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Rev. Jos. R. Mann

With great regard of A. T. M.

THE HAND OF GOD
WITH THE BLACK RACE.

A DISCOURSE.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Pennsylvania Colonization Society,

BY

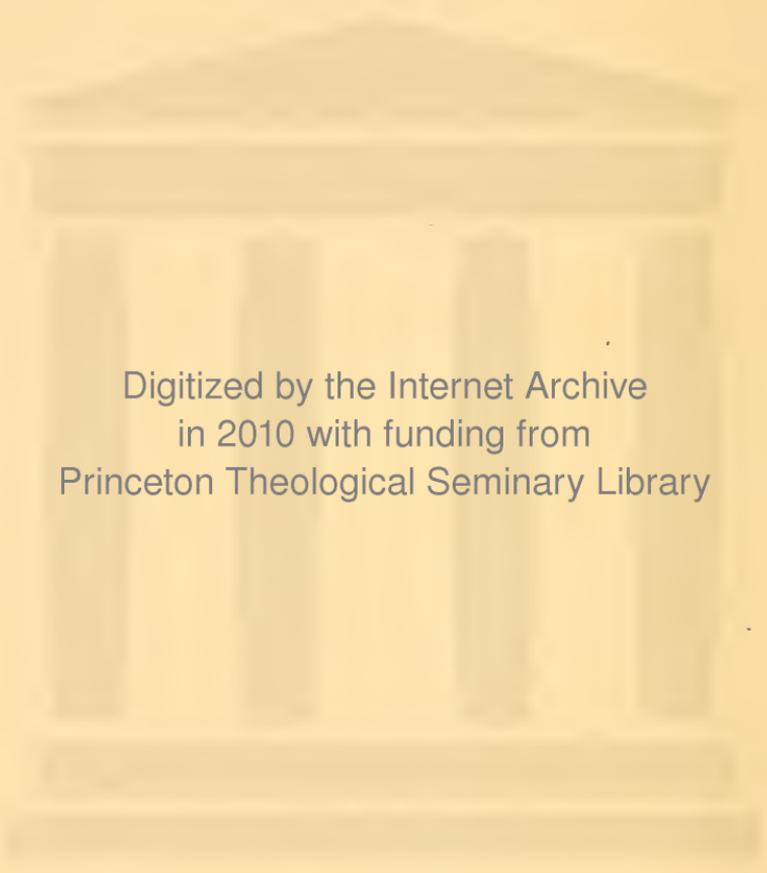
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PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

PHILADELPHIA:
WILLIAM E. GEDDES, PRINTER, 320 CHESTNUT STREET.
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“And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.”—ACTS xvii. 26.

Institutes of natural religion are condensed with admirable skill, in this text and its connections. And as propounded here, they are alike adapted to lead the heathen forward, and the Christian backward, with profitable lessons. The cogency with which they shut up the refined idolaters of Athens to “Jesus and the resurrection,” is reciprocated now, by the force with which the Gospel sends us back to these dictates, as required in its own progress and triumph. Events of history add new interest to this reciprocal tie of nature and inspiration every day. The light of reason, the voice of revelation, and the finger of Providence, combine as they never combined before, to call our attention to these four things which the analysis of this portion fairly presents to us.

1st. The unity of our whole race as it sprung from the hand of its Maker: 2nd. The special Providence which governs the times or events of any people: 3rd. The special Providence which fixes their place in the world: 4th. The manifest aim, alike of creation and Providence, in dealing with all races, to bring men at last to the knowledge of Himself.

