





GRAND RESULTS

OF

SLAVERY.

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INDISPENSABLE TO THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.

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“GOD IN HISTORY” is becoming a principle of more universal admission than it was in the past centuries. The dark ages of the world, which grew out of the darkened state of the Church, left the human mind without any just appreciation of the Divine government in the affairs of men.

The dogmas of Greece and Rome at a still earlier date, claimed all sufficient wisdom in their philosophy for the government of the world, and excluded from it all divine participation. And it is surprising to what a great extent this exclusion has prevailed in the more enlightened days of the Church, notwithstanding the practical lessons which the records of Jewish history afford, as well as the clear and unequivocal instruction given by Christ and his Apostles upon that subject.

The history of the ancient monarchies of the world; Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome, can be readily comprehended and reconciled only by the admission of the direct interference, and at times the all-controlling agency, of the divine power in the changes which have marked the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires.

Human government, while it is the subject upon which Divine Providence acts, is also the instrument which is em-

ployed in producing the beneficent purposes of God in bringing the world to its highest state of civilization and moral improvement.

“God in history,” is then a fact which all historians must recognize, if they would give a satisfactory reason for the things they write about.

The admission of this principle will prepare the way for, and reconcile many sincere enquirers, to what I am about to say on the subject of African Slavery in this country;—a subject which connects with itself in the feelings and estimation of the whole country consequences of the most intense interest. It is in fact becoming the *leading* subject in its political aspect, and its discussion in the National and State Legislatures always produces a feeling of animosity and excitement which is seldom witnessed upon any other subject.

It has already broken asunder a large and most prosperous Church, arraying the *north* against the *south*, and carrying away in its devastating sweep the brotherly love and christian fellowship which once bound that whole Church in one bond of christian love. And like breaches in other Churches must inevitably occur from the increasing acrimony with which the subject of Slavery is making itself felt throughout the land.

But is there no such thing as coming to a better understanding on this subject? Can we not reach a common platform where we may all stand together with kinder feelings and more christian harmony?

“God in history” is the first step towards such a platform. We must receive this as a fixed principle, not as a mere loose and undefinable notion of what is usually understood by “an overruling providence,” which with the generality of believers in such a providence, signifies no more than this;—that God takes up the blundering and often sinful work begun by men, and gives it a direction and result that will promote his glory and the well-being of man. That such are often the isolated cases of providential interference is admitted, but it is not admitted that man must necessarily take the initiative in measures which are to result in a great political and religious advantage to the nations of earth. These are the vast

schemes of divine wisdom and mercy which God *appoints*; and men are called into their progress and fulfillment, as agents of the divine providence. It is a very poor compliment to his providence to suppose that God must wait until man has started some scheme for his own purpose, with evil intention it may be, and then take it out of his hands by an overruling providence, forcing tendencies and events which never would have been known to the world, if man had not taken the first step in the matter with entirely different purposes.

That God is the moral governor of this world, is an axiom which means precisely the same thing that is implied by "God in history."

But how is this moral government of the world to be carried on without a civil government? The latter is a necessary appliance to the successful operation of the former. "The powers that be are ordained of God," is a Bible declaration corroborative of this view, and distinctly presents the fact that well ordered civil government amongst men is appointed of God as the instrument necessary to the exercise of his moral government over men. And I will add, wherever human government, in its constitution and mode of action best meets the freedom of man's moral and intellectual powers, there the moral government of God is most effectual and is best understood.

But let us now leave generalities and come to the subject which I propose to discuss.

The propositions intended to be maintained are,—

1st. That the people of Africa were brought to this country by the appointment of Divine Providence for the purpose of preparing them to become the agents in civilizing and christianizing Africa;—and

2d. That *Slavery*, or involuntary servitude, as their condition here, is an indispensable part of the system which is finally to produce this great benefit to Africa.

To a large portion of the people of this country these propositions will be unintelligible and monstrous; without form

or feature at all reconcilable to their views of Divine Providence.

But I hope they will be calm, and hear what I have to say with candor and moderation.

I hold that "God in history," is a truth as applicable to that, as to any other part of the wonderful history of our country. The hand of Divine Providence is as clearly seen in placing a portion of the African race in this country as it was in guiding the Pilgrim Fathers to these shores, and conducting them through difficulties and perils to our present national greatness and prosperity.

The African, or negro race, while confined to their own native country, were in a state of the lowest mental and moral degradation; and without any hope of a better condition, so far as their country and their own mental resources were to be looked to for their civilization.

Their climate is deadly to the white man. Fever and death are almost sure to seize upon him if he attempts to live, only for a short season in its pestilential airs. This places the recovery of Africa by the ordinary means, such as Bible and Missionary agencies, personally employed by white men, quite out of the question. Their residence there for a length of time necessary to put in operation and conduct to any successful results, measures adapted to the civilization of that dark and barbarous land, is not to be thought of as at all possible.

Yet this work is to be done! African civilization and regeneration must and will be accomplished; not by any unnatural change in her climate, or any physical alteration in the constitution of the white man so as that he might be able to live there. There will be no mitigation of the one, or modification of the other, to the extent necessary to the general operations of missionary efforts. So that the civil, social, and religious condition of Africa is utterly hopeless, unless some other means than those usually known to the course of christian philanthropy are employed. Anxiously is it asked by those who hope for the regeneration of Africa; "What other means can be employed? What other resources can christianity rely upon to fulfil the great com-

mand of her Lord?—‘go into all the world and preach my gospel to every creature.’”

The answer is; though we cannot go into Africa, the children of Africa can be brought into this land; and here they can be instructed and fitted for the work of regenerating their brethren at home. They will become the qualified missionaries, and statesmen in this country, and will carry home the gospel and civilization to the untaught and barbarous tribes of their own land, where the white man cannot go.

In carrying out such a provision for Africa, it might be expected that reference would be had to the suitability and capabilities of the country to which they would be sent for imparting the necessary knowledge. Agriculture in all its various branches, the mechanic arts; suitable maxims of government, and practical christianity, comprehend the instruction necessary for those who are to become the missionaries and regenerators of Africa. To acquire these different branches of knowledge is just the purpose for which they were brought to this country. And a comparison of ours with all other countries will command the admission that this is the only one where the education and training of the African race, with a view to the civilization of their own land, could be obtained.

If these several propositions are true, first, that Africa is to be civilized and brought to the knowledge of the christian religion; and secondly, that her climate is in deadly hostility to the white man; it follows as a consequence that some portion of her people must be transferred to another, or other countries where they may be instructed and trained in those arts and habits and acquire the knowledge necessary to qualify *them* for such a work.

But how are they to be transferred to those countries where these qualifications are to be obtained? Will they voluntarily surrender their wild savage state and consent to be brought away from their own land for a purpose which they cannot comprehend? No; they would never consent to leave Africa, never agree to separate themselves from their home, barbarous and benighted as it is, upon any inducements which could be presented to them, and the only way discoverable

to humanity by which civilization is to be secured to the African race is the captivity of some portion of her children; they must be sold to a foreign land and become the property of strangers.

This conclusion will shock the humanity of many; but the writer hopes that his facts and arguments will be duly considered before sentence of condemnation is passed upon him.

This is not a subject which derives its true character from *political* ethics. It lies in the deeper and purer morality of the divine government over nations, and therefore addresses itself to the moral perceptions of christians as among the teachings and precepts of divine revelation.

This much is in support of the first general proposition; namely;—that the people of Africa were brought to this country by the appointment of Divine Providence for the purpose of preparing them to become the agents in civilizing and christianizing Africa.

The next general proposition is that *Slavery* or involuntary servitude is a necessary part of this scheme of Divine Providence.

But that the reader may not be dismayed at this proposition and denounce it upon the admitted and innumerable cruelties too often found connected with Slavery, the writer wishes to say that he speaks of Slavery, simply as an institution; and that he abhors as earnestly as any body, the unnecessary cruelties which a remorseless and insatiable cupidity has connected with it.

The position which makes the institution of slavery necessarily responsible for all the wrongs and cruelties that have been visited upon the slave, is too broad a position, and will be found when fairly examined to have no claim to the standing which a half obscured humanity has given to it. But the discussion of this position just now would be premature; it will be called up again in the progress of these views.

What is most important just at this stage of the subject, is to ascertain what has been the course of Divine Providence in the government of nations, where the circumstances of men were similar to those now under examination. If the Bible

gives us in its historical instruction a case strikingly similar, where God removed a people from one land where the knowledge and experience necessary for the state to which he designed afterwards to bring them, could not be obtained, and placed them in a land of strangers, whose language they understood not, and where they were in a state of slavery or bondage to hard taskmasters, that they might obtain the knowledge and experience which their future state required they should possess, then a considerable step has been made in establishing the position already advanced, namely; that slavery, or involuntary servitude, is a necessary condition of the African race in this country.

