

ADDRESS
AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

NOVEMBER 11, 1839.

BY R. R. GURLEY.

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TO THE
PRESIDENT AND MANAGERS
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
AND TO
THE FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION THROUGHOUT
THE UNITED STATES,

I Respectfully Dedicate this Address,

IN THE HOPE THAT THE CAUSE IN WHICH THEY ARE ENGAGED, WILL
SOON, AS OF HIGHEST INTEREST TO TWO RACES OF MEN AND
TWO CONTINENTS, BE SUSTAINED BY ALL THE
GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNION.

R. R. GURLEY.

A D D R E S S .

THOUGH deeply sensible of the honour conferred on me, by your invitation to occupy, for a brief time, this place on this occasion, I must be permitted to express regret at my inability to fulfil expectations which may reasonably have been cherished in view of the annual assemblage of the members and friends of this association; and, especially, that the gentleman* to whom this invitation was first extended, so esteemed for his virtues, and admired for his eloquence, found it necessary to decline the duty, which the speaker, relying upon your generous indulgence, will attempt, however inadequately, to perform.

But if the remark be just, that “in all exertions of duty something must be hazarded;” that, on occasions and questions involving great public interests and common dangers, the purity of the motive is held to atone for the indiscretion of the deed, and the weakest hand

* Rev. Dr. Bethune.

may well be stretched out to defend or sustain truth and right, apologies are unnecessary, perhaps impertinent, in presence of a subject which appals by its magnitude, and demands by its importance, the combined reason and benevolence of the Christian world.

No scheme of selfishness, of ordinary charity, of mere patriotism are we convened to promote. Your hearts respond to the appeals; daily almost are your hands extended for the relief of the suffering. The noblest ornaments of this city are her institutions and asylums, thrown wide open to the varied forms of human distress; in which want finds provision, infirmity support, sickness medicine and aid, the widow a home, the destitute aged repose and consolation, and the orphan a shelter; in which those shut up from communion with nature by one of the senses, are taught to converse with her through another, and the intellect shattered by misfortune, or deranged mysteriously by His hand who formed it, is guarded from the rude irritations of the world, and gently soothed by the ministrations and smiles of Christian love.

Greater far than any, than all these, is our object, encompassing within the wide range of its promised beneficence, the character and destinies of two races of men, and two quarters of the globe.

Nor here, can I hesitate, to congratulate the friends of African colonization in this city and throughout the country, on the occurrence of recent events and of recent

changes of opinion, in both America and England, favourable to the progress of their enterprise, and its final consummation, on a scale commensurate with the extent and inveteracy of the evils it was designed to remedy, and the vastness of good it was intended and expected to confer upon this nation and the African race.

The manifest impotency of direct and fierce attacks by societies exclusively northern in their origin and action, to produce the immediate, unconditional, and voluntary emancipation of slaves on the soil of the south; the confirmed faith of the humane and religious of that portion of the union in the patriotism, practicalness, and philanthropy of the scheme of this society; the rapidly rising prosperity and influence of the communities of Liberia; the application of steam to ship navigation, soon to unite in commercial relations and frequent intercourse, the civilized with remote and barbarous nations; the act of West Indian emancipation; and, above all, the increase, since that act, of the African slave trade, working conviction in the minds of the great leaders of that measure in England, that this traffic can be suppressed only by introducing into Africa herself civilization and Christianity, encouraging her industry, developing her exhaustless resources, and gathering, by humane arts, and new incentives to exertion, the rich and varied productions of her mines, her forests, and her fields, into the channels of legitimate commerce: all these must be regarded as elements about to meet

and coalesce in a mighty movement, under the all-directing Hand for the advancement of our cause, and the redemption of Africa.

It is a fact worthy of record, and one of pregnant import to those who discern only cruel injustice in the principles and policy of the American Colonization Society, that long before its origin these principles and policy were adopted and made practical by distinguished friends of immediate emancipation both in Old England and New. If the opponents of this society claim Dr. Fothergill, Granville Sharp, Dr. Hopkins, and Paul Cuffee as advocates of their doctrine, we point to the example of these individuals in defence of our practice; and especially to this example do we refer in evidence that there exist to the judgment of wise and good men valid reasons for the scheme of African colonization independent of any or all opinions on the subject of slavery. The illustrious names of Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharp are recorded among the chief founders of the colony of Sierra Leone; while to their enterprise the venerable Dr. Hopkins and Captain Paul Cuffee (one of the most sensible, philanthropic, and best educated coloured men ever born in New England) gave both their sanction and their aid. These early and true-hearted friends of the coloured race never deemed the spirit of colonization unworthy to dwell in their hearts in communion with the spirit of universal liberty—never dreamt that benevolence towards Africa should be

limited in its efforts to the partial elevation of her exiled children in disregard of the millions of her home population sunk in more deep dishonour, and more hopeless ruin. They forgot not the many in their concern for the few.

Were the Genius of Great Britain now to stand before us and survey that empire upon which the sun is said never to set, to what region would he more exultingly point—to what spot look with an eye more brightly kindling with delight than to this reproached colony of Sierra Leone? A territory, reclaimed from the waste of barbarism and the horrors of the slave trade, brought under the shield of civilized power and the divine light of Christianity to be an asylum for Africans unloosed from intolerable chains, and led forth to liberty from the despairful dungeons of the slave ship. The smiles, the songs, the gratefully uplifted hands of from twenty to thirty thousand victims of this atrocity fed, clothed, instructed, tamed from the fierceness of a savage nature, and, casting aside the badges of superstition and shame, testify to the philanthropy which founded, and, with invincible resolution and at great expense, has sustained the colony of Sierra Leone.