I. In the very same year—the year 1620—there came to this continent two portions of the human race, the most opposite, in all respects, that could be found on the face of the earth. The one was white, and the other was black; the one was free, the other captive; the one was enlightened, the other ignorant; the one was elevated with the best intelligence that ever dawned upon the world, the other debased with the darkest delusions that ever invaded our guilty nature. The one were so much the masters of their own destiny, that the raging elements of the sea, the frowning terrors of

the wilderness, a barren coast, a savage hostility before them, and a haughty despotism behind them, could not hinder them, with scanty means and scanty numbers, from achieving, in less than two hundred years, results, which no other ten centuries ever attained, for the most favored people under heaven. The other were so much the mere products of time and chance, that they seemed to have no destiny whatever. Though sprung upon the richest soil beneath the sun, and carried to the fairest clime and culture of a new world, there was no mastery of anything laid to their hands with all the exuberance of material advantage; but prone, passive, and helpless, they could hardly compete with the beasts of the field, in the dignity of a chattel indenture; which constituted their only bill of rights among the children of men. These two opposite portions were the pilgrims who came to Plymouth in the *Mayflower*; and the first cargo of African slaves that came to Jamestown, Virginia, in a Dutch man-of-war.

The Puritans who came here were the best of that name; and the Africans who came were the worst, probably, of that name, being the negroes of the coast, always found to be the most depraved and abused in Africa. It is singular that these arrivals occurred in the same year; and singular, that the best specimens of humanity, and the worst, should be placed simultaneously in this land, on which men of all lands have been made to look ever since, with surpassing interest. As if "the Maker of us all" would summon the whole earth to witness on this magnificent theatre, not the boast of Americans themselves, the experiment of self-government, the movements of regulated liberty, the progress of a model and mighty Republic; but to witness the truth of the first proposition of my text, that, "He hath made of one blood all nations of men."

This collocation, side by side, in the same twelvemonth, of the most exalted and the most debased, of what we call the human species, has surely not resulted, in what would have been the result of a start together, of two diverse and repellent progenies, in the original of their being. Remember, what was then considered the superior race, in view of both the hemispheres; the proudest coevals which the Puritans had upon the face of the globe—the Spaniards. How have we distanced them, in arts, and arms, and riches, and power; until a stranger to history might almost as well question, whether the Spaniard, any more than the African, has

descended from the same Adam, with the Anglo-Saxon. We have not been able, with all the neglect and wrong of the relation, so to distance the black man. Bound to the chariot wheels of our own progress, by an original hap, which made him a clog, that we would gladly have pushed off at every stadium of our career, he has notwithstanding ascended steadily the car itself; and in spite of the reluctance of every party professing to be friend or foe, that darkened, trampled, outcast portion of humanity has become, in one sense, of fearful import, master of our destiny as a nation; although even in point of numbers, not one sixth part of the whole, and in point of rank, not one ninth of this sixth part be yet free from the bondage to which they were imported originally. Great as we are and proud as we have been, the question of our existence in the eyes of the whole world depends on the solution of the problem, what to do with the black race. And we perish among the nations, if that solution be made on any other terms, than a full recognition of the simple truth which is here affirmed, that they are of one blood with ourselves.

Since the tumult began of that civil war which now afflicts us, I have not heard at all from that ethnological school, which, for some twelve or thirteen years, had been steadily diffusing in the Southern mind a contradiction of eternal truth, in this particular. With the exception of a few infidels at the North, and these imported for the most part from Europe, the tractarians of this school belong entirely to the South; and even there they have been met by certain able Christian teachers, such as Bachman, and Smyth of Charleston, with unanswerable power.

It is far beyond our limits here, and might appear distrustful to the lone sufficiency of God's word, to dwell on the suffrages of science; as if the signature of the Holy Ghost depended, for its authentication, upon any lucubrations of man. *Physiology*, at the lowest degree of the scale, among creatures, will show how the animal man must be the same, in view of his structure, constitution and habits; birth, life and death; every thing that touches a visible existence on the earth. *Philology*, at a higher grade, tells us how identical he must be, in the common possession of a faculty, which no other visible creature possesses, that of imparting his thoughts, by the articulate and connected utterances of language. *Moral Philosophy*, rising higher yet, evinces how perfectly the same he is, in the sense

of right and wrong, true and false; on which the responsibilities of time, and the retributions of eternity are made alike to hinge. And then, at a higher elevation still, *the history* of men will prove, that families, tribes, and nations, in all times, and all places of the earth, have been developed by the same causes; and made to rise or fall by the same influences, for good or evil. In short, the simple and sublime averment of the text, on which alone our faith reposes, even if it were but the word of man, would subsidize all that man discovers, in the confirmation of its truth.