Such an occurrence, under the appointment of Divine Providence, cannot date too far back to be of force and authority in these later days; because, whatever was written aforetime, was written for the instruction of all future ages; and although the condition and circumstances of nations may have greatly changed, yet the great principles of the divine government are always the same;—they are based upon righteousness, and are wisely adapted to meet the necessity of the circumstance they are designed to control.

In this way God makes himself known in history; and when he speaks and makes the reasons and necessity for his acts clear and convincing in one case, that is to be the rule upon which our views and convictions of his providential dealings are to be formed in all future similar dispensations.

The reader has no doubt anticipated the event to which this reference is made, and his thoughts have been following *Joseph*, sold by his brethren into Egyptian bondage.

The first account given of this youthful Hebrew slave exhibits the fidelity with which he performs the various duties and delicate trusts confided to him in the house of his master, Potiphar. His inflexible fidelity became the cause of his being thrown into prison, and seemed for a while to put an end to whatever hopes Joseph entertained of winning from his master a release and restoration to his afflicted father. But neither caprice or falsehood can defeat the plans of Providence, and Joseph's imprisonment seems to be an important step in promoting these plans.

While Joseph was in prison, Pharaoh became much troubled with certain remarkable dreams, and expressed great anxiety to have them explained. It came to be known to the king that a certain Hebrew, then in prison, was able to expound dreams; and Joseph was sent for. His explanations of Pharaoh's dream were so satisfactory to the king, that the Hebrew slave was placed in a position of high political importance. While in this station of great authority, his brethren, forced by the urgency of famine, went into Egypt for bread: there they found their brother whom they had sold. But he plainly told them, it *was not they, but God who had sent him into Egypt*. His father, on being assured that his son was in Egypt, at once determined to go and see him. This brought the whole patriarchal family into Egypt, under circumstances, by the rank and honors enjoyed by Joseph, which detained them there, and thus commenced the education and training which was to fit their posterity to be the founders of the Jewish nation.

Just at this point, my attention is drawn to a fine engraving hanging before me, representing the formal introduction of Jacob by his son Joseph to Pharaoh.

On one side is seen the greatest monarch of the earth, sitting in proud and scornful grandeur: gorgeous robes envelop his person, and flow out in rich profusion around his throne. His attitude and countenance are repulsive in a high degree, and seem to express the infinite distance beneath him with which he regards the stranger in his presence, and he appears to tolerate the presence of one so humble only because he is Joseph's father.

On the king's right hand stands Joseph, tall, graceful, and of most benignant countenance. He is in Court dress, and shows a sense of the dignity of his position. But neither the rich drapery which envelops him, nor the presence of august majesty, can prevent the lively expressions of affection with which he looks upon his father, as the old man bows himself in lowly submission before the king. Jacob's white and flowing beard shows that he is an old man; while his head gives strong correspondent developments of his great character.

Joseph just waves his right hand gracefully toward Jacob, and with a countenance alive with the finest sentiments of filial affection, seems to say,—“may it please your august majesty, I present my venerable father.”

But we must leave this scene of unequalled moral beauty and grandeur, to look upon quite a different condition of the Hebrews in their Egyptian life, when at a subsequent period, a “king arose who knew not Joseph.”

The path of Providence in which we now find these events, will be made brighter by going back a little in the patriarchal history.

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob led a wandering life for many years, pitching their tents and pasturing their flocks where most convenient. But now the time and the circumstances of Jacob’s large and increasing family, called for a more permanent settlement—a home or country of their own, which as yet they never had.

The Abrahamic covenant guaranteed to the patriarchal race the possession of the land of Canaan. But Jacob, even when his family was too large to continue the migratory life, was in no situation to found a national existence, and still less so to conquer their promised land, and take possession of it. Their weakness would constantly expose them to attacks from neighboring tribes too powerful for them to resist. They must be placed somewhere, in some situation where they would be protected, and as their numbers rapidly increased, they would be learning those arts and acquiring habits of industry, which would be a foundation for their own national prosperity when the time should come for their settlement in the promised land. Where was such a place of security to be found? What nation then could, by its wisdom and prosperity, furnish the knowledge which the Hebrews needed? Obviously, Egypt was the only country where these could be obtained. The arts of husbandry, the mechanic arts, laws and government, might all be learned there in greater perfection, and with greater facility than they could be in any other country, as Egypt surpassed all other countries in the knowledge of arts, science and government.

But how was Jacob and his family to be placed in Egypt so as to gain the advantages of this knowledge? This question is not so easily solved as some might suppose, who reason from the facility with which emigration from one country to another is now practised. If we look at some of the religious and political difficulties which stood in the way of such an emigration, we shall find them absolutely insuperable.

In the first place, Egypt was an idolatrous nation; and Jacob with his family were worshippers of the true God: and secondly, the occupation of these Hebrews, being keepers and dealers in cattle, rendered them an abomination to the Egyptians: and thirdly, all strangers found in that country were suspected of being spies, as Joseph said to his brethren, "by the life of Pharaoh, ye are spies."

Politically and religiously considered, these obstacles rendered it impossible for Jacob's family to have made a settlement in Egypt under any other circumstances than those which the Divine Providence employed. Joseph was *sold by his brethren*, and carried into Egypt, and there sold again. But by a succession of the most singular providential occurrences, he was finally exalted to honor and influence in the nation, which at once opened the way for the introduction of all his family into that country without the sacrifice of their religion, or the relinquishment of their property, although it consisted in cattle. The land of Goshen was granted to them out of favor to Joseph. But the Hebrews greatly increased, and soon betook themselves to the various employments of the Egyptians, and learned the arts and sciences of that country.

Joseph's brethren have been severely censured for selling him, by all who take only a one-sided view of that case, and who see nothing in it but the painful separation of Joseph from his family, and the heartfelt grief of a doting father on account of the supposed death of his favorite son. The cruelty and wickedness of that unnatural act, as they deem it, seems to have no forgiveness, and monuments to their discredit have been raised by commentators and other writers upon the singular history of Jacob and his family.

But if those who so severely censure the act of Joseph's brethren would enlarge their views, and connect resulting

events with the selling of Joseph; if they would look at the wise counsel and sound policy which emanated from him, and saved Egypt in a great measure from the dire effects of a long famine, and look at the deliverance of his father's house from a similar calamity, and then onward to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt—the stupendous miracle of the Red Sea, thrown open for them to pass its otherwise impassable floods,—the constant miracles of the wilderness—the giving of the law,—the building of the temple,—the glory of Jerusalem, and the ten thousand incidents that have come out of that event, spreading themselves over the earth as the stars over the sky—would they then say, “better that Joseph had not been sold into Egypt?”

Here was a clear case of a people sent into a strange country, sent too in bondage, in order that they might become acquainted with those arts, and acquire general information upon those subjects which they would need information upon when they came to build up their own nation and occupy the station to which they were appointed in the covenant God made with their father Abraham.

In the history of no people does the direct and governing providence of God so strikingly appear, as it does in that of the people of Israel, and in no part of that history is this providence signalized more than in their state of bondage in Egypt, and their final emigration from that land.

While Joseph lived, and even after his death, so long as his fame and services remained in the memory of the court and in the grateful recollection of the people of that country, the Hebrews were allowed certain privileges, because they were the brethren of Joseph, and for his sake. But they never were on a footing of political equality with the Egyptians. In their best condition, politically, they were in no higher favor with the government and people, than the free negroes of this country are. The Hebrews never were *citizens* of Egypt, nor can the negro race ever become *citizens* of these United States, in the high *constitutional* meaning of the word *citizen*.

But those favors shown to the Hebrews out of regard to the memory of Joseph were not continued very long after

his death; for "another king arose who knew not Joseph." That is, the recollection of Joseph's wisdom and great services to the nation, at length became effaced from the memory of the government, and then his brethren ceased to be regarded in any other light than that of bondsmen and were so treated. Task-masters were appointed over them who rigorously exacted the full amount of labor.

Their numbers had increased so much that the government felt some fears that in case of an invasion of Egypt, this numerous and hardy class of people might join the invaders and overthrow the government. Stimulated by this apprehension, orders were given to increase their burdens still more. All this however had the tendency to loosen their attachment to Egypt and fit them for their departure when that time should arrive.

We now leave the Hebrews in their state of slavery, under oppressive task-masters, and turn to see the wonderful course of Providence, in providing them with a leader to conduct them out of Egypt, and lead them to their own country,—their own by promise to Abraham.

This is a new feature in the wonderful history of this wonderful people, and calls for a higher order of moral and intellectual qualification than had been necessary for any part of their previous history.

A leader eminently endowed with courage, faith, political sagacity, meekness and forbearance, was necessary in their future exigencies. There was no such man in all their families. They were too far removed from even the common liberty of the Egyptians to cultivate those high principles, and too much the subjects of oppressive authority, to be qualified for its proper and judicious exercise over others.

