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A

SERMON,

PREACHED AT NEW-ARK,

OCTOBER 22d, 1823,

BEFORE THE

SYNOD OF NEW-JERSEY,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE

AFRICAN SCHOOL,

UNDER

THE CARE OF THE SYNOD.

BY SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT PRINCETON.

TRENTON,

PRINTED BY GEORGE SHERMAN,

1823.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

THE Synod of New-Jersey, at their late sessions, instructed the Directors of the School to express their thanks to you, for the Sermon you delivered before them at Newark, on the 22d instant. In conformity with their instructions, the Board of Directors at their first meeting, resolved, "That their President and Vice-President be a committee to present the thanks of the Synod, and of this Board, to the Rev. Dr. Miller, for the Sermon he preached before the Synod of New-Jersey, at their late Sessions, in favour of the African School, and to request of him a copy of the Sermon for publication." In discharging this trust, we beg leave to assure you, dear sir, of the hope we entertain that the publishing your sermon may be a happy means of conciliating the feelings of our fellow-citizens of the North and of the South, on a subject on which both are, perhaps, apt to be too sensitive; and of the individual desire we ourselves feel to have it published.

Very respectfully and affectionately,

Yours,

ASA HILLYER, *President.*

AMZI ARMSTRONG, *Vice President.*

October 31st, 1823.

REV. DR. MILLER.

A SERMON.

ISAIAH LXI. I.

He hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

THE history of slavery is one of the most melancholy chapters in the history of man. After all that Poetry and Oratory have done to portray its sin and misery, they are still far from having reached the enormity of the evil. To be adequately conceived, it must not only be *seen*, but *experienced*, in all its frightful realities. Let us try, for a moment, to make the case our own. Suppose the inhabitants of *Europe* to commence the practice of sending ships to our coasts, for the purpose of capturing and bearing away into slavery the citizens of this free and favoured land. Suppose that, by no law but that of brutal violence, they should seize our children, our brothers, and our sisters, and transport them in chains to their own shores, there to drag out life in hard bondage, and to transmit the same bondage as an inheritance to their children. With what feelings should we contemplate such a scene? Does the very thought fill us with horror? Does it rouse every feeling of virtuous indignation? “Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you,

“do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets.”

But on the general subject of slavery, it is not necessary to enlarge before this audience. All who hear me will be ready at once to grant, that, considered in itself, it is unjust, unreasonable, inhuman, contrary to all the maxims of sound policy, as hostile to the best interests of those who inflict, as of those who suffer the injury, and especially altogether unworthy of a Christian and a Republican community.

The evil, however, is in the midst of us: it exists, at this hour, to an appalling extent, in our free and highly privileged country. It was entailed upon us by that very Government, which has so often since reproached us with its existence: yea, by that very government, which, while she reproaches us, and sometimes in no very guarded or temperate language, for that evil which she may be said herself to have created and fastened upon us, long before we were an independent people; is not only still tolerating, but really sanctioning, the very same evil, in her own Colonies, in a far more horrid form.—But peace to every resentful feeling toward our venerated Mother! We have been partakers with her in error, and in its fearful consequences: And no one wishes more cordially than the preacher, that we may both see our mistake, and wisely retrace our steps; and that hereafter, to the end of time, we may know no other strife, than that which is prompted by the mutual, hallowed emulation, to excel each other in every work of Christian benevolence.

But to censure others, or to reproach ourselves, for the past, is unavailing. All that is left for us is to attempt something for the time to come. The grand ques-

tion, then is, what remedy shall be applied to the great evil of which we speak. In answer to this question, I have no hope of being able to suggest any thing either novel to any of my hearers, or that may be expected to prove at once effectual. I can only say, in general, that whatever the form of the remedy adopted may be, it must essentially consist in applying THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST to the evil. "He came to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." This, however, you have often heard before. Yet it may not be altogether useless to meditate a little on an old and well known truth. And if I shall be enabled to suggest the smallest hint, which may be the means of either informing or exciting a single mind, on the important subject before us, the time we spend together will not be in vain.

And here, before I come to that part of the discourse which is my main object, allow me to make some preliminary observations, which appear to me to have an important bearing on the subject before us.