II. The Apostle claims for the Maker of all men the right to govern them, in the control of their vicissitudes; "hath determined the times before appointed;" that is, the dates, or events of history—turning points in the progress of nations. Probably the form of expression here was shaped by a reference, inevitable with the educated Jew, to that precise determination of time, with which the special providence of God had ruled the destiny of Israel. "Know of a surety," said the Most High to Abram, when "an horror of great darkness fell upon him,"—"that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, I will judge: and afterwards shall they come out with great substance," (Gen. xv. 13, 14.) It is only because they were a visibly covenanted people that their "times" are thus explicitly mentioned; all other nations and races of men are led, and overruled, and destined, with equal precision of times, by the councils of Him, who hath made them all of one blood. The illustrious progeny of Shem and the obscure descendants of Ham, are as perfectly alike, in the parental forecast of their common Maker, as they are alike in the weakness of their birth, the necessities of their life, and the dust to which they moulder.

Indeed, these "last times" of ours would summon us to see, in the chronicles of the most abject posterity that ever sprung from the uncovenanted sires of mankind, a similarity of lot to the great covenanted race of old, which no other nation or race ever exhibited in its annals. The Africans in our country are strangers and servants "in a land that is not theirs." They are here for a special purpose, just as surely as my text is true, that a special providence controls the times which measure events for any people. That special purpose resembles the end for which

the visible seed of Abraham were consigned to bondage in Egypt—culture, preparation, a temporary bondage, to be terminated, and gloriously terminated; not, I hope and pray, with judgments on this nation, as the plagues, and the spoils, and the overthrow, avenged the quarrel of His covenant on the tyrant and taskmasters of Egypt; but in the way of releasing and sending back to their own land a people, who came to us utterly destitute of every thing that mortal and immortal man requires; and go from us laden with every benefit and blessing which can exalt a people in the life that now is, and save them in the life that is to come.

If ever “the times before appointed,” in the lot of any people, unfolded themselves, their continuance and their limitation, alike in significant events, the condition of the black man here shows that neither a perpetual bondage, nor an immediate abolition, is the will of God concerning him. It is the schooling of slaves in this Republic which Heaven decreed for slavery, when Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, all implored the British Crown in vain to spare these colonies the curse of its infliction; and the tutelage is to last until the enslaved are able and willing to carry back to their own land the spoils of a Christian civilization.

Slavery itself is no school. It only degrades and destroys the children of men. Even the chosen race of Israel, who went down to Egypt, with a cultivation which the second man in the kingdom was not ashamed to own and introduce to the court of Pharaoh, could not endure the servitude of three generations after Joseph, without sinking so low as to hug their chains and reproach their deliverer, and carry with them, in their exodus, a spirit so besotted as to require nearly half a century of time in the wilderness, to fit them for Canaan. Look at slavery by itself in Africa. No where else on the globe has it had the same time and chance to work out its own legitimate results. There, pre-eminently, it is the patriarchal institution; and proves what it can do, to complete the family, and give the structure of society a solid basis, and a beautiful gradation. There it is, that the king of Dahomey first rung the changes, which have been so eloquently repeated at Charleston and New Orleans, that the social fabric is not perfect, without a substratum of involuntary bondage, a pedestal of living souls, to be bought and sold forever, like the beasts of burden. Fetish idolatry, cannibal cruelty, the horrid barracoon, the stifling middle

passage, the anguish of outraged humanity, without one pang of pity in the human breast, are but a portion of the fruits which slavery of itself confers upon the civilization of men.