A more enviable renown England never won—no, not when from the reluctant hand of the throne she wrung the charter of her liberties—not when beneath the raging waves she sunk the Spanish Armada—not even when her power struck down Napoleon—than when the perishing African cried to her and she listened and saved.

The American Colonization Society rests upon enlarged benevolence towards the whole coloured race.

What were the facts evident to the founders of this society, convened to devise some practicable scheme of good for this unfortunate people ?

They saw two millions or more of the coloured population of this country in slavery, and that the system, in regard to its continuance or abolition, was left by the Federal constitution under the exclusive control of the States in which it exists :

That the free people of colour, (then in number 250,000, now much more,) dispersed abroad in all the States, were denied every where, by law, custom, circumstances, or all combined, many of the richest blessings of freedom :

That, in the undivided judgment of the south and the general mind of the north, the elevation of this race on this soil to social and political equality with the whites was impracticable from the nature of the case itself, from the force and fixedness of opinion against it (dictated, in the view of those who hold it, as well by benevolence as political necessity), and that no plan, based on this idea, could unite in its execution the hearts and means of our citizens in all sections of the union. Whether the causes referred to render such elevation absolutely impossible in all future contingencies, is, in regard to immediate duty, plain. They are of sufficient magnitude and power to control the present policy of benevolence and wisdom :

That any great plan of good to this race must depend mainly for success upon such union :

And finally, that there was an unsurpassed moral fitness and grandeur in the colonization in Africa, by our

free people of colour, with their own consent, inasmuch as, while securing to them an unembarrassed position and a national character, all means and motives for self-culture and self-exaltation, it afforded opportunity and inducement for the highest beneficence in unbarring the iron gates of Africa, and connecting their own moral, intellectual, and social improvement with the gift of law, letters, art, liberty, and Christianity to the untutored and uncounted tribes of their ancient mother country.

The organization of the American Colonization Society, avowing in its constitution that "The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient; and that the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the general government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject," was, in view of these facts, the result of the united wisdom and counsels, of distinguished patriots and Christians, assembled in convention from widely separated and most differing portions of the union.

It is asserted by the enemies of this Society, that in its constitution there is not a clear developement of moral principles, and, consequently, that the scheme proposed has no moral sanction.

And where in the constitutions of your humane and Christian associations, too numerous to mention, for the instruction of the dumb and the blind, the protec-

tion of orphans, the relief of the destitute and the sick, is a development of moral principles, or the emblazoning forth of a moral sanction? They need no signals of character. Their objects indicate their principles—the action shows the motive.

And does any reflecting person doubt that the existence of the Colonization Society for the object it avows, implies a conviction in the minds of its founders and friends, that our free people of colour are unfortunate and depressed and should be assisted to rise, that it is a duty (should they concur in the plan) to aid their establishment in a position where they will enjoy not partial liberty but its full power, and rear for themselves, and transmit to their descendants, institutions social, political, and religious, equal to any yet known in human society?

Is it to be imagined that those, who would, by the only means which they believe effectual for the end, confer upon these people these richest blessings, would deny to them any inferior good, diminish their present advantages, or retard under any circumstances their improvement?

And who can fail to infer, that if duty (or benevolence, another name for the same thing) demands our efforts to raise men, who have gained something, perhaps, by liberty, to a condition in which they may possess more, it equally demands of those who have the right and power to prepare men, not free, for freedom, and then, if practicable, so to bestow this freedom upon them, that all its appropriate and choicest blessings may be theirs?

And is it not clear to demonstration, from the nature

of our moral sentiments, that those who aim to elevate the free people of colour to the loftiest privileges of humanity and open a way to these privileges, with the consent of the master, to the slave, must embrace Africa and her unnumbered barbarians, indeed, the whole coloured race within the circuit, and, as they may, within the active influences of their beneficence. True regard to one human being can never be divorced from good-will to the many. True benevolence to the individual must always be identified with benevolence to the race.

But men may err, you say, in their judgments touching their own interests; and may not the wise and the good err in their plans and endeavours to promote the interests of others? We admit your society's motives to be pure, but we deny its practical philanthropy.

Hence arises a question of the enlarged practical beneficence of the policy and proceedings of the American Colonization Society. We maintain that in reason, so far as the aid of this Society is accepted, they *confer inestimable and enduring good upon our free people of colour—add strength and security to our national union—work extensively and powerfully in favour of the voluntary emancipation of slaves, and bestow the best blessings Heaven permits man to enjoy upon Africa.*

The comparison, by one of our ablest divines, of the condition of the free people of colour in the United States to that of the germ springing from the acorn at the foot of the parent tree, was true as fact and of more force than argument. You may say it is of the same nature with the old oak and has as good a right

to be there, yet it must wither unless you take it from the shade. This people are in the shade of our towering and overspreading greatness, and to improve their condition and exalt their character effectually, you must change their circumstances and their place. The wealth, honours, and government of the country are in other hands than theirs. Many of them, doubtless, are respectable for intelligence and moral worth, and their merit is the greater in proportion to the temptations resisted, and the obstacles overcome. Their condition is much the same in all the states, and too generally they may be said to feel the evils of servitude without its alleviations, to be free without the dignity or inspiration of freedom. Posts of distinction, offices of trust, the higher pursuits and rewards of enterprise, art, and genius, they despair to obtain, and therefore do not seek. With heavy incumbrances to keep them down, they want many of the means and motives to rise.