And the *first* is, that no advantage, in this great concern, is, in my opinion, to be gained by indulging in contemptuous or acrimonious language respecting our Southern Brethren, who are more largely conversant with the evil in question, and more immediately and deeply concerned than ourselves in applying a proper remedy. We sometimes hear language in the Eastern and Middle sections of our country, in regard to the inhabitants of the principal *Slave States*, as they are called, which is calculated deeply to wound feelings, and, of course, by no means adapted to the promotion of harmony. Is this fraternal? Is it wise? Is it politick? I really think not. I know not that we have any reason to consider our

Southern Neighbours as more friendly to slavery, in theory, or as a system, than ourselves. They freely acknowledge the deplorable character of the evil, as it exists among themselves. They lament it; they mourn over it; and give every evidence that they desire, as sincerely as we desire, to apply some adequate remedy to the acknowledged calamity. Are they even essentially more to blame for the existence of slavery among themselves, than the inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern States? I apprehend they are not. For it was, perhaps, chiefly by the enterprize of Eastern navigators that the slaves were transported from *Africa*, and landed on their territory.

It cannot be denied, indeed, that our Southern Brethren are very sensitive—extremely, perhaps excessively sensitive on this subject. But, all things considered, can we wonder at this? Have they not *reason* to feel deeply on the subject? Would it not be an indication of blindness and stupidity truly wonderful, if they did not feel deeply? Were *we* in their situation, have we reason to believe that we should manifest less even of morbid sensibility in reference to an object so highly interesting in its aspect? Let us, then, ever be ready to make allowance for their feelings, to treat them with delicacy and respect, and carefully to avoid all language which may tend to excite unkind sentiments, or to exhibit the appearance of a divided country. The evil to which we refer is a NATIONAL EVIL; and there ought to be a NATIONAL FEELING, and a NATIONAL EFFORT respecting it. Nor is this exhortation to cultivate a conciliatory spirit in relation to such a subject, to be considered, by any means, as a mere dictate of worldly prudence. I verily believe, judging from the language of the New-Testament, that

if the apostle *Paul* were now on earth, and were to travel in the Southern States, and to find the laws, and the condition of the country what they are, he would uniformly preach and converse on this subject in a manner, which, though by no means temporizing, would be considered as kindly, forbearing, and inoffensive by all classes of the people.

My *second* preliminary Remark is, that, while an adequate and an early remedy for the multiplied and dreadful evils of Slavery is earnestly to be desired; yet we are not to expect that any human means can be found, which will put an end to these evils at once. Such a large and complicated mass of evil cannot be removed in a day, or a month, or a year. It must be a work of time, of patient labour, and of large expenditure. We MUST PAY, and PAY MUCH, as the penalty of our dreadful mistake and folly; and well will it be for us, if we can obtain deliverance from it almost at any price. Some have been so inconsiderate as to maintain, that because slavery is, in all cases, an evil, that, therefore, it ought to be abolished AT A STROKE, and every slave in our land made free IN A DAY. But the idea of liberating, and turning loose on society, at once, A MILLION AND A HALF OF SLAVES, with all the ignorance and depravity to which their bondage has contributed to reduce them, would surely be the extravagance, or rather the cruelty of benevolence. It would be to bring, not merely on the White population, but on THE SLAVES THEMSELVES, thus suddenly liberated without being prepared for it, an ACCUMULATED CURSE under the name and guise of a blessing. It is of the utmost importance, then, and ought to engage the earnest attention of every friend of African emancipation, that measures be taken to accomplish it GRADU-

ALLY ; and that, in the mean while, those who are in slavery, be favoured with a GRADUAL INCREASE OF INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL CULTURE, and at the same time, with a GRADUAL EXTENSION OF PRIVILEGE, which will have a happy tendency, and indeed, be indispensable, to prepare them for the comfortable enjoyment of freedom.

My *third* and last Preliminary Remark is, that all hope of essentially meliorating the condition of the Africans, or the descendants of the Africans, in our land, in any other way than by means of the RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST, is perfectly vain. It is only by the power of this blessed Religion, that the "oppressed" can really be "made free," and "every yoke be broken." If "Christ make any free, they are free indeed." And until He *does* make them free, their freedom will be only nominal and worthless. His Spirit alone can break the chains of sin ; can alone transform the soul into his own image ; can alone bring it into the "glorious liberty of the children of God ;" can alone prepare those who are in thralldom to be "free, and not to use their liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of Jesus Christ." This is plainly attested by the word of God, and uniformly confirmed by all experience. As well might we attempt to controul the raging elements by a breath, as to form and regulate the moral and social character of man, without the Word and the Spirit of Him who has the hearts of all flesh in his hands, and can "turn them whithersoever he will, as the rivers of water are turned."

Having premised these Remarks, I proceed to point out some of those things which appear to me best adapted to effect our gradual deliverance from that deplora-

ble evil which we are considering. After having done this, I propose to apply the subject more particularly to the occasion on which we are now convened.

