and labor of love, and coming generations of every clime and color will arise and call them blessed.