

God Glorified by Africa.

27

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BY

C. VAN RENSSELAER, D.D.,

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF EDUCATION.

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JOSEPH M. WILSON,

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This Address is *substantially* the same as delivered. Several parts, however, have been considerably expanded. It was first published in 1857, in the PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE,—of which the writer is the Editor,—from which periodical it was republished in “HOME, THE SCHOOL, AND THE CHURCH” for 1859. A few extra copies have been struck off, whilst the type was standing.

GOD GLORIFIED BY AFRICA.

IN the name of the God of Ethiopia, and our God, the foundations of a Christian institution have been laid with pious care. The issues of the enterprise are committed to Him, "who hath made of one blood all nations of men." The grace of his Spirit is invoked; the aid of his Providence is supplicated; the promotion of his Glory is sought. "Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us, and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it."

This institution, for the training of Africa's sons, bears the name of ASHMUN, one of Africa's philanthropists. A brief record of Ashmun may be hastily but reverentially woven for the occasion. Let us place it, a wreath to his memory, over the door of the institution that bears his precious and immortal name.

JEHUDI ASHMUN was born at Champlain, N. Y., in 1794, and died at New Haven, in 1828. In this brief but intense human interval, much was done. His thirty-four years were a long life: who lives well, lives long.

Ashmun was a ripe scholar, a devoted Christian, a great public benefactor. He sailed for the Colony of Liberia in 1822, at the age of twenty-eight years. A young Columbus on a voyage of high discovery, a continent was his aim; and on the steamer at the mast-head of the brig Strong, outflying to the wind, was the motto, "FOR GOD AND AFRICA." As the first Colonial Governor, to plan and to execute were his daily work. In a word, Ashmun's administration gave to Liberia its character and its policy. He cultivated amity with the native tribes; purchased large additions to the territory; arrested the infamous slave-trade; nurtured morals and education; advocated and promoted the cause of Christian missions; admitted the Colonists to a participation in the government; and demonstrated to the world the utility and the glory of the great scheme of African Colonization.

Ashmun's health gave way under the double influences of a burning sun and consuming labours. He anticipated an early death; and to die early was a motive for increased labour. "The candle of life," he writes, "burns fast in this region." "I wish to make the most of the little that remains, and to see the MOST WORK POSSIBLE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE LEAST TIME." He lived to die in America, having survived a few days after the arrival of the vessel at New Haven.

An affecting scene took place at his funeral. A large concourse had assembled in the Centre Church. A hymn of Zion had been sung, and a prayer offered to the God of hope and consolation. The Rev. Dr. Bacon was about to begin his funeral sermon,* when a venerable and solitary female walked slowly up the aisle, and with a look that told the unutterable history of her sorrows, approached the corpse. It was the mother of Ashmun. Never did human sympathy thrill with tenderer emotion and pathos throughout a vast concourse of anxious spectators, than when this aged Christian matron, who had travelled for several days and nights in the hope of embracing her living son, pressed her lips and her heart upon the coffin which concealed his mortal remains forever from her sight.†

Brethren! from the coffin and grave of Ashmun, we turn to the cradle of our Christian institution—to this living new-born child, that bears his name, inherits his spirit, and exists to carry forward his great designs. Baptized in the mother arms of your Presbytery, and dedicated anew this day to God, may the ASHMUN INSTITUTE grow up in the nurture and power of Christian life, and testify, to the end of time, of Christ's grace to a benighted continent.

The general theme of my Discourse on this occasion is, GOD GLORIFIED BY AFRICA. The particular form in which I shall attempt to unfold it is, by showing that THE AFRICAN RACE IN THIS COUNTRY IS TO BE A GREAT INSTRUMENTALITY FOR SIGNAL DISPLAYS OF GOD'S GOODNESS, GRACE, AND GLORY IN AFRICA.

Let us approach the subject with docility and awe. The ways of Providence are mysterious. Their explanation is often long delayed by the complications which evolve their true end in human history. Calvin remarks: "The Providence of God, the more circuitously it appears to flow, shines forth all the more wonderfully in the end; since it never really wanders from its direct object, or fails of its effect when its due time is come." The scroll is usually unrolled by degrees; and passing events disclose their purpose only as God may condescend to establish the interpretation. Privileged

* An able and appropriate Discourse, delivered August 27th, 1828, from the text: "To what purpose is this waste?" Matt. 26 : 8.

† Gurley's Life of Ashmun, p. 393.

are we, if we can but attain the elevation to discern, "Lo, these are *parts* of his ways."

PROVIDENCE INDICATES A GREAT PLAN.

I. The first proposition offered in an attempt to solve what may be called the African problem, is a general one, namely: PAST PROVIDENCES, connected with the African population in the United States, seem to indicate SOME GREAT DESIGN IN THE MIND OF GOD.

The facts of African history rise up in the vista of centuries, like dark mountains, whose heights, inaccessible to mortals, are yet reached by an illuminating sun.

1. It was a wonderful providence that permitted the African people to be *torn from their native continent and sold into bondage*. This barbarous aggression on the rights of mankind was perpetrated under the double plea of religion and of the necessities of labour. On the wide Atlantic, from shore to shore, was sounded forth the horrid cry of the Slave-trade; Roman Catholic Spain and Portugal uniting with Protestant Holland and England, in the pæan to Barbarity. The history of Christian civilization presents the strange and dishonouring incident of the participation in the traffic of human flesh and blood by nations of every creed. It was in the year 1620, four months before the arrival of the Mayflower, that a Dutch ship landed and sold its first cargo at Jamestown—a cargo of African life, consigned under British laws to American bondage.

"Great God! thy whole creation groans,
Thy fair world writhes in pain;
Shall the dread incense of its moans
Arise to thee in vain?"

Sin in Africa, like sin in Eden, was mysteriously permitted in Divine Providence. It was permitted, but not sanctioned; and permitted with the certainty of being overruled. God's decrees relate to all his creatures, and to all their actions, without interfering with accountability or free agency, in any form or degree. Primeval guilt, which brought an inheritance of woe, and of punishment upon our race, has nevertheless been made to usher in the brightest manifestations of the riches of grace in Jesus Christ. Joseph's bondage, incurred by the wickedness of his brethren, was the instrument to advance the glory of Israel. In like manner God will bring forth infinite blessings out of the deep infamies of the slave-trade; and will cause African captivity to promote the triumphs of his kingdom in ways long kept back from full disclosure. Providence permits, restrains, and finally circumvents and crushes human iniquity, producing from its ruins, most holy, wise, and powerful results. "His providence," in the language of our Confession of Faith, "disposes all things for the good of his Church." In what other light can Christians regard the violent transportation of Africans into slavery? The event will verily

redound to everlasting righteousness among the nations. Even the glare of its enormity reveals purposes of mercy in the lighting up of the distant future of a great continent. *To overrule evil* is a grand principle of the Divine government. "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee; the remainder of wrath thou wilt restrain." God will be glorified by Africa. A deep and broad foundation for a vast superstructure of praise has been laid by the African race divided into two bands. Events that are to be the admiration of the world have been wrapped up in the mystery of this dispensation, the light of whose glory begins to dawn.

2. Providence had a design for good *in making the United States* the chief scene of African bondage.

Wherever the slaves, taken from Africa, were to be located, it is obvious that their character would be affected by the form of government, language, habits, and religion, of the people among whom they dwelt. Their location was, in a great measure, to decide their future destiny. Why were the Africans sent over to this free, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant country, rather than to Spain, Italy, Turkey, or to the West Indies or South America exclusively? If the necessities of labour required their transportation to this continent, who arranged the adaptations of time and place, and established the providential laws that were to give to degraded slaves the benefits of Christian civilization? The simple point, now to be considered, is the fact that the African population in this country have attained to a good degree of *elevation of character*. The best portion of the race is with us at this day. *No other equal number of Africans* possess the character of the aggregate numbers in the United States of America. Further than this: If we exclude from the survey a few Protestant nations, *no other equal number of any one country, or race*, on the face of the globe, are more religious and upright than our own children of bondage. They have enjoyed many and great advantages of general improvement which have raised them above the degradation of barbarians and heathen, or of corrupt and perverted Christians. Tens of thousands are freemen in Jesus Christ, daily pouring out their hearts' devotions to the Everlasting God, the Father of all. On almost every plantation are to be found negroes of high character, intelligent men, and true; and scattered throughout the land, at the north, south, east, and west, Africa has some of the noblest specimens of humanity that the sun of heaven shines upon.

The progress of religion among the African population in the United States may well cause the human mind to stand in awe of the reserved destiny for which Providence seems to be training this people. The following statistics give the number of communicants among the different churches, so far as the writer has been able, with some pains, to gather them.

Churches.	Communicants.
Presbyterians,	21,635
Methodists,	217,590
Baptists,	193,000
Other Churches,	10,000
Total,	<hr/> 442,225

The whole African population, at the present time, being estimated at four millions, and the number of Church members being nearly half a million, it follows, that about one in eight of the whole population are members of the Church of Christ.

It may be further remarked, that the whole number of converts in the heathen world, made by all churches of every country, is estimated at about 200,000 out of the many millions to whom the Gospel has had some access. The slaves are, therefore, in a comparatively favoured position in regard to moral and religious elevation.

Again we ask, Does not this moral elevation, under the influences of Christianized life, point to some higher end? Does it not show African capability, and foreshadow still greater attainments in social rank and in the characteristics of civilization? Would God send a race into bondage to obtain their training in the midst of the institutions of liberty and religion, and yet have no great evangelistic work to accomplish by such instrumentality? He will be glorified by Africa.

3. The *great numbers* of the African race, in this country, are an indication that Providence has some important mission for them to fulfil.

A comparatively small and feeble population might have remained among us, an unnoticed and inefficient element in the development of our national character and resources. But there are now *four millions* of the descendants of Africa in the United States. To what purpose is this vast increase? Why is there preserved in our midst this accumulation of distinct and unabsorbed population? Whilst the tribes of the great Indian race have sped westward, as arrows to the mark, and leaving their prairies and mounds for the Anglo-Saxon plough, are perishing before the advance of civilization, the African race is rising up, like the fabled seed in the furrows, and challenges competition in numbers with the most favoured race on the earth. The following are some of the statistics of population developing a great future.

(1.) The total population of the United States, at the last census in 1850, was 23,191,876. Of this number there were

Whites,	19,553,068
Slaves,	3,204,313
Free Coloured,	434,495
African population,	<hr/> 3,638,808

It thus appears, that about *one* person in *five* of our entire population is of African descent. Not only is the proportion striking, but the aggregate number, which forms the proportion, shows that this people live among us literally in masses. The descendants of Africa already exceed the population of the American Colonies at the era of our National Independence. Their present population is about four millions, and the next census will, undoubtedly, increase it to between four and a half and five millions. They are already a nation in numbers; a prominent wheel within the circling wheel of a vast system of living machinery.

(2.) Great as is the proportion of the African race to that of the white race in this whole country, it deserves to be noticed that the *ratio of increase* is in their favour in many of the slaveholding States. With the exception of Maryland, Virginia, Missouri, and perhaps one or two other States, the ratio of the blacks to the whites has been, on the whole, increasing in the Southern States. The slave population in Alabama and Florida is 44 per cent. of the whole population; in Louisiana, 47 per cent., in Mississippi, 51 per cent., and in South Carolina 57 per cent.; whereas it was in 1800 in Mississippi but 39 per cent., and in South Carolina but 42 per cent. The Compendium of the Census Report affirms that "the proportion has been increasing for the slaves in the Southern States generally," with the exceptions stated. The average ratio of increase of the slaves from 1790 to 1850 has been 29 per cent. of the *whole* population, including that of the free States, which has had an accession of two millions by foreign emigration. The African population in 1790 was 757,363; in 1850, it was 3,638,808; and it is now about 4,000,000.

The question returns, What is the interpretation to be given to these statistics? Has God no ulterior and specific purpose towards this mass of population? Whilst slavery in some countries, as in Cuba, decreases and exhausts population, so as to create a demand on the accursed slave-trade, in our own country the natural increase outstrips that of the white race, and confounds the ordinary calculations of political economy. Providence controls the increase or diminution of population on the earth. African increase has a parallel in ancient Egypt: "And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly and multiplied, and waxed mighty, and the land was filled with them."* Why? Had God any purpose to accomplish? The martyred Stephen, inspired by the Spirit, gives the interpretation; "*When the time of the promise drew nigh, which God had sworn unto Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt.*"† God will be glorified in Africa.

4. Again; a remarkable providence has kept the African race of this country *in peaceable subordination* for a very long period.