I. And FIRST; I venture to assert, that every thing that is done to ELEVATE THE INTELLECTUAL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF AFRICANS, AND THE DESCENDANTS OF AFRICANS IN OUR COUNTRY, is so much done toward the abolition of slavery in the United States.

One of the most serious obstacles to the immediate emancipation of slaves, in this or any other country, is that they are not *prepared* for the enjoyment of freedom. They are not, indeed, by nature, more depraved than others; and, for one, I am persuaded that their native talents are as good as those of white men. But their situation has a natural tendency to degrade both their intellectual and moral character. If, in their condition, cut off from all the advantages of freemen, they should possess the mental vigour and acuteness, the high sense of character, and the moral restraints and regularity of freemen, it would, indeed, be little short of miracle. If we desire, then, to prepare the way for their happy emancipation, at the proper time, let all who have the controul of their time and services, direct the most serious and pointed attention to the cultivation of their minds, and especially to their moral culture. Let them be taught to read God's holy Word. Let them be collected, at proper seasons, and instructed faithfully in the doctrines and duties of our holy Religion. Let them be encouraged to attend with punctuality at our places of publick worship. Let religious *Tracts*, particularly adapted to their character and situation, be prepared and printed for their use, and circulated extensively among them. Let their Children be solemnly dedicated to God in Baptism, either in their own right, if they be

of a proper character; or in the right of their masters or mistresses, if pious. Let them be encouraged to become members of the Church in full communion. In short, let the object be to labour without ceasing, and by all appointed means, to enlighten and impress their minds: to give them a deep sense of moral obligation; to win them to the love of the Saviour; and to bind them to the Church of God, and to all around them, by ties which the Religion of Jesus Christ, and that alone, can create, and make men to feel.

To these means of promoting the moral and spiritual welfare of slaves, it may not be improper to add, what was before hinted,—a GRADUAL EXTENSION OF THEIR PERSONAL AND DOMESTICK PRIVILEGES. By this I mean, allowing those who are faithful, a portion of ground to cultivate for themselves, and certain hours in every week for performing the necessary labour upon it, *without infringing on the sanctity of the sabbath*; or, in some other way, putting within their reach the means of acquiring a little property of their own. The benefits of this indulgence are numerous. It gratifies the minds of those who possess it. It gives them a sense of personal importance and responsibility. It binds them to their wives and children, for whose benefit they feel that they are labouring. And it insensibly excites them to industry, economy, order, and prudence in their affairs. It is pleasing to be informed, that privileges of this kind are not uncommon in the Southern States, and even in the West-India islands: and it seems impossible to doubt that every enlightened and prudent *extension* of them will be beneficial both to the master and the slave.

I am aware that some owners of slaves have entertained the opinion, that cultivating their minds, or extending

their privileges, has a tendency to promote idleness, insubordination, and a spirit of mutiny among them. And I am ready to admit, that all that culture or indulgence which leaves RELIGION out of the question, will be likely to be, not only useless, but pernicious. I am ready also to admit, that where that which is taught under the name of Religion, is unscriptural and false, it will be proportionally unhappy in its consequences. But to suppose that GENUINE RELIGION can be productive of any other than benign effects; to suppose that the spirit of the Gospel, which is a spirit of benevolence, of meekness, of submission to the will of Providence, of forgiveness, and of contentment, can, in itself, tend to produce turbulence, violence, and a spirit of insurrection,—would be to admit the greatest of all absurdities. No; the language of the New-Testament, and the language of every enlightened, faithful expounder of it is, “Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart.” And again; “Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering again, not purloining; but shewing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.”*

And, accordingly, my confident impression is, that all experience, as well as all reasoning, speaks in favour of the plan of evangelizing those who are in servitude. Go to those parts of the world where the Gospel, in any thing like its purity, is constantly and faithfully preached to slaves; and you will invariably find them more industrious, more docile, more orderly, more faithful, and their

* *Ephesians* vi 5, 6. *Titus* ii 9, 10.

labour far more productive to their owners, than an equal mass of those who are destitute of this privilege. Of this, the large number of slaves who are under the care of the *Moravian*, and other pious Missionaries, in several of the *West-India* islands, afford a most striking and happy example;—so striking, indeed, if I am not misinformed, as thoroughly to have convinced a number of Masters, who once violently opposed the evangelical instruction of their slaves, that they had been in error, and constrained them to encourage preachers to go among them, and proclaim to them the Word of Life. Nor can slave-holders, assuredly, in any part of the world, take a course more directly calculated to make their slaves quiet, submissive, diligent and faithful, than by having the genuine Gospel of Christ continually and affectionately preached to them. Wherever a contrary course is pursued, it undoubtedly arises, either from hostility to Religion, or from the want of correct information, or from both.