Give it, if you please, a better opportunity than its own heathen parentage at home; transfer it to a Christian community, without imparting to it Christian culture; and see if centuries of experiment will not leave the slave as degraded as ever, and the master himself a monster of selfish, cruel, and impure desires. The history of Jamaica will give us proof. In the course of the first three hundred years of its history, about half of which there was Spanish rule, and the other half English, the masters, whether Spanish or English, conceived it to be incompatible with the relation of slavery to give the blacks any religious instruction. At the end of this period, eight hundred thousand slaves had been imported into that island from Africa, and not one half this number could then be counted; more than half the number from time to time had sunk beneath the lash of cruelty. The rigors of bondage were too hard, even for the prolific increase of a serving race. When slavery is "under tutors and governors till the time appointed," as in Egypt of old, it multiplies its people with prodigious increase. And wherever it is bonded for perpetuity, as in Jamaica of the last century, and Cuba of this, it perishes with its victims; as if the God that made us could not bear the sight of it beneath his heavens. Thirty insurrections in Jamaica occurred in the lapse of one hundred and forty years; scarcely a vestige of Christianity existed even among the whites, and the blacks themselves were worse than most of the Africans at home. "I speak from my own knowledge," said Mr. Edwards (historian of the West Indies) from his place in the House of Commons, "when I say they are cannibals, and that instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly eat him." When the British mind was at length awakened earnestly, to the calls of humanity and decency, in dealing with this dependency, and did send the Christian missionary, the rancor of those English masters became furious, tore down the chapels with violence, and persecuted the man of God, as if he had come with the torch of the incendiary, instead of the redeeming light of the Gospel. Such was slavery, even in the bosom of Christendom, when left to work out its own "times" and events.

But now on the other hand, look at the trial of immediate emancipation, without preparing the slave for freedom, by the education for which the purpose of God brought him here, a savage in chains. Would you prefer to see him attaining "liberty and equality," by himself, without mixture of blood, on the soil which he had tilled for generations, by the sweat of his brow and the lash of his overseer? Look at Hayti; where the fetters of slavery were broken off at once, by the Constituent Assembly of France. In less than half a century her industry and commerce were annihilated; the Sabbath, the family, and the school, were abolished; the missionaries of the cross—Baptist, Methodist and Episcopalian—were expelled with bitter persecution; thousands of free blacks from the United States, almost as many as have gone to Liberia since its origin, in less than twenty years had sunk to the same besotted level; and at length a despot was enthroned, with barbaric pomp, and remorseless tyranny, and the worship of devils for his creed; until the whole community seemed to touch the bottom of a degradation, as foul and hideous as ever had been revealed in the land of their African fathers. We hail with gladness a revolution for the better which has lately occurred; but the annals of Hayti have already given the indelible lesson, that a republic of black men erected at once, by an unschooled and unprepared emancipation, is but a pilloried equality, set up for a gazing stock and a scorn among the nations of the earth.

But would you prefer to see him attain liberty and equality in the home of his master; to see the dominant and the subjugated races remain upon the same soil, with the same immunities of social, civil and political rights, and of course, amalgamation, like that of the Norman and the Saxon races; which has invariably followed this blending of people, however opposite the original stocks? Look at Mexico; where the proud Castilian, the subjugated Indian, and the barbarous African slave, were all made free and equal just about one generation, or thirty-two years ago; by a single decree, to meet what was considered "a military necessity." More than half of the whole population is already mixed blooded; and just as amalgamation advances, degradation deepens; anarchy prevails; laws, constitutions, and the ballot box are a mockery; wave after wave of military despotism has left that Republic, of more than eight million souls, on the fairest region under heaven, for the acquisition of wealth and glory,

without money, without credit, without commerce, without union, without religion, until at length the ambition of Spain, herself, seeks to remand the abject people to their old repudiated thralldom.

These are some providential indications beside us, that neither slavery perpetuated, for its own sake, nor slavery abolished, before its subjects are educated for freedom, will comport with the determination of God our Maker, in "the times before appointed," for the African people in these United States. It is slavery at school, which he intends, in allowing slavery at all in such a nation as this—at school, for a limited time to be measured by the bondmen's own susceptibilities—at school, in the bosom of that Christian civilization which speaks the English language and its idioms of regulated liberty—at school, with an obligation on the masters to be their teachers, and to hasten the tuition—at school, for all the world besides, to follow this tutelage; not with a similar oppression as in these Northern States, which makes the freedman despised among freemen, as long as he differs in color; nor yet with an alloy of the dominant race, which his constitution repels, and his prejudice abhors; but with that inevitable exodus from the house of bondage, to a land that is their own, which colonization proposes to guide and furnish, and succor and defend.