Of different descent from the whites, distinct from them in complexion, history, habits, and employments, they suffer neglect as aliens in the land of their birth; mental bondage in the atmosphere and beneath the expanded wings of liberty. I speak not to disparage, to discourage them, but rather to direct their eyes to that orient star already standing over the spot of their national redemption and coming renown. To what are they invited by this society? To what summoned in the Providence of Almighty God? To tread, in rightful possession, the wide, magnificent, but depopulated territory of their mother country, awe-struck by no superior power, subdued by no mighty competition, restrained

by no force of prejudice, custom, or law, depressed by no sense of weakness or of wrong, and in the consciousness of freedom of all human power, to build up among barbarians the Church of God and a republican empire. Escaped from the despotism of the mind, they feel that liberty of soul, which is the parent of greatness, which turns adverse events, the rigour of discipline, and the shocks of calamity, to the account of wisdom, and makes nature in all her forms tributary to its power; that mental liberty which admits in all their force the influence of all the motives which strengthen and ennoble our immortal faculties, give clearness and comprehensiveness to reason, vigour to imagination, and invincible energy to the will—which arm fortitude, elevate hope, make courage resistless, and, guarding and cherishing the domestic and social affections as the seeds of public virtue, by ties of patriotism, indissoluble because sacred, bind man to his country, and by the golden chain of an all-circumscribing philanthropy, link him for ever to the destinies of mankind. Is it no good we confer, when assisting them to make Liberia to their country what Plymouth and Jamestown have been to this? to do for themselves what all the world can never do for them? to do for their race what can only be expected from their prayers and their labours? They go to Africa for great purposes—to build up their own fortunes, redeem the character of their people, and thus command the respect of the world: to establish upon her shore civilization and free government; to lift the covering of night from her face, and call forth her ignorant, savage,

enslaved children from the desert where the lion roars, or the wilderness where he slumbers, from clay-built huts, from dens and mountain caves, to a purer, nobler life; to rekindle the gone out glories; to rear anew the prostrate, decayed, but giant monuments; to wave the torch of wisdom in the face of superstition and amid the haunts of the ruin of her ancient might; to carve their names as benefactors in her eternal rocks, and bring back that quarter of the earth, long lost to science, liberty, humanity, and religion, to the empire of reason and God. What heart can be weak, what hand want strength in so divine a work? To attempt, and fail in so many great aims must be great, to succeed in all, glorious. It is in the very nature of the enterprise of African colonization that we discern the elements of life and power to our free coloured population—that which must rouse, dignify, exalt them. No man, no people were ever made great by others. It has been by circumstances acting on themselves, by themselves acting with in-bred energy on circumstances, that they have commanded distinction and everlasting fame. By toilsome effort only do the bold and daring gain the Alpine heights, and the eye that thence sees the sun hidden to all eyes below, beams bright with health as honour. On this subject our own national history is full of meaning and instruction. It was because the wintry wind howled around the dwellings of our fathers, and necessity trained them in her school of trial, and their early pathway was rugged and thorny through the wilderness, and tracked by their blood, that they became what they were—unequaled for activity,

sagacity, and enterprise, and capable of binding, we had almost said, capricious fortune and nature, opposed to their designs, in subserviency to their will. Mr. Burke, long before the revolution, saw the effect of trial and circumstances upon their character, and in the British Parliament exclaimed with admiration, "and pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and a resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people yet, as it were, in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." Can we point our free people of colour to an example more instructive than that of our fathers! Can they seek a good or glory greater than theirs?

We have said the operations of this society *add strength and security to our national union.* Strong and secure as we trust this union is, the discussions, during the last six years, on the subject of slavery, have been such as to alienate, in no small degree, the affections of one half the country from the other, and excite, in the minds of sober patriots and able statesmen, a sense and apprehension of danger. If the bond of the federal union is to be sundered, few doubt that differences concerning our coloured population will be the cause. On this subject a fierce conflict of opinion may foretoken, and be hardly less terrible than the shock of arms. Since the union involves interests greater than those of any one people, it should be guarded as we guard our firesides, or the temples and altars of our faith. The hopes of the slave, as well as of his master, depend upon its existence. By common consent the agitations threatening it should be allayed, the spirit of internal discord banished for ever. The citizens of this union are trustees of Truth and Liberty, not only for themselves and their posterity, but for the world. On a subject the greatest, most difficult, most dangerous, that can ever occupy the mind of the country, this society furnishes a bond of union between the south and the north; a channel in which their mutual sympathies, opinions, and charities may commingle; a broad and lofty ground on which the citizens of both may cooperate in good faith to each other and the constitution, for the benefit of the coloured race. Who can well estimate its effect already to repress the vast over-

action of the north, and arouse the too lethargic spirit of the south? to prevent the general adoption of one false opinion on this side of the Potomac, and of one equally false but directly opposite on the other? to save the north from a direct and relentless war upon slavery, and the south from defending it as of divine right and perpetual obligation? Who can tell how much the public tranquillity is owing to the existence and movements of this society, or the evils that might arise should its influence cease to be felt? The thoughts, the sentiments, the government of the union are favourable to universal freedom, and no power or agency is to be lightly regarded, which tends to reconcile all particular interests, and individual and state rights, with the natural influences of our institutions, the spirit of the age, and the progress of liberty. Nature, in her great and benign changes, shows in gentleness and silence the signs of power. The fury of the tempest, the concussions of the earthquake but desolate, rend, and destroy. If our federal constitution must perish by a suicidal spirit, by fraternal hands, which have been pledged mutually for its support, the whole earth will feel the cruel wrong, and human hope, we might almost say, struck down like an eagle soaring "in his pride of place," must expire upon the ruins of the republic. All nations will gather in grief around the agonies of our dissolution, as old Ocean and his daughters gathered with sympathising hearts around the tortured Prometheus, chain-bound inexorably by Force and Fate to the Caucasian rock. At the horrors of the scene they might

be tempted to cry out, with upbraidings of destiny, in the words of the ancient tragic chorus :—

“ I see, I see—and o'er my eyes,
 Surcharged with sorrow's tearful rain,
 Darkly the misty clouds arise—
 I see thine adamantine chain :
 In its strong grasp thy limbs confined,
 And withering in the parching wind.