* Ex. 1 : 7.

† Acts, 7 : 17.

The love of liberty is a natural instinct in the human heart. Some races cannot be reduced to bondage; at least without the contingency of bitter enmity and fierce insurrections. It is almost impossible to subdue Indians. They will fight in the swamps to the death; or if at last hemmed in, captured, and sent by white treaty across the "father of waters," they retire with a sullen vengeance in the heart, that prompts them with convenient and hopeful opportunity to grasp the tomahawk and rifle for a renewal of the contest. No earthly power could keep four millions of Indians in slavery. Other races are by nature equally refractory. But the African race is docile, of quiet disposition, and obedient to genial and social influences. For two centuries, they have been peaceful and patient under their burdens, and submissive to their condition of slavery. This will be generally regarded as a remarkable providence, particularly in view of the proportion of numbers between the whites and blacks in the slavholding States.

Throughout the entire slavholding region there are about six and a quarter millions of whites and three and a half millions of blacks—a numerical advantage against the latter by no means so decisive as to exclude a special providence in the preservation of almost uninterrupted order.

In the eight States in which slavery has its principal dominion, viz., Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the number of the whites is 3,268,889, and of the blacks 2,464,583, a proportion advancing towards numerical equality. Is not the hand of God visible in maintaining peace between these large masses of enslaving and enslaved?

In several of the States the population is almost equal, whilst in two States, viz., South Carolina and Mississippi, the blacks have a majority; in South Carolina a majority of more than 100,000.

In many of the counties and parishes of States where slavery is still more concentrated, the slaves outnumber the whites in the proportion of five or ten to one.

Still further; there are many plantations in these States on which not more than half a dozen whites reside in the midst of hundreds of negroes. In the last cases, the physical power is decisively in the hands of the slaves.

Under these various circumstances of temptation for the trial of physical strength, the African race has continued to serve with characteristic and almost universal docility. The amount of evil that might have been perpetrated, however speedily its authors were overcome, is witnessed by the outrages of the Southampton massacre, in 1831. An occasional outbreak, like the last, has only demonstrated the general state of quiet subordination. There is a significance in the fact of this universal peace. Every insurrection arrests progress, interferes with the opportunities of intellectual and religious improvement, and operates in many trying ways to

the injury of both classes of population. God has purposely hushed for so long a time the angry feelings of the heart. He has implanted by nature generous emotions and susceptibilities. He has protected the white population by restraints and agencies more efficacious than arms and citadels; and in protecting the whites, he has also multiplied blessings to the blacks. Grand ends are revealed in a providence so distinguishing, in a guardianship so gentle, active, and long continued—ends which pass beyond the mere dwelling together in peace of two races on the same soil. God will be glorified by Africa.

5. Another providence, indicating presumptively some great plan for the African race, *as a race*, is its separation from the whites by the *fixedness of colour*.

The dark skin has not been removed from the children of Ham by their residence in America. A white race reduced to bondage might have risen, as the fiefs and serfs of other countries have done, to share in time the immunities of their lords and masters; or a dark race of a colour *easily changed*, might, in the process of years, have passed from servitude to liberty by a natural and unobnoxious gradation. But the Ethiopian skin endures the action of time. Generations have not eradicated it. The race-mark resists all the changes of climate and habit, in a new country, and in a temperate zone. Has God no moral purpose in endowing so many of his creatures with a peculiar colour? Has he no plan in fixing this colour so deeply in physical organization as that a transfer to other lands and climates has wrought no very perceptible change? Providence is not chance. Colour indicates providence. God has a design in making African complexion survive the bondage in America. He will be glorified by Africa.

The precise form in which God will execute his comprehensive plans of mercy towards this long-disparaged race may not be fully discerned. Errors are liable to enter into all human investigations of this nature. A reverent spirit must look for knowledge above.

“Unsearchable! before whose boundless gaze
The Past, the Present, and the Future roll!
Submissive, we implore thee to unshroud
The Sun of truth.”

Thus far, the discussion has only attempted to point out indications of a *general purpose of benevolence*.

The providences noticed claim consideration. Viewed simply as isolated acts and ordinances in the government of the King of nations, each has an interest of its own to a reflecting mind; whilst considered as parts of a great scheme established, sustained, and executed by divine wisdom and power for the benefit of a race and

of a continent, they reflect increased glory upon the wonderful and mysterious ways of Him who "worketh all in all."

Is there any connection between these providences and the WELFARE OF AFRICA? Its proof will be attempted.

THE PROVIDENTIAL PLAN POINTS TO AFRICA.

II. The providences of God have been, of late years, indicating a closer and closer connection between our African population and the CONTINENT OF AFRICA, as the CHIEF SCENE of the highest development of the race.*

God is in history. He discloses his designs by actions as well as by revelation. There is a logic in events that ultimately brings out its conclusion with divine verity and majestic impression. The imperfection of human investigation anterior to the full disclosures of Providence being admitted, it is lawful, reverential, and dutiful, to examine events in their historical connection, and to endeavour to ascertain, if possible, their moral import. Our Lord reproached the Pharisees for their inattention to the signs that were ushering in the new dispensation. "Ye can discern the face of the sky, but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"† God's condescending and advancing providences in reference to the African race, invite to more specific inquiries concerning the Divine intentions towards this interesting portion of the human family.

"Yes! Thou art as true a MAN
As moves the human mass among;
As much a part of the Great Plan
That with Creation's dawn began,
As any of the throng."

GOD WILL BE GLORIFIED BY AFRICA. The question, pertinent to this discussion, is, What is God doing, at the present time, to show that Africa itself is to be the chief scene of high moral action for the coloured population of this country?

WHAT IS GOD DOING? Behold his wonderful works. On the shores of the Ethiopian continent, the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA stands among the nations of the earth! Emerging from its colonial state, it has become an independent, self-sustaining, accredited government, waving its flag of liberty over a favoured and happy people. Its early obstacles and difficulties were the providential elements

* The expression "*chief scene*" is used, in order not to exclude the distinct recognition of Divine goodness—past, present, and future—towards the race *in this country*. Even if God had no ulterior plan of benevolence in Africa, the results of his plan prove, that it has accomplished great good for our coloured population in this country. Whilst much more may be done for their benefit in America hereafter, we still believe that Africa is to witness the highest culture and influence of the race.

† Matthew 16 : 3.

of gradual advancement, and permanent prosperity. The foundations of many generations have been laid. The Republic has its constitution, its president, its judiciary, its legislature, its militia and navy, its schools and churches, its arts and manufactures, its trade and commerce,—all the political insignia of a prosperous and independent nation. Its internal condition is the exponent of its influence on the well-being of the surrounding tribes. A large extent of sea-coast has been rescued from the iniquities of the slave-trade; the arts of civilization are penetrating into the interior; and religion is advancing its blessed dominion wider and wider among the heathen. Without entering here into more detail, it is sufficient to say that Liberia is in an excellent state of prosperity, with every prospect of moral and political enlargement.

This Republic—who founded it? Who were the adventurers that came to those desolated shores, and on wastes made dreary by crime and oppression, planted the institutions of civilization? They were African emigrants from the United States—men, who, either themselves or their ancestors, were carried from their native land into American bondage. The black race has begun on its own soil the development of God's grand and ulterior purposes. The plan, foreshadowed by many signs, is in a state of actual execution. The process is visibly going forward which demonstrates the connection between the race in America and the race in Africa. Deep significancy dwells in the wonderful method by which this new government upon the earth has been established. It is becoming apparent that a chief mode of blessing Africa, is in its colonization by its distant descendants. God will be glorified there, even by transferring back to its shores pioneers of knowledge, civilization, and religion. "Lo, he doth utter his voice, and that a mighty voice!"

Some stress must be laid upon the fact, that *Liberia is the greatest achievement of the African race*. The coloured population in the United States have already erected on their native shores monuments of a higher capability than that which reared cities and empires of ancient civilization. Liberia, with its institutions of liberty and religion, surpasses, in true Christian greatness, all the kingdoms that have ever held rule upon the continent. This remark is pre-eminently true, if applied to the *Negro* race of Western and Central Africa, from which our slaves have descended, and with which their physical characteristics more particularly identify them. From the Senegal and Congo to the great Cape, and from the west to the interior, comparatively few advances have ever been made in the habits and culture of a higher life. Heathenism pervades the millions; has been their destiny for centuries; and has in itself no promise of amelioration for the future. In all human probability, centuries would have still passed away before a government, of the character of Liberia, would have been constituted out of native materials. The same Providence which has

permitted a thick darkness to settle on the land, has caused the descendants of the negro, born in a distant country, to return to bless it with the wonderful resources of Christian civilization. In no part of the world have the men of the dark skin ever accomplished such wonders of self-reliance, capability, and moral achievement as on Liberian soil.* The inference is rational, that God, in thus honouring so conspicuously their deeds on their native continent, is designating the true and appropriate field of their highest destiny. What is He doing? Behold what has been done!

2. "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Providence is declaring that *the black and white races cannot advantageously live together as equals in this country*—a declaration practically connecting the highest destiny of the blacks with Africa. The gloomy future of the coloured population is impenetrable on the supposition that that population is to remain permanently in the United States. The following theories may be suggested as aids to grope a way through the labyrinth of this perplexity.

Can the African race conquer a portion of our territory for its own separate and independent domain? Never.

Will a separate territory be voluntarily given to it in any part of our country? There are no indications of a national gift so generous and fraternal.

Is the African race likely to perish before civilization, as the great Indian race has done? No; far from it, indeed.

Will it always remain in its present state of subjection and slavery? Certainly not.

Will the African race, on its deliverance from slavery, retire into the Southwest, outside of our present national boundaries, and there become mingled with other mixed races? A portion of our coloured population will, in all probability, remain on some part of our continent, or its islands; but the future of this remnant is far from being hopeful, in the lights and shades of passing history.†

* No special allusion is made to Sierra Leone, because Liberia alone sustains practical relations to our own country on this question; and may be considered, indeed, the *representative* of the whole colonization interests in Africa. Sierra Leone was first settled by blacks from this country.

† The following extract from a letter, written to the Editor by one of our most distinguished ministers, *currente calamo*, but from well-digested stores of learning, will be read with great interest. The writer is a warm friend of African Colonization, and here presents views which are *supplemental* to that great enterprise.

"I feel much more concern about the *future* of the race. God holds that problem in his own awful hand for solution. Sometimes such faint glimpses as these open on me:

1. Note on the map of North and South America, the solid mass of black population in the United States, densest in Virginia, South Carolina, &c., and shading off at the north and west.

2. Now this column has for 150 years been suffering a marked change. Its head once rested in Massachusetts. Every year brings this northern margin far-

Will the race rise to social equality and partake of political privileges with other classes in the same community? This is equally improbable.

Few intelligent and reflecting minds will accept any of these alternatives as the best and the true solution of African destiny. God's plan overreaches in grandeur all human proposals; the wonderful plan of colonization, whose pathway is across the ocean, and whose end is the elevation of the African race on its own renovated and expectant continent.

Of the foregoing theories which make this country the permanent home of our coloured population, the last is the stronghold of the opponents of colonization. Its examination will unfold a second proof of the ordained connection of the race with Africa itself, as its final destination and the best field for its Christianized energies.

It cannot be denied that there is a deep-seated repugnance and prejudice between the white and black races, in the United States. This prejudice does not exist, to the same extent, between the white races in other countries and the descendants of Africa. But it exists with no small degree of force in our own country; and it is not confined to the whites; it is a mutual prejudice felt by both parties. The recognition of the great truth that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," is not called in question by a law of races which simply discourages unreserved social equality. The tastes, natural or moral, of our common nature possess some authority among races of different colour, Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, Ethiopian, or American, without *necessarily* involving sin. The Liberians exclude the whites from civil and political privileges in

ther south. In no strong sense can we call Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, or East Missouri, slaveholding States. At the same time, the southeast terminus is growing denser. The entire slave column is, with a glacier-like motion, moving *towards the south*.

3. All these causes now operating will make this change more and more striking. There is no reinforcement at the northern end. Even from Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, the black emigration sets constantly southward.

4. The region of the earth towards which this tendency of the slave-people manifests itself, *is precisely that which offers to them two great advantages*.

(1.) *Congenial climate*. The Northern climate kills off thousands:

(2.) *Diminution of the prejudice of colour*. As a consequence, intermarriage of the races not only can take place more easily, but does take place. Mexico is a country of amalgamation. I have seen numerous mulatto officers on Mexican frigates. The rescue of the pure Spanish blood, *la sangre azul*, is now hopeless. Even in Jamaica the like is true. In New Grenada, Venezuela, and Brazil, the mixture is proceeding yet more rapidly.

