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# LIBERIA'S NEXT FRIEND.

THE ANNUAL DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT THE

SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

HELD IN

FOUNDRY M. E. CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Sunday Evening, Jan'y 17, 1886,

BY REV. B. SUNDERLAND, D. D.

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PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

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WASHINGTON CITY,  
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

1886.

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W. S. 4/2/11

## DISCOURSE.

Africa! Liberia! What hardship and heroism in our time they represent. The dark Continent! The infant Republic! What memories of the past! What hopes of the future!

Providence turns heavy doors on the smallest hinges. No romance of fiction can equal the wonders of the way in which a divine *purpose* threads its course through all the maze of human history. From the first generations the trend of the human race has been turned hither and thither by things in themselves lighter than a feather.

God first partitioned the land and water and settled the geologic and climatic conditions and then divided the nations to their several estates-- The third part of the Eastern hemisphere, according to tradition, fell to the sons of Ham in whose family there was an ancient curse.

But in the economy of Heaven there is no curse without a blessing--and often the blessing blossoms from the curse! Africa became the asylum of the two greatest figures in the annals of time.

A tear-drop on the cheek of a babe in a reed basket among the rushes of the Nile gave rise to the fortunes of a people out of whom came at last the world's Messiah!

When Christ was born, his infancy, like that of Moses, was sheltered in the land of Egypt. That was the only gate of ingress or egress which remained unshut round a coast of 16,000 miles. The seal of the continent like that of its great pyramid, was left unbroken for centuries.

About 400 years ago, the Portuguese, then the greatest sailors, began to pry around it. Explorations followed. The slave trade, early existing, was vastly augmented, by the discovery of America. Church and State, monarchy and merchandise, joined hands to make it respectable. For the next three centuries European rapacity tore from their native soil the children of Africa and thrust them on the markets of the world.

One day in 1620 a Dutch ship came up the James river and landed the first score of Negro slaves at Jamestown, Virginia. That was the beginning of African slavery in this country, leading to long bondage, to civil war and final emancipation. It is estimated that from 1680 to 1786 England, chiefly, supplied to this country and the West Indies 2,130,000 Negro slaves.

"But there is a soul of good in things evil." One of the most conspicuous uses of this country thus far, was to bring these abject Pagans into contact with our modern civilization and to pack multitudes of them into the Christian church.

About the time of the Revolution, an idea entered the mind of a man in New England that the return of the Negro to the land of his fathers, would be in order. It caught fire and kindled in other minds in various forms in other parts of the country. Years went on and Paul Cuffee, an Africo-Indian, born at New Bedford, rising from poverty and obscurity, to command money and a ship of his own, thought it was time to put this idea in practice. He carried back to Africa in his own vessel 40 of his people costing him the sum of \$4,000. This was in 1815. He seems to have been the first practical colonizationist.

The next year he returned to this country and died. A few months after, the American Colonization Society was born.

Seventy years are gone and Liberia, as she stands to-day, is the result. The Society has measured the allotted span of a human life and it remains now to be seen whether it is moribund or whether like the law-giver of Israel, its "eye is not dim nor its natural force abated."

To the intimate friends of Liberia her story is an oft-told tale. Great speakers at the annual meetings of the American Colonization Society at Washington and at other times and places have pleaded the cause of African colonization. The press has created a literature on the subject of more or less permanent character and value. We have had the narrative, the sentiment, the antiquity, the poetry, the heroism, the sacrifice, the struggle, set before us, copiously, eloquently, and with strong conviction.

The semi-Centennial of the Society was observed in 1867 and marked an epoch in its history. The volume of the proceedings of that year is accessible to those who would be informed. In addition to the addresses and discourses on that occasion, the book contains a copy of the Liberian Declaration of Independence, the full text of the Constitution of the new Republic, a description of its flag and seal, the inaugural address of the first President of Liberia—Hon. J. J. Roberts, the annual message of President Warner in 1866, together with a list of all the agents and government officials who have acted through and for the American Colonization Society—a table of the emigrants and of the cost of colonization to that date, and lastly the honored names of the original members of the Society.

From these and from very many other documents, one great fact stands out clearly to our view and that is that the whole civilized

and Christian world recognizes the relation of the Government of the United States to that distant infant African Republic as "her next friend."