It is no valid argument against this reasoning, to say, that in some signal attempts at insurrection and violence on the part of large bodies of slaves, some regularly instructed, and even apparently serious professors of religion, have been among the most determined leaders of the shocking plan. We all know the difference between *nominal* and *real* Christians. We all know, too, how far the minds of men who appear to be otherwise conscientious, may be led astray by fanatical delusion; especially when their instruction has been contracted or erroneous, and, of course, liable to be perverted into an instrument of delusion; and when the great principles of Religion, however respectfully believed, have, in a very small degree, if at all, taken hold of the heart.—But pi-

ety, when it is genuine and enlightened, forms, not merely the BEST, but I will venture to say, the ONLY EFFECTUAL BARRIER against those violent and unlawful assumptions of liberty, to which other kinds of instruction, unaccompanied by Religion, are apt to lead. When, therefore, I shall see the culture, and especially the moral and religious culture, of our black and coloured population made an object of serious and general attention; when I shall see a united and vigorous effort among Christians, gradually to raise their intellectual and moral character, and thus to prepare them, in process of time, to act their part as freemen; I shall begin to think that the gracious Governor of the world is preparing the way to deliver us from, perhaps, the most dreadful and appalling evil that hangs over our land.

II. Every thing that is done towards effectually promoting the plan of the AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR COLONIZING OUR FREE BLACKS, AND PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN AFRICA, will also be, in my opinion, so much done toward the abolition of slavery, not only in our own country, but throughout the world.

I shall here, take for granted, that the Africans and their descendants, in our country, even if they were all at this hour liberated, could never be either respectable or happy in the midst of a white population. They can never, while publick sentiment remains what it is, associate with the whites on terms of *equality*. They may be industrious, and regular; they may be enterprising, successful in business, and exhibit talents, knowledge and wealth; but, after all, they can never associate with the whites on terms comfortable to either. They will be *treated* and they will *feel* as *inferiors*. They cannot live under the influence of that sense of character, of those ex-

excitements to aim at a high standing in society, which operate upon a corresponding number of white people. And as they cannot fail to have a degraded *standing*, so this will confer upon them, in a greater or less degree, a degraded *character*. Place any number of human beings, of whatever complexion, in a situation in which they can never aspire to an equality with those around them, and you take away from them one of the main excitements to industry, to honourable enterprize, and to emulation of excellence. They will lose their own respect; and when *that* is gone, all is gone.

And as this class of people could not be either respectable or happy, if liberated and left among the whites; so, as neighbours, they would be a constant source of annoyance, of corruption, and of danger to the whites themselves. Suppose a million and a half of such people scattered through the United States. They could never be trusted as faithful citizens. They would never feel that their interests and those of the whites were precisely the same. Each would regard the other with painful suspicion and apprehension. On the one hand, those who had lately been slaves, or who had descended from slaves, would consider every advantage they could take of their former masters, as so much fair gain, and would, therefore, be apt, as far as possible, habitually to prey upon them. On the other hand, the whites would be tempted, and could hardly fail, to cherish sentiments toward their coloured neighbours, in a great measure inconsistent with liberal, kind, or even just treatment; and would seldom think of any thing but rendering them subservient to their pleasures, their pride or their avarice. In short, they would be mutual sources of corruption, of danger, and of trouble to each other. It would be impossible for

them to be safe, pure, or happy together. It is, of course, essential to the interest of each that they be separated; and separated to such a distance from each other, as to render intercourse very seldom practicable—If this be so, then THE COLOURED PEOPLE MUST BE COLONIZED. In other words, they must be severed from the white population, and sent to some distant part of the world, where they will be in no danger either of suffering themselves, or of inflicting on others, the evils already described; where they can live as a separate, independent people; and where they will have every excitement and every opportunity, to cultivate those moral, social, political and christian virtues, which will be likely to raise them to comfort, honour and strength. If we desire to consult THEIR TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL WELL BEING, this must be done: and if we would consult OUR OWN INTEREST AND HAPPINESS, it is equally necessary that it be done. I acknowledge that to me, there appears no other practicable method of averting, without a miracle, the most dreadful consequences, than that of gradually drawing off the African population, by a colonizing plan, under *some* form; and the form proposed, is, in my view, more feasible than any other that has yet been suggested.*

* It may not be improper to state, that the venerable General Assembly of our Church, in the year 1819, and also in 1823, have unequivocally and strongly expressed an opinion in favour of the plan of the Colonization Society. They have declared, that they not only consider the plan as benevolent in its design; but also as calculated, if properly carried into execution, to be extensively useful both to this country and to *Africa*; that it may promote the happiness of the Colonists; that it may be made a powerful auxiliary in the efforts which are making to abolish the slave trade; that it may promote the gradual emancipation of slaves among ourselves; and that it may be the means of introducing civilization and Christianity to the benighted African nations. With these views, the Assembly recommend the Society to the patronage and attention of the Churches under their care, and to benevolent individuals throughout the United States. See the *Proceedings of the General Assembly* for 1819 and 1823.—

I know, indeed, that to the plan of establishing a Colony on the coast of *Africa*, a number of objections have been made. Of this number I shall select and endeavour to obviate those which appear to me most plausible and imposing.