A leader had to be raised up, especially fitted for that high service. He must not be selected from the body of the Hebrews who had their principles, and prejudices, and habits, so firmly fixed, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to introduce any thing new into their minds. Their future leader must be taken in infancy, and removed from the sphere of ignorance, the prejudice, and the degraded moral feelings, which are always found associated, more or less,

with slavery. This is a very common consequence of long continued oppressive servitude; while, at the same time, the faculty of learning the ordinary mechanic arts, and skill in the various branches of agriculture, developes itself in a most wonderful manner.

It was under the inhuman directions given to the Egyptian midwives, to destroy all the male children of the Hebrews at their birth, that Moses was born,—and to escape the cruel jealousy of the Court, his parents prepared an ark of bulrushes, and placing their infant child in it, committed him to the Nile.

The dangers attending this aquatic resort were quite as great as those he was exposed to from the officers of Pharaoh. The voracious crocodile was the tyrant of that river, and scarcely any thing that was not too active for its sluggish movement, ever escaped its devouring jaws. The parents of Moses knew this; but they also knew that it was better to trust God than to confide in man. And if their child should fall a prey to the crocodile, they would escape the grief of witnessing the death which he would probably meet with at the hands of Pharaoh's spies.

But Providence had arranged every thing for the child's safety. He held fast the jaws of the crocodile until Pharaoh's daughter, with her maidens, came to the river for the purpose of ablution. Their attention was soon arrested by the singular appearance of the bulrush boat, and upon a nigher approach, they heard the infant cries of its solitary occupant.

The king's daughter felt the impulse of those emotions which distinguish the mother sex, and she commanded her maids to rescue the infant and bring it to her, resolving to adopt the forlorn, and, as she supposed, friendless child, as her own.

Moses was brought into the king's house, where he was trained and educated in the best possible manner, and upon the best authority it is said,—“And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and deeds.” Thus did Divine Providence provide a leader to conduct his people out of Egypt.

His instruction at that court qualified him not only to appear before the stern monarch of that voluptuous court, and demand the release of the people, but it further fitted him to govern and guide them in their journeyings—the history of which is full of the most trying and perplexing scenes that ever characterized the emigration of any people before or since. But the wisdom of Moses, his knowledge of law and government particularly, enabled him to reduce to order and bring into prosperous organization, elements the most discordant and revolutionary.

The Israelites never could have been conducted successfully out of Egypt, without those qualifications which Moses received in the court of Pharaoh; and can any one conceive of other circumstances than those already narrated, which could have brought him into that court? An offspring of those very Hebrews, whose male children had been cruelly doomed to death by order of the king, is taken into the king's house in the highest favor, caressed and honored, and educated in all the wisdom of Egypt! All this resulted from the tender feelings with which the king's daughter was affected when she saw the frail bulrush vessel floating on the Nile, and heard the infant cries of its helpless occupant. How wonderfully does God devise the means to bring about the purposes of His wisdom and mercy.

In the comparison which will be drawn between the Israelites in Egypt, and the African race in this country, it will be necessary to have some definite idea as to who it was that placed Joseph in Egypt.

The common opinion is, that it was entirely the act of his brethren, springing from a jealous and cruel purpose to destroy the favored child of their father.

But were his brethren entirely alone in this matter of disposing of Joseph? Was there no other influence exerting a controlling power over their minds? Were those dreams which symbolized his future pre-eminence over all his father's house, and which were so truly interpreted by his father, and feared by his brethren, nothing more than the idle visions of a feverish night dream?

These premonitions of his future greatness and political

distinction, were communicated to him by that Omniscience which was now taking the first step towards their fulfillment, and opening the wonderful drama, which resulted in the establishment of the Jewish nation, with all the concomitants of its glory and religion.

It was God foreshadowing the future to his servant Jacob, and showing him in these visions of truth, that his son Joseph was to be the instrument of raising his family to great eminence and glory.

The first purpose entertained by his brethren, which was to kill Joseph, if it had been carried out, would have frustrated the whole Providential plan, in relation to Jacob's family. This purpose, therefore, was overruled, and selling him was substituted in its place. This last step met the future designs of Providence; while it, at the same time, gratified the deep rooted jealousy his brethren had imbibed from his remarkable dreams. The conclusion is unavoidable, that it was the appointment of God which carried Joseph to Egypt. Indeed, Joseph said this himself; and surely his words may be taken as good evidence in a case in which he had more experience and a greater personal interest than any one else. Let us hear his declaration to his brethren, when they found themselves in the presence of Joseph, as governor of Egypt, bowing before him, and agitated with the apprehension, that their cruel treatment towards him, as they regarded it, would now be returned upon them with due severity. Seeing their trepidation, and well knowing the cause of it, he tells them in substance to dismiss their fears on that subject, adding—"for it was not you, but God who sent me into Egypt."

Indeed it is further evident, that this Egyptian life of the Hebrews was of God's direct appointment, by that he himself said to his servant Jacob, whose repugnance to living in a nation of idolaters was so great that, in order to reconcile him to it at all the Almighty was pleased to assure him that he "would make him a great nation there." Now it would be a most unreasonable interpretation of this saying, to suppose it meant that the Hebrews were to become a great nation in the midst of the Egyptian nation. They became very

numerous there it is true but in no sense could the term "a great nation" be applicable, to even a very numerous body of people, living in a state of bondage.

This promise to Jacob was evidently prospective and was to have its fulfillment at some future period of his posterity: its literal fulfillment was seen in the royal line of sovereigns beginning with Saul and descending through his successors. Solomon's reign presented a scene of national greatness unequaled by any other nation, and a royal court with whose splendor Egypt herself bore no comparison. But the knowledge and principles which ultimately produced this "great nation," were acquired in Egypt; were imbibed there by the Hebrews in a state of bondage.

The Israelites served in Egypt over two hundred years; so long did it require to work out of their moral and social constitution, the peculiarities which their early nomadic life had impressed upon them. Their wandering and solitary mode of life presented no motive of a generous and lofty nature, and called for the exercise of no higher faculties than what was necessary to protect and increase their flocks. Stubborn tempers, selfish principles, and cruel vindictive passions must have been their characteristics. All these had to be changed, or at least greatly modified, before they could become the founders of the great nation which God had promised he would make of Jacob, and this required the training, pruning and labor of two hundred years, to fit the people to uphold the institutions of civil government, and to apply the principles of moral and social law to the duties and interests of every-day life.

There was no country but Egypt, capable of instructing and molding the Hebrew character. In Egypt alone was to be found that intelligence, and refinement, blended with the most extensive knowledge and practice of the various arts, and the cultivation of science, which could take them out of their original uncouth and uncultivated habits and give their passions and principles a new direction.

Left to follow their own inclinations, the Hebrews would have followed their pastoral habits without any regard to improvement.

But they were not free to do just as they liked ; their condition was *involuntary servitude*, and although a portion of them were no doubt in places of honor and trust, the far greater part were in absolute bondage.

But as this mingled state of society—Israelite and Egyptian in one nation was not to be permanent, it may be supposed that frequent occurrences would arise, pointing to the necessity of a separation at some future period.

The first occurrence of this kind which we find in the history of their Egyptian bondage, after the death of Joseph, is that in which apprehensions are expressed of dangers to the nation in case of an invasion, as in such an event, the Israelites would in all probability join the invaders. From this intimation of danger from that quarter, it is manifest that a settled hostile feeling towards the Egyptians must have been felt and freely expressed on the part of the Israelites.

This hostility made itself known in the change every where observable in the manner and conduct of that people. They were no longer the obedient docile servants they once were, they had become stubborn and insolent, more disposed to resist authority than submit to it as they once did.

In order to check and suppress this growing spirit of rebellion, resort was had to measures of great severity. Task-masters were appointed over the people with orders to exact the utmost amount of labor and to allow them no indulgences, knowing that idleness amongst a great body of half instructed people is a dangerous and fruitful element of insubordination. This dangerous tendency of ignorance and idleness combined, appears to have been better understood by the rulers of Egypt than it is by people of the present day, although they claim a much higher civilization than is usually accorded to the Egyptians.

The fact that there must be an entire separation of the Israelites from the Egyptian nation became more manifest by the increased frequency of such occurrences as were calculated to increase mutual ill feeling, and produce personal collisions. To the mind of the sagacious and thoughtful such occurrences were, no doubt, well understood and were re-

garded by them as ominous of a separation of the two races of people.

It appears that the rulers of Egypt resorted to every means, even the most cruel, to subdue the growing animosity of the Israelites and retain them in Egypt in order to profit by their services. Among those means were the increase of daily labor and the direction given to the midwives to destroy the male children of the Hebrews.