Thoughtful and philanthropic men have in former times discussed and urged the emancipation of the enslaved blacks, and their removal to the father-land. Upon the broadest basis it has been shown that the people of this country have obligations on this subject of the most serious and controlling character, and when we declare that the United States is in a large historic sense the founder and necessary patron of the Liberian Republic, we assert only what may be known and read of all men.

The contests and suspicions to which the American Colonization Society was subjected in the period prior to 1861, have largely passed away. Emancipation came through a sea of blood, and in the last 25 years "the logic of events" has justified the wisdom of our work and vindicated for all time the name and character of this now venerable organization.

The imperial monarch of Spain, Charles V, issued a Royal license for the importation of African slaves into his American possessions. This was in the year of grace, 1516, just 300 years before the birth of the American Colonization Society, and it opened wide the gates of the slave trade from the western coast of Africa, the horrors of "the middle passage" and all the pains of Christian cruelty.

But Alfonso, the last king on the Spanish throne, whose Royal obsequies were chronicled but the other day, under date of February 11th, 1882, sent the following epistle to Gardner, the then President of Liberia:

"Great and good Friend:

Desiring to give you a public testimony of my Royal appreciation and my particular esteem, I have had special pleasure in nominating you Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic. I am pleased by this action also to furnish new proof of the desire which animates me to strengthen more and more the friendly relations which happily exist between Spain and the Republic of Liberia, and with this motive, I repeat to you the assurance of the affection which I entertain towards you, and with which, Great and Good Friend, I am

Your Great and Good Friend,

ALFONSO."

It is a little stilted and fulsome after the manner of kings, but it sounds cheerily beside the ruthless decree of Charles V.

No man can trace the footsteps of Providence in these latter days without being constantly surprised at the unexpected and marvelous turn of things. The world is more alive to-day than ever—as we discover through constantly accumulating official reports, diplomatic papers, missionary, scientific, exploring, educational and com-

mercial accounts, which are daily concentrating a flood of light upon Africans and Africa. The change on the face of the world—even during the existence of the American Colonization Society, invests its work with a new and transcendent interest. Here at home a race of slaves have been clothed with the franchise of free men and are rapidly being educated in the spirit of our civil and religious institutions, and at this moment seven millions of people of African blood stand confronted with the *future*, and like Saul of Tarsus in the way to Damascus—are compelled to ask—"Lord what wilt Thou have me to do?"

True, there is a divided opinion among them. We have no wish to conceal the facts. There are many men in this country with African blood in their veins who rage at the faintest hint of what they are pleased to term expatriation. They have no special love for this venerable Society. To the prayer of Father Snowden—a colored preacher of Boston many years ago, they would shout a loud "Amen!"

"Oh, Lord, we pray Thee that that seven-headed and ten-horned monster, the Colonization Society, may be smitten through and through with the fiery darts of truth, and tormented as the whale between the sword-fish and the thrasher."

Yet to-day, half a million of Father Snowden's people are seeking light from the "ten-horned monster" and turning a wistful gaze on the far-off fatherland.

The Society has done nothing to bring about this state of things. The only activity in this direction has been information imparted at the request of the Negroes.

But it is said they are all free born now—what more do they want? Why should they go to Africa? Is not America good enough for the colored people?

Answers to these questions are piled up month after month on the table of the Executive Committee of the Society, and we are forced to go over and over them and then lay them aside for want of means to respond effectively and thus the years are passing away with too little done. They come from all quarters—as well from New England as from Texas; from New York as from Alabama—and they want to go. Take a specimen case.

The Rev. Mr. Brockenton, pastor of a Baptist church of more than 1,000 members, in Darlington, S. C., evidently a prominent man in his Church, in his State and county and town, in a letter of December 12th, 1884, says, that he, with his family and a large company of his people, wishes to go to Africa for the following reasons:

1. Because I want to continue my good work for the Master.

2. Because I think my Christian influence is more needed there than here. 3. Because the harvest in Africa is great, but the laborers are few. 4. Because my children are trained teachers or mechanics and as such can assist in building up our father-land. 5. Because my condition as a *man* will be better established and my work as a *minister* better appreciated.

Sound and sensible reasons—reasons which are almost daily reiterated by the colored people who are waking up to the question of their future duty and condition.