And the *first* that I shall mention is urged with great confidence. It is said "The Colony will not only be in jeopardy every hour, but will certainly fall an easy and a speedy prey to the surrounding native tribes." The force of this objection, it is plain, depends entirely upon the situation of the Colony itself. If its founders intend, beforehand, to leave it a small, feeble, defenceless, discouraged starveling, why, then, indeed, it will be in constant danger: nay, to hope that it will escape the predatory and murderous invasions of the surrounding natives, would be altogether unreasonable. But if the Colony be amply encouraged, and made, without delay, what it ought to be,—powerful, well provided, and competently fortified; it may be considered as safe from any serious attack; or, if attacked, as likely, to be able, under Providence, to repel any force that can be reasonably expected to come against it. In fact, humanly speaking, we may be said to hold in our own hands the condition and prospects of the Colony, as to the force of this objection; and may easily make it, either by private exertion, or by Governmental aid, what may be called impregnable against all human foes. But it ought not to be left to private exertion. The evil which it is intended to remedy, is, as I before observed, A NATIONAL ONE; and it demands, and ought to rouse, A NATIONAL EFFORT FOR ITS REMOVAL.

But, another objection, still more frequently and seriously urged, is that which is drawn from the alleged

PESTILENTIAL CHARACTER OF THE CLIMATE.—“The Colonists,” say some, “will all perish with disease, as fast as they land on those tropical shores.”—This is, undoubtedly, a very serious consideration; and if it really be as alleged, presents an objection of the most formidable kind against the proposed plan.—But, after weighing this objection with care, I am constrained to pronounce it by no means insurmountable. For,

In the *first* place, if the site which has been selected for the Colony, will not answer the purpose, let another be immediately chosen. If worldly men, in seeking worldly gain, find themselves baffled in one place, they go elsewhere, and make effort after effort, until they succeed, if success be attainable. And is not the great object of benevolence of which we are speaking worthy of being sought with the same untiring perseverance? If the spot in *Africa* already selected be found incurably pestilential, let it be abandoned, and another procured, more remote from the Equator, and less likely to destroy life. The object is, surely, worthy of all the labour and expense which can well be employed in its accomplishment: And if no such place can be found in *Africa*, let one be sought in some other part of the world. It ill becomes men in earnest, and men impelled by the noble principles of Christian benevolence, to despond after a single trial. But,

Secondly; the trial has not yet been fairly made. To take for granted, from what has occurred, that cape *Montserado* cannot be inhabited by Africans, or the descendants of Africans, is, in my opinion, a rash and unwarranted conclusion. If I am not misinformed, the natives of the country enjoy a large share of robust health. This fact certainly affords no small presumption that the Col-

onists will enjoy the same, when they become inured to the climate. Have not many thousands of healthy slaves been transported from those regions of *Africa*, to the American continent, and to the *West-India* islands, and still left the country well stocked with inhabitants? Does this look like a country incurably pestilential? Besides; new settlements seldom escape epidemick sickness. When the venerable settlers of *New-England*, (men whose names ought never to be mentioned without some epithet of honour) first landed in that country, and for a number of years afterwards, they were greatly distressed by the prevalence of pestilential and mortal disease. What had been the consequence if they had become discouraged, and abandoned the country? But they were not utterly discouraged. With a fortitude, constancy, and trust in God, which did them immortal honor, and in which our whole western world has reason, at this hour, to rejoice, they maintained their ground, and were so happy as to find, in a few years, that, as they made progress in diligent culture, and in wise precaution, under the Divine blessing, pestilence disappeared, and left them in the enjoyment of as much health as usually falls to the lot of any portion of our globe.