“ Is there a god whose sullen soul
 Feels a stern joy in thy despair ?
 Owns he not pity's soft control,
 And drops with sympathy the tear ?”*

Oh ! in case of so dreadful a catastrophe, where will be found a heaven-born Prometheus, to reanimate, with a divine spark, the lifeless form of liberty ?

Time will hardly allow me even a brief expression on this occasion, of the thoughts which have occurred to me on the subject of slavery in the United States, nor would they be very relevant perhaps to my main purpose here, that of showing the influence of the American Colonization Society to *promote voluntary emancipation*. Permit me, however, on this great subject to ask a moment's indulgence.

Human rights are founded upon the moral law or obligation of reciprocal benevolence, ordained by reason and God, to exist between man and man in all circumstances, places, and times. This law exists independently of the will of man and pre-supposes human society. Hence no reasoning is of force, concerning the rights of man, that is founded merely upon his nature,

* Æschylus.

or upon any original compact between him and others, because certain relations of men universally to each other are implied in the very terms of the law, and whether they approve it or not, they are equally bound to obedience. Were there but one man in the world, it is clear he could be the subject of no law which, in the duty it enjoined, took for granted the existence of other men. The golden precept of the Saviour of the world, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," so justly termed by Lord Bacon "the perfection of the law of nature and nations," specifies the universal and unalterable *principle* of duty men owe to each other, and the *method* by which they should decide the varying and innumerable cases to which it must be applied. In each and all these cases we are to try our benevolence by our self-regard—to imagine our neighbour (and such is every man) in our circumstances, and we in his; and in that view, and in view also of the relations of each of us to others, to do for him as our moral judgment tells us, we might reasonably expect him to do for us. Not that we are to treat all men alike, or deem *their* desires or judgment *our* rule of duty, or the interests of the individual of equal importance with the public good. The law binds every man to be the friend of every other man, and every other man to be the friend of him; but in each and all cases, in which the principle is to be made practical, the mode and true manner, (those only excepted where these are fixed by its Author,) are left to the reason of the individual under responsibilities to his conscience and God.

In applying this divine law to the question of American Slavery, while we believe that it should be enthroned supreme in the hearts of states as in that of individuals, and with Dr. Channing "that statesmen work in the dark until the idea of right towers above expediency and wealth," we also believe that society may be so deranged and disordered by the errors, crimes, and misfortunes of a former age, that no human power can instantly correct the evil, and that neither individuals nor society are bound to do impossibilities. Great moral evils may justifiably be tolerated by the state for a time, when acts to prevent them will clearly produce moral evils more terrible and extensive. Such toleration, however, can never rightly be plead in justification of individual crime, nor is it true that such evils can rightly be tolerated for ever. State necessity can never be rightly urged in justification of any policy which tends to limit for ever the influences of the word of God. Providence and revelation are allies, and the order of the one can never contravene the declarations of the other. Dr. Channing has well said: "Slavery in the age of the apostles had so penetrated society, was so intimately interwoven with it, and the materials of servile war were so abundant, that a religion preaching freedom to its victims would have shaken the social fabric to its foundation, and would have armed against itself all the power of the state. Of consequence, Paul did not assail it. He satisfied himself with spreading principles which, however slowly, could not but work its destruction." If there be reason in these sentences and

if the observation of South be just—and in the government of the visible world the supreme wisdom duly submits to be the author of the *better*, not the best, but of the best possible, in the existing relations, much more must human legislators give way to many evils, rather than encourage the discontent that would lead to worse remedies. If Coleridge says truly that “an evil which has come in gradually, and in the growth of which all men have more or less conspired, cannot be removed otherwise than gradually and by the joint efforts of all;” and Burke, that to remedy evils in the state, “a permanent body, made up of transitory parts, it is good to follow the method of nature,” and be in what we improve never wholly new, and in what we retain never wholly obsolete, then must we be permitted to think that the *state*, in which slavery was deep-seated, interwoven with all the habits and rooted in the very constitution of society long before the existence of the present depositaries of the political power, is bound to act on the same principle of benevolence, prescribed, it is true, to individual man, but with a broad and full view of the elements and relations involved in an extended moral state of society, and taking things as they are, by the light of its reason and the best wisdom of experience, make them as they should be in the time and manner deemed best conducive to the interests of all concerned. Two causes only should in our judgment retard emancipation for a moment—the incapacity of the slave for self-government, and the danger of collision between the coloured and white races were both free on the soil

of the south. By suitable instruction the first may be removed, and colonization for the second affords an adequate remedy. With the consent of the south, most justly, in our opinion, might the national resources be applied to aid the work.* By abstaining from measures

* My view of the system of slavery, as it exists among us, is briefly this:—Individual masters are morally bound to treat their slaves as their consciences, honestly consulted, decide that they themselves would reasonably or rightfully expect to be treated in the same condition and circumstances. And this perfect law of Christianity, should govern political bodies, no less than individuals. Adopting this, the royal law of Christ, as a universal, perfect rule of duty between man and man, in all conditions, circumstances and times, it follows, therefrom:

1st. That any doctrine or practice which would justify or maintain slavery as a perpetual system, is abominable; because reason and conscience in the breast of every man, assert his natural capability for freedom, and of course, that this capability belongs to other men. And as his judgment must decide that it could never be right for others to consign him and his posterity to perpetual and involuntary servitude, so does it equally, that he can never justly contribute to perpetuate a system which consigns others to that condition.