President Roberts in a public discourse on his last visit to this country said: "I have no disposition to urge my colored brethren to leave the country, but as for me I could not live in the United States."

Professor Freeman of Liberia College while on a visit a few years ago at Pittsburgh, Pa., where he had formerly spent 12 years as a teacher in a college for the education of colored students, was offered strong inducements to remain and resume his former position in that institution, but he refused. The Trustees then asked, "What will you stay for, Freeman?" His reply was in substance this: "I will stay, gentlemen, for what either of you white men would consent to become a Negro for, and live in Pennsylvania and transmit his social status to his children."

But this is not all. Every settlement in Liberia is calling for population from the United States. The Honorable Z. B. Roberts, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court writes as follows: "Sinoe county was planted by your philanthropy in common with the other portions of Liberia. It is heavily timbered, has a fertile soil, a bar for shipping at all seasons of the year and a river abounding in fish including superior oysters. Our evergreen palm-trees lift up their towering heads, waving majestically their glossy limbs and broad leaves, their trunks filled with crimson fruit for home use and for exportation. There is room here for Africa's sons in America to enjoy with us this God-given land. Emigrants are needed—those that will resolve, in coming, to labor for the elevation of themselves, their children and their race. Men whose bosoms swell with a deep love of liberty, mechanics, farmers miners and teachers are greatly desired!"

Liberia is waiting to receive them. The cry is louder than ever. The *basis* of feeling is fast changing among the colored people, and where *before* they had distrust of the motive and influence of Colonization, they now begin to act from higher incentives and grander considerations. The light of this venerable Society is beginning to be comprehended in quarters where it was so long excluded. Emigration by Africans, of Africans and for Africans is coming to be the *pi-broch* of thousands who would hail to-day the means of exodus from



America. It is not simply the selfish gain of which they dream, but an inspiration of Heaven which, like a mighty wind, is filling heart and mind and soul and sense to render aid to the children of the mighty land of Ham.

T. McCants Stewart, one of the young men sent out some two years since to be a professor in the College of Liberia, after a few months sojourn, has returned and published a book in which, while avowing himself to be "not a colonizationist" he nevertheless presents a most powerful argument for emigration. The very matters he exhibits to show the weakness of Liberia, are to us reasons trumpet-tongued why we should at once pour in a tide of emigration upon her waste places—why we should lose no time in "strengthening the things that remain."

Would he have emigration cease? Why, one-half the human race has been in a state of emigration since Abram left Urr of the Chaldees! Emigration to America begun so soon as the Continent was discovered and it has not ceased to this hour. The first necessity of a State is *men*. Napoleon when asked "What France most needed?" replied, "*Mothers!*"

Meanwhile the eyes of Europe are gloating on African possessions as they never did before. In almost every European capital organizations exist encouraged by kings and parliaments or by powerful private wealth which, from one motive or another, are centering their energies upon different portions of the Negro Continent. The great Powers are already dividing their protectorates and planting their standards over the older or newer colonies which their enterprise has established. It is a scramble for territory, for markets for the over-production and manufactures of the leading nations of the world, for commercial adventure, and in part also for scientific research, along with which the Church must toil for the extension of Christianity.

And when, in a material point of view, we consider that Africa controls the diamond market of the world, that it yields vast quantities of gold, that its palm oil is nowhere else to be found, can we wonder that "the mammon of unrighteousness" is looking at it with the eyes of a boa constrictor?

And latest and most surprising of all looms up "the Free State of the Congo."

Here is another marvellous thread of Providence. Many years ago a man begins to publish in the city of New York an insignificant newspaper. Years pass on, the journal grows in size and sinew. A waif floating on the drifting tide of humanity, is put on the staff of the newspaper and becomes a war correspondent. The founder of the

journal dies. His son, more aspiring than the father, looks round for new fields of enterprise. Just then a successor of Mungo Park, an illustrious African explorer, is lost and the world wonders if he is dead. An English journal dreams of what might be done. A scheme to find him enters the brain of the ambitious journalist, and the stray waif, now a sturdy henchman of the Press, is put in charge of the distant search. Livingstone is found and Stanley grows famous in a day!