III. This leads me to the *third* point in the teaching of the text—that special providence which fixes the place of each people on the face of the earth, "the bounds of their habitation." The most obvious proof of this, in regard to the people of which we speak at present, and one which forces itself upon the candor of all unprejudiced men, is the stamp of features, and structure of skin, which God has made to dwell within the tropics of our globe. The longest line of descent from the slave, as originally imported, has not altered these claims of our equator upon her sable sons and daughters; nor failed to remind us, that their dispersion over North America is really a forced migration, even in the sunny South; and much more in the Boreal frosts of Canada. Stupor, and squalor, rheumatism, and consumption, prey upon these exiles, just in proportion as they ascend our latitudes; even with all the animation that freedom, whether allowed or snatched, can impart to their nature. No one, it seems to me, who watches the negro, anywhere upon our temperate zone, in the dead of

winter, can help a surmise, that the God of nature has another destination in store for the development of his constitutional energies.

But Africa needs him, still more than he needs Africa. She stretches forth her hands, not for the races, that can but touch her shore, and could but subjugate her people; but for the return of her own children, to the latest generations. She says, in her own peculiar sense, to the North give up, to the South keep not back, bring my sons from far and my daughters from the ends of the earth. That poor mother of slaves came out of the original chaos, a solitary continent; which of all other divisions of the globe, is the least susceptible of benefit from strangers. If you look at her shape on the map of the world, you see it rounded and concentrated upon itself; without peninsulas, and inland seas, entering from the ocean, with the reach of commerce and its civilizing influence to her inmost recesses, showing that nothing can redeem and exalt her, but forces from within, the attainment of art and science, and religion, by her own returned and indigenous populations. She has but one mile of coast for every six hundred and twenty-three miles of surface; while Europe has one mile of coast for every hundred and fifty-six miles of surface—evincing that the advantage of Europe, in emerging from barbarism to the glory of Christian civilization, is four times as great, by the very lines of the earth, which become “the bounds of her habitation.”

And it is not, surely, because the vast interior of Africa is a sterile waste, that her mighty contour fences off, in this way, the keels and canvas of the nations. Discoveries every year, by Livingstone, Barth, Burton, Andersson, and other truthful adventurers, prove that her soil is rich beyond comparison, that her rivers are deep enough and long enough to bear the freight of empires on their bosom; and in short, that she needs only the elevation of man by the interaction of men, who can stand her suns and breathe her vapours, to become the garden of this globe, and bless all the ends of the earth with her inexhaustible abundance.

It is the land of promise at this moment of sublunary time. Discoveries have exhausted the new world. This hemisphere is booked within and without by an indefatigable topography, which henceforth may rest, till the planet itself is changed. But Africa now fixes on herself that curious and restless and excited gaze, which America has held, for three centuries

and a half, and which has never failed in history to draw after it the tides of immigration, and the utmost energies of human enterprize. Shall the instincts of humanity be powerless, because it is an old world that is now thrown open to enlightened men? Shall the migratory impulse of manly souls be repressed, because a mother, instead of a daughter, pleads, and the plea reaches from ten thousand cemeteries of ancestral pride, for one race alone to return, and take the last El Dorado, which the measuring line of man's adventure can reach upon the face of the earth?

Conceive it possible that when Columbus, Raleigh, and Hudson, had reported this continent of ours to the people of Europe, some intimation had been given, that only one particular race of that continent could live and thrive in this one—some intimation but half as palpable as that which designates the black man for Africa; think you, that particular people would have hesitated to venture on the magnificent inheritance which God had given to them alone? Would they not have risen up in a day and rushed upon their destination here until not a soul was left to linger, where any other race competed for the bounds of a habitation? And can it be, that even if the black man were equal to the white man here in social, civil, and political advantages, he would stay an hour to compete for places and positions, when empires of wealth and happiness and glory on the earth, are thrown open to him yonder without a rival?