5. Hateful, therefore, as *amalgamation* is to our mind, it is in regular and increasing operation.

6. The issue, some ages hence, will be a people, in tropical America, who shall be the resultant of Indian, African, and Caucasian blood.

7. Less confidently, but with some assurance, I foresee such economic and commercial changes, as shall make Southern slavery unprofitable, and then it will cease.

8. Our present duty is to prepare the race for such a destiny."

their republic, after the same manner that we do men of their colour in ours. Without denying that these natural prejudices often give occasion for the excitement of sinful emotions, it is impossible not to see that the two races are really kept distinct in this country; and so distinct, that their commingling together on terms of social and political equality seems out of the question.

This is a harsh alternative. But all races must abide their destiny, and yield to providential law. The present unequal distributions of Providence may be the wisest means of eventually working out the true compensations of the African race. Compensation will at last come.

“We will trust God. The blank interstices
Men take for ruins, He will build into
With pillared marbles rare, or knit across
With generous arches, till the fane's complete.
This world has no perdition, if some loss.”

Far better for our coloured population to retire from an unequal contest against inveterate prejudice, than stand disheartened and dismayed before the discipline of its stern emergency. God will repair their losses in a better way and in a better land. The mingling together of the two races on equal terms in this country appears an impracticability; or rather, it is an event which does not seem to be within the design of Providence.

The experiment has been tried for a *long time*. More than a century has passed away since the races were brought into contact. Has time softened the prejudices of colour, and removed the alienations of diverse and unequal condition?

The experiment has been tried under *every variety of circumstance*. Emancipation in the Slave States has not elevated the condition of the negro. The Free States refuse to the African race a fundamental right of freemen,—the right of voting for their rulers;* and however much their general condition may be ameliorated, there is not the slightest approximation to social equality with the whites. Even the ultra-abolitionists do not practically carry out their hortatory views by personal example. The Irish emigrants are negro-haters, to a very great extent, and refuse matrimonial alliances. Under what form of external circumstance has not the experiment been proved an impracticability?

The experiment has been tried *with advantages of religion and liberty on its side*. No country has a purer religious faith, or a more earnest practical religion than ours. Our free institutions also naturally cherish sentiments of equality and fraternity. But

* The writer has no sympathy with this legislation, which he regards as inexpedient, un-republican, and oppressive. When the new Constitution of New Jersey was submitted to the people in 1844, the writer was in the minority who voted against it, and he did so because the new Constitution refused to recognize the political rights of the free coloured population.

neither religion nor liberty has broken down the barrier between the races. The most enlightened conviction has been as inefficacious as the most favoured forms of political condition in rescuing the blacks from their inferior position.

Further still; the experiment has been tried *with increasing improbability of its success*. The mutual prejudices of the two races are greater now than ever. Our Free States, in forming new constitutions have almost unanimously denied to the coloured population the political privileges granted to others. The new States of the West have surpassed the older ones in their restrictions and disabilities; and at least one or two prohibit residence by penalties.* So clearly defined has the question now become, that our National Executive Department, which is no doubt in sympathy with our National Judiciary, has lately decided that free coloured persons are not "*citizens of the United States.*"† The feeling of alienation on the part of the blacks increases with all these oppressive and disparaging manifestations. Forming a distinct class in the community, they have a separate social position; they worship God generally in churches of their own, called African churches; their children are educated in African schools; and provision by law and custom seems to be made for the perpetuation of these distinctions. When Slavery shall approach its final crisis, and the spirit of insurrection shall sound forth its cries of terror, the general exasperation on both sides will be fiercely augmented, and embittered beyond all previous experience.

In this aspect of affairs, it is obvious that the African race has no encouragement to regard the United States as a permanent residence. Providence is pointing it back to its native country, as by the proclamation of a king; not in despotic wrath, but in regal love. All things will be overruled for its good.‡

* Indiana, Iowa, and to some extent, Ohio.

† See the late letter of the Honorable WILLIAM L. MARCY, Secretary of State, in which he declines to give regular passports to free coloured persons travelling abroad, on the ground that they are not citizens in the proper sense of that word.

Whilst these sheets are passing through the press (1856), the news has arrived that the Supreme Court of the United States has given a decision, wherein it is announced that free persons of African descent are not citizens of the United States of America. As a citizen of the Republic, the writer does not hesitate to express his humiliation. At the same time, he has no doubt that this decision, affecting the rights and interests of many, will be overruled for good. God reigns. He is "a great King above all gods."

‡ We may here refer to an able and interesting letter of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., written from Newport, in August, 1851, to Thomas Suffern, Esq. Mr. Latrobe endeavours to sustain the following propositions:

1. That the two races of white and black in the United States must forever remain separate and distinct, while they continue in the same land—whether all the blacks are free, or only a portion of them.

2. That the necessary consequence of this state of things, as illustrated by the present, and in accordance with all history, must be that the weaker of the two races must, directly or indirectly, be oppressed, the extent of the oppression being

3. Another of the signs of the times is, that *no other races are aiming to colonize Africa*. By common consent, the continent is given up to the conquest of its own race. Excluding the small parts, whose occupation for military or commercial purposes has been attempted by the French, English, and Portuguese, Africa may be said to be surrendered to its own descendants.

A writer, under the striking title of "TRYING TO CREATE NATIONS," compares the English Cape Colony with that of the French at Algiers, and states that the former "has now been occupied fifty years, at a cost of not less than twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars for governing and defending it, yet the whole population at this day, Hottentot, free Negro, Dutch, and English, does not exceed 260,000 souls. The whole of the appurtenant territory, spread over not less than 130,000 square miles, serves no other object beyond providing us with fresh relays of Caffres to fight. It will not take our convicts, it will not fight its own invaders, and it *cannot induce settlers to immigrate*. The pet Colony of the French, at Algiers, presents a very like picture. Twenty-six years have been wasted, and in a province of ninety millions of acres, three-fourths as large as France itself, the European population is only 134,000, and has to be protected by an army of 100,000 men, at an expense of some twelve million dollars per annum!"

Man cannot *create nations*. The inheritance of the earth is under providential control. The five principal currents of modern

in proportion to the occasions of collision between the two in competition for employment.

3. That another necessary consequence of this state of things is, that the two races must separate—in this as in all other similar cases—or, in other words, there must be a Colonization, to be carried on like all other previous Colonizations—which may be facilitated by aid in the commencement, but which must ultimately be a self-paying Colonization—the emigrants paying their own expenses.

4. That existing circumstances already press upon the free coloured man the necessity of emigration, and that he is beginning to appreciate its importance. That these circumstances, growing mainly out of the vast increase of our white population, by native birth and foreign immigration, are accumulating beyond all control, and will ultimately leave the free coloured man no alternative but emigration.

5. That Africa is the place for which he is destined—and that the colonies planted there, now the Republic of Liberia, are to be his ultimate home. That in Africa alone can he escape the white man's power, while the latter will be dependent upon him for the missionary and commercial agencies here referred to.

6. That while the present means for emigration may be supplied by individual or other aid, yet the commerce which is rapidly growing up between Africa and this country, will, in a brief time—looking to the ends to be obtained—furnish facilities for the same emigration from America to Africa, that is now taking place between Europe and this continent—an emigration which would soon relieve the United States from its entire free coloured population—and towards which, where the Irishman or German has one motive the free black man has ten.

emigration are, (1), from Europe to America; (2), from the Eastern United States to the Western, and onward to the Pacific; (3), from England to Australia; (4), from China to California; (5), from the United States to Africa. These currents are more or less regular; and in spite of occasional perturbations, they are likely to continue their sweeping courses in the vast sea of human life. The current towards Africa appears to become stronger year after year, and to be unalterable in direction, flowing out like the great Gulf-stream between two hemispheres. Where is the race that gives any signs of competition with the Americo-African? What other people on the globe have any expectation of making large and permanent settlements in Africa, especially in the comparatively unknown western and central regions? Here is the great *African reservation*, set apart by the solemn compact of Providence for the possession of the coloured population taken to America centuries ago. They alone, of all nations, are looking to Africa as a field of genial and hopeful colonization. This remarkable incident in history confirms the relation between our coloured population and that continent. It shows how God's plans are unfolding. Whilst, with one hand, He beckons the children of captivity to return to their native land, with the other he warns away the intruders of other nations. He will be glorified by Africa.

4. There are certain PECULIARITIES OF ADAPTATION which designate the coloured population of this country as a natural and fixed instrumentality for the displays of Divine goodness, grace, and glory in Africa.

(1.) An adaptation of *brotherhood* qualifies the African population of this country to promote the welfare of their native continent. The great mass of the African population in the United States are separated by only one, two, or three generations from the native tribes who roam between the Senegal, the Niger, and the Congo. A small part were actually born in Africa. The traditions of a foreign extraction are clear and unquestioned throughout the whole four millions. The land of their forefathers is across the waters. This community of origin, which admirably adapts them to be pioneers among their kindred in missions and in civilization, will, in due time, exercise its sway.

An alienation from Africa, as a place of residence has, indeed, existed for some time, especially among our free coloured population. This has been owing partly to the impression that African Colonization was a compulsory measure, or one which originated in worldly policy and feelings of disaffection in the minds of the whites; partly from the notion that their condition was better here than in Africa; partly from old habits and an aversion to change; and partly from exasperated appeals to their bad passions and prejudices. These causes of disaffection will be all ultimately removed. God's plans move slowly onward until the crisis of advanced action

arrives; and then, as lightning from one part under heaven answers to that of the other, the majesty of final results illuminates the horizon with rapid change.

There are three things which must ever retain in the African mind of this country, a remembrance of their forefathers' continent. One of these is natural distinctive colour. God has made a mark upon the African race that identifies it everywhere. The Jew is known in all lands; much more the African. Without referring again to the prejudices between the black and white races, I simply remark that there is a natural congeniality between the blacks as blacks, and between the whites as whites—a congeniality that will assert its claims in the time of God's demand, and operate to produce sympathy of feeling and of action between the African population in America and in Africa.

Another cause that will assist in developing the emotions of brotherhood between these two classes of the same population is the dependence of the one upon the other. The native Africans have been made dependent by the doom of Providence upon their brethren in America. The men of Congo and Angola beckon for help over the waters, with an earnestness greater than Macedonian supplication. Can this cry be long unheeded, especially when God opens the windows of heaven, baptizes the people with new unction, and fills them with the constraining love of Christ?

Another effectual means to bind the two classes of Africans together is, the increasing advantages held out by Africa as a residence. Liberia is well calculated to keep the African mind of this country in an expectant and interested state. As the young republic continues to develop its career of prosperity and honour, it will form a bond of union that oceans cannot break.

These remarks are sufficient to show, that a feeling of brotherhood exists by nature between the coloured population here and in Africa; that this feeling has been already cultivated in Divine Providence, and will gather strength in the natural course of events; and hence that there is an adaptation which stimulates the African people here, to identify themselves with the welfare of their brethren in the native land.

(2.) The Africans in America possess the adaptation of *Christian character and advanced knowledge*. Many of them are already qualified, in a good degree, to carry the arts of civilization and the ordinances of religion to the country of their ancestors. Providence seems to have been waiting until they were ready for their work. Each generation has made an advance upon the preceding one. Plans have been set in operation for their evangelization and general improvement, which have met with wonderful success. So that there is an increasing adaptation to perform their mission of elevating their "kindred according to the flesh," as well as of enjoying for themselves the blessings of liberty in a land of glorious inheritance.

(3.) There is also an adaptation of *physical endurance*. The coloured skin can better bear the burning sun and the peculiarities of the African climate. It is true, that even the Africans, who emigrate, must go through the process of acclimation; but its dangers are far less with them than with the whites. The records of mortality are quite fearful among the white missionaries who have gone to Africa. "Out of 117 missionaries sent out by the *Wesleyan Missionary Society*, during forty years, from 1811 to 1850, no less than 54 died on the field, 39 of them within one year after their arrival; and of those who survived, 13 were obliged to return after a residence of from six to twenty-one months. During thirty years, from 1806 to 1835, the *Church Missionary Society* of London sent out 109 missionaries, more than 50 of whom died at their stations, 3 or 4 on their passage home; 14 returned home with impaired constitutions, and in 1835, only 3 labourers remained. About 30 of these 50 died in one year after their arrival. Such is the general record of white effort in Africa. Latterly it has not been so terribly distressing; but even now the martyrs to the climate live, on an average, only four years; while comparatively nothing was effected till colonies of African origin were planted on the seaboard, and the colonial and the missionary work was combined."