He went upon a second search, Livingstone died and his mantle fell upon Stanley. He explored the Congo and was feted in England and at the Continental Courts. The effort fruited in the formation of the "International African Association," and the "Free State of the Congo," of which Leopold of Belgium is the head and Stanley the prime-minister. The flag of the "New State" is a field of blue with a golden star. It already floats over twenty-two prosperous settlements, one thousand miles of unobstructed river navigation and a productive contiguous area of 6 millions of square miles, supporting a population of 50 millions of natives. What novel ever had a page to surpass it?

Following this, it is but about a year since that Germany called a vast Conference at Berlin, Bismarck presiding, at which explorers, diplomats and ministers representing all there is of Europe, Turkey and the United States, assisted. Treaties were formed and conditions established among the great Powers vitally affecting Africa and its people, but they were not at all consulted. *Our* representatives were present by direction of our Government and doubtless from the most praise-worthy motives, and they finally become signatories to the work of the Conference. What they did there was large of purpose abounding in philanthropic zeal. But it is the first time in our history when such a thing was ever done. We are a singular people. The nations are coming to know us better, and while in diplomacy we are as exclusive as China itself, we ought not to be at all squeamish when standing as "the next friend" to the little sister on the African coast. It is high time for the people of this country to wake up to the designs of European Powers.

What is the meaning of it all? Does Japheth, no longer satisfied with his portion of the world, intend to supplant and despoil his brother Ham? Is the African slave trade to be followed by subjugation on the soil and a provincial policy as oppressive as the feudalism of the middle ages? Will the pale face encroach on the black man in Africa as he does on the red man in America—leaving extermination to the weaker, and a *black, black* record to the stronger which no tears of repentance can wash away? Is Africa after all not to be ruled by Africans? Is it to be wrenched away from its own sons—to

become only a European dependency, without autonomy or self-existence?

The answer which the American Colonization Society makes to these questions is "Liberia!"—A free Christian Republic already planted in one of the fairest regions of the African Continent—the dangers and difficulties of the beginning overcome, the fears of friends and the jeers of foes passing away—the light of Christian civilization shining there in the midst of Pagan darkness.

This is the answer of the initiatory steps and stages of that enterprise, and of the noble advocates, the self-denying agents and the generous benefactors of Liberia. It is the answer of the first emigrants and emphatically of Elijah Johnson a principal man among them, and whose son is now the President of that Republic. As their designs became known they awakened the opposition of the native tribes and at a moment of great peril from their assaults, the officers of a vessel appearing there offered to assist the colonists against their assailants on condition that they should be granted ten feet square of ground on which to plant the English flag. "No sirs!" cried the old man, "Not an inch. I have long sought a free home for me and mine, I have found it here at last, if we allow you to hoist that flag upon our soil, it will be harder for us to pull it down than it will be to fight the natives!"

What did Washington and Lincoln ever say more heroic?

Aye, and we could trace this answer through all the growth of that colony under the fostering care of our Society—in its declaration of Independence in 1847, in its Constitution and Republican form of government, in its beautiful situation, in the variety and value of its natural products, in the extension of its public domain, in its agricultural and commercial development, in the establishment of education and the Christian religion, in its remarkable state of society considering all the conditions by which it has been so deeply affected, in its great influence upon the suppression of the slave-trade and the uplifting of the native tribes, and finally in the prospect of its future position as the morning-star of African regeneration.

To the schemes of Europe for the possession and control of Africa, we oppose this infant Government which has already demonstrated the two cardinal facts of African capability and African destiny—that is to say—that Negroes are equal to the highest known form of self-government—advancing their institutions by peaceful methods and bloodless contests.

What, then, is the objection to Liberia. Why should she not have free course? Why should her voice be hushed in the conclave of the nations?

1st. It is styled the land of Negroes—an inferior race—with the old family curse upon them—the sons of Ham. It is said that modern evolution has proved “the survival of the fittest” which must ultimately drive them to the wall.

Our answer is that all this is superficial dogma—not to be cured by sending to Liberia a refined and hyper-educated class, too proud or too indolent to take up the task of improvement, and too haughty to mingle with the common people of that country. We say also that if the family curse ever followed that people, it is now high time to maintain that it should be exhausted—to maintain that “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.” And is it not likewise clear that up to this date “the survival of the fittest” in Africa means *the survival* of Africans, and that it will take a long time for evolution to drive two hundred millions of them to the wall? It is equally illusive in the light of history, to talk of “inferior races,” while the fact is that on a broad scale there are no *inferior races*, that is no races incapable of becoming dominant in the world through the development of intrinsic qualities. We must remember that an African civilization is one of the oldest of which we know, standing in the very dawn of history.