And, in like manner, there seems little reason to doubt, that, when more enlightened caution shall be exercised as to the *season of the year*, in which the emigrants shall land on those shores; when more vigilant care shall be taken to guard against the effects of the climate; when more maturity of system shall place within the reach of the Colonists, a larger number of those *comforts*, particularly of shelter and food, which are favourable to health; and when the territory assigned to the Colony shall receive that *cultivation* which it will of course receive, in

the progress of the settlement;—then, I think, we may confidently hope that it will be found at least as healthful as many of those districts in the United States, in which a large coloured population *now* reside with entire safety;—and certainly quite as salubrious as the best climates in the *West-India* islands, where the natives of *Africa* and their descendants have long lived without any special danger of disease. We shall utterly deceive ourselves, then, I am persuaded, if we suffer the alarm arising from a temporary adverse dispensation, to alienate us from a plan which promises a more favourable result than any other that has been hitherto proposed.

With respect to a *third* objection to the colonizing plan, namely, “that it is intended, by its most active Southern friends, as a means of *perpetuating*, rather than of “*abolishing* slavery;” it appears to me unworthy of serious consideration. The suggestion is, that the slaveholders consider the free blacks, and free people of colour in the United States, as a species of population more injurious in their influence on the character of slaves than any other; as peculiarly fitted to poison their minds with false ideas, and to render them dissatisfied with their situation: that, such being their impressions, they are anxious to have all such liberated persons removed from the country: and that the plan of African colonization is nothing more than a scheme to effect this removal, that the owners of slaves may be the better able to hold them in undisturbed and perpetual bondage. That there are no individuals foolish and unprincipled enough to make this calculation, and to favour the proposed Colony, because they hope such will be its effect, I will not undertake to affirm. It is even probable that there are such individuals. But no one who has attend-

ed to the *origin* and *history* of the plan, with any degree of impartiality, can possibly, I think, admit the imputation of which I speak, as applicable to the mass, and especially to the most respectable, of its friends and promoters. They reside, let it be remembered, in all parts of the United States. Many of them are among the warmest friends of African emancipation that our country contains; men whose character is an ample pledge to all who know them, of the rectitude and benevolence of their purposes: and a number of the most wealthy slave-holders in the South, we are assured, are only waiting for the opportunity, which the execution of this plan, upon a large scale, would afford them, for liberating all their slaves.* Were not these considerations taken together a sufficient guarantee of honest intention in the case before us; I might add, that even if the greater part, or all of the professed friends of the Colonizing plan, were known to be lying in wait to make this plan a means of riveting and perpetuating the chains of slavery;—there is a force in the PUBLICK SENTIMENT which has begun its march on this subject, which will prostrate every dishonest policy, and render the plan, with whatever *motives* it may be aided by some, effectual in advancing the glorious object at which it professes to aim; and at which there is no doubt that a large number of the leaders of publick opinion in the South, as well as in the North, do sincerely aim.

But even supposing that the plan of the Colony should never actually embrace any others than those blacks, and people of colour, who are NOW FREE, or who may HERE-

* It is not perhaps generally known, that in most of the Southern States, the laws, at present, prohibit the emancipation of slaves; and that those who have been emancipated in time past, in those states, are, with scarcely any exception, the most corrupt, degraded and miserable portion of the community.

AFTER BECOME FREE, by the unavoidable operation of existing laws. Will this be an object of small importance in the eye of the philanthropist and the Christian? Will sending TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY, OR THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND souls—all of them nominal, and a large number of them, we may hope, real disciples of Jesus Christ, and acquainted with the arts of civilized life, to *Africa*, be likely to have no effect in civilizing and evangelizing that benighted country? Is it a matter of no interest to the benevolent and pious mind, that we may thus most effectually repair the multiplied wrongs we have done to *Africa*? Magnify the dangers and sacrifices involved in making this reparation as much as you please, ought we, on this account, to shrink from the enterprize? Is the European and American merchant found willing to go in pursuit of gain, to those regions in *Africa* and *Asia*, where a large majority of adventurers are, generally, before the end of the year, numbered with the dead? and shall CHRISTIAN HEROISM refuse to encounter dangers and sacrifices unspeakably less, when the object is, to deliver our own Country from the greatest curse that ever rested upon it; to raise to virtue and happiness a large mass of our own population, who cannot be expected to attain either in the place of their present residence; and, at the same time, to convey the blessings of Civilization and Christianity to millions who inhabit the darkest quarter of our globe?