It was under this state of extreme ill feeling between the Israelites and Egyptians, that Moses was born, who was the appointed leader of the people in their exodus from Egypt. His qualifications for this important duty, as far as human learning went, was acquired, as has been already stated, in the court of Pharaoh. But the honors and wealth which were conferred upon him by his connection with royalty, could not extinguish the ardent affections he entertained for his oppressed brethren. This feeling was manifested upon an occasion in which an Egyptian inflicted some act of cruelty upon one of his brethren, seeing which Moses slew the Egyptian. He was compelled in consequence of this act to flee the country. All connection with the court, as well as the country, was now dissolved, and Moses became a wanderer in the wilderness to which he had fled for safety.

But this too was a link in the wonderful chain of Providence which continually guarded the Israelites, since it was here that Moses was summoned to the Mount Horeb, to receive from God himself his appointment, and instructions as his ambassador to the court of Pharaoh to demand the release of the Israelites and to conduct them to the land given to them by covenant with their father Abraham.

The time had now arrived for this event, and a new epoch was now to mark the history of the children of Jacob. They had served the Egyptians under a protracted bondage, and in their turn they had received the benefits of knowledge and experience in civilization which made them in their intellectual and social powers quite a different people from what they were when they came into that country. They had been sifted through two hundred years of their successive generations, until the selfish and contracted principles of their for-

mer nomadic life was pretty well winnowed out of them, and they were now ready to leave Egypt, and enter upon a new theatre of life in which they were to be the founders of that great nation which God promised Jacob he would make of him in Egypt.

But Egypt was not willing for the separation. The long bondage of the Israelites had identified them with the country as slaves; a right of property to whom, was vested in the master.

Their services in agriculture, and the ordinary handicraft employments, had rendered them very valuable auxiliaries to the Egyptians, and every thing that Moses urged about the command of God to "let these people go," was treated by the Egyptians as a delusion and altogether hypocritical. This was natural and excusable. The Egyptians of those days lived too remote from the time of Joseph to have any idea of who the Hebrews were when they came into their country; they knew them only as the bondmen or slaves of the country. And more than this they had no knowledge of God, and of course, all that Moses urged as being the command of God was regarded by them as nonsense, until the judgments which followed changed their opinions in the matter. It should be remarked that Egypt was not charged by Moses with being guilty of crime for keeping the Israelites in bondage! There was no judgment upon the land on that account. Their whole offence consisted in refusing to let them go when God by Moses commanded them saying, "let my people go." Their refusal to comply, brought upon the land judgments which shook Egypt with terror.

The history of the Israelites in Egypt has now been brought down as far as is necessary for the purpose which I have in view; only a few general remarks will be added on that subject.

The first step in this Egyptian life, was a state of *slavery!* Joseph was sold by his *brethren*, to men who traded with that country. And in the next place it must be admitted that it was well known to the divine Providence which placed the family of Jacob in Egypt that their posterity must necessarily be in bondage under that government—that a state of free-

dom, or equality with the Egyptians was a political impossibility, and that all the advantages which it was intended the Israelites should derive from remaining in Egypt would have to be obtained in a state of slavery.

These conclusions are unavoidable from the fact already stated; that Egypt suffered no plague as a consequence of her having kept the Israelites in bondage.

Moses was not commanded to denounce the divine displeasure against Egypt on that account, but simply to demand the release of the Israelites, in the language of his instructions,—“let my people go!” The refusal to comply with this demand was the cause of the plagues which followed, none of which would have been experienced by Egypt, nor would her mighty hosts have been engulfed in the Red Sea if this demand had been promptly and generously complied with.

A state of slavery, or involuntary servitude was necessary to the ends, or designs of Providence in placing the Israelites in Egypt; without it they would not have acquired the experience and knowledge necessary to make them the founders of a great nation.

Egypt was ignorant of the true God. They had no knowledge of the divine government over men; they lived in gross idolatry, but were at the same time the most refined and philosophic nation on earth; distinguished above all others in the knowledge of the various arts and sciences.

But with all this wisdom Egypt was incapable of reasoning upon the subject which then agitated the whole nation. The giving up of the great body of Israelitish slaves upon the demand of Moses, was something so far beyond their comprehension of right or duty, that they obstinately resisted.

They were wholly ignorant of any interference of the divine being with the destiny of nations and were unable to comprehend how it was that a people who had lived in Egypt, as slaves for two hundred years, should now be called upon to depart, by their God, and remove to another country! The whole thing looked to them as nothing but a scheme which Moses was trying to impose upon them for his

own advantage, and nothing but the terror of increasing plagues at length brought them to submission.

Here we have most clearly presented to us a case, in which the providence of God is seen employed in preparing a people for their future national greatness and prosperity, by placing them in a state of pupilage, or bondage to another nation to be taught those principles of law and government, as well as the arts and sciences, the knowledge of which was indispensable to their future national greatness. And this course of procedure is precisely that which is of every day practice among men. Parents place their children in a state of bondage to others to learn the art and mystery of that particular trade, or profession they wish them to follow. The service so long as the state of pupilage continues is involuntary; and he who is bound has no option to do or not do; he must obey his master, he is in bondage. Disinclination to labor is natural, especially with young people, and if they are left to serve and work, or not, as they like, two or three generations would witness a great falling off in the mechanic arts and other useful and necessary occupations among men.

The Israelites lived in Egypt until their generations had imbibed the civilization of that nation. The arts and sciences and the principles of law and government which had been impressed upon them, became easy of practice and improvement in their future life, and they were now prepared to leave Egypt, and commence in the land of Canaan the existence of that great nation which God promised Jacob, when he went into Egypt, he would make of his posterity.

Two hundred years residence in Egypt in a state of bondage had left the people of that country with no other idea than that the slavery of the Israelites was to be perpetual; that they were held by a right as inviolable, as the right by which they held their lands and cattle, and the history of their separation at last, shows with what obstinacy the Egyptians held to their opinion of their rights.

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

THE condition of the African race in this country is strikingly analogous to that of the Israelites in Egypt, and the coincident circumstances rendering slavery necessary in both cases are remarkable. These will be seen in the progress of this subject.

The African race possess a country wholly destitute of civilization; ignorance and barbarism are its characteristics, nor has it within itself any means of improvement, or capability of originating means of improvement.

Nature, by the climate she has given to Africa seems to have interdicted the intermingling of other people with that nation; so that the white man cannot breathe its air without inhaling pestilence. It is dangerous to his health to spend a night upon her shores and almost certain death to attempt a residence there beyond a very short stay.

Travelers, it is true, have gone into Africa and have penetrated her dark and poisonous recesses to a great extent, and in some instances have escaped the deadly influence of her climate. But such instances are rare, and form an exception to the general rule, which is death to the white man who attempts to acclimate himself in Africa.

From this fact it will at once be seen that the ordinary means employed by christian benevolence to enlighten the heathen, cannot be made available in Africa. The missionary cannot live there and perform the duties of his calling. Fever assails him in the outset of his labors, and death, with very few instances of exception, is sure to follow.

Christianity looks in vain for a stand-point in Africa where her missionaries and ministers may raise her standard and call the benighted dwellers in that land, to the light of the gospel. All is darkness, barbarism and pestilence.

If this wilderness is ever to blossom as the rose, and these solitary places are to rejoice, the great change must be effected by other means than those usually employed to convert the heathen. Missionaries cannot be sent to Africa, without the almost certain loss of life; no systematic plan for civilizing and regenerating Africa can be devised, which requires the presence of white men there, that can be successful; her case is hopeless upon any of the ordinary means of saving the heathen.

But still the civilization of Africa, and giving her the saving knowledge of the christian religion, is just as practicable as it is to give these blessings to any other nation. All that is necessary is to reverse the mode of operation, and instead of going into Africa, bring Africa into this country, and here teach her children civilization and christianity.

But, speaking as if this were a subject now for the first time presented to the christian mind, the question would necessarily arise—"How can the people of Africa be induced to emigrate to this country, of which they know nothing at all? Will they voluntarily leave the wild freedom of their native land; the exciting sports of the tiger-chase, the furious battle of tribe against tribe, to live in a land and among a people wholly unknown to them for the promised advantages of civilized life?" No! he could not be made to understand how any other situation could be better than that he occupies in his own country.

There is but one way to bring the African mind under the light of civilization, and that is by slavery. Some portion of her people must be sold and carried into a country where this civilization will be all around them, and will be in every thing they engage in: It was just in this way that the Israelites gained their knowledge of art, science and government. Joseph was sold by his brethren, and was carried into a strange country. And the African must go through the same course of treatment in order to bring his country to the enjoyment of civilization.