2. But then there is the African fever; who is going to encounter that for the sake of Liberia— for the sake of Africa? We have no interest in them. Let them take care of themselves!

Is it not strange that men should be so inveterately hostile to the interest of Christian civilization in a quarter of the globe where others, for sordid gain, are willing to expose themselves to every hazard! We cannot comprehend the stolidity which objects to all exertions from the highest motives and in the same breath smiles upon efforts which arise alone from mercenary considerations. Who ever heard of physical danger extinguishing the spirit of adventure? In 1849 the Isthmus was white with the bones of men rushing for gold into California. But acclimation was possible to the miners, and so the resources of that great coast are being developed. It remains to be seen whether as a rule acclimation is possible to the white man in Africa. Up to this date the climate is deadly—the fever fatal to the Caucasian race. Nobody knows much about it save the single fact that it spares the natives who are usually robust and long lived, with very few diseases; but it furiously attacks white strangers and with rare exceptions never lets up on them, but either kills them or drives them out. It is not so however with the foreign born Negroes, who after the first experience and acclimation, find no further trouble. Now what is the meaning of this? If we heard a voice from heaven, could it speak plainer the will of Him who “di-



vided the nations?" We seem to hear Him saying: "This is why the sons of Ham are black. I have fitted them for the equatorial region and have fixed the climate so that no white race can flourish there. Beware then, ye sons of Japheth. Covet not the land of the Negroes. If you approach those shores for conquest, I have set my tiger in the lowlands. He will spring upon and kill you!" That we take it is the mission of the African fever. It is the watch-dog of Liberia! No wonder the burglars from abroad dislike it—and because they dislike it, we think it is where it ought to be, and doing what it ought to do.

3. There are evil tidings of Liberia brought by a Naval officer charging that domestic slavery exists *sub rosa* in that Republic; that the citizens secretly encourage it, in some cases buying and working slaves from the native tribes. Some very lofty falsehood is no doubt prevalent. The calumny is refuted by the Constitution and laws of the Republic. A system of apprenticeship does prevail, but the courts severely punish the man who is found dabbling in the loathsome slave customs of the savage tribes, and that slavery exists in Liberia has been so repeatedly and emphatically denied by numerous most competent and credible witnesses, that it becomes a mere question of personal veracity, and when the truth of the case comes to light we have no fear that Liberia will be dishonored. As well might we say because a few old slaves—the legacy of a former generation—still linger in our Indian tribes, or because Coolies from China have been smuggled into the country, that slavery exists in the United States, and that this Government should be abolished as a national nuisance.

4. From a similar source it has been objected that Liberia today is going backward, that the second and third generations are relapsing, that there is in the country, and especially in the towns, streets and buildings, an air of retrogression, that the people lack foresight and enterprise, that everything shows them to be a childish race, not worth the pains which Christian philanthropy has expended upon them. In accepting strictures like these, great caution is necessary. No lies are so dangerous as those which are false in the blade and true in the handle. According to the latest reports from Liberia, the business of agriculture and trade is extending with gratifying results, and the value of the annual exports is growing larger year by year. This single fact is a sufficient answer to the libel of retrogression. Nobody pretends that perfection has been reached in Liberia. Nobody pretends that human nature there any more than elsewhere has Eden innocence and virtue. All we claim is that taking everything into consideration, Liberia is a success and will be more and more a success in the future. All beginnings are small, all great

things are born of trouble, why should Liberia be an exception? Suppose some foreign naval officer should land at Alexandria, hurry rapidly through the town, move on to Richmond and down to Norfolk in the same superficial way, and then hasten home and file a report in the navy department that America is on the wane, that the people are thriftless and all looks dilapidated; what should we think of the value of such testimony?

Then put over against this what has been already accomplished, the obstacles surmounted, the difficulties removed, the success attained, and have we not a guaranty for the future in the very fact of the existence of the Republic as it is at the present moment? It is not an easy task to wipe out a people that against such odds from the beginning has made such headway and are stronger to-day than ever. It took our "old thirteen colonies" 150 years to prepare for the assertion of "Independence." It was only about a score of years that saw Liberia advancing from nothingness to take her place in the ranks of sovereign independent States. We think we have here a living germ of nationality destined to survive every vicissitude and become the seed-corn and normal principle of free government and Christian civilization for all Africa.