This subject addresses itself

1. To all the AFRICANS, and DESCENDANTS OF AFRICANS in the United States. Had I a voice that could be heard by every individual of this class in our Country, whether BOND OR FREE, I would say to them in the ful-

ness of a heart most tenderly concerned for their welfare—Brethren, if you desire to promote your own temporal as well as eternal welfare;—if you desire to hasten, as much as possible, the termination of slavery in the United States;—if, in short, you desire to elevate the character, and to promote the happiness of your brethren generally, and thus to confer the greatest possible benefit on one another, on your children, and your children’s children, to the latest generations;—then be sober; be virtuous; be pious; be obedient to your own Masters according to the flesh; be content with your lot, until the Providence of God open a way for your being placed in a more eligible situation; study sincerely to promote the best interests of those in whose service you are placed; be modest, humble, unobtrusive, and never for a moment forget that station which the Providence of God has assigned you. In a word, study to cultivate, and constantly to exhibit in your temper and practice, the meek, lowly, pure, benevolent graces of the Religion of Jesus Christ. Thus will you most effectually promote your own benefit, and the benefit of all around you. Thus will you most certainly and happily contribute your part to “proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.”

When, therefore, I hear of profligate conduct, among the children of *Africa* in our country. When I hear of their being intemperate, lewd, disobedient, depreddating on the property of their masters, turbulent, or manifesting deep moral depravity of any kind;—I am ready to exclaim, O the folly, the infatuation, as well as the wickedness of this course! Every such instance, my coloured friends, is not only a sin against God, and a sin against yourselves: but also a sin most mischievous in its influ-

ence with respect to all your coloured brethren. Every such instance adds to the publick prejudice against the liberation of slaves, and retards the accomplishment of that event. Every such instance, not only tends to degrade the character of the individuals who are thus guilty; but also to rivet the chains of those who are still in bondage; to paralyze every effort for raising your character, for extending your privileges, and for promoting your real happiness.

But especially, when I hear of CONSPIRACIES and INSURRECTIONS among the black population in the Slave States, I am filled with amazement as well as horror at the COMPLICATED FOLLY OF THE UNDERTAKING! All such attempts, while they doubtless alarm and distress the whites, injure, an hundred fold more, the slaves and all the coloured people themselves. It is impossible for such attempts finally to succeed. It is the interest, and certainly would be the prompt and determined task, of the inhabitants of the Northern, as well as of the Southern States, instantly to put them down. They must, in all cases, terminate, not only in the destruction of the guilty insurgents, but also in the more deep and heavy bondage of their brethren.*

* The author takes pleasure in introducing in this place an extract from a very spirited and able "Review of the Reports of the Colonization Society," contained in the *Christian Spectator*, a periodical work, published at *New-Haven*, and conducted with an ability too well known to need commendation "There is hardly any enterprize to which the militia of *Vermont* or *Connecticut* would march with more zeal than to crush a servile rebellion (if such an event should ever take place with all its cruelties and horrors) in *Virginia*. The people of *Maine* belong to the same great community with the people of *Georgia*; and hence they desire at once the right and the duty of interfering to alleviate, and if possible to remove an evil which affects the prosperity and safety of the whole American empire." Again; "The beacon fires of insurrection would only rally the strength of the nation, and the ill fated Africans, if not utterly exterminated, would be so nearly destroyed, that they must submit to a bondage more hopeless than ever." *Christian Spectator* for October, 1823. These sentiments, and others contained in the Review referred to, are enlightened, patriotick, noble; and so entirely harmonize with that NATIONAL FEELING on this subject, which it is the design of the writer to recommend and excite, that they can scarcely fail to make a useful impression.

If, therefore, I were able to address, personally, every slave, and every free son and daughter of *Africa*, in the United States, I would reiterate the counsel before given, and say—"Be obedient to your Masters, according to the flesh, not with eye service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, serving Christ." Be orderly and submissive. Resort to no unlawful, or violent means to redress your supposed grievances. Attempt not to press yourselves forward into situations to which public sentiment and custom do not spontaneously bring you. Be humble and patient. Wait the Lord's time. Study in all things to "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour;" and to set the purest Christian example. This is the method, and I will add, the ONLY METHOD, in your power, of promoting the great cause of African Emancipation; the only method in which you can efficiently contribute to that complete triumph of this cause which must undoubtedly precede the dawn of millennial glory.—
But

2. While this subject addresses itself to THE CHILDREN OF AFRICA residing in our country, it also addresses itself, in the most solemn manner, to EVERY CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.—