This is precisely what has been done with some of the African race; they have been sold by their brethren to the trader, who brought them to this country as slaves. And as

Egypt was the only country in which the Israelites could obtain suitable instruction for their future national greatness, so these United States is the only country where the African race can be properly educated and trained in the habits, pursuits and arts suited to their own country. The cotton, rice, sugar; staples of our Southern States, are all congenial with the African soil and climate. But in addition to these, they become acquainted with the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco, corn and wheat. In short by the great variety and extent of agriculture in this country, the African is fitted for the most extensive and prosperous cultivation of his native lands. The common mechanic arts, too, in which many of them are instructed, will afford great facilities in providing dwellings of various kinds, from the log cabin up to a respectable domicile; and in no other country could the African be so well instructed in practical christianity, as he is in this country. So that the great advantages derived from his residence here, as a preparatory step to the future improvement of his own country, seems to force upon the mind the conviction that African Slavery in the United States is the appointment of Providence, and that the wise purposes entertained for Africa's future greatness, cannot be accomplished without this state of Slavery.

This opinion I know will meet with no favor from men of ultra anti-slavery principles. They will be ready to denounce the writer and his opinions without hesitation, for his daring presumption in attempting to connect the purposes of God with the slavery of men. But I hope such men will be patient and hear with candor, the facts and reasons which I shall submit in support of this opinion, especially when I assure them that I am not, and never was a slaveholder.

I ask, as preliminary to the facts and arguments which I shall produce on this subject, whether they believe it is the purpose of God to give Africa the blessings of civilization and christianity? If they believe this, I ask them to say how these are to be secured to Africa in any other way than that already suggested; namely, by bringing some of the inhabitants of that land into this country, where their generations may be improved, civilized and christianized, and fitted to be

instructors of their own race in Africa. If these positions be admitted, then the way is open to argue the question of slavery fairly and openly. We must not look for miracles to accomplish the regeneration of Africa. We are not to expect to see the barbarous negro suddenly converted into an enlightened christian, nor the ferocious war-bands, which hunt each other with murderous intent, all at once throwing aside their war clubs, and assuming the patient industry of successful agriculturists, or skillful mechanics. This change will have to be brought about by proper means ; such means and such time for their application as the case calls for.

Now, suppose any number of native Africans were brought to this country and turned loose ; left at liberty to acquire the advantages proposed, or not, just as their inclination might lead them ; is it rational to suppose that they would accomplish anything of permanent advantage to themselves in the way of moral and social improvement ? Does any one suppose that their natural indolence and barbarous principles would give way to the submission and industry necessary to their improvement and instruction ? that their stubborn and vicious propensities could be so subdued and controlled by their own self-government, as to bring them under subordination and proper government, without the exercise of authority which should be paramount and irrespective of their own will ?— In a word, if they had been left to do as they might choose, would the natural degradation of their African character have ever become so improved and elevated as to fit them to instruct their own countrymen in the arts and pursuits of civilization ; the principles of civil government, and the duties of christianity ? A very slight acquaintance with the native African disposition, temper and habits, will give an unqualified negative to these questions. Authority, then, compulsive authority, exercised without regard to the will of the man, is indispensable. Involuntary servitude, or slavery, is the unavoidable price of African civilization. The hopes of Christian philanthropy for the regeneration of Africa, would be the idle phantom of a dream without the existence of African slavery in this country, and just as impossible of realization, as Jacob's hopes of his posterity becoming a

great nation, would have been without their long servitude and slavery in Egypt.

If we listen to the teachings of a half enlightened humanity, or the suggestions of a morbid Christianity, on this subject, we shall have to condemn almost all the measures employed by Divine Providence in the exercise of his authority over man, to bring him to submission to that government in which his own best interests are involved.

It is not unfrequent that slavery is denounced by very good people as a sin in the sight of heaven,—a wickedness so shocking as to be without excuse or palliation. And they point to the orderly upright conduct of many slaves, and appeal to their conscientious and religious character, as proof of the heinousness of an institution which keeps such people in bondage.

This is the dim and distorted medium through which slavery is looked at by those who are most clamorous in reprobating it. They seem to dismiss all reasoning, all philosophy, and all teaching on the subject of Divine Providence in governing man and nations, and come suddenly to conclusions without looking at all at the necessary connection of cause and effect. The facts which are thus produced as an argument against the morality and humanity of slavery, are the very facts which go to establish both! I ask, where these upright and excellent characters amongst the African race in our country came from? do they not owe their existence to slavery? these are the very fruits which the African enjoys as a consequence of his bondage. They are precisely the effects, which that condition of the African was designed to produce. Where are the instances of any such improvement, where that race has been left in a wild uncontrolled state? The fact cannot be denied by persons who look at this subject philosophically, that all the civilization, all the social and religious improvement of the African race in this country rests upon slavery as its foundation. Each succeeding generation has presented a higher tone of moral feeling, better and more practical views of christianity and a more perfect knowledge of the mechanic arts, and the duties and refinements of social life; thus giving evidence of a progres-

sive and improving fitness for the important duties of teachers of their own people in their own country,—in a word, to carry civilization and christianity into Africa.

When we see this great change produced in the African race in this country, and then look to the Western coast of their former home, and see the rising star of Africa's future greatness, in the Republic of Liberia, and consider that this too is the offspring of their slavery here, are we justified in denouncing slavery as a sin, hateful in the sight of God, and disgraceful to this country?

But the progress of civilization with a race so benighted, superstitious and cruel as the African race is, must necessarily be very slow. Generation after generation must pass before their constitutional malady can be fully reached and overcome, and before the tone and temper of their minds can be imbued with new and better influences. The means of instruction must be practical too, not employed occasionally, and at long intervals, but there must be a constant course of hard laborious toil, until the old vicious nature is worked down, and new principles, dispositions and habits, are raised upon it. This has been done in the negro race in this country to a remarkable extent.

But these effects do not strike society with any force, because they are familiar to us, we do not consider what these people were when they were brought to this country, and we are very much in the habit of regarding the present improved moral and social habits of the negro as something natural to him. But if we could place our highly improved colored people by the side of as many Africans in their wild savage state, we should then be able to appreciate the wonderful change which has been produced by civilization: and being convinced that this great change never could have been produced in them without the state of slavery, we should at once admit that no other condition of the African race in this country would have been the dictate of humanity.

I am prepared to expect the stoutest opposition to these views, because, as it will be said, they refer the institution of slavery with all its crimes and cruelties to the appointment of God. To a certain extent my views are liable to this objec-

tion. I admit that they ascribe the institution of slavery to the appointment of God, just as he appointed the Israelites to dwell in Egypt in a state of bondage.

Joseph declared to his brethren, after he was made known to them, that it was God who sent him into Egypt, and they had nothing to reproach themselves with in that matter. And to reconcile Jacob to a life where his eyes must behold such gross idolatry, God gave him to understand that he and his posterity must dwell in Egypt in order to their becoming a great nation.—“I will make of thee a great nation there.”

All this clearly implies pre-appointment—fore-ordaining of events not yet known. But the objector answers, no! it was not the appointment of God which placed the Israelites in a state of bondage, or slavery, in Egypt; it was his overruling providence, bringing good out of evil, using the evil designs of men to bring about, ultimately, a great good which they never intended.

Admitting as I do the constant and wonderful exhibitions of God's overruling providence, in counteracting man's purposes, and producing a great good where man intended only evil, I still do not allow that such a providence supercedes, or controls his almighty sovereignty! He raiseth up one nation and casteth down another by such means as his infinite wisdom sees fit, without regard to any act or purpose of man. If man's ignorance and cupidity, or cruelty, must take the initiative in all those great events which work out the civilization of a barbarous and benighted nation, or in raising up a people not before known, to become a great and powerful nation, then it follows that God's Omniscience and Omnipotence as well as his benignity must depend for their exercise upon the caprice and evil inclinations of man! that his overruling providence, must remain in a state of quietude until man, stumbles on, producing in his ignorance nothing but confusion and crime, then the overruling providence of God takes out of his hands the work he had commenced and produces the best results from it, even the civilization of a nation or the raising up of one not before known. Will it be contended that results which illustrate before the eyes of the world, the justice, or the mercy and greatness of God, are

dependent upon the caprice of man for their accomplishment? That man must take the first step—must do some act whether evil or good in the opinion of the world, before the overruling providence of God can move at all in bringing about the great ends to which they ultimately reach. I do not hold such opinions of the overruling providence of God.

In answer to the objection, that my views of the institution of slavery in this country, refers it with all the cruelty and inhumanity connected with it to the appointment of God, I say that slavery simply considered does not necessarily involve cruelty and inhumanity! Wherever these are found, they are produced either by an inordinate thirst for gain, or the ungoverned passions of masters. Will any one deny that involuntary servitude may exist without the exercise of cruelty upon the slave? The laws of those very States in which slavery exists in this country are severe in their punishments of inhumanity towards a slave! Such laws would be very absurd if slavery cannot exist without inhumanity. Still unnecessary severity and often great cruelty are frequently practiced upon slaves. But the authors of such treatment of slaves are held accountable for it, both to God and man. The slavery that I contend for as necessary to the best interests of the African race, recognises no cruelty, no kind of inhumanity; no more than the Christian religion recognises as its offspring, the wrongs and persecutions and cruelties which have been practiced in the name of Christianity.