5. Adverse criticism might fall upon Liberian diplomacy in the settlement of some great questions vitally affecting the fortunes of the Republic. But allowance must be made from the circumstance that a pigmy is brought to face a giant in arbitrament. The final settlement of the North-west boundary of the Republic with all its antecedents is a chapter of public dishonor from which we turn away with a sense of nausea. Talk of diplomacy between the wolf and the lamb! What could Liberia do but submit while the Government of the United States, acknowledged by all the world as "the next friend" of Liberia, after having said that it would regard any injustice done to her "with positive disfavor," was obliged to stand calmly by and to see its umpire snubbed, the arbitration broken off, and forty miles of sea-coast coolly usurped by England and never say a word!

6. Exception might be taken to the fiscal management of the Republic. It cannot be maintained that any giant genius of finance has yet come to the front among the Liberians, and it must be confessed that a cloud of debt hangs over them at this moment which is by no means flattering to their self-consideration. Still, even though upon specious pretexts, they have been despoiled of 40 miles of sea-coast, their credit has not sunken lower than that of this country in the days of Washington. Nor has their currency depreciated beneath the old continental paper which circulated so low that a hatful of it would scarcely purchase a square

meal for a hearty hungry man. All nations have been in debt. Look at the annual budgets of the great Powers to-day. Liberia is not singular in her struggle with the financial difficulties in the first forty years of her national existence. We confidently hope that in her present emergency, some Hamilton or Robert Morris may rise to conduct her in safety through the storm.

7. It has been intimated that the Liberians are frivolous, too fond of dress and show. Considering the plain taste and demure costume of the world's people elsewhere—say for example among “the higher fashionables” of American cities, what an *awful* thing this is! Seriously however, the reliable testimony is that the customs, habits and houses of the Liberians will compare favorably with those of the same class here at home. There are relatively no more drones, dudes or coquettes in the Liberian towns than in the great towns of England or America. The observation is too trivial for further comment.

8. There remains another and more recent report which involves alike the work of this Society and the character of the people in Liberia. It is now insisted to the detriment of our cause that the class of emigrants sent out from this country to populate “the waste places” there is of an inferior character, and that any further effort to supply Liberia with colored people from America is inexpedient and unwise.

We answer this by saying that even if, the charge were strictly true it is no argument against colonization, and no real friend of Africa will use it. On the other hand it ought properly to become a powerful incentive to greater carefulness and exertion.

Of course it could scarcely be otherwise than that out of the whole body of emigrants which this Society has sent there during the last sixty years some may have proved to be bad material. The best human judgment and foresight cannot provide against every contingency, and certainly not in a case like this when culling and selecting individuals is impracticable, when emigrants have to be sent in families, bands, and companies. But taking together the whole mass of the emigrants the charge is libelous and cruel. It is an unjust reflection on the whole work of this Society and should be frowned down by every man who has any proper knowledge of the history and present *status* of Liberia. It stands there to-day a grand germinal point for all manner of progress and improvement, and for the spread of civil and religious institutions over the whole Continent. With such a position and prospect is it possible for Liberia to go backward, or for this Society to cease its efforts, or for this Government to be deaf to the trumpet-call for help in the present juncture?

Liberia has on her south-eastern border a magnificent domain between the Cavalla and San Pedro rivers, the title to which is questioned by England, as though she were preparing on some plausible pretext—perhaps the maturing loan of a million dollars,—to take up another 40 miles of the coast line of the Republic. To prevent this and other hostile contingencies, we need to pour into that quarter of Liberia in the next two years ten thousand of the choicest Africans we have. We cannot do this by the tardy and inadequate aid of private beneficence. The only feasible way is by an appropriation of a million dollars from the Public Treasury voted by Congress and sanctioned by the President under the wisest safe-guards attainable, and for this we ask you to petition. Let it be the voice of the people. Before another year is spent we want to hear the echoes of this appeal from every quarter of the country; we want to reverse the apothegm of Berkley, and say as by this signal of African regeneration, “Hail all Nations!”—“*Eastward* the star of Empire takes its course:”