2d. That human liberty should never be weighed in the balances with money, or estimated by dollars and cents. There is no man who does not regard his own liberty as more precious than property, and in the same light, is he to regard the liberty of others.

3d. All rigorous laws imposed on those subjected to this system (not necessary for the good of the enslaved, or indispensable to the preservation of the public peace and safety) cannot too soon be abolished. Such, I believe there are; and every humane and Christian man should exert his influence to have them erased from the State codes.

4th. Where the system exists, those who have the political power, are as much bound to proceed *benevolently* in their measures to remedy and remove it, as they are to proceed at all. They must not forget that "civil society is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is (or should be) beneficence, acting by rule." Nor that "restraints on men, as well as their liberties, are to be reck-

unconstitutional and dangerous in the judgment of the south to urge onward abolition;* by acknowledging that this can only be effected with their free will and consent, by co-operating with them in a plan which, as benevolent to the whole coloured population has received their sanction, and exhibiting an asylum to which the liberated can be sent without injury to the state and infinite advantage to themselves, and which in the rising

oned (in a sense) among their rights." They ought not to attempt to do that suddenly and by a blow, which they know may be done more safely and beneficially with caution and preparation.

5th. It *may be* the duty of individual masters to liberate their slaves, before the State is morally bound to enact laws for the *entire* and universal abolition of slavery. For particular slaves may be qualified for freedom, and their masters may have ability to place them where such freedom would be to them a benefit, while the great mass of the slave population are unqualified for *perfect* freedom, and the State feels prohibited by motives of enlarged benevolence, from conferring it, instantly, upon them. There is no danger that either States or individuals at the South, will act too soon or too earnestly on the subject. The great object should be, I humbly conceive, to awaken in all minds a sense of justice and benevolence towards our whole coloured population. All should immediately and earnestly unite in preparing them for freedom. When qualified therefor, there should be no hesitation in conferring it upon them. "It is advanced in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds, cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."—*Life of Ashmun.*

* My impression is, that, with the consent of the south, the whole system of slavery might with safety be immediately so modified, as to place the slave population in a situation to enjoy all the privileges in which men so rude and degraded could find advantage; and, in connexion with the policy of colonization, to prepare them, at no remote period, for entire freedom. Peculiar legislative enactments might, for a season, be indispensable, and of the nature and extent of these, benevolent and enlightened citizens in the south can best judge.

character and hopes of the free who occupy it appeals to their deepest sympathies and most generous sentiments in behalf of the slave; by interchanging the sober opinions of the north, in regard to our coloured population, with the philanthropic sentiments of the south, this society effectually promotes the cause of freedom, and presents motives of persuasiveness and power in favour of emancipation. The demonstration in Liberia of the capabilities of the coloured race for self-government, every despatch from that colony, every ship that sails thither, every example of emancipation, that those covered with the dust and dishonours of servitude may share the dignity and hopes of its citizens, plead eloquently the cause of human freedom. Fifteen hundred slaves, standing as freemen at the will of their masters, on that shore, and property, including the value of those liberated, exceeding probably \$2,600,000, given as a free-will offering to the cause of this society, sustain the truth of our position. This society comes forward to bestow the best blessings Heaven permits men to enjoy, upon Africa.

This intelligent audience know what Africa was and what she is—her former glory, her present shame. Alas, it is for none of us to know or imagine the extent of her miseries, the depth of her degradation. Anciently the seat of art, genius, empire; the land of Thebes, Egypt, Carthage, and even now bearing marks of grandeur amid the fragments of her ruins. Some faint glory lingers around her time-worn but undecayed monuments, temples, and pyramids—a light dimly burning upon the sepulchre, a smile to make us sad upon the countenance

of death. With an immense and fertile territory spread out beneath a climate adapted to mature the richest products of the earth—a population of at least 60,000,000, fine navigable rivers, and every advantage for a wide, profitable commerce—for centuries has she been left a prey to ignorance, imposture, superstition, barbarism, and the slave trade, that giant sin and outrage of the civilized world, showing sights of horror at which the rocks might weep and the fierce and savage winds, unused to pity, speak out in tones indignant and appalling, to startle the faithless conscience of the nations. But even inanimate nature would, we fear, utter her terrifying rebukes in vain. If the writings and labours of Clarkson, the eloquence of Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce, if no sense of justice, no compunctions of conscience, no sentiments of compassion, no divine precepts of Christianity—if neither courts of mixed commission, nor West Indian emancipation, nor the condemning opinion and law of all the powers of Christendom have even diminished this cruel commerce, what, without a change of policy is to be expected, is to be done? It is a fact of deepest interest that Thomas Fowell Buxton, member of the British Parliament, upon whom rests the mantle of Wilberforce, who stands first and foremost among living statesmen in endeavours to suppress the slave trade and civilize Africa, has, in a work just published, developed facts and principles, and expressed opinions going to sustain the views and policy of the Colonization Society, as those, by which alone the great and benevolent objects of the friends of Africa can be fully attained. Mr. Buxton has shown from a deep and thorough ex-