Slavery has its inconveniences and its hardships, and the subjects of it often have to submit to privations and changes both mortifying and distressing: and almost all the evils and misfortunes which befall people, in a state of slavery, are at once ascribed to their condition; forgetful that evils and misfortunes, if not of the same kind yet quite as great, often befall men who never were in slavery.

But how can it be supposed that the deep degradation of the African race, their ferocious and revengeful tempers; their treacherous and cruel dispositions, are ever to become so tamed and subdued as to fit them for a state of civilization, self-government, and the social and rational enjoyments of life without the inconvenience of a rigid discipline and an

inflexible authority exercised over them, without the consent of their own will? Civilization would be impossible with them if they were left to the choice of the means necessary to effect it. And indeed this remark is just as applicable to civilized life. Where are the young men who if left to their own will would choose to be bound out, or apprenticed, to learn some pursuit of life? There are but few whose inclinations would lead them voluntarily to submit to the hardships and privations of the apprenticeship state; they are placed in it by an authority superior to their own will, and a discipline which leaves them no choice in the matter.

But let us not lose sight of the position we started out with; namely, that the Israelites were placed in Egypt only to prepare and qualify them for the national existence which they were afterwards to enjoy in the land given to Abraham as a possession for his posterity; and that the African race were brought to this country for the purpose of education and training, to receive that sort of general instruction and knowledge in the mechanic arts and general agriculture, religion and government, which will qualify them to become efficient agents in civilizing their own country. These objects being answered and when new principles and habits are wrought into their constitution and practice, then the state of pupilage ceases; the condition of involuntary servitude comes to an end.

THE END OF SLAVERY.

LET no one suppose that I have any sectional prejudice, any local or party bias to gratify in submitting these views on this subject. The delicate and exciting nature of the subject I am well aware of. Its political complexity, and the fearful agitation which its discussion has given rise to would prove a sufficient warning against any unnecessary and provoking imputations in treating of its history and its purpose, even if I were disposed to indulge in any such provocation. The ground I take is one that lifts the subject of slavery above the mere local interests and excited passions which generally embarrass its discussion as a political question.

I wish to compose all hostile feelings, all crimination and recrimination, and persuade men to look at the African race in this country, in the light only of moral instruments which Providence is preparing for great and important purposes in the future history of their own country. I wish them to look at Africa as she is; the habitation of darkness and cruelty; and then look at her children in this country, separated from her for awhile but to return to her again bearing in their hands the lights of civilization and the consolations of the Christian religion.

This view of the subject would greatly tend to soothe the irritation and overcome the animosities which have done so much mischief in breaking asunder the ties of Christian fellowship, and even shaking, almost to separation, the union of these States. Let us then look at the subject in a calm and dispassionate manner.

African slavery in this country, as I have already said, I regard as the appointment of God, and altogether consistent with his sovereignty and righteous government over men and nations, and it will continue to be consistent with righteous-

ness, until the time appointed for its change ; then the continuation of slavery will become a moral wrong, because it will oppose the designs of Providence in relation to the African race.

That African slavery was not designed to be perpetual in this country, is a fact, which the history of its effects most distinctly teaches. Its political and social developments, from time to time, give evidence, that it cannot be incorporated with, and become identified with, our civil and social institutions ; and these developments warn us that it is an element of danger to our peace and safety, as a nation, and which requires to be dealt with, not with any view to its permanency, but as an inconvenience, and sometimes an evil, which in due time will be entirely removed from us.

The social and domestic, but chiefly the political evils inseparable from a state of African slavery, have not failed altogether, to produce this conviction upon the minds of some slaveholders, who are glad of the opportunity presented by the indefatigable efforts of the Colonization Society, in preparing a suitable place for the reception of emancipated slaves ; to give their slaves their freedom, as well as pecuniary aid to reach a home in Liberia.

But still a great majority of slaveholders will not be easily convinced that there can be in the purposes of Providence any limitation to Slavery. And their determination not to believe in any such purpose, will be made more unyielding by the harsh imputations and offensive criminations, heaped upon them by Abolitionists.

If the slaveholder were reproached for the severity, and indeed, the cruelty which he too frequently inflicts upon his slaves, it would be right to reproach him. He stands condemned, not by the principles of humanity only, but by the laws of his own State. The sentiment of the South is opposed to cruelty, to the oppressive and unkind treatment of slaves, and this sentiment is heard in their own laws, denouncing all acts of cruelty to slaves. The civilization and humanity of the South are indicated by their own laws.

But a proper distinction should be drawn between the wanton and unnecessary severity with which slaves are often

treated, and the institution of slavery itself. Stript of all its real and imaginary suffering, the institution itself would not meet, as it now does, with the unqualified anathemas of its opponents.

But I am dwelling unnecessarily upon this point, it has been already under notice.

An end to slavery in this country as a purpose of Divine Providence, places it upon quite a different ground from that upon which it is placed by those who regard it as a great moral evil, which they would remedy by universal emancipation.

If what I have said in respect of the Providential appointment of slavery, is true, it is clear that a general emancipation, before the fulness of time for that event, would defeat the designs of Providence. It would take the slave out of that state of pupilage which is indispensable to his becoming qualified for the great service he is to render his own country hereafter, while at the same time it will not at all improve his moral, political or social condition. Politically speaking, the free negro in this country, enjoys no more real freedom than the slave does. He never entertains the thought of filling any of the important offices of this government, and although the theory is held in some very restricted sections of our country, of the right of negroes to vote, and enjoy all the political rights of the white man, yet when the time comes when this theory will be attempted to be brought into practice it will be found wholly impracticable. There never can be that social and political congeniality between the two races, which such an identity of rights and immunities supposes.

Neither the social or moral condition of the slave, is, generally speaking, improved by emancipation. He has to struggle for a living against the superior skill and advantages of the white man, and rarely succeeds in gaining more than a very stinted supply to meet his daily wants. Sloth, destitution and ignorance is the usual condition of the mass of free negroes. The exceptions to this general aspect of their state are very few. The slave of a humane master is infinitely better off, so far as his personal wants and comforts are concerned.

Emancipation then does no good to the African, if he is to remain where he must ever submit to a state of inferiority and degradation, and moreover it conflicts with the designs of Providence in placing him in a state of slavery.

If Africans had been liberated as fast as they were brought to these shores and allowed the free indulgence of their natural indolence, and vicious inclinations, or if they had been returned to Africa without civilization, and some fitness for general improvement, there could remain no hope for the civilization of Africa! Civilization and the blessings of the Christian religion, must be carried to Africa by her own children, from this country and they never could have become the efficient agents, capable of conferring such a boon upon their own country, without the institution of Slavery.

Regarding this as the destiny of the African race in this country, slavery presents itself in a two-fold aspect. In the first place it obliges the slave to labor, and to learn; whereby both his physical and intellectual powers are cultivated and he acquires a fitness for the future work of redeeming his country from ignorance and barbarism, and in the second place it inclines his mind towards Africa and keeps his native country more in his thoughts as the home of his posterity. The more enlightened he becomes, the less will he desire to identify his existence with a country where his lot must ever be degradation or slavery. In such a state he must naturally look with a lively interest upon any plan which presents to him the situation of independence, where he will be the maker of the laws which govern him, and where the civil and social relations of life are under his own direction.

Such a state as this, contrasted with his inferior and excluded position in this country would, when he becomes fully capable of appreciating the benefits of such a change, inevitably decide his choice in favor of returning to his own country. This is precisely the effect which the degradation and bondage of the Israelites produced upon their minds, and led them to undertake the arduous journey of the wilderness with all its perils, to reach the promised Canaan.

If the Israelites had been placed upon an equality in every respect, with the Egyptians, nothing that Moses and Aaron

could have said to them concerning the land of promise—its luxuriance flowing with milk and honey, and all the political advantages of a distinct national existence would have induced them to forsake Egypt.

Looking at the African race in this country in the same light as I do the Israelites, while they dwelt in Egypt, is it not equally certain that their return to Africa would be impossible, if they possessed all the rights of the white man, and enjoyed all the advantages of social life, which give society its pleasures in this country? Whatever tends to fix the purpose of the African to cleave to this country, just so far hinders the purposes of Providence, and defeats the great design of African civilization. The accomplishment of this design, depends upon the return to their native land, of those whose generations in this country have undergone the moral and intellectual change, which fits them for the work of reclaiming their countrymen, and teaching them the arts of civilization, and the doctrines and duties of the christian religion.