As well stated in the last Annual Report of the Society, “The lesson taught by all experience is this: That the interior of Africa can be reached and the coast can be effectively occupied for commercial and colonization purposes *but in one way*, and that is through colonies of civilized Negroes, for only they can colonize equatorial Africa and live. But England, France and Germany have no means of securing such colonists. England cannot offer inducements to Negroes in the West Indies to go and build up the waste places of their father-land. Such an exodus would in a few years depopulate the West Indies and reduce some of the wealthiest of those Islands to a poverty-stricken wilderness. She cannot send recaptured Africans from her colonies at Sierra Leone, Gambia or Lagos. They have not enough civilization in its relations to commerce and the industrial arts. France cannot depopulate Gaudaloupe or Martinique to furnish Negroes to the interior of Senegal or Goree. Germany has no colonies of civilized Negroes from which to draw emigrants for her African projects. The only man then available for the great work of opening Africa to commerce and civilization is the Negro of America. He can live there, for it is the *habitat* of his race, and being fully civilized and Christian too, he is the agent, and the only agent that the world contains adapted to this purpose. He has proved his adaptation and efficiency in the work thus far accomplished by the Republic of Liberia.

“It is stated that the British Government have expended immense sums to keep the peace and to promote trade along the route between Segou and Sierra Leone. But the principle of the Liberia estab-



lishment has done more and will do more to keep the peace and promote trade than all the wealth of England, without colonists, can do.

"Now the American Colonization Society is the only organized agency for developing this important influence, and transferring to this vast and productive field the only agents that can profitably cultivate it. The amalgamation of civilized agencies with the indigenous elements is the only statesmanlike and effective mode of solving the problem of African civilization, and the only agencies available for such amalgamation are in the United States."

And I may add, they can be sent without injury to any home interest, whatsoever, and they are ready and anxious to go! Ten thousand of the very best ought to occupy that south-eastern part of Liberia in the next two years. It will cost a million dollars. Where is this million? Just yonder in the vaults of the treasury of the United States.

Why should not this Government come to the rescue now? If ever there was a debt from one people to another this country owes it to the African race. Every consideration of philanthropy, of patriotism and of piety combines to confirm the obligation.

While it is not claimed that Liberia has ever been the *ward* of our Government in any substantial sense, yet its kind offices and its money have been expended in a spirit of friendliness and national comity which entitle it to be held as "the next friend" of that infant nation. The Presidents Jefferson, Madison and Monroe took a special interest in the destiny of the free people of color in this country. During the administration of Jefferson and while Monroe was Governor of Virginia, emancipation and subsequent provision for the Negroes occupied the attention of all Southern statesmen.

When afterwards Monroe became President, by his enlightened interpretation of the act of March 3d, 1819, providing for the return of re-captured Negroes to Africa, he furnished the means by which the work of this Society was practically commenced. By his direction the Navy Department chartered the ship "Elizabeth" giving passage to 86 Negroes. These were "the pilgrim fathers" of Liberia. They were attended by a war vessel and sailed from New York Feb. 5, 1820, just 200 years from the landing of the May Flower at Plymouth Rock.

Cape Mesurado on which stands Monrovia, the capital of the Republic, was purchased from the natives December 15 1821, largely by the individual persistence and intrepidity of Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who was sent to explore and select a point for the colonists, and since that day the United States Government has made Liberia the asylum for nearly six thousand re-captured Africans.

Our Government concluded a treaty with Liberia, Oct. 21, 1862. Article 8 of that treaty is as follows: "The United States Government engages not to interfere, unless solicited by the Government of Liberia, in the affairs between the original inhabitants and the Government of the Republic of Liberia, in the jurisdiction and territories of the Republic. Should any U. S. citizen suffer loss, in person or property, from violence by the aboriginal inhabitants, and the government of the Republic of Liberia should not be able to bring the aggressors to justice, the U. S. Government engages, a requisition having first been made therefor by the Liberian Government, to lend such aid as may be required."

How is this for an "entangling alliance!" The Government of the United States has frequently expressed more than a mere interest—memorably in dispatches from the Department of State by Secretary Upshur in 1843, and more recently by Secretary Evarts in 1879, and by Secretary Frelinghuysen in 1882. More than once has the Navy Department responded to the request of this Society by sending Government vessels with distinguished officers to the coast of Africa with friendly designs.