amination into all the sources of evidence in the case, that the slave trade has increased both in the number of its victims and the horrors of their sufferings in defiance of all efforts for its extinction; that "twice as many human beings are now its victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson entered upon their noble task;" that the number annually lost to Africa, either perishing in seizure, on the ocean, or consigned to inexorable bondage by the Christian or Mahomedan slave trades, is 475,000; "that every day which we live in security and peace at home, witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes of Africa to slavery or death; every night villages are roused from their sleep to the alternative of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle;" that at this very moment "there are at least twenty thousand human beings on the Atlantic, exposed to every variety of wretchedness which belongs to the middle passage;" that the Christian powers are generally unfaithful in the execution of their own enactments for the overthrow of this traffic; that little ground exists for hope that it will be made piracy by the law of nations; that if it were, the extraordinary profit, the enormous gains of the slave trade would defeat all laws and movements against it, and finally avows his conviction that the slave trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued.

Turning from this system in despair, he boldly declares: "A legitimate commerce with Africa would put down the slave trade, by demonstrating the superior value of man as a labourer on the soil, to man as an object of merchandise, and if conducted on wise and

equitable principles might be the precursor, or rather the attendant, of civilization, peace, and Christianity to the unenlightened, warlike, and heathen tribes who now so fearfully prey on each other to supply the markets of the new world." "I firmly believe," he says, "that Africa has within herself the means and the endowments which might enable her to shake off, and to emerge from her load of misery, to the benefit of the whole civilized world, and to the unspeakable improvement of her own now barbarous population." He urges all Christian nations to unite in one great confederacy "for the purpose of calling into action the dormant energies of Africa," and, avowing the opinion that, the slave trade once suppressed, she would present "the finest field for Christian Missionaries which the world has seen opened to them," regards as a circumstance unique in the case of her population, "that a race of teachers of their own blood is already in a course of rapid preparation for them; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery and the slave trade for this end; and that from among the settlers of Sierra Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children now receiving Christian education, may be expected to arise a body of men who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying divine truth and all its concomitant blessings into the heart of Africa."

We almost forget for a moment these shocking statements touching the slave trade, in delightful astonishment at the views, convictions, and hopes of Mr. Buxton, representative, we doubt not, of those of the wisest and best philanthropists of England, blazing

suddenly out from thick mists of doubt and error, like a new constellation in the heavens, to cheer our heart, give new courage to humanity, and shed sweet influences upon the land of slaves. The world is coming forward to sustain our enterprise. Mr. Buxton has only adopted the original principles and policy of the American Colonization Society; his plans are but a republication of theirs. Liberia was planted, has been sustained to be a civilized state, a Christian commonwealth of free coloured men on the shore of Africa, to suppress the slave trade, to impart instruction in letters, the useful arts, in agriculture, law, and religion, to her barbarous tribes, to guard their rights, encourage their industry, reform their manners, rouse their enterprise, and exhibiting before their eyes, and offering in their markets the articles of our skill tempting to their wants or their fancy, to turn them from a detestable to a lawful commerce; and finally, by developing her resources, and stimulating the energies, slumbering, but not extinct, in her bosom, to bring her up from the shadows of the wilderness and the eclipse of ages, to stand with devotion in her heart, power in her aspect, and honour on her brow before the world. What blessings richer can be conferred on her? What greater can she enjoy?

Such is our theory; you must look across the ocean for the exemplification of its truth. Cast your eye then upon Liberia. See what has been effected by this society. What well-built town stands on that bold height, recently trod by the slave trader, now bearing the flag of freedom, reflecting the light of civilization on the waves, and pointing its church spires, em-

blematic of human hope, towards the throne of the Almighty, with schools, courts of justice, and a periodical press; the seat of order, industry, and law; accumulating property, opening new resources of enterprise, and extending its commerce and its influence? It is Monrovia; beautifully looking out upon the rough mariner, like the eye of mercy from beneath the shaggy brow of despair. And that sweet village near by? It is New Georgia, the home of some four hundred recaptured Africans, rescued from slavery, and by the humanity of our government restored to their country. Order, comfort, neatness mark their dwellings; their streets planted with shady trees; their well-cultivated fields and gardens; their children thronging to the school, and the churches in which they worship the common Father of us all, show that they have thrown off the customs of savage nature, and clothed themselves in the beautiful garments of Christian life. Ask them what this society has done, and let the nearly two hundred of them who have been baptized in the name of Christ make reply. And here a few miles distant look down upon the agricultural settlement of Caldwell, the residence of emigrants, who are converting the wilderness into a fruitful field, and demonstrating how the soil of Africa will reward the hand of labour, and her children, once trained to its cultivation, its rich and varied products, its coffee, cotton, rice, indigo, and sugar, supply themselves with whatever necessity can demand or luxury desire. Higher up, on the margin of the river St. Paul's, observe the village of Millsburg, its white houses adorning the hill side, and smiling through

the trees. More retired than the others from the visits of strangers, and more eligible, perhaps, both for health and agriculture, it has been selected by our Methodist brethren for the seat of an institution in which native Africans may be educated to become teachers and guides to the interior tribes.