I have read with care the argument in favour of continuing to send out white missionaries to Africa, which is to be found in the admirable volume on Africa, written by my friend and brother, the Rev. JOHN LEIGHTON WILSON, D.D. I agree with his conclusions; but their main strength consists in the fact that competent coloured missionaries have not yet been obtained. One of the objects of the ASHMUN INSTITUTE is to supply missionaries capable of doing the work of the Church in the torrid zone and on Africa's shores. It is certain that the superior capability of the African race for physical endurance in the climate of Africa, constitutes an adaptation, on the part of our coloured population, to co-operate in blessing the African continent, to the glory of the riches of God's grace in Jesus Christ.

(4.) The Africans in this country have an adaptation of *industrial training*. The great products of cotton, tobacco, corn, wheat, rice, and sugar, which they have been accustomed to cultivate, can all be grown upon the soil of Liberia. The skill acquired in this country will have a ready demand, and can be immediately put to profitable employment in the new location. Thus Africa, long a neglected waste, may be made to abound in the richest harvests of agriculture, and in the teeming resources of newly applied and active industry. Nations are waiting for the development of its trade and commerce. The native tribes need the stimulus of industrial example and success; and of all people suited to take the lead in this work, our own coloured population is the best trained and the most competent.

(5.) There is an adaptation of *mutual advantage* to the two classes of the African race. The advantage to Africa itself in having civilization brought within its borders by means of Christian colonies, is incalculable. Providence has searched profoundest depths of wisdom to bring to pass this consummation. Ethiopia's heart will bless the King of nations for the mighty methods and results of Christian civilization, that are soon to extend along her coasts and to penetrate her vast domains. Scarcely less obvious is the advantage to our own coloured population, in becoming emigrants to the land of their forefathers. Few inducements are offered here for their advancement in the higher pursuits of life, and for the attainment of the objects of a laudable ambition. With all the disadvantages of their position, it is remarkable that the upward pressure of the race has been so strong and persevering. The struggle is adventurous, but vain. Providence has better ends. The highest capabilities of the African are not to be witnessed here. Liberia is demonstrating the advantages of a fresh position, and of independent, vigorous, self-managed institutions. Our free coloured population sympathizes more than ever with the objects and prospects of African Colonization; and the time is coming when no earthly power can prevent the best portion from emigrating back to the great ancestral continent.

“An ignorance of means may minister
To greatness; but an ignorance of aims
Makes it impossible to be great at all.
I tell you rather, that whoever may
Discern true ends here, shall grow pure enough
To love them, brave enough to strive for them,
And strong to reach them, though the road be rough.”

These various adaptations indicate that the plan of blessing Africa by means of the race in this country will be a permanent one, and that a reunion on their own continent will afford the brightest displays of Divine goodness towards this long-afflicted and disparaged people. In Africa shall God be glorified, with hosannahs from every land. There, the mysteries of Providence shall be vindicated; and then, new revelations of mercy be made known.

5. THE COMMON CONVICTION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH may be added as additional confirmation of the providential relation between our coloured population and Africa.

This conviction arose *early*. In 1773, an Address, proposing the formation of an African Missionary Society to educate and send out coloured missionaries to Africa, was published, with the signatures of Ezra Stiles, afterwards President of Yale College, and Samuel Hopkins, both Congregational pastors at Newport,

R. I.* The British philanthropists, Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, and others, probably deriving the suggestion from this appeal, devised a plan, in 1787, of settling at Sierra Leone a company of slaves who had deserted to the British army in the Revolutionary War, and who accompanied the British troops on their return to England. The success at Sierra Leone hastened the establishment of the American Colonization Society. The same arguments that are now used for the prosecution of African colonization, were advanced by American and British Christians nearly a century ago. The strifes of modern times had no share in originating this great scheme. God early enlisted in its behalf the minds and hearts of the wise and good, and arranged a place for it in the affections of coming generations.

The confidence of Christians in African colonization is *universal*. It is not limited to sect; it belongs to the larger idea of Christianity, and pervades all branches of the Church. And it is *strong* as well as universal. Opposition to the emigration of the coloured population to Africa has been made in vain by fanaticism and infidelity. The appliances of ambitious, restless, energetic agitation never ended in a more complete failure than in the attempt to place the Church in a hostile attitude to this great African scheme. The strength of Christian conviction in its favour is a "token of perdition" to the efforts of its adversaries, and a "sign from heaven" to its friends. All Christian denominations have solemnly placed upon their official records their strong expectation, under God, of great blessings to Africa from its colonization by its descendants.†

The *prayers* and *efforts* of Christians have followed their convictions, and are the expression of their sincerity. God is not accustomed to abandon his Church to delusion and error, and to

* Two young Africans were sent by Dr. Hopkins to Princeton College, to be educated under the supervision of Dr. Witherspoon; but the Revolutionary War interrupted this scheme of benevolence, and one of the young men died early. Dr. Hopkins afterwards revived the scheme and published an able address. Two other pupils afterwards went to Sierra Leone.

† The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church is believed to be the first ecclesiastical body that took action in favour of the objects and principles of the American Colonization Society. Its first action was in May, 1817, a few months after the formation of the Society. Since that time, it has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of African colonization.

I may here add, that the founder of the American Colonization Society was Dr. ROBERT FINLEY, one of our own ministers. FRANCIS S. KEY, Esq., of Georgetown, who was intimately acquainted with the whole movement, said, in a public address, in 1842, "From its origin, when *first proposed by the venerated Finley*, to the present time, in its darkest day, I have never doubted." (*Kennedy's Report*, page 65.)

Dr. Finley, on his way to Washington, stopped at Princeton, N. J., where he called a meeting to consider the subject. The Professors of the College and Theological Seminary attended, and the venerable Dr. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER addressed the people in favour of the scheme. Dr. Alexander says, in his History, "The first public meeting, which ever took place to consider the subject of African colonization in this country, was held in the Presbyterian Church in the borough of Princeton."

give to its worship and philanthropy a false direction. The early, long-continued, universal, prayerful, practical conviction of the Church, may be regarded as interpreting the Divine will on this subject more clearly than any oracle on earth.

Grouping together, then, the five varieties of proof here presented, their collective force is apparently sufficient to establish an African direction in God's wonderful providences. The destiny of Africa seems to be linked by a Divine concatenation, with the intellect and heart of the coloured population in this country.

The execution of the providential plan is for the ELEVATION OF AFRICA. The "signs of the times," which flash across the firmament, are bright as the prophetic evening's enkindled sky. "When it is evening, ye say, It will be fair weather, for the sky is red." Fair weather to Africa's tempest-tossed shores! Fair weather to her sky long clouded and lowering! "The night is far spent; the day is at hand." Her sun is rising in its greatness! God will be GLORIFIED BY AFRICA.

GOD'S GOODNESS, GRACE, AND GLORY IN AFRICA.

III. THE DESTINY OF AFRICA WILL RECEIVE A NEW DEVELOPMENT BY THE EXECUTION OF THE PROVIDENTIAL PLAN; and great displays of God's goodness, grace, and glory will be made on the shores of that long-afflicted continent.

All the antecedent probabilities favour the expectation of great blessings to Africa from the scheme of African Colonization. Some of the grandest providences in the history of the world have contributed to the unfolding of the plan in its present hopeful aspects. What conjunctures of events; what moral, political, and physical adaptations; what progressive, and yet tardy movements in society; what combinations of various and apparently discordant elements, must be established and made ready for co-operation, before a high purpose can emerge into organized activity! The providential preparation, however, is the argument and the assurance of eventual triumph. The patriarch's departure from Mesopotamia, the bondage of Egypt, and the Exodus with miracles, rendered certain at last, the conquest of Canaan. Every step in the majestic pathway of means for the elevation of the African race, shows the sure direction and the final end of the divine purposes. All the providences that have pressed forward African Colonization to the prominence of one of the greatest social and political movements of the age, prefigure future benefits, on a great scale, to the black man's continent. The fallow ground of Africa has been broken up; the seeds of empires have been sown; and the handful of corn, in the coming harvest, shall shake like Lebanon. The purposes of God, long ripening, come to maturity at last,

“ And freshening upward to his feet
 In gradual growth, his full-leaved will
 Expands from world to world.”

African Colonization has, indeed, had its “day of small things.” It has received reproach and bitter opposition, even from those whose good was sought,—like the expedition from Egypt to Canaan, which encountered its severest trials from Israelitish perverseness. But African Colonization has the armorial bearings of its King. It is an undertaking that unfolds from its banner remarkable signs of greatness. It has far-reaching contemplations of God and man. It originates a new and higher order of thought concerning the destiny of a despised and downtrodden race. It seeks to found new empires, to carry the blessings of religion to a fourth part of the habitable globe, and to create throughout Christendom a public sentiment that shall re-establish the brotherhood of Shem, Ham, and Japheth. All the antecedent probabilities, growing out of an origin and a support in divine Providence, announce the success of African Colonization. God will be glorified by Africa.

2. The scheme of African Colonization CONTAINS ELEMENTS OF POWER, which place it in a commanding position in reference to present prosperity and future greatness.

The republican form of government, in Liberia, is the model form for Africa. The petty and local independencies, which constitute the prevalent system of government, are utterly inconsistent with social and public improvement. Nor would the wants of Africa be met by the rise of great monarchies, or of a vaster autocracy like that of Russia. An important requisite for the future of nations, is a type of government that shall draw forth the spirit of the people, stimulate industry in agriculture and the arts, and establish public prosperity upon a sure foundation. The Republic of Liberia undertakes this mission for Africa. It stands upon its oppressed shores, like the gateway to the temple of its Liberty. The outward form of civilization which is to spread throughout those vast realms, will influence the destiny of generations. Human improvement would have been reversed for centuries, if Asiatic civilization had impressed its despotism upon the rising States of Europe, by the unchecked conquests of the Medo-Persian empire. It was Athens, standing firm at the Thermopylæ of European liberty, that preserved for the East the more genial forms of Grecian and Roman republicanism. Liberty is not a vain idea. There is

“ A serious, sacred meaning and full use
 Of freedom for a nation.”

Liberia will model, until the end of time, the political institutions of the continent it aims to bless. What liberty has been, and is, to America, it is and will be to Africa. Ethiopian as well as

Anglo-Saxon intellect needs, and must have, the glowing culture of free institutions.

With the institutions of freedom, *knowledge* advances into Liberia. The Ethiopian world must be enlightened. Ignorance is adjusted to despotism by laws which make knowledge congenial to a republic. The debasement of Africa must be rolled away. Universal education must be carried up her mighty streams, across her arid deserts, beyond her ridges of mountains, throughout her plains and prairies, along her vast lines of latitude and longitude north and south to either sea, and east and west to every shore. The institutions of learning, which exist in Liberia, are resources of human elevation. Schools, academies, and colleges will be to African mind, like the irrigations of the Nile to its valley, like the sea-breeze to the fevered coast, like morning light to unbroken darkness.

The Protestant religion is an element of power among the resources of African Colonization. Religion is offered by Liberia to the surrounding nations as the richest blessing from heaven. The Papal hierarchy has already made its experiment in Western Africa. In former years, the Roman Church held extensive sway in Congo, Angola, and along the western coast; but every vestige of its pomp and power has disappeared. The transmission of Roman Catholic faith and politics into the civilization of this expanding continent would be a calamity to the world. Liberia is Protestant in thought, heart, and life. Its emigrants have learned religion in a land of Bibles. Their simple faith welcomes a Saviour. They possess the creed of the apostles and martyrs. Ethiopia has never been, is not, will not be,

“A bondsman shivering at a Jesuit’s foot,”

but she stands erect in the liberty of Redemption, stretching forth her hands unto God. The religion of the Reformation is Africa’s hope. God is opening the way for the evangelization of her millions, by the return of her own kindred with blessings of life and immortality. In the enjoyment of the pure and glorious Gospel of the Son of man, Africa will assume her true rank among the continents of the world.

The Anglo-Saxon tongue is carried into Africa with freedom, knowledge, and religion. Among the certainties of language is its power in the formation of national character; its bond of union among all who use the same forms of speech; the influence of its published literature in extending and perpetuating opinions; and its general capability in developing the religion and civilization of the world. The providential origin of the diversities of human language, and the use which God has made of particular forms, especially the Hebrew and Greek, suggest the great importance of the subject in its evangelistic relations. The Anglo-Saxon is pre-

eminently the language of freedom, civilization, and Christianity.* It is extending itself beyond every other variety of spoken or written language. It has entered upon new conquests in Africa. The citizens of Liberia enjoy its benefits.

