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The cause of African Colonization stands before the nation to-day in a new and most important aspect. By a process, which ten years ago no one dreamed of or thought possible, four millions of slaves have been suddenly emancipated.

What is to be done for this great multitude of human beings thus suddenly cast upon their own resources; how are the new relations in which they stand to society to be adjusted; what is to be their social condition and their final destiny? These are questions involving one of the most delicate, difficult, and solemn problems ever presented to the consideration of man. They demand the broadest, profoundest, and most impartial judgment. It is unfortunate for the country and unpropitious to the liberated slave that they have become so intimately identified with political controversy, and, therefore, so much in danger of being handled mainly with a view to political and party ends. The call is all the more imperative upon those who really have at heart the welfare of the African and honestly desire his elevation to rally in his behalf, and, if possible, save him from being crushed between the Northern and Southern mill-stone.

In this land the African will always be an exotic; it is not the region for which the Almighty endowed him; he cannot thrive here as he will under his native skies; he will have difficulties to overcome, peculiar to his race and condition; he will have to fight against obstructions which are not shared by the white man; no legislation, no change or improvement in public sentiment, can avert this result, and these embarrassments he will feel all the more as he rises in rank and culture. They are experienced at the North, where slavery has been long abolished, and where no distinction of color is recognized by law, just as keenly and painfully as ever.

Is Africa never to be redeemed? Is that magnificent land never to have a history? Is she never to take rank with other empires and peoples? Is the darkness that has brooded over her from the beginning never to be lifted? Are her great resources never to be developed? Will her broad rivers never be traversed by the steamship, and her fertile plains never resound to the thunder of the locomotive? Is she never to have a literature? Is the light of the Gospel never to shine there? God made that continent, and He did not make it for naught. This moral wilderness is destined hereafter to blossom with the noblest fruits of civilization and the sweetest

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flowers of religion. Splendid cities will rise there, her dark jungles will be disinfected by the influence of pure and undefiled religion, and Ethiopia stretch out her hands, not in deprecating supplication before the spirit of infernal wrath and evil, but in grateful songs and thanksgivings to a kind and merciful God.

But now the practical question arises, *how* is Africa to be redeemed? It is very evident that, *left to herself*, she will make no advance. This land is to-day in substantially the same condition that it has occupied for ages. The tendencies are all stationary. Without the infusion of some powerful element, strong enough to counteract the native torpor of the land, Africa will probably be the same a thousand years hence that she is to-day.

May we not then rely upon the labor of the Christian Missionary, armed with the weapons of the Gospel of peace, to subdue and regenerate this continent by the power of love, and so bring it into living sympathy with the civilized world? What has been the result of his self-denying labors in that benighted land? "The Roman Catholic missionaries labored in Western Africa for two hundred and fourteen years, but every vestige of their influence has been gone for many generations. The Moravians, beginning in 1736, toiled for thirty-four years, making five attempts, at a cost of eleven lives, and accomplished nothing. An English attempt, at Bulama island, in 1792, partly missionary in its character, was abandoned in two years with the loss of a hundred lives. A mission sent to the Foulahs from England, in 1795, returned without commencing its labors. The London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow Societies commenced their stations in 1797, which were extinct in three years, and five or six missionaries dead. Then there are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts, before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed."

The only conceivable process by which the great continent of Africa can ever be civilized and Christianized, is through the system of colonization; and transplanting to her shores all the institutions of civilization and Christianity, under the auspices and supreme control, not of the white man, but of the children of the soil. Every well conducted and prosperous colony will gradually become a power, before which the ancient structures of idolatry and superstition and barbarism must sooner or later fall. The material for this work has been provided in a rough and strange manner, which is, however, not without striking precedents in history. It was a nation of liberated slaves that colonized and possessed the "promised land."

What have been the actual results of African Colonization? Has Liberia, upon the whole, proved to be a success or failure? Forty-six years ago, the first band of emigrants landed and established themselves on Cape Mesurado; nineteen and a half years ago, Liberia ceased to be a Colony, and became an independent Republic. Have the labors, and the sacrifices, and the means which have been expended upon this enterprise resulted favorably or not?

The Republic of Liberia numbers to-day among its civilized inhabitants, about twelve thousand Americo-Liberians; that is, those who have emigrated from the United States, with their descendants. Some three hundred thousand aborigines reside within the territory of Liberia, and are brought more or less directly under the influence and control of her civilized institutions. There are nearly fifty churches in the Republic, representing seven different denominations, with their Sunday schools and Bible classes, and contributing something every week for missionary purposes.

The undeveloped capacities for trade, no one can estimate. With a most prolific soil and a climate capable of producing almost every variety of tropical fruit, the resources of the land are beyond computation. A sea-coast line six hundred miles in length, and an interior stretching indefinitely into the heart of the country, offer the most splendid facilities for foreign commerce.

A well ordered and well governed community has been established on the Coast of Africa, with its courts of justice intelligently presided over; with its Legislative assemblies, wisely constructed and equitably conducted; with its schools and College, furnishing a sound and thorough education, and with its Christian churches, teaching the people the practical duties which pertain to the present life, and also revealing to them the way of salvation through Jesus Christ.

Has the work of African Colonization proved to be a failure? Are these results nothing? All may not have been accomplished that was anticipated by some of the most sanguine friends of the enterprise; the Society has been called to contend with difficulties which could not have been foreseen in the beginning; it has encountered opposition in quarters where it least expected; vigorous efforts have been made to prejudice the colored people against it, but still there stands the Republic of Liberia to-day, free, independent, and prosperous, all nations recognize and salute her flag. All that she asks of us is this—send us people, industrious, moral, intelligent; if they have not the means themselves, aid them to establish themselves on these shores, we will give them land,

if for a few months you will only assist them in their preparation to become self-supporting citizens. And this is the simple work which the American Colonization Society proposes to do.

There is at this moment among the colored population of the United States such a *spontaneous* tendency towards emigration as has never been known before. And when they find that they are no longer an important factor in the political struggles of the country, they will see still more clearly than they now do, that it is for their own comfort and interest, as well as for the good of Africa, to make that land their permanent abode. We may want to keep him here to do the drudgery that we shrink from ourselves; we may be willing to give him the right of suffrage, that we may use it for our own political advantage; but he must either sink his own individuality or retain it at a cost which, in the end, will make him suffer.

Why then not go to a Republic that he can call his own? There are great fortunes to be made in that land whenever the same industry and skill shall be brought into action there which have made men rich here. There are posts of honor and influence open to him in that land, lofty enough to satisfy one's proudest ambition. There is a magnificent work to be done for a magnificent continent, which he alone is competent to do. A greater field for enterprise, a greater field for the spread of the Gospel of Christ, and the establishment of a noble civilization was never opened to man.

It is not impossible that in process of time the work of the Colonization Society may cease any longer to be needed. The citizens of Liberia, in their prosperity, may themselves provide the means for the removal to that land of all who wish to go there and are unable to pay the cost, as thousands from Great Britain and Europe are brought to our country every year by the offerings of those who have preceded them.

We owe an enormous debt to the African; how can we best discharge that debt? Our brother's blood cries to us from the ground; God hears that cry and holds us accountable. As we would avert further calamity from our own land, as we would protect ourselves from the slow but certain dispensations of justice, let us, as far as we can, redeem and expiate the wrong we have done the African. We have all eaten the fruit of his unrecompensed labor; let us now give him back some portion of that which we have taken from him. Let your wealth flow by thousands and tens of thousands into the treasury of this National Society; it will be well used, and bring forth abundant fruit.

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