Return, if you please, to the sea-coast, and thirty miles below Monrovia pause a moment at the settlement of Marshall. Pause, at least, in honour of that name, engraven on the hearts of Africa and America; a name of power to plead this cause, while the admiration of virtue or of liberty inhabits human hearts.

Five thousand coloured emigrants from the United States, extending their laws over an extent of coast for three hundred miles, with eighteen churches, the means of education, sharing in all the blessings and responsibilities of free government, embodying eight hundred members of the Christian church, are there stirred with the sublime enthusiasm of liberty to expel from Africa the invaders of her rights, and the murderers of her children, and carry the triumphs of Christianity to her central mountains, and the waves of the Niger. Is this nothing to be accomplished by a benevolent society in less than twenty years, and at an expense of a little more than half a million of dollars?

And farther down, at the mouth of the river St. Johns, rest and contemplate that little sisterhood of towns planted by the zeal, cherished by the affections of your society. The fountain in the desert, the flowers that bloom by its side are not more charming. See in these prosperous and rising settlements, that owe their exist-

ence to your benevolence, the seeds of life, the buddings forth of virtue and immortal hope to perishing Africa.*

Nor let us fail to examine the settlement of Greenville, at the mouth of Sinoo river, testifying the interest of our far-distant but most generous friends in Mississippi and Louisiana in this cause; destined to stand a noble and enduring monument to their praise.

And the colony of Cape Palmas, founded by Maryland, and guarded and sustained by her government, with its well-disciplined population, great commercial advantages, and ample means of social advancement, proclaims what a single state can, and what the United States might and should do for this cause.

The Christian missionaries, some thirty in number, representing not less than four religious denominations in our country, have, through the influence of these settlements, found admission to the heathen in their vicinity, and under their protecting wings, are successfully engaged in their divine work. Nor will minds capable of deep reflection, (even should opinion, from some sources entitled to respect, be expressed to the contrary,) doubt the soundness of the judgment of Dr. Philip, the learned and eloquent superintendant of the London society's missions in South Africa, when he says:—

“Half a dozen such colonies, conducted on Christian

* The pure spirit of that meek female Friend, Mrs. Beulah Sansom, who awoke so many minds in this city to a holy enthusiasm of benevolence towards Africa, must look from her eternal house upon the schools planted through her efforts in these villages with delight, and gratefully bless Him whom she worships, for permission to thus open the path of wisdom to the simple, and of salvation to the lost.

principles, might be the means, under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe. Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government; and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundations of Christian government, than that which this new settlement (Liberia) presents. Properly conducted your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of shedding the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent."

To what does duty now urge the friends of this society? That almost solitary white man, who, in the spirit and power of Ashmun, is heading the forces of these infant colonies, and nobly adventuring his life in conflict with the slave trade; who weeps over the dishonoured flag of his country, and bleeding and outraged Africa, and appeals to America and the world to sustain freedom and Christianity in their struggle against the powers of darkness. He appeals to you. Would that his fine manly form were in the midst of us; that in this hall we could look upon his countenance, and hear his voice. He speaks to you from the scene of his trials. He entreats aid. Your generous hearts will respond to his appeal.

Let us act with entire confidence in the practicableness, to the utmost extent of the scheme of colonization. No power can restrain its complete execution, on the largest scale desired, when its beneficence, in all its aspects and influences, is demonstrated to the universal reason of men. The only imaginable obstacles to its en-

ture practicability—the opposition of the free people of colour; a deficiency in means to aid them, and indisposition to emancipate slaves—must vanish when all are compelled to acknowledge its philanthropy. The sense of interest and of duty will co-operate for its success. Africa herself will offer resistless attractions to her long-lost children, and bring forth her treasures to hasten their return.

And shall we not, by an organization the most efficient, by our zeal and activity, by the invincible energy of our purpose, and all the power of the press, make prevalent our opinions in the mind of the country. Let us submit our plan to the national congress, assured that discussion on its merits there will prove of infinite advantage; never despairing of aid from the power and treasure of the Union.

Let the grandeur of the enterprise impress our hearts. Great are our allies, Truth, Time, and all-conquering Providence. Our work is for a nation and an age; its results will be felt by nations in two hemispheres for ever. The wisdom of antiquity was wont to decree the highest honours to the founders of states; and when, through the energy of our free coloured population, and the agency of this society, a constellation of Christian states shall adorn the whole extended coast of Africa, the historian will recur to the evidence of a prophetic sagacity in the lofty sentiments expressed by the late General Harper at the very dawn of this enterprise:—“ How vast and sublime a career does this undertaking open to a generous ambition, aspiring to deathless fame by great and useful actions! Who can count the mil-

lions that, in future times, shall bless the names of those by whom this magnificent scheme of beneficence and philanthropy has been conceived, and shall be carried into execution! Throughout the widely extended regions of middle and southern Africa, then filled with populous and polished nations, their memories shall be cherished, and their praises sung. When other states, and even the flourishing and vigorous nation to which they belong, now, in its flower of youth, shall have run their round of rise, grandeur, and decay, and like the founders of Palmyra, Tyre, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, shall no longer be known, except by vague reports of their former greatness, or by some fragments of their works of art, the monuments of their taste, their power, or their pride, which they may have left behind."