“They speak the tongue
That Shakspeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.”

A blight would have fallen upon African civilization, if the dialect of Spain, France, or Italy had been incorporated into the Liberian commonwealth. The Anglo-Saxon tongue is the representative tongue of Liberty and Religion. It is a tower of strength, whose top, unfrowned upon by the Holy One, goes up towards heaven. Liberia thrives in its light. Africa shall advance on her career with its illuminations; and Anglo-Saxon speech and literature shall enhance the blessings which Freedom, Knowledge, and Religion convey throughout the vast realms of the rejoicing continent.

These four elements of political and moral prosperity place the Republic of Liberia on high vantage-ground as a nation. Liberia possesses resources of power. Her prospects of realizing a vigorous and permanent progress, by the favour of Heaven, are far more promising than those of many nations, now her superiors in political position. Her stability is on a firmer foundation than that of France, Italy, or Austria. Changes and reverses may, indeed, take place. Clouds may gather in her sky, but beyond them shines unquenched light. A nation's strength consists in its reverence for the laws of God, in its acknowledgment of the rights of man, and in its appliances to enlighten the public conscience, invigorate the industry of its citizens, and train up its generations to serve God throughout the earth. Liberia possesses these resources, which are competent, with the Divine blessing, to establish it on a sure foundation. He who has given to it freedom, knowledge, religion, and the English tongue, will be *glorified by Africa*.

3. THE HISTORY OF LIBERIA inspires hope, not only in the success of its own institutions, but in the importance of colonization as an instrumentality for the civilization of Africa.

The Colony, formed under many disadvantages, has risen steadily to its present high condition. Recaptured Africans, and slaves indiscriminately emancipated, were its first citizens. Its greatest trial has been the impracticability of selecting emigrants with special reference to the greatness of the work. The aggregate character of the emigrants sent out to Liberia, has scarcely equalled

* An able, original, and instructive Discourse on the Anglo-Saxon tongue was delivered by the Rev. JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D., on Thanksgiving Day, 1856, in his own church, in New York. It was published in the *New York Observer*, and was republished in the June number of the *Presbyterian Magazine*, 1857.

the average worth and respectability of the coloured population of the United States. The original condition of Liberia, in this respect, is very different from that of the Pilgrim Colonies, whose materials were "the siftings of three kingdoms." Yet these poor and honest African emigrants showed, in the depths of their degradation, no ordinary traits of manhood. In the language of Dr. Alexander, "I cannot but admire the honest ambition and the noble daring of the first emigrants from this country to Africa. Then, no Liberia existed. The Society did not own one foot of ground on that continent, and it was extremely doubtful whether they would be able to obtain any territory for a colony. Yet, these lion-hearted men resolved to run every risk; they took, as it were, their lives in their hands. They went out, like Abraham, not knowing whither they went. And the event has proved that they were called by the Providence of God to engage in this hazardous undertaking."*

The progress of Liberia has surpassed that of other colonies, more favoured at the beginning. The settlement of America from Canada to Brazil cannot produce examples of greater success than colonization on the Western coast of Africa, between the Senegal and the Niger. The Anglo-Saxon movement of Jamestown lacked the spirit of a great moral enterprise, and failed, for a long time, to gain a foothold upon the soil of the Cavaliers, from whence their slaves' descendants have emigrated with overshadowing favour. The Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock encountered many stern obstacles and difficulties; nor did they, for a series of years, bring forth results of colonization equalling the first-fruits of African toil and industry. The establishment of Liberia is a triumph in history. The children of Ham lift up the banner above the heads of Shem and Japheth.

The *location* of Liberia is favourable to all the objects of its growth as a nation. It is the nearest point to *America* on the coast, and the navigation is a safe one. "Of the one hundred and thirty voyages, which have been made direct to Liberia by vessels in the service of the Colonization Society, since 1820, all have been made safely, without having to make a single claim on the insurance companies for damages. This proves a safe navigation between the United States and Liberia."† Considered in reference to *Africa*, the location of the Colony is also auspicious. It has the command of the Slave Coast; it is adjacent to influential tribes; it is only a few degrees from the sources and the mouths of the Niger; and is capable of holding ready communication with Timbuctoo, one of the capitals of Central Africa, with which city a railroad may connect it at no distant day. As regards *Europe* and *Asia*, the situation on the coast is quite favourable. The Republic stands on the highway of nations. The commerce of India, China, and Australia, passes its domain. Moreover, Liberia is sufficiently

* History of Colonization, p. 20.

† Colonization Herald, Philadelphia.

near to England and America for the purposes of trade, and sufficiently remote from other nations to diminish the danger of untimely foreign interference. Nature, indeed, has not provided for it every advantage, especially in climate and harbours; but it combines as many substantial advantages as the western coast of Africa can afford.

A brief view of the *actual results* of African Colonization is essential to the elucidation of our subject. What, then, has been accomplished that forebodes great good, in the future, to the African race?

(1.) Liberia has provided a home for the coloured population of the United States. About ten thousand have already emigrated; all of whom have exchanged an inferior condition of society for one of independence and dignity. The total number of emigrants, up to January 1st, 1857, was 8954. Of this number, 3676 were born free; and the remainder in slavery.

Liberia is a rallying point of hope for our African population in all the emergencies of their condition. Comparatively few of the free coloured people have, as yet, had the enterprise to become citizens of the African Republic. Only 698 of their number have emigrated from the Free States. Every year, however, is adding to the attractions of Liberia, and diminishing the desirableness of residence in America. Providence will bring to pass its plans of emigration. Soon large numbers of our free-coloured population will set out on their long-delayed journey, thanking God for the African Republic whose flag of liberty waves over the land of the free.

(2.) Colonization has established a flourishing African government on the basis of popular elections, a republican administration, and judicial tribunals recognizing the right of trial by jury. This government has already gained much favour with civilized nations. Its independence has been acknowledged by Great Britain, France, Prussia, Belgium, Brazil, and soon, it is to be hoped, by the United States; and it has treaties of amity and commerce with England, France, and the Hanscatic States of Hamburg, Lubec, and Bremen.

The religious and educational statistics of Liberia compare advantageously with those of any other nation. The total number of church members is not far from 4000; of whom about 1000 are natives, or recaptured Africans. There are 35 churches, composed of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Friends. The number of ministers and missionaries is about 60, of whom 7 are whites.

The number of scholars exceed 800 in 40 schools: of which the most important are the White Plains Methodist School, on the St. Paul's River; the Alexander High School, at Monrovia; the Episcopal Mission School, at Cape Palmas; and a private female academy, at Monrovia. The materials of a large college building

have recently been despatched from this country, at a cost of \$18,000. The college is to be located on the St. Paul's River, near Monrovia; and ex-President Roberts has accepted the presidency of the institution.

The number of settlements in Liberia is twenty-five. The republic is divided into three counties; and additions are being made to its territory from time to time.*

Such a republic is accomplishing, by its very existence and prosperity, unspeakable benefits for the whole race. God has planted it on African shores for the present and future advantage of bond and free, of American born and African born, descendants of Ham.

(3.) Liberia is a centre of trade and commerce in Africa. The continent has materials of a large commerce on the Mediterranean, on the eastern coast from the Red Sea to Port Natal, and on the western coast. Liberia is developing its proportions of West African trade. In 1855, more than thirty vessels were freighted with palm-oil alone, at her ports. The value of her imports and exports is about \$2,000,000 annually. So extensive and important is the commerce of Western Africa, that a company in England is constructing six steamers for regular communication with the coast, and a number of smaller steamers to run up the rivers. The subject of African commerce is engaging more and more the attention of our own merchants; and the power of Liberia will soon be felt in the commercial world.

But it is in its moral relations that the commerce of Africa assumes its chief importance. The civilization of the world is carried forward by the intercourse of nations; and the Gospel uses civilization as one of the conditions of its own permanent extension. Religion and commerce are thus mutual allies; and the increasing trade of Liberia and of the surrounding nations is among the best signs of the colonization enterprise.

(4.) Liberia has acquired influence over, and given protection to, 250,000 of the natives, who reside within the bounds of the commonwealth, and who are gradually adopting the forms of civilized life. In Section XIII of the Constitution of Liberia, it is declared that "the improvement of the natives, and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry, is a cherished object of this government." President Benson, in his inaugural message, thus alludes to the native tribes: "In regard to this people, we have the highest human trust committed to our hands. Let us not be unfaithful. Providence, I doubt not, has chosen us not only as the pioneers of better days to our unfortunate race in the

* These religious and educational statistics are taken, almost *verbatim*, from a letter, written by Mr. WILLIAM COPPINGER, the intelligent and worthy Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, to whom application was made for the information given.

scale of nationality, but also as his instruments in effecting the great work of Africa's redemption."

Perfection cannot be expected of Liberia in its intercourse with the surrounding tribes. Every civilized nation contains evil-disposed and wicked citizens; and religion does not always control the public administration of affairs. Jealousies and contentions may arise at intervals between the colonists and the natives; but the *community of origin* must, with the advance of civilization and the progress of the new African States, ultimately blend together the entire African population.

(5.) A large extent of sea-coast, at least 500 miles in length, has been delivered from the horrors of the slave trade, by the influence of the Liberian settlements. The indescribable agonies inflicted upon the seaward and the interior tribes by this infamous traffic, are in a great measure ended. African Colonization is the best permanent remedy, however essential for a time has been the presence of ships of war. The total extent of coast rescued from this horrid trade by colonies, missionary stations, and naval armaments, is 2500 miles. "Canot, the famous Portuguese slaver, who ought to know, affirms in his memoir, that Liberia has exerted an immense influence in the suppression of the slave trade."*

(6.) Liberia furnishes posts of influence to extend exploration, civilization, and religion into the interior. What has been done is little in comparison with what, it is demonstrated, can be done. Liberia is not a mere local commonwealth; it has continental relations. Providence has established it to be a light to Africa. Its inhabitants are beginning to open communications with other districts. The settlements on the St. Paul are but the stepping-stones to the highland interior. New Christian states will, it is believed, soon arise on the banks of the Niger, and Central Africa be a land of Liberty and Law. The influence of the Americo-African Republic in exploring, civilizing, and Christianizing Central Africa, will probably be handed down among the interesting memorials of its national achievements.

(7.) Liberia has a present and prospective relation to slavery in the United States, which in the end will add greatly to the resources of African civilization. Large numbers now in slavery, or their children, will become citizens of Africa. Although the Colonization Society itself does not come in contact with slavery, either by its constitution or its executive management, yet its incidental and moral influences are all on the side of African freedom. Its measures give relief to the consciences of individuals by furnishing the opportunity of emancipation; and the very establishment and prosperity of an African Republic, a majority of whose citizens are liberated slaves, is a silent protest against the system of bond-

* T. J. Bowen's Central Africa, page 34.

age. This is the natural order of things, and offers no violence to existing rights in any quarter.

How large a portion of our African population will ultimately emigrate to Africa is among the secrets of Providence. The problem cannot be solved until the people have the liberty to go. Three things are certain: there is land enough in Liberia for them, especially with its prospective enlargement, which can be carried on to any extent; there are resources enough in this country to send them—money enough to purchase and transport them, and vessels enough to carry them; and they are acquiring an intellectual, moral, and industrial preparation for freedom. We adopt the opinion of the sagacious Dr. Alexander: “If Liberia should continue to flourish and increase, it is *not so improbable* as many suppose, that the *greater part* of the African race, now in this country, will, in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, be restored to the country of their fathers.”* Although the plan of Christianizing and civilizing Africa does not essentially depend upon numbers, yet this is an element of no mean value. In numbers are majesty and power. The territory of Liberia can be readily enlarged to meet the wants of a mighty Americo-African emigration. Other States or Republics may be established, in the neighbourhood of Liberia, or even in other parts of Africa, especially on its southeastern coast. The truth is, that African Colonization is capable of *indefinite expansion*. Its territory will be large enough for the return of hundreds of thousands of Africa’s descendants to its shores, and the work of civilization may be correspondingly increased in its aspiring and encircling range. Who can foretell the results to Africa, a century hence, of the Colonization scheme, when unfolded to the length and breadth of its benevolence by the Providence of God working outwardly upon its plans and resources, and the Spirit of God working inwardly upon the minds and hearts of its subjects?

In this great movement of the age, the sympathies of the King of nations are with Africa. The Bible is full of hope to the poor, the injured, the despised. God sustains the right in human affairs. His attributes plead the cause of truth. If civilized nations sympathize in the work of African Colonization, much more does He who superintends the interests of humanity, and in whose hands are all the nations of the earth.