Let it not be said that he returns to a land of reprobation. There is no curse on Africa, to preclude the utmost grandeur and felicity, in the future of her races. Egypt may have a doom still resting upon her, and Lybia, Numidia, and Mauritania, all the Northern shore, from the Nile to the Straits of Hercules; wherever the Gospel was spread, and then extinguished by man. But no curse ever yet resulted on that glowing tropical belt where we urge the black man to go with the light of Christian civilization. No history is there, to bode some viol of unexpiated wrath, which buried empires had been too frail to suffer and exhaust. All is fresh in the hope, which returns with these captives. The race now lifts up its head, for the time appointed when its turn shall come to wield the rod of empire.

“*Muse!* take the harp of prophecy: Behold!

The glories of a brighter age unfold:

Friends of the outcast! view the accomplished plan,

The Negro towering to the height of man.”

The last hope of humanity is not fighting here for existence, as we are often told. Freedom has another home. She has never yet spread her tents along the equator. Let her eagles gaze upon the sun, where the sun is at home, with his perennial fruits and flowers. Who knows, but that a mighty tropical Republic is just what this reeling planet needs, to make it steady and peaceful; to fix the balance of power at the centre of the earth, and thence govern to the poles with a reign of order and righteousness.

The experiment is made. Finley, Caldwell, and Key, were true prophets. And so was their first agent, the sainted and heroic Mills, who just forty-four years ago this month, said, as he was embarking in this city on the ship *Electra*, "we go, to lay the foundation of a free and independent Empire, on the coast of poor degraded Africa." The Republic of Liberia is at this moment the most promising and prosperous government in the world. It has copied all that is wise and good in our institutions and history. It has avoided the pernicious evil. Instead of touching the aborigines of the land, only to defraud, debase, and exterminate them, it has embraced them, with a quick and redeeming civilization, which was never equalled in the chronicles of human progress. Instead of starting on its high career, with the seeds of dissolution in its own bosom, pestilent theories, to destroy it in the vigor of youth, or necessitate the pangs of another birth, before its manhood is reached, it has waited in its weakness, for the solution of every problem, for the sifting of every objection, for the detection of every bane, until at length it moves, without one fear of failure; and every great power on the globe stands by to give it speed and safety. Never did any colony make a beginning so hopeful and auspicious. It has had better health, than either Plymouth or Jamestown had, at the beginning; better agriculture, than either Carolina or Louisiana had upon their virgin soils in the bush; better trade and commerce, than either New York or Philadelphia had, in the first forty years of mercantile adventure; better education than Massachusetts or Connecticut had, in the first half century of their institutions; better Christianity, in its freedom, simplicity, and power combined, than any people ever had in the cradle since the days of the Apostles; these are but some of the first things in the destiny of this young black Republic.

Nor is it a mere handful of freedmen, aping the usages of their quondam masters, and existing by the sufferance of the nations, as an act of magnanimity towards an insignificant people. Already it is conceded that the state papers of the Liberian President compare well with any similar documents of President or Premier, in the most cultivated cabinets of Christendom. Already it is felt, that this infant government is as much a necessity in the family of nations, as any other independence on the face of the globe. It is needed, to unlock the gates of a commerce, the most rich and varied, that ever yet ladened the ships of the merchant. It is needed, to stifle the most atrocious robbery and wrong, that ever corrupted the welfare of nations—that accursed slave trade, which it has cost the nations ten times more, on every other six hundred miles of African coast, to repress by their squadrons, than all that has ever yet been expended for Liberia; and even then the work has not been done half so well. Look at the most recent facts of this nature. Cargoes of recaptured slaves, Congoes and others, amounting in all to some forty-five hundred souls, one third of the whole citizenship of Liberia, have been cast upon its lap, in less than a twelvemonth; and already, “they go to their schools, crowd their churches, and adopt their dress, speak their English,” marry their daughters, and stand redeemed in all the dignity of Christian families. And instead of depressing themselves they only gather fresh energies from this rapid assimilation; and President Benson declares, they could receive twenty thousand in this manner without detriment to their own civilization. Verily, here it is, that a nation is born in a day; and here it is, that all nations must guaranty enduring nationality, if they would keep the pulse of humanity beating at the rate of sound health and long life to all living flesh.