Then will be discerned the propriety, the inimitable beauty with which that greatest man of all men, (Lord Bacon,) he whose spirit still rules in the kingdom of philosophy, recommends to the English monarch the colonization of Ireland. Of several considerations, he says: "The first of the four is honour, whereof I have spoken enough already, were it not that the harp of Ireland puts me in mind of that glorious emblem or allegory, wherein the wisdom of antiquity did figure and shadow out works of this nature. For the poets feigned that Orpheus, by the virtue and sweetness of his harp, did call and assemble the beasts and birds, of their nature wild and savage, to stand around him, as in a theatre; forgetting their affections of fierceness, of lust, and of prey, and listening to the tunes and harmonies of the harp, and soon after called likewise the

stones and woods to remove and stand in order about him: which fable was anciently interpreted of (the reducing and plantation of kingdoms; when people of barbarous manners are brought to give over and discontinue their customs of revenge, and blood, and of dissolute life, and of theft and rapine, and to give ear to the wisdom of laws and governments; whereupon immediately followeth the calling of stones for building and habitation; and of trees for the seats of houses, orchards and enclosures, and the like. This work, therefore, of all other most memorable and honourable, your majesty hath now in hand; especially if your majesty join the harp of David, in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, with the harp of Orpheus, in casting out desolation and barbarism.”

Gentlemen of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society: ✓

Very imperfectly, I am sensible, have I performed the task assigned me. For a patient kindness of attention you and this audience have my heartfelt thanks.

I have sought to show that the American Colonization Society arose from the united wisdom and benevolence of the country, and that it rests on enlarged humanity to the coloured race. Slavery is left by the federal constitution under the exclusive control of the states in which it exists. The citizens of these states will unite with those of the north in a plan of good for this race, limited in its direct action, by the terms of its constitution, to the free; and in thus uniting, they do it from avowed benevolence to the free people of colour, to the slaves, and to the millions of Africa cast down

in shame and darkness, vice and ruin, far worse than they. They deem that duty, solemn as the fate of two nations, and two continents, for all coming time, urges the execution of a plan which will place our free coloured people, with their own consent, where they may not only bear the name, but feel the power of freedom, and national and independent, command respect, and redeem their race. With their aid and blessing a few magnanimous and heroic spirits of this oppressed and dishonoured people have gone back from exile, and by the might of His outstretched arm, who demolishes or builds up empires, founded the free Christian commonwealth of Liberia. Higher motives, a kindling spirit and the sense of grandeur, have made them men. They are struck down by no superior power. Not that celestial fire in which the goddess mother of Achilles bathed her son to render him immortal, has touched their souls, but that diviner flame, shed upon the first Christian church, enduing it with the richest gifts, and consecrating it to the noblest service of humanity. It is a truth for history. Those who directed its first movements, most of its guides and governors have been men of God. Scarce more signally was the great Jewish lawgiver chosen to found that commonwealth, in which shone the visible glory of the Most High, than was Ashmun to guide this colony in its first hours of peril, and stamp it with honour. Beneath that soil, in hope of resurrection to a nobler life, sleep the precious remains of Bacon, Andrews, Carey, Cox, and others, who, in their sublime endeavours to save souls, lived but to see the day dawning on Africa, and the day-star rising in her heart.

Twelve hundred slaves, or more, casting away their chains at the bidding of their masters, stand there erect, to share, in equal measure with the freest, all that gives worth to society, or value and dignity to life. Towns, villages, school-houses, churches, for three hundred miles, throw a smile of beauty on the barbarous features of that continent. Broken open are the huge doors of that vast prison-house—one quarter of the world—where iron-hearted despotism and the accursed slave trade have poured trembling into millions of hearts, shorn humanity of all its honours, “stirred the worst passions of the human soul, darkening the spirit of revenge, sharpening the greediness of avarice, brutalizing the selfish, envenoming the cruel, famishing the weak, and crushing to death the broken-hearted.”* And must all our pity fall upon two millions of slaves in a humane and Christian country? Have we not a drop to spare for their more numerous, more afflicted brethren in their mother land; a country struggling, like the fabled giants, beneath mountains of calamity, and consumed by volcanic fires. I am silent. I see on that distant shore an august form; his step is stately; his eye flashes indignation; strength is in his arm; power on his brow. His shadow once made Burns exclaim:—

“Had I a statue been of stane, his darin’ look had daunted me,
 And on his bonnet graved was plain, the sacred posy LIBERTY,
 And from his harp sic strains did flow,
 Might rouse the slumbering dead to hear.”

His harp is thrown aside for the trumpet; its tones

* Judge Story.

ring out over land and sea ; he has struck the Devourer of millions ; shall he not give the death-blow to the monster, that his dragon wing of darkness may droop in death for ever ? And by his side is sweet PITY, beautiful as an angel, her eye glowing even through tears with a divine compassion, and in tones more touching than those of the modest charming bird who greets with hymn enchanting the evening star, she speaks to those who best represent her in this audience.

“ The quality of mercy is not strain’d,
It droppeth like the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath : It is twice blessed ;
It bleaseth him that gives, and him who takes.”

And awful JUSTICE is there, frowning upon our apathy, and pointing to the omnipotent and unerring tribunal before which we must all shortly stand ; and RELIGION ! meekness and majesty in his countenance, stretching out his hand, with the bread of life and the cup of salvation, to that scarred, wo-clad, chain-bound, heart-stricken mother of enslaved millions. Speak to us, thou most wretched ! She is dumb with agony. Not like Rachel or Niobe,

“ Childless, but crownless in her voiceless wo ;”

Her tears fall more for the living than the dead. See through her tattered garment her fresh bleeding stripes. The iron enters her soul. Can you look upon her and not weep. Oh Africa ! if I forget thee, (here, in the presence of Almighty God, will not each of you unite with me in saying.) oh Africa, “if I forget thee, let this right hand forget her cunning ; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.”