Liberia commences her national existence with trust in God. Her history, although not free from imperfections, is as yet comparatively pure. Liberia has not provoked the Divine wrath by crimes committed against the light and truth of the Gospel. She has no daring sins to settle in the reckoning of God’s unforgetting judgment. The blood of martyrs does not cry for vengeance from

* History of Colonization, p. 12. The *Introduction* to the History ought to be published by some Colonization Society in a tract form, for circulation by agents, friends, colporteurs, &c.

her soil. Inquisitions and Bartholomew massacres have not stained her annals with infamy and wrong. Liberia starts on her young career and lofty mission *with God on her side*.

These glimpses of the present history of Colonization, and of the distant outlines of its great prospective, give some assurance of the displays of goodness, grace, and glory, which are awaiting a renovated continent. God will be glorified by Africa.

4. THE CAPABILITIES OF THE AFRICAN RACE, as a co-ordinate and rising branch of the human family, confirm the expectation of a successful civilization on the field of its new activity.

God's plan gives to different races a varying position in the history of the world. Each has had successive periods of advancement, of influential administration, and of gradual decline. The Asiatic races, which were once high in political dominion, have long since culminated and passed into comparative obscurity. The Venetian states, the Dutch republic, the Spanish monarchy, once almost lawgivers on their continent, have sunk into insignificance; whilst Anglo-Saxon England, Celtic France, and Slavonic Russia, rule the destiny of the world. Races have risen and fallen, like empires. Having fulfilled the purposes of their providential appointment in the Divine administration, they have been dismissed from their stations of national greatness, to make way for other races ordained of God for the emergencies of a new service.

It may be here remarked that many of the Africans, originally transported into the United States, did not fully represent their race in intellectual vigour. Large numbers belonged to the lower order of tribes on their native continent. The mass of the slaves were naturally captured from the most abject, defenceless, and inferior class; and, besides this, the tribes dwelling near the sea-coast were generally more degraded than the others, in consequence of their long contact with the slave trade and its attendant vices. According to the observation of missionaries, the tribes in the interior appear, in most cases, to be of a higher order of intelligence and physical development. The Rev. JOHN LEIGHTON WILSON, D.D., who was a missionary in Africa for nearly twenty years, expresses the following opinion:

“Looking at the African race, as we have done, in their native country, we have seen no obstacles to their elevation which would not apply equally to all other uncultivated races of men. They are ignorant, superstitious, and demoralized, it is true, but it is the circumstances of heathenism, in which they have always lived, that have made them such, and not anything that inherently pertains to them as a race. Compared with the civilized nations of the earth, their deficiencies become palpable enough: but compared with the South Sea Islanders, previous to the period when they were brought under the influence of Christianity, the Indian tribes of our own country, who have never enjoyed the blessings of education, or even with the great masses of ignorant poor who throng all the great cities of the civilized world, they do not appear to any disadvantage what-

ever. No one can live among them without being impressed with their natural energy of character, and their shrewdness and close observation."

The African race is yet in its infancy. It has been kept back from prominent action in human affairs, when—if it had pleased God—he might have clothed it with the terror of Mohammedan aggression, or wielded it with the supremacy of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The race is yet in its childhood. It is new, fresh, open to formative influences. Its heart has not been hardened by the rejection of the Gospel of Christ. It is not an old, effete race. It has had, as yet, no historical development. Merged in heathen darkness, its past has lacked the advantage of a favourable experiment. The set time for its action seems at length to have come. The all-wise Being who transferred many of its members from their barbaric homes for education under ameliorating influences, is now sending them back to discharge a mission worthy of the nineteenth century. Docile in temper, unambitious in spirit, susceptible to the attractions of goodness, this young race is destined to perform an important evangelistic part in the spread of religion throughout the earth. Its present attitude is one of great interest. So far as it has been brought into contact with Christian institutions in this country or elsewhere, the result has been in a high degree honourable to its susceptibility of intellectual and moral cultivation.

Other races were once as uncultivated as the Africans. Hordes of savage tribes overran Europe at a period not far distant in the past. The rude inhabitants of the North—the Goths and Vandals.—the Normans, Saxons, Celts, were comprehended in the general catalogue of barbarians. If, under the transforming power of Christianity, these unenlightened and debased nations have at length risen to their present condition, may not Africa also attain civilization?

Behold, too, the progress which religion is making, during the present generation, among other savage races in different parts of the earth. The Esquimaux render homage to Christ amidst Arctic desolation. The Sandwich Islanders, with their schools, churches, and political institutions, now belong to civilized nations. The inhabitants of Polynesia, abandoning idolatry and savage life, accept the reformation which brings blessings to the Gentiles. Wherever Christianity is carried in its pure faith by godly men, it wins its way to the heart by the grace of God, and elevates degenerate human nature from the degradation of ages.

Under appropriate cultivation, and with the advantage of time, African intellect will make known its capability. In the midst of disparaging and unequal opportunities, it has given tokens of genuine promise. Through the clouds of a dark sky, its lights already shine, here and there. The men of Liberia rise up to their emergency. Lott Cary, Roberts, Benedict, Benson, Augustus Wash-

ington, Lewis, Williams, and others, are not inferior, as writers, executive officers, and wise leaders of the people, to the public officers in the different States of the American Union.* Opportunity is the mother of greatness. Cultivated mind will yet avenge the wrongs of African degradation, and demonstrate the powers of an untried and despised race.

Civilization has a peculiar mission in Africa, which is to be fulfilled by the gradual elevation of the Negro race. The civilization of the Jews unfolded to the world the great idea of the relation of the state to God; that of the Greeks and Romans aspired to the perfection of municipal regulations, to the accurate definition of the rights of individuals and the governing powers; Norman, Gothic, and Saxon civilization illustrated the manhood and independence of the races; whilst African civilization is destined to demonstrate THE EQUALITY OF THE RACES as members of the human family. This great problem of the book of nature finds some of its elements already calculated in the book of Providence. The human faculties are dependent upon God, who bestows gifts upon whom He will. Nor does he allow His plans to fail from want of intellectual or moral capacity in His creatures. "There is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." He who raised up "wise-hearted" men in the wilderness to construct the tabernacle and to perform the required service in all the mechanical arts, will communicate all the gifts of intellect that are needed for the work of the African wilderness and for the establishment of the children of Ham in their ancestral habitation. Human pride exalts the creature, and attributes to human efficiency the pre-eminence of one race over another. But the conceit of man shall receive correction in a contest with Providence. God sets up one and puts down another. Retribution, as well as grace, develops a principle that may be applied to races as well as to individuals, "the first shall be last, and the last shall be first." Those who despise in man,

"The shadowed livery of the burnished sun,"

may witness in the end the humiliation of a reversed condition. In the "set time" of the Divine purposes, the Negro race shall be

* The late DR. ALEXANDER, who was well acquainted with African character and history, remarks in relation to the success of Liberia, "The problem has been fairly solved that the coloured race are as capable of improvement as the whites; and in every department of government, they have manifested sound sense and discretion, equal to what could have been expected from people of any other nation, with no greater advantages of education than they have enjoyed. Indeed we have not seen any state papers which indicate a sounder judgment, and more just discernment of the true interests of the Colony, than those of Governor Roberts. Even in his correspondence with officers of the British navy on points of international law, he appears to great advantage."—*Hist. of Col.* p. 7.

elevated intellectually, morally, and politically, to equal dignity with other races of mankind. God will be glorified by Africa.

5. THE REMARKABLE POSITION OF THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA AT THE PRESENT TIME indicates an approaching advancement in the destiny of its race. Long shut out from intercourse with civilized nations, Africa at last opens her gates, as if in concert with a higher power.

Among the reasons for this long providential separation from the civilized world may have been, in the *first* place, the preservation of the continent from greater evils. Intercourse with other nations, when unaccompanied by Christianity, has only added the worst vices of civilization to those of barbarism. The savage tribes on the western coast of Africa have been made tenfold more "the children of hell" than they were before, by the monstrous atrocities of the slave trade. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, for more than a century, added to the woes of Africa; and if free intercourse had existed with the interior, the injuries would have been increased to a corresponding extent. Providence has guarded the continent from open communication with other nations, until they were prepared to bring Christianity with trade, and the means of evangelization with the enterprise of commerce. In the *second* place, the entrance of other races in to Africa, in any considerable numbers, would have interfered with the higher plan of blessing the continent through its own restored and Christianized descendants. And in the *third* place, the time for the execution of God's great African plans had not yet come.

God is now opening Africa to the world. The unfolding portals of the continent invite nations to share its intercourse and partake of its destined greatness. Travellers are penetrating its territory on every side. Its lakes, Tchad and Ngami, have been brought into geographical connection with those of Europe and America; the city of Timbuctoo, the metropolis of West Central Africa, has been verified as to existence, extent, and resources; caravans, freighted with traffic, have been seen in long procession; rivers have been navigated by steamers, and the White Nile, the Niger, and the Zambezi have been traced far up in their meanderings; snow-clad mountains loom to view, with prairies and fertile regions of vast extent. Cotton, sugar, rice, wheat, corn, and all the rich vegetable products of tropical regions, are successfully cultivated. The ruins of Cyrenaica, of Agharme, and of Harar, the ancient metropolis of a once mighty race in Eastern Africa, are enrolled among the curiosities of historic wonder; the unknown space between St. Paul de Loando in Angola and Quillemane on the Mozambique Channel, has been traversed by Livingstone; people possessing claims to civilization are met with in the remote interior; and

"A thousand realms horizoned to the view"

give promise of a large population and invite to missionary labour. In short, a knowledge has been secured of African climate, soil, productions, natural history, geography, resources, and races, which is of the utmost importance to the future intercourse and progress of the continent.

The hand of God is in these African explorations. He who causeth "the stork in the heavens to know her appointed times, and the turtle, the crane, and the swallow to observe the time of their coming,"* has arranged the motives, the principles, and the circumstances by which so many men have made discoveries which bring before the civilized world the prospects of Africa's future greatness. As every important invention has come to pass at the very time it was most calculated to ameliorate the condition of the human family,† so every geographical discovery has corresponded, in time, place, and extent, with great moral purposes in the Divine government. When a Western continent was needed for the foundation of a new Christian empire, then, and not till then, was America brought in contact with the Eastern hemisphere. Africa is now emerging from its gloom, almost with the light of a new discovery, and at a period when everything points to its higher agency in the world's affairs. Some of the thoughts suggested by the present aspect of Africa, may be summarily recapitulated :

(1.) The Providence of God superintends the fate of continents by the unsearchable methods of infinite wisdom.

(2.) The time of Africa's prominence is drawing near, in the advent of a higher destiny.

(3.) Great advantages will accrue to the world from the opening of a new continent to commerce, trade, manufactures, and the arts, and especially to the prayers and efforts of Christianity.

(4.) The coincidence of African explorations and discoveries with the progress of African colonization and the expansion of the institutions of Liberia, is interesting, instructive, and encouraging.

(5.) God is calling upon the Christian and civilized world to sympathize with and labour for the African race with more earnest zeal and hope; bound with them as bond, and helpers of their freedom, if free.

God will be glorified by Africa. The continent responds to his call.

6. THE FUTURE TRIUMPHS OF REDEMPTION include the regeneration of Africa. Prophecy comes to the aid of reason, faith, and philanthropy; and uplifting the veil of a continent's glory, shows its tribes and kingdoms rejoicing in God.

The scheme of colonization does not arrogate to itself the ex-

* Jeremiah 8 : 7.

† See Blakely's *Theology of Inventions*, republished by the Messrs. Carter.

clusive instrumentality of renovating Africa. Other means, and from other quarters, will co-operate in the blessed labour of love. White missionaries for Africa will be in greater demand during the next half century than ever before. The whole interior being accessible to the Gospel, the cry for help must be immediately answered, and it can be answered by none so promptly and efficiently as by the missionaries of the Evangelical churches of the United States and Great Britain. A large part of the evangelistic operations on this continent, so far as the preaching of the Gospel is concerned, must be carried on for an interval by white missionaries, as heretofore. It will take more than one generation to send forth suitable coloured preachers in sufficient numbers.