And it must be added, that the only great power on earth which has hitherto refused to acknowledge the independence of Liberia, is really the most dependent of all, upon the success and aggrandizement of that young Republic. Never did a mother so soon begin to lean upon a daughter for aid and comfort, as the United States are compelled to lean upon Liberia, for ultimate help and relief—cure in her sickness—a staff in her tottering—a refuge in her tempest and consternation.

Such are some of the attractions, with which colonization would per-

suade the free colored people, to return to the land of their fathers ; and of their own choice, concur with the manifest determination of heaven, to fix there the bounds of their habitation. But even without such attractions, there is a necessity that they return—a compulsion of circumstances, which nothing relieves, but the prospect and plans of this benevolent agency. The black man cannot stay here. The South will not allow him to remain, with his shackles broken off. All her statesmen, from that day of Washington and Jefferson, when slavery was considered a canker in the body politic, to this day of Davis and Stephens, when it is claimed to be the very basis of the best reconstruction—all are of one mind, in regard to the manumitted negro ; that he must go from them ; for the sake of their own safety, at well as his beneficial enlargement. The House of Delegates in Virginia signalized the last day of the last century, with a resolution to this effect. And all the wise, and the great, and the good men, who have ever appeared in the South as the negroes' friends—Thornton, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Pendleton, Wythe, Lee, Marshall, Clay, Crawford,—all, without exception, have insisted that the free blacks must be removed, and colonized by themselves. Some thought of St. Domingo ; some of Louisiana, beyond the Mississippi ; some of Sierra Leone, upon the African shore ; where Great Britain had made the first experiment of settling the colored “contrabands,” who had fled to her ranks in the war of our independence. And at length the very same great anti-slavery mind that had incorporated in the first draught of the Declaration of Independence, the entail of slavery upon us, by the British crown, as one of the worst enormities in the whole catalogue of colonial wrongs—Mr. Jefferson, eleven years before Liberia was purchased, and five years before a Society was formed, gave to his country the thought, of a separate American settlement in Africa. Would, that the next great thought, of the next greatest Virginian, had been equally oracular ; that of Chief Justice Marshall, who wished and advised, that all the lands which Virginia had given the United States, worth \$200,000,000, should be given, to the whole extent of their proceeds, for the purposes of colonization ! Had this been done, the legions of the great North Western territory would not this day be marshalled in deadly feud against that mother of States, and the hosts of rebellion gathered on her bosom.

But the North is intolerant as the South, to the negro freeman. The last twenty years of legislation and conventions at the North have piled up more enactments against the equal rights of the Africans, than any century of intolerant legislation, in the dark ages of Europe, ever accumulated against the persecuted Jew. And even where he is allowed to live at all, how galling the disfranchisement, and how menial the thrift, we compel him to abide by! Inexorable caste precludes him from every thing, that kindles the aspirations of freemen—from all rank and honor and power, and even eminent usefulness—from everything but the acquisition of pelf, by the meanest handicrafts of life.

Nothing but colonization in Africa, will open a great and effectual door to voluntary manumission at the South. Nothing but colonization in Africa, will open a great and effectual door to voluntary justice, at the North. The master will not emancipate his chattel, to be spurned wherever he may roam. The abolitionist will not receive the freedman, if he be a black beneficiary, to equal rights, anywhere on this side of the Atlantic. And thus it is that He, who has determined these "times before appointed," has also determined, by the manifest movements of necessity on every hand, "the bounds of their habitation" to be in the home of their fathers.

IV. And who, that loves the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, will not acquiesce in all necessities, which go to spread "the glorious Gospel of the blessed God?" This is the aim, this the consummation of all that special Providence, which brings good out of evil, in working for every "afflicted and poor people." If in the times of ignorance, at which God winked, the constant indication of unity in creating and a special Providence in ordering the destiny of every people, was enough to excite the benighted heathen to seek after God, when there was but a chance, "if haply," they might find him, how much more should such a demonstration now, of a common blood, and a special care of the Most High for such a trodden race as this, awake the world to seek after him, when there is a perfect certainty of finding him? Along with the Gospel, as it goes with redeeming light to Africa, will be the story of another exodus, a New Testament exodus, for the world to hear, and for the ransomed of that continent to teach their children and children's children, to all gene-