The chief hindrance to this fulfilment of the purpose of Providence just now is emancipation, which is in fact the engrossing object of the slave, and the ultimate good which abolitionists propose to confer upon him.

That the slave should think of nothing higher, as necessary to his earthly happiness, but emancipation, is not surprising, but that abolitionists who are so much better instructed in the principles of civil liberty, should propose no higher good for the slave than the free negro system, is amazing.

This emancipation, or freedom, as it is called, is a mere mockery, a downright delusion. It confers no political or social advantage upon the man, nor does it secure to him any greater respect from persons in a higher station, than was paid to him while he was a slave, his moral character being equal in both conditions. It gives him the right of course to stroll about from place to place, to live in vice and ignorance and idleness, cut off from the attention and care of those who, while he was a slave felt it both their duty and their interest to provide for and supply his wants, and instruct his mind, and surround him with the comforts of humanity.

This is the condition of far the greater portion of those who have their freedom, and it is obvious that they are in no way benefited by it. So that emancipation, generally speaking, is a positive evil to the negro, and takes him out of the plan which Providence has fixed for his ultimate good. Nothing would so effectually destroy the African race in this country, in their morality and their prospects of improvement, and future welfare, as an immediate and universal act of emancipation. Nothing that the most zealous advocates for negro freedom could ask, if all were granted that they propose, would raise the African to a state of equality with the white man. There would still be two orders of people in the country,—a higher and a lower order, one of superiority and the other of degradation.

This line of distinction between the two races is as clearly drawn in the free states as it is in the slave states. It is the great gulf which Providence has placed between the two races, admonishing us that we never can become one; and tells us in language not to be misunderstood; “these are to go away and carry to their own benighted land, the civilization and christianity, which you white people enjoy in this country.”

THE TIME OF THEIR DEPARTURE.

THE point is now reached in this investigation which involves the great question that has to be decided by this country, namely, "has the time arrived for the African race to leave this country and return to the land of their fathers?" This is the question upon which turns the whole matter of right or wrong, as to slavery. Thus far I have attempted to show that slavery is the true—the appropriate condition of the African while in this country; that it is not only consistent with the purposes of Providence in placing him here, but is necessary to the completion of those purposes. All the animosity and denunciation which have marked the controversy between the North and South on this subject, have been premature and have not reached the true question. The true question is, not whether slavery, as it exists in this country, is a moral evil—a sin! but whether the time has come when in the purposes of Providence it should cease! If that time has not come, emancipation unconditional and general, would be as great a wrong,—as much a moral evil, as the continuation of slavery would be after that period shall have arrived.

Emancipation, free-soilism and free-negroism, all signify the same thing in fact, and all imply a condition of the African people which will present a great obstacle in the way of their return to Africa.

In proof of this we have only to refer to the latest statistics of the Republic of Liberia, where it is stated, if I mistake not, that three-fourths of the population of that infant Republic are persons from slave States, emancipated upon condition of going direct to Africa. This fact is an argument unanswerable in favor of slavery, as the best state to secure the emigration of the negro race to Liberia. The slave is

willing to go in order to secure and enjoy a state of respectability and true freedom, while the free population choose to remain in this country and take such chances of living as his degraded and mock-freedom condition affords. The people who went right out of slavery to the Colony are now enjoying prosperity and true freedom; many of them are wealthy, and successfully engaged in commerce, agriculture, and the mechanic arts. This is a very different picture of the slave returned to his native country, from that presented by the free negro who remains here in ignorance, idleness and consequent poverty. But I am wandering from the question stated, "has the time arrived when the African race should be sent back to their own country?" Who shall answer this question? There are but few among the slaveholders, and none at all among the ultra abolitionists, who can bring to its consideration the candid and rational investigation necessary to arrive at a proper decision. The one will listen to nothing that proposes to separate his slaves from *his* authority, and he will treat all that can be said about the purposes of Providence in relation to the African race in this country as mere fanaticism; while the other vehemently demands immediate and unconditional emancipation! If only these two parties had the management of this subject it is easy to perceive that not a step could ever be taken towards the civilization of Africa. But fortunately this is not the case. This is a Christian country. Its institutions are based upon the revealed will of God, and there are multitudes in this land who will carefully and religiously examine this question, and will decide it according to the honest convictions of their judgment.

All are familiar with the means which God employed to notify Pharaoh that the period had arrived when the Israelites must be released from their bondage and permitted to go to the country appointed for them. Those means were such as the Egyptians required. They were wholly ignorant of God—knew nothing of his overruling providence and his government of the nations of the earth. They required just such a notification of God's will as was given by Moses and Aaron.—"Let my people go," was the demand which these

ambassadors made of the haughty monarch ; and his refusal was followed by those plagues and judgments which finally compelled him to submission.

But the moral relation which we hold to the Deity,—our knowledge of his law, and his moral government over men ; give us a facility in ascertaining the path of duty, without any such direct and personal commands as were addressed to Pharaoh.

Politicians and men largely engaged in commercial pursuits, are very astute in discovering those circumstances which the ever-changing course of human events constantly bring up, either favorable or unfavorable to their schemes ; they closely watch the signs of the times. Christ rebuked the Jews for their want of discernment of the moral signs which clearly, to an observant mind, indicated the fulfillment of the prophecies of their own scriptures : “Ye can discern the face of the sky ; but can ye not discern the signs of the times !” The duty of observing providential events, as they arise in the course of human governments is manifest from these words of our Saviour. There are signs which cursorily observed present nothing more than a political aspect, but when closely looked at under the light of revelation, they will be found to connect themselves with the great purposes of Providence, and are the footsteps of some forthcoming event connected with the government of God over men.

By “signs of the times,” we understand in a general way the developments of an overruling and guiding Providence in the affairs of the world.

In those countries where the Christian religion is unknown, or where infidelity scoffs at the teachings of a divine overruling Providence, nothing is known, nothing is believed of these developments of Providence. But from Christians, who have duly considered the dispensations of Providence, and have diligently applied themselves to the cultivation of the knowledge and instruction which the Bible imparts ; those to whom the words of our Saviour, which he spoke to his disciples on a certain occasion, may be properly addressed, “to you it is given to know the mysteries of the

kingdom of God ;” from such very different views are to be expected.

Looking at the African race in this country under the belief that it is the purpose of God to restore them to their own country, we ask ourselves the question, “What are likely to be the signs that will indicate that the time for this restoration has arrived, or is nigh at hand ?”

In looking for those signs, we are not to look for anything miraculous ;—nothing calculated to amaze or confound us ; but we are to expect that circumstances natural and appropriate, to that end, will gradually unfold themselves, and in their progress, will strike out new lights, and bring about new events, pointing to the great result as necessary and unavoidable.

In the first place, then, we might reasonably look for a change in the feelings and bearing of the colored people towards the whites. Those who once toiled and served in quiet submission to the white man’s authority, will become restless, dissatisfied and unwilling to obey that authority.—Where their general deportment had been deferential and civil, they will become indifferent, obstinate and uncivil; and if they serve at all, it will be in such a way, as will make their service anything but agreeable ;—doing nothing in a cheerful and obliging manner, but reluctantly, heedlessly and defiant.

These are not merely occasional cases of ill temper, or a stubborn will, but its universality distinguishes it as a new phase in the moral and social relation of the African to the white man.

It does not alter the case at all to say that this strong tendency to insubordination has grown out of the improvement of the negro character,—the bettering of his social and civil condition, his higher views and even his aspirations towards a nobler condition or rank in the scale of human life. This is the very result which slavery will produce. The slave is in constant contact with those circumstances which surround him and which must inevitably improve his moral and intellectual character, which at once dissatisfies him with his degraded state and fits him for the important service he is to

render to his own country when he returns to it. It is a spirit of independence produced in his mind by the very improvement which his condition in this country forces upon him. This change in the disposition of the colored man is seen equally in the free man, and in the slave. In the slave states there is a perpetual effort to break away from servitude, and in the free states, this same spirit of independence finds no other mode of expressing itself than in the insolence and disrespect which free negroes seem glad of an opportunity to show to white people.

All this is evidence of a growing feeling of antagonism which will not admit of the two races living together, and it is at the same time a sign of the times indicating the nigh approach of the period when there must be a final separation of the races.

But a more distinct and impressive sign is seen in the political agitation, which has for several years threatened the most disastrous consequences to the peace and union of these states, growing out of the question of slavery. Legislative limitations to slavery, compromises and fugitive slave laws are but feeble barriers to the progress of this great sign, which is hourly, we may say, increasing in force and extent. The universality of this sign, and its fearful powers of disorganization are too well known by the whole country to require any thing more to be said upon it.