Nor will the West be the only quarter from whence aggressive movements will be made against African barbarism and degradation. The southeastern part of Africa, from Port Natal to the Zambezi, and up to Cape Gardelui, will supply a field of influential missionary operations into the interior. This district of country is likely to be one of the most inviting on the whole continent. It is here that Moffat and Livingstone propose to commence missionary stations, in a high, healthy location, and in contact with intelligent, populous tribes. Another part of Africa from whence light may be expected to spring forth, is from the ancient Copts and Abyssinians, in the valley of the Nile. Providence has preserved these Christians in the midst of Mohammedan and barbaric rule for some great purpose; and although now corrupt, as a Church, they are, nevertheless, in possession of seeds of truth which grace can germinate into a glorious harvest.

“Copt, Abyssinian, from the dust
Of ages shall their raiment shake;
And many spirits of the just
In these degenerate sons awake!
Dry bones they are—but God can raise
Old Anthony and Athanase.”

These three principal centres of evangelical effort—corresponding in the general with the three mighty rivers, Niger, Zambezi, and Nile—will contribute to swell “the stream which shall make glad” in Africa “the city of our God.” As related to the negro race, Liberia, with its scheme of colonization, inspires the most hope for the renovation of the continent. The providences alluded to in previous portions of this Address seem to magnify the converted Africans of America as the chief instruments of civilization and religion on their native shores.

God *takes time* to fulfil his counsels. “A day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as a day.” The captivity of Egypt and the training of the wilderness were irksome to the generations doomed to perish in their perversities; but *forty years of special training, after two hundred years of bondage, con-*

stituted the Divine preparation for entering into Canaan. Some striking analogies may be here briefly noticed between the history of the Israelites in Egypt and of the Africans in America, in their training for a special work in a distant land: (1.) Both people were consigned into foreign bondage as a condition of their future elevation and usefulness. (2.) They were preserved distinct in the midst of an abounding population of a different race. (3.) In their state of subjection they greatly increased in number. (4.) They were kept in slavery for a long period. (5.) They were made to take their departure out of the land of bondage in a way that brought to view God's wonder-working hand [only partially fulfilled as to the Africans]. (6.) They had a preliminary training, even after they were set free—the Israelites in the wilderness, the Africans in Liberia, where they may be said to be, as yet, preparing for their great work.* (7.) They took possession of the land, at last, in the name of the King of kings. One of the diversities of the history is, that the Israelites went out together in one band by a single royal edict of emancipation, whereas the Africans are sent forth in separate companies, and few at a time. But this diversity may be explained, partly by the different character of the bondage, which necessitated a simultaneous exodus of the Israelites, and partly by the immediate work to be done in the new country, which in the one case was warlike, and in the other peaceful and spiritual. The analogies are sufficiently close between the two cases to constitute a *plea for time* on the part of God to train and bring forth the Africans for the religious conquest of the land of their fathers.

However long delayed, the period of Africa's redemption will come. "The night is far spent; the day is at hand." Morning beams already play along the coast, and streaks of "sunrise in the tropics" cast their tints upon an increasing moral vegetation. The valleys begin to sing. Gospel culture will convert Central Africa into a garden of the Lord. The blood of Christ was shed for the four continents of the human race, and is offered to all in the great commission to "preach the Gospel to every creature." Prophecy declares the things that shall be: "The whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." Every land shall become Immanuel's; and in holy union with tribes and people of every tongue, "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."

" And Afric's dusky swarms,
That from Morocco to Angola dwelt,
And drank the Niger from his native wells,
Or roused the lion in Numidia's groves;
The tribes that sat among the fabled cliffs
Of Atlas, looking to Atlantia's wave,

* The remark also holds true in regard to the free coloured population in the United States.

With joy and melody arose and came ;
 Zara awoke and came ; and Egypt came,
 Casting her idols into the Nile.
 Black Ethiopia, that, shadowless,
 Beneath the Torrid burned, arose and came.
 Dauma and Medra, and the pirate tribes
 Of Algeri, with incense came and pure
 Offerings, annoying now the seas no more."

Is it too much to suppose that, in the ingathering of nations, the bondmen of America may sustain to the quickening of Africa at least *something* of the relation of the Jews to the Gentiles—even life from the dead ?

As astronomers have visited Africa for the purpose of taking observations of the heavens, to the greatest advantage, so the continent of Ham may ultimately afford to the eye of faith the brightest displays of Providence and the grandest sights of Redemption. Many things, it is true, are unrevealed ; but Africa's redemption is made sure. " Oh, the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God ! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out ! "

Africa is a continent of great historical associations. Egypt is generally supposed to have attained an earlier and higher civilization than any other nation in the ancient world. There stand her mighty Pyramids—mute sentinels of history, guarding the mysterious memorials of centuries. In later ages, on the Libyan coast, Carthage contended with Rome for the mastery of the world. Alexandria, bright among the centres of civilization with its learning and its library, shone like the watch-tower of the Nile. The associations of religion transcend those of civil history. Abraham, the bearer of the covenant of promise, full of blessings to all nations, twice came down to dwell in the land of Egypt. Here the Israelites groaned in bondage for two hundred years ; and from African ground their cry went up into heaven. In Africa, God wrought the stupendous miracles of his outstretched arm, in glorious succession, to the extreme boundary of the continent. Moses, the legislator of the Old Testament dispensation, was Egypt-born, and nurtured at the Nile. And beyond Abraham, to whom the Promises were given, and Moses, through whom came the Law, the Son of Man tarried in Africa, the fulfiller of Promises, the magnifier of Law, the teacher of Grace and Truth. Yes, the Redeemer's feet touched African soil, and his eyes beheld her sky and stars. The infant Jesus became a refugee from the bloody tyranny of men, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, " Out of Egypt have I called my Son." On the day of the crucifixion of the Lord of glory, the burden of bearing the cross was laid upon " one Cymon, a Cyrenian ; " and in Africa lived and died Augustin, the Defender of the Faith, and the Father of the theology of the Reformation.

The succession of great events shall be restored to Africa Christianized. New kingdoms shall arise in the light of the blessings of the Gospel of Christ, whose civilization shall excel the monumental glories of perished dynasties. Institutions of learning shall be planted throughout her latitudes and longitudes, from Liberia to Abyssinia, and from Congo to Caffraria; churches of Jesus Christ shall be established on her prairies, hills, and along her rolling rivers; philosophers, statesmen, and philanthropists shall have names "full of might and immortality;" the Negro race shall fulfil its high and wonderful destiny in the divine counsels; and on Africa's shores displays of God's goodness, grace, and glory shall be unfolded to the admiration of men and of angels. At the resurrection of the just, millions of ransomed ones shall spring forth from tropical graves. The descendants of Ham shall stand, with those of Shem and Japheth, amidst "the great multitude which no man can number, before the throne of God and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and with palms in their hands, and shall cry with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb forever."

THE OBJECTS OF THE ASHMUN INSTITUTE.

Our discussion is ended. It has aimed to show that the Providence of God, which has been exercising its benevolence for many years towards the coloured race in this country, now points to Africa as the chief scene of its high and influential action. Thus, the return of the barbarian bondmen, as Christian freemen, will be made the occasion of great displays of the Divine goodness, grace and glory to a benighted continent; and God will be glorified by Africa.

A practical injunction of the discussion is the importance and necessity of AFRICAN EDUCATION IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. Institutions of learning like the Ashmun Institute, possess the sanction of a providential command. To be guided by the pillar and the cloud is only less glorious than to dwell in the light of the Shekina. A greater or more interesting work was never committed to the Church than that of elevating the children of Ham to their true social and religious condition on their own continent, and among the nations of the earth. Privileged is the land and the age that shall behold enlarged efforts for the moral and political recovery of Africa.

The views presented in this Address tend, it is believed, to benevolent and immediate action. They impart a dignity to the coloured man which he can never possess, simply as an American citizen, and assign to him a relation to Africa's redemption infinitely more honourable than any distinction attainable in the United States. Upon the people of America rests the obligation to supply the institutions of learning which are suited to the mission of the African race at the present eventful period of its history. Here, in America, this population have been sent for intellectual and moral elevation

in the Providence of God ; here they have already received a Christian training of great interest, in the midst of many disparagements ; here, are enrolled more than three millions of members of the Christian Church, who may be supposed to sympathize with their lowly estate, and who possess love enough and wealth enough to supply every want ; here, stands the great fulcrum upon which rests the lever of African Colonization with its sweep of power ; here, the hopes of the present and future generations are centred with increasing light and glory. The wrongs of the past plead for our good-will and good deeds in all time to come. Philanthropy's best parting gift to the coloured race on their high career, is Christian training of mind and heart. Even the Egyptians lent to the Israelites, at the Exodus, "such things as they required," "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment." With what higher readiness shall American Christians send forth the freemen of Africa, enriched with the jewels and silver of intellectual cultivation and the investitures of moral and immortal culture !

The ASHMUN INSTITUTE wisely looks to Africa as the seat of its principal influence. Its plans and policy are to the East. It faces the rising sun. Its public instruction, its private counsels, its Christian example, its hopes and efforts, will all and always exalt Africa. Its name is an everlasting remembrancer of its purpose. Ashmun lived and died for the continent ; and the Institute that bears his name, is African in heart and in life, now and forever. Nevertheless, the liberty of private judgment will be held inviolate, and the institution will accomplish its utmost for all its pupils, whatever be the place of their destination.

Education for the ministry is a prominent object of the Ashmun Institute. The Gospel of the Son of God is the divine instrument of salvation, and of civilization. To preach it to every creature is the high duty of the Church. The Presbytery of Newcastle, therefore, welcome to the institution all young men of promise whom God may call to this great work. Even if a single ambassador shall be led by the Divine Spirit to come out from the world, and to prepare to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, the undertaking will receive an enduring and satisfying reward. It will possess a triumph greater than the military deeds celebrated by cannon captured at Waterloo, or by the guns of the Tuileries. Spiritual victories will be echoed back to these walls from far distant lands. A goodly number of ministers, it may be believed, will be educated at the Ashmun Institute ; and of these, some will be *missionaries to Africa*.

Missionaries of the coloured race must naturally exert a peculiar influence among the native tribes in preaching the Gospel. Even in our own country, educated coloured men create a favourable impression, not only personally, but in behalf of their race ; much

more in Africa will they exhibit an example of Christian and cultivated life that will awaken new interest and render more effective the efforts to win the tribes to civilization and Christianity. But missionaries cannot labour to full advantage, unless they are disciplined, well-furnished, educated. The Church must do her best in sending the Gospel to Africa. Pious ignorance is insufficient; and mere human learning is helpless. Religion and learning, in holy union, are the general qualifications for the ministry. Our missionaries to Africa should be men of both humble piety and of enlightened cultivation. The Rev. JOHN LEIGHTON WILSON, D.D., makes some appropriate and important observations on this point, in his work on Africa:—

“If coloured men of education, intelligence, and of humble and undoubted piety could be found willing to engage in this work, those who are now on the field would not only give them a hearty welcome as fellow-labourers, but if they were sufficiently numerous, would cheerfully commit the whole work into their hands, and seek some other sphere of labour for themselves. But it is in view of the fact that so few coloured men of suitable qualifications have come forward to engage in this work, and in view of the fact, likewise, that the future presents no near prospects in this respect brighter than the past, that we are to inquire what are our duties to the perishing millions of Africa.”

“I have been particular in stating that coloured men, in order to be useful missionaries in Africa, must be men of high moral and intellectual qualifications, and of tried and undoubted piety. On this point we feel that we can not insist too strongly. Every observing person must have seen, that it is neither wise nor economical to send out men to the heathen who have not the capacity to exert a commanding influence in their native country. If there is any place in the world where thorough piety and mental energy are indispensable to success, it is on heathen ground. How can it be otherwise? To look into all the windings and intricacies of heathen character; to render one’s self familiar with the habits, feelings, and motives of a class of men who have no sympathies with ourselves; to acquire the art of exerting an influence over the minds of men who have been trained up in heathenism; to lay hold of an unwritten, barbarous language, spend months and years in developing its rules and principles, and acquire that language so as to use it with perfect ease; to call into exercise energies that have slumbered for centuries; and to endure patiently the reverses, trials, and disappointments incident to missionary life, require the best and the ablest men the Church can furnish. If the number of coloured men in this country capable of meeting these high demands is considerable, we know it not. There is a small number of such now in the African field, and we cheerfully award them the praise of great self-denial and extensive usefulness.”*

The relation of the Ashmun Institute to the work of missions in Africa is undoubtedly prominent among the various attractions of the institution. Young men, who might otherwise have never risen above “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” will by God’s grace be endued with power to impress their influence upon a continent. Eyes that here study lessons of preparatory learning, shall see the bold promontory of inviting Mesurado, the fertile fields of Liberia and Angola, and the mountains and lakes of a strangely interesting land. Feet that tread these halls shall stand on soil, once wet with the crime of the slave trade, and shall explore plains,

* Western Africa, pp. 506, 507.