rations. How vast a theme of adoring gratitude, and love, and obligation, and instruction too, did the deliverance of Israel from bondage in Egypt add to the precious light of revealed religion which they carried back to Palestine! The preface to the ten commandments, God's eternal law, was itself couched, at Horeb, in the fact of this their special deliverance. Migrations are the best of missions. Even if the white man could live as a missionary on the African coast, which is impossible, beyond the average of four years; even if the returning sons of Africa should prove incompetent forever, to make the grammars and translate the Scriptures into vernacular tongues, which is incredible, if not absurd; still would it be a larger and better and dearer Christianity, which emancipated bands of Africans take home, than any the white man could give; being illustrated with this grand development of divine goodness and faithfulness to the tribes of Ethiopia.

Its missionary aspects alone are enough to enlist the ardor and liberality of every Christian man, for this cause of colonization in Africa. Its patriotism, its philanthropy, its worldly wisdom, its whole assemblage of merits and values, the rarest and best that ever combined in any society of man's organization, have been so palpable and imposing, upon the minds of its friends, and the passions of its enemies, that its grandest claim of all, for which alone it should be cherished and promoted, if every thing besides in its history had been foolishness, to this hour, has been strangely unappreciated. In its day of small things, for the spread of his kingdom and the knowledge of himself, behold "what God hath wrought!" Devil worship and brutal violence have already fled from six hundred miles of the benighted coast; and churches, and schools, and a college now dot the whole conquest; and invite, with wonderful success, two hundred and fifty thousand heathen, under its jurisdiction, to accept the light and liberty of the Gospel. And far beyond the selvage of that evangelized and evangelizing shore, the preachers of Jesus Christ have penetrated the interior, and have already been hailed with welcome, by the barbarous idolators, who swarm upon its fertile hills and valleys.

Let it be remembered, that the majority of American Africans in Liberia, are emancipated slaves from the Southern States. The prouder

intelligence of Northern freemen among the blacks, infatuated with the dream of attaining equal rights on this continent, has hitherto disdained, for the most part, the benefit of colonization. It is the poor slave that has done this great thing for Africa, "whereof we are glad." And if so, is not his education for which alone, as we have seen, the Almighty Maker allows him to be in bondage here, far advanced? The proportion of Protestant Christianity, as indicated by the number of its professors in the United States, is just about as large at this moment among the blacks, as among the whites—about one for every eight souls. This, at the present fearful crisis, demands attention, as a marvellous indication of the Most High. Take up the whole African population of these embattled States, both free and slave, the four millions and an half, and put them down, just as they now are, upon the continent of Africa, and that desert would "rejoice and blossom as the rose." Larger than the whole population of the American colonies when we achieved our independence—larger than the whole population of church members, when our Christianity undertook to pervade this continent, is now this leaven, so disturbing to us, and destructive to our peace; but large enough and pure enough to be cast now with transforming power upon that mighty lump—the whole continent of Africa.

Colonization, under God, in this dark hour, is the only hope of America. If the Federal Constitution is to be vindicated and re-established, and a cordon stronger than ever is to be drawn around the existing area of slavery, this cause alone, so dear to patriotic men of the South in the past generation, will penetrate that circle and again call from the bosom of oppression nearly two to one, that she can find at the North, for the home she has provided in Liberia; and again obtain from the dying slave-holder the munificent bequest of the whole plantation—the slaves to go, and the lands to bear the cost, of preparing, and conveying, and settling them. But if it be otherwise, in the purpose of Him, who "hath determined the times before appointed"—if the "Contrabands of War" shall be numerous even as the whole population of slaves in the revolted States; if millions were to be released to-morrow, and come trooping to the side of Federal power and victory—Colonization is the only scheme within the whole compass of man's imagination which would not be confounded with such

a result. It has room for them all. It has work for them all. It has all things ready—foundations laid—methods matured—instrumentalities organized—experiments perfectly assured—aims as elevated as the everlasting Gospel itself; and it only asks for half the money which this dreadful war will cost, to relieve the country of its fatal causes forever.