We are all of us, my friends, debtors to the Africans, and the descendants of Africans, whose lot has been cast, by the providence of God in the midst of us. They are "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh;" and the obligations which we owe to them, whether we acknowledge it or not, God will require at our hands. I grant that many of them are exceedingly depraved, and are acting a most unworthy part, so as often utterly to discourage and disgust their most zealous friends. But still this does not liberate us from our obligations. Have we, then, dis-

charged our duty faithfully to them? Have we reminded them, as we ought to have done, of their obligations to God as well as to us? Have we constantly endeavoured, as we ought to have done, to promote their moral and spiritual welfare? Have we taken pains to cultivate their minds: to raise the standard of their moral feelings and principles; and to lead them to the knowledge of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ? Have we, in a word, conscientiously treated them in such a manner as tended to prepare them for freedom: that if ever they became free, their freedom might be a blessing, and not a curse?—These, my respected hearers, are very serious questions. God grant that we may be able to answer them without sophistry, and without evasion, to his acceptance, and to our own satisfaction! It is impossible, brethren, adequately to express in words the importance of our mode of treating these children of *Africa*, who are committed to our care, or placed within our reach. The more faithfully we endeavour to instruct them, to christianize them, and to elevate their habits and character in every respect, the more we contribute to the happy termination of African bondage in every part of the world: the more certainly and extensively we shall promote the happiness of ourselves, our children, and of all with whom the sons and daughters of *Africa* are directly or remotely connected.

And while we labour to meliorate the character and condition of these degraded people in our own country, let us all unite in giving a vigorous and persevering support to the plan of colonizing them in the land of their fathers. If this plan ever succeeds, it must be prosecuted with united effort, and upon a great scale. A feeble, spiritless attempt will be worse than useless. A national

impulse must be excited, and the national strength called into action. Every heart, and every hand must be opened. We must feel that it is a concern, and a most interesting concern, of the whole American family, and act accordingly. Then, and not till then, may we hope, under the Divine blessing, for complete success. In this great cause every one may do something; and every one ought to aspire to the honour of doing all that he is able. The evils which the plan in question is intended to remove, are every day becoming more serious and formidable. Ten years hence, the means which might now suffice, will be altogether inadequate. Deeply will it be to be regretted if we should hesitate and cavil until it shall be too late to act!

The Seminary on behalf of which I address you this evening, and for the benefit of which a Collection is about to be made, is one, the object of which is nearly connected with all the interests for which I have been pleading. It is a Seminary intended to train up such young men of the Children of *Africa*, as may be of promising talents and piety, to be *Preachers* and *Instructors of youth* among those of their own colour, in the United States, and in the land of their Fathers. I need not enlarge on the desirableness or the importance of such a Seminary. If conducted as it ought to be, and, under such management as it is placed, may be expected to be, it can scarcely fail of being useful, and, we hope, eminently useful. Would not every Christian rejoice to see it sending forth a succession of Ministers and Schoolmasters, qualified to go among the old and the young of their own colour, throughout our country, and to become instrumental under the Divine blessing, in raising their intellectual and moral character? Would not every benev-

olent mind rejoice to see it preparing young heralds of the cross, and teachers of youth, to go to *Africa*, to enlighten and to bless that benighted continent, and eventually to become, as we may hope, the spiritual fathers of redeemed millions?

If the colonizing plan should be efficiently prosecuted, as I sincerely hope it will be, then more pains than ever MUST be taken to PREPARE THE EMIGRANTS for the new and interesting situation in which they will be placed. Unwearied exertions MUST be made to give them some degree of intellectual culture, and to impart to them, so far as means can effect it, a CHRISTIAN CHARACTER. For if those who become colonists have but little of either, how can we expect them to form a comfortable community themselves, or to carry the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the African world? Besides all the advantages of it at home, then, an Institution like that which we are called to patronize, seem to be an essential handmaid to the plan of colonization.

I am instructed to say, that this Seminary is languishing for want of more ample means of support; and that without some efficient aid, it cannot be expected much longer to live, and far less to flourish, and to yield those important benefits which we all earnestly desire. On the publick bounty, from year to year, it is entirely, under God, dependent. Let not its existence be a course of perpetual languishment. Either abolish it altogether; or support it as becomes AMERICAN CITIZENS, who sincerely wish well to our beloved country; as becomes BENEVOLENT MEN, who feel in good earnest for the wrongs of *Africa*; and as becomes the DISCIPLES OF JESUS CHRIST, who really desire to see the blessings of salvation sent to every portion of the world.—My Friends, to your

Christian judgment, and your Christian feelings I make the solemn appeal. Will you abolish it? Will you suffer it to die? Nay, will you suffer it to languish? Is this a time to relax our exertions on behalf of the children of *Africa*, when the aspect of their affairs is so interesting, so portentous, in our own country, and in other parts of the world? Is this a time to suffer such a Seminary to perish, when we need, more than ever, a large number of such young men as it is intended to rear? Rather let us engage in its support with new zeal, and with growing affection; and strive to make it, what it ought to be, and, under the Divine blessing, may be made, a "Fountain," the "streams of which shall make glad the city of our God." May the King of Zion, of his infinite mercy, bless it, and make it to prosper! and to Father, Son and Holy Spirit be glory forever!

AMEN!