“Where Afric’s sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand.”

Hearts that have been here trained to exercise an enlightened compassion for perishing souls, shall plead with the tribes and kindred of their race, and point inquiring Ethiopians to “the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.” Young men shall here learn to live and to die for Africa. “The night is far spent, the day is at hand.” Awake, Christian descendants of Ham, to “spend and be spent” for God. At such a time as this, and for such a continent as yours, gird on the Gospel armour.

“In an age on ages telling
To be living is sublime.”

Where, and how, can a Christian minister of your race, do more than by preaching the cross of Christ to the millions of Africa?

Educated *laymen* will be sent forth to Africa from the Ashmun Institute. Leaders for the people must be raised up. The education, which God provided for Moses, made him “learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,” preparatory to the work of governing the Israelites. A rising state calls for cultivated intellect. The formation of its character and the management of its affairs cannot be intrusted to ignorant and narrow-minded men. Liberia has too much at stake to be under any other control than that of wise, influential, public-spirited statesmen. Its executive department, its legislation, its courts of justice, its literature, its professions, must all be sustained at an elevation that will secure its prosperity and command the respect of the world. The emigration from this country ought to furnish its just proportion of educated youth, qualified to engage in all the departments of professional and public life. We must “tend the root,” if we would be “careful of the branches;” and

“Expand
The inner souls of men, before we strive
For civic heroes.”

Who can estimate the immense good that may accrue to Liberia and to Africa from the education of gifted intellects in this institution of learning? The Ashmun Institute stands like a nursing mother, appointed of God to watch her opportunity by the Nile of turbid and overflowing worldliness; and she longs to rescue some noble Africans from their bark of slime, and to train them for the statesmanship of a great and growing Republic.

The Ashmun Institute offers to educate promising young men who expect to *remain in our own country*. Large numbers of the African population will continue to reside in the United States, at least for many generations, and perhaps forever. Whilst the wave of African Colonization will bear onward masses to Africa, and the

wave of southwestern emigration press downward many towards Mexico and Central America, a remnant will abide upon the soil of their nativity.* An ample field of usefulness opens for effort among our African population, immediately and prospectively. Under the present aspect of things, abundant opportunities to do good can be found in churches, in Sabbath-schools, in day-schools, at the press, by colportage, in useful occupations of every kind. AFRICAN ELEVATION is the aim of the Institute—elevation by learning and religion—true Christian elevation—elevation of the highest kind practicable and among the largest class possible. The home work of the Institute, as well as its foreign work, is important. Even as a separate and entirely independent field of action, this country offers great inducements for the establishment of high educational institutions for the benefit of our coloured population.

The Ashmun Institute may be expected to record *visitations of Divine grace among its pupils*. God may condescend in the many forms of his goodness, to use this Christian institution as an instrumentality for the conversion of sinners. Faith looks forward to a favoured future. In her visions, she beholds the answer to prayer in the sanctification of instruction. An institution of learning possesses great resources of present and eternal good for its pupils. Dedicated to God, established with true Christian aims, and inculcating Divine truth in connection with general knowledge, it carries the richest blessings of religion in its course. Schools, Academies, and Colleges have ever been hallowed to the salvation of immortal minds. Youth, who come here strangers to the covenant of promise, may be expected, by God's grace, to learn its power and to dedicate their lives to his service; whilst others, who are already on the Lord's side, shall be edified and established in holy faith and practice. Religion keeps the fountains of learning pure; and preparation for this life becomes, under its genial power, preparation for immortality.

The Ashmun Institute will assist in *rallying the hopes of the friends of Africa*, especially by placing before them WORK TO BE DONE. An unhopeful, desponding spirit backslides into inactivity; a zeal that has nothing to do rushes forward into fanaticism. This Christian institution unites hope and work. If adequately sustained, its blessings will be numerous and extensive; but its establishment on an enduring basis will require resolute effort, self-denial, and patience. Much is to be done in raising funds for the buildings; in providing an endowment for the Professors; in obtaining scholars of promise; in giving a high Christian character to the en-

* We have read with care "Slavery and its Remedy; or, Principles and Suggestions for a Remedial Code, by Samuel Nott;" a production of much interest and received with some favour at the South. A remedial code, like that suggested, would be highly beneficial.

terprise, and in so directing its plans and operations as to secure the confidence of the public in its progress and success. By God's blessing, all this will be accomplished, but not without much labour according to the analogies of Providence.

Other institutions of a similar character will doubtless be established, in the light of the example of the Ashmun Institute. If our present undertaking should happily succeed, it will lead the way for greater efforts in other parts of the country. The interests of our coloured population have been too much neglected. Large and generous provision for their education ought to be furnished, wherever Providence favours it. Academies of a high order are needed in many places for the purpose of developing African mind to its full capabilities. "The night is far spent; the day is at hand."

The Ashmun Institute excites much interest in the Presbyterian Church. An official recommendation of its aims and plans has been given by the General Assembly with a hearty good-will, and in consistency with a clear, Christian testimony, repeatedly placed on record, in reference to the whole subject of Slavery and Colonization. Our Church maintains impreguably the scriptural ground, on this important social and political question. Its general views and principles may be summarily stated as follows: (1) The Presbyterian Church affirms that Scripture tolerates slavery under certain circumstances, and that the relation is not necessarily and always sinful. (2) It inculcates the reciprocal duties of masters and slaves, employing discipline when required. (3) It carries the Gospel to all classes of society, in the spirit of love. (4) It regards the system of Slavery as unjust in its beginning, anomalous in its continuance, and naturally doomed to extinction by the force of circumstances and the prevalence of truth. (5) It favours all measures that aim at the elevation and welfare of the African race, at home or abroad.—Our ministers in the Slave-holding States are labouring with zeal, fidelity, and success, to evangelize all classes of the population. Many of them have a special service for the slaves. They pray and preach and live in the faith of precious promises, in the hope of present and everlasting blessings, and in the love of God and of their fellow-men. Whatever imperfection of spirit and of service the Presbyterian Church may be guilty of, in the infirmity incident to all human administration, she pleads its forgiveness through the blood of her Lord and Intercessor. She has always taken a deep interest in the African race; and hails the Ashmun Institute as a dispenser of God's blessings with the right hand and with the left.

The Institute has been put into operation in the true spirit of devotion to Africa, and with a firm trust in God. It will do its work silently, and, it is hoped, with power. Educational institutions, for the elevation of the African race here, will propel their influence through the hills and plains of a vast continent. Like the great

African rivers, which flow down in their bounty and magnificence from sources hitherto unexplored and unknown, our institutions of education will pour their blessings through tribes and kingdoms, albeit their names and their fountain-heads may never be ascertained or sought after. The men, who have projected this institution, have enlarged views, and are valiant men for God and Africa. The spirit of ancient Presbyterianism dwells in their hearts.

“The valiant standeth as a rock, and the billows break upon him.”

President Davies, the great Apostle to the slaves, was born and ordained within the bounds of Newcastle Presbytery. If the institution should disappoint public expectation, the fault will not be with its projectors. The Ashmun Institute is national in its claims. It invites co-operation from every section of the Church and from every lover of his country and of Africa. Its relations are widespread, and of intense interest. It seeks to realize the great maxim of Ashmun, “to accomplish the most possible good in the least time.” It aims at a connection with God’s great providential plans. May it flourish for generations! May it stand like the African palm-tree, majestic for stateliness and beauty, and the emblem of prosperity; its fruit giving food, and its shade affording rest, to thousands and tens of thousands in the ancestral tropical land.

Heaven bless the Institute in its plans, its officers, and its pupils. Bless it, God of Ethiopia, who hast “made of one blood all nations of men.” Be thou glorified on every continent! Be thou GLORIFIED BY AFRICA!

APPENDIX.

ASHMUN INSTITUTE.

THE Ashmun Institute was established by the Presbytery of New Castle, at a Stated Meeting, held on the 5th of October 1853, when the initiatory action was taken.

“ This Presbytery, trusting in God, and, under Him, depending on the Christian liberality of the friends of the African race throughout our country, do determine as follows :

“ There shall be established within our bounds, and under our supervision, an Institution, to be called the **ASHMUN INSTITUTE**, for the Scientific, Classical, and Theological education of coloured youth of the male sex.”

At this meeting, measures were also taken to procure a Charter from the State of Pennsylvania, and a Committee was appointed to take charge of the undertaking. A Board of Trustees was also nominated, and their powers defined as follows : “ It shall be the duty of this Board, under general instructions from this Presbytery, to put up suitable buildings and improvements, as they may have the necessary means ; in no case ever involving this Presbytery in pecuniary obligations. They shall appoint the teachers and professors, and name their salaries ; they shall establish rules and regulations for the government of the Institution ; they shall have authority to procure its endowment, not exceeding the sum of \$100,000 ; and, when required by this Presbytery, they shall report to it the state of the Institution, the state of the funds, and all interests committed to their trust.”

On the 14th of November following, this Committee, having met and elected their officers, agreed to purchase a certain property, containing about thirty acres, for the sum of twelve hundred and fifty dollars ; and they appointed a sub-committee to draw up a copy of the charter, and procure its enactment by the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

In 1854, an Act of Incorporation was obtained from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in conformity with the wishes of the Presbytery of New Castle.

The buildings were finished in 1856, and consist of the Principal's house and the Academical edifice. The Principal's house is 40 feet by 36, two stories in height, well arranged, and neatly but plainly finished. The school or college building proper, is plain in its style, yet with an imposing façade, three storied, and admirably arranged for all the purposes of such an establishment ; the first story furnishes apartments for the steward, and a large dining-room ; the second, reached from without by a flight of steps, affords two fine recitation rooms and a hall of instruction 30 feet by 40 ; on the third, there are eight well-ventilated dormitories of good size. On the front a stone is placed bearing the name of the Institution, the date of its erection, and this significant and cheering motto, “ The night is far spent, the day is at hand.”

The location is one of the finest that could be selected. It overlooks the country for miles around, and has a beautiful view of cultivated fields and wooded hills and fertile valleys. The site is equidistant from the churches of Oxford,

New London, and Fagg's Manor (about four miles from each); and is near a village called Hinsonville, where some families of coloured persons have resided for a number of years, being owners of small tracts of land.

On the 31st of December, 1857, the Ashmun Institute was dedicated to the purpose of its erection, and the Rev. J. P. Carter, A.M., of Maryland, was installed President and Professor of Theology.

The following is the Circular of the Trustees:

THE ASHMUN INSTITUTE:

A COLLEGE AND THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY FOR THE EDUCATION OF
COLOURED MEN.

The Trustees of this Institution respectfully announce that they have elected the Rev. John P. Carter, of the Presbytery of Baltimore, President of the Faculty; and that its sessions were opened on the 1st of January, 1857, with fair prospects, as to pupils and ultimate success.

The course of instruction will be liberal and thorough; designed to prepare students for the work of missionaries in Africa, for the Gospel ministry among the coloured people in this country, and for any other position of usefulness to which they may be called.

The collegiate year will be one session of eight months; commencing on the 1st of September and closing on the 1st of May.

For theological students there will be no charge for tuition. Their only expense will be for boarding and incidentals, per session, \$85.

Students, not having the ministry in view, will be charged, per session, \$110. This sum covers all expenses for tuition, boarding, and incidentals.

As it is not expected that the class of persons for whose benefit this institution is established, will be able to sustain themselves in receiving an education, and as it is not designed, at the present time, to attempt to endow the Institution, the Trustees appeal to the Christian community to furnish those means as they may be required. They look to the churches and other ecclesiastical bodies, and to benevolent masters, to furnish both the students and the means to educate them.

The Trustees have erected suitable buildings for the residence of the Faculty, and a college edifice for the accommodation of forty pupils, embracing a fine prayer hall, recitation and study rooms, &c.

The location is at Hinsonville, Chester County, Pennsylvania, surrounded by the Presbyterian congregations of Oxford, Fagg's Manor, and New London, and can be reached by public conveyance from Parkersburg, on the Columbia Railroad, Pa., and from Newark, Delaware, on the Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Wilmington Railroad.

Donations in money, library and text books, apparatus, furniture, clothing, &c., will be very thankfully received.

Communications, relating to the Institution, may be addressed to

REV. J. P. CARTER,
President of the Faculty, Oxford, Pa.

Or, Rev. Dr. J. M. DICKEY, President of the Board of Trustees, Oxford, Chester County, Pa.

TRUSTEES.—MEMBERS OF NEW CASTLE PRESBYTERY.

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