Another sign is noticeable in the increasing impression in all parts of the country, that the African race is destined to become the civilizers of their own country! This impression would hardly have been received, as the thought of a rational mind, before the origin of the Colonization Society. But it has kept pace with the progress of that society, and increased with its increase until now it stands out boldly as a prominent sentiment, in every scheme which looks to the improvement of the condition of the African race in this country.

How are we to explain the wonderful change that has taken place in the sentiments and feelings of the two races towards each other; a feeling of growing hostility on the part of the negro towards the white man; whilst a general desire among the whites to improve the social and political condition of the

negro is manifested? How, I ask, are these opposite sentiments in the two races towards each other to be explained, but by supposing that there is some secret and mysterious power influencing and guiding the principles of these two races, so as ultimately to bring about the removal of the entire African race from this country to their own land?

This change of opinion and feeling which so strongly marks the humanity of the present time, will appear more striking and wonderful, to men who have but lately come upon the theatre of active life, if they would look back some thirty years, and contemplate the utter indifference with which the social and political condition of the negro was then regarded by almost all classes of people, and contrast the cold and often cruel neglect of his claims for sympathy, with the generous and humane efforts which are now every where put forth for his amelioration and improvement; the conviction will be irresistible from such a contrast, that some great event is at hand in which the highest interest of the African race is involved.

It would not add to the force of these circumstances to enter more minutely into a description of them. I have purposely avoided details which it might not be prudent to exhibit; and have given only a general reference to these signs as they are seen in this country. But let us now cast our eyes upon Africa; and there we shall behold a sign which all may look upon with hope and gratitude.

The Republic of Liberia! A free and independent government on the shores of benighted Africa! A bright star of civilization rising from the bosom of a dark cloud, and shedding its feeble but increasing rays, to guide the barbarous and superstitious hordes of that land to the blessings of civil government, and the knowledge of Christianity.

Slavery in this country formed and prepared the materials with which christian benevolence, has by long and patient effort reared this Republic of Liberia! A result which should hush the storm of denunciation against slavery!

This sign in Africa harmonizes with those in this country most strikingly. It is so clearly a part of the system which Providence has been maturing for the restoration of the race

to their own country, that none who look at it in connection with events in this country, and the singular history of its origin and progress, to its present compact, and well ordered political organization can fail to see the hand of God in it.

Evidently this snug little republic was not nursed and watched over, and guarded by Providence, for the sake of any immediate effects which it might produce upon the wild and savage tribes of Africa. The benefits which will flow out to them from the Republic of Liberia, must be far in the future. But the immediate good that it is to accomplish, is for the Africans in *this country!* The man who looks at results, and sees the inevitable effects of causes, must regard the slavery agitation in this country with fearful apprehension, which can be relieved only by looking at the Republic of Liberia. There he sees the rod that is to draw off the fearful lightnings of the rising storm, and cause the cloud to pass over without shattering the fair fabric of our own government.

How emphatically does the Republic of Liberia fulfill the prediction of the Prophet,—“Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands.” Africa, in fulfillment of this prediction is, by her Liberia Republic stretching forth her hands, and calling her children home to her bosom and her paternal embrace.

Now these are signs of the times which observant and thoughtful men can't help seeing: nor can they easily avoid pursuing, and following out the important results they indicate, by the dangers and difficulties threatened to our Federal and State governments, growing out of the subject of slavery.

The whole country has been on several occasions most seriously agitated by it, and has escaped the threatened danger only by falling upon some principle of compromise. But compromise, probably will not prove a certain and perpetual remedy. They will at most, prove only a temporary relief, a mere opiate, which for the hour soothes and alleviates, but when its temporary effects are exhausted, the force of the disease will recur with increased violence. The agitation and excitement raised by the subject of slavery all over the country, makes its appeal directly to the general and state

governments, and calls loudly for measures of prudence and wisdom, to meet the crisis and guard against the threatened danger, not by temporary acts of compromise, but by meeting the subject with measures which will comply with what so clearly appears to be the purposes of Providence, and thereby relieve the country effectually from the plagues which will continue to harass it so long as the African race remains here.

Admitting the views I have presented on this subject to be entitled to the serious consideration of the people of this country, the question arises—what course should they pursue? What measures should be adopted by the federal and state governments, to promote the purpose of Providence in returning the African race to their own country? I will venture to suggest some measures which would be well becoming to this country, and highly important as auxiliary in such a work.

In the first place, and preliminary to every other step, let there be an end to the hot contentions between the North and the South: proclaim an armistice, and let the denunciation—the crimination and recrimination between the abolitionist and slaveholder cease. Let the elements of discord which have so seriously shaken the peace of the country, become composed and settle down into calm and rational quietude.

Harmony of feeling, and harmony of purpose are necessary in order that men may think, investigate and act with becoming wisdom and effect, on this subject.

There is no necessity for an immediate and general act of emancipation of the slaves in order to carry out the emigration of the colored people to Africa. The work, if rightly begun, will carry itself on as fast as necessary.

There are among the free people of color, I have no doubt, numbers who would return to their Father land if some provision were made to meet their immediate necessities when they reach there. Barely sending them out, free of charge, does not go far enough; there must be something for the emigrant to stand upon when he gets to Africa that will sustain him until by his own labor and industry he can provide

means to meet the wants of himself and family. And there are thousands of slaves who would be set at liberty if their humane owners could be assured that their freedom would not place them in a state of poverty and destitution. Only let some fixed and certain temporary aid be stipulated for emigrants, who may need it when they arrive in Africa, and we shall soon witness the colored people leaving this country for Africa, in as great numbers as we now see the Germans and Irish leaving their native land and crowding to the shores of America.

The colored people have a claim upon this country, which it would well become us as a nation to meet in the spirit of justice and liberality. They have rendered important aid in opening the country, and extending its agriculture. Much of the cultivation of our prolific fields has been carried on by the labor and sweat of the black man, and some of them did the best they could with a willing heart, for us in the struggle for our independence. How becoming would it be in this great nation, now to reward these people liberally for the laborious services they have rendered in promoting our interest on the fields, and increasing our domestic comforts by their kindness and fidelity in all the duties and departments of home. Thousands of our white population, scattered over all parts of the country can look back to the homes of their earliest days, and call up with grateful recollections the untiring care and affection of the "Uncle Tom's" and the "Aunt Chloe's," who would leave their own children to scratch and crawl about, and take care of themselves, while they bestowed the greatest and most affectionate care upon the children of "master and mistress."

The duty and the interest of this country equally call for some proper remuneration to the African race for their services, and how can this be awarded so well as in providing some suitable and substantial aid to all who return to their own country? Instead of lavishing our public lands upon strangers who never rendered us any service, let these lands be applied to the benefit of all emigrants to Africa. By the sale of land warrants ample means would flow into the treasury to give the necessary aid to African emigrants, to be

disbursed to them on their arrival in Africa by agents appointed for that purpose. Let the way of emigration to Africa be thrown open in this liberal manner; let it be seen that the whole country comes up to the aid of the colored people, with feelings of justice and kindness, and what a moral effect will be produced upon them. A feeling of self respect, a high regard for character and good principle; in a word a general determination to become men worthy of the honorable positions and stations which the Republic of Liberia holds out to meritorious character, will become the predominant feeling with them. The African mind will once more be turned towards Africa with a longing desire which nothing but emigration can satisfy.

Let us not be behind Egypt in the liberality which was shown to the Israelites when they departed from that country. Gold and silver and an abundance of whatever might be useful to them was heaped upon the Israelites by the Egyptians in the greatest profusion. "They spoiled the Egyptians," is the language employed by the sacred historian in speaking of the abundance of the gifts which were bestowed upon the departing Israelites by the people of Egypt.

There will be no occasion for coercive measures to aid emigration, the tide will roll on by its own impulsive force quite fast enough. Planters who free their slaves and supply their places with the Chinese laborers that are now flocking to this country in vast numbers through California, will find their gains so much increased by the cheaper labor of those docile and industrious Asiatics, that the manumission of slaves will become universal, as a measure of economy; it will be cheaper to free them and hire Chinese labor to cultivate the sugar and cotton and rice fields of the South.

All that is necessary then, to confer so great a good upon Africa, and upon this country too, is that this government should apply a liberal portion of its useless lands for the benefit of African emigrants.

All must admit that there is no subject of such serious and universal concern with the American people just now, as slavery. It is the ghost which meets us in every public measure, and threatens our country with its powers of destruc-

tion. No schemes of compromise will allay it, and it must continue to increase in its fearful powers of evil until some safe and judicious plan of emigration for the whole colored race in this country is adopted.

This country will never be in a better situation than it is now for the commencement of this work: and the security and perpetuity of our free noble institutions; the happiness and prosperity of the people and their government, require that it should be made the subject of serious and candid enquiry, and judicious legislation, without delay.