The first message of President Cleveland devotes a well considered paragraph to these great interests in Africa, and we are fain to think from the nature of the man and those he has called around him, that both he and his Cabinet would be favorably disposed toward any legislation by Congress which should be with proper safeguards and conditions framed for the purpose of aiding emigration to the sister Republic.

Can there be any question if Congress were so disposed, as to the constitutionality of an appropriation? While millions are voted for expositions, for subsidies, for school purposes, for internal improvements, for unnumbered charities, for disasters by fire and flood and famine—while the resources of the country are overflowing,—while thousands upon thousands of colored people are anxiously praying for the means of exodus, what possible objection can there be to such an act of magnanimity?

At this moment of all others does it not become us to strengthen the hands of the infant nation? Liberia has recently been cited by international lawyers to prove that communities founded by private persons for industrial and commercial purposes may in the course of time assume sovereign rights.

We have reached a point where nothing will answer but to go forward. If this Society would vindicate its right *to be* in the future there must be placed before it a new and larger purpose, more faith and more energy. Let steps be taken at once to prepare the public

mind and Congress and the entire Government for an onward movement of emigration. Let some adequate plan of action be adopted to bring before the two Houses the question of a generous appropriation. It was the opinion of Mr. Webster, the greatest constitutional lawyer on the American roll of fame, publicly and clearly expressed, that such an appropriation would be legitimate.

In the proceedings of the Society at its annual meeting of 1852, a powerful plea was made by the Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, of Tenn., for the favor and encouragement of the Government in behalf of the work of this Society. President Fillmore and his Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, were both present. At that meeting Mr. Webster presided and in the speech which he made on that occasion, he used this language:

"It appears to me that this emigration is not impracticable. What is it to the great resources of this country to send out 100,000 persons a year to Africa? In my opinion without any violation of the analogies which we have followed in other cases, in pursuance of our commercial regulations upon the same principles as have already been stated by the Hon. gentleman from Tenn., who has addressed the meeting, it is within our constitution—it is within the powers and provisions of that constitution as part of our commercial arrangements, just as we enter into treaties and pass laws for the suppression of the slave-trade."

With many such like words did this great man testify to his convictions, and subsequently when President Lincoln was brought face to face with the question of Negro destiny in this country, he did not hesitate to say that to solve this problem the money of the treasury of the United States should be brought into requisition. In pursuance of his recommendation, Congress took action looking to the colonization of the Negroes of this country, and a large sum of money was appropriated in this behalf. Propositions were made to secure some region south of the United States on the American continent—for in that day Liberian colonization was not so popular as it promises yet to become, and so in a singularly providential manner, the whole project came to nothing. But it serves to show both what was thought of the legitimacy of such appropriations, and how also the best laid schemes are delayed or diverted to give place to the sovereign will of God.

The cry of the desolate is ringing in our ears. From every section of the country where these people are to be found we hear the voice of the exodus. A great home-sickness for Africa has been begotten in the hearts of multitudes, and every wind bears to our ears the pining and the moan.

We owe it to them. The unrequited servitude of 250 years stares at us like a note of hand already long matured. When the Hebrew slaves departed from Egypt they went out loaded with the

gold and jewels of the realm. God sanctioned the deed to give them compensation for their toil—and the same Jehovah is to-day upon the throne to put down one and raise up another. He will see to it that the price is paid. If we now withhold the wages, He will take it from this nation in some other way. The balance is in his hand, and His word to America is "Pay your debt." He gave the Hebrews favor in the eyes of the Egyptians. The same must come to pass for the Negroes. There is with the Suprême Ruler no bankrupt law by which we may escape.

Look at the money now being spent on Africa in promotion of European designs. The richest exchequers are open for diplomacy, for trade, for acquisition. All kinds of firms and monopolies are pouring out their treasures in the hope of gain. Two lines comprising 28 steamships are running from Liverpool to the western coast of Africa. France, Germany, and Portugal have each a monthly line. A belt of Christian missions already engirds the Continent, and the videttes of the grand army of the Church of Christ have even now reached the lake region, the banks of the Zambesi and the Niger and the broad basin of the Congo. All this is being done at immense expense, and the United States in a Governmental capacity stands idly looking on with hands in pocket and purse shut, not appropriating one single dollar to forward the cause of emigration or in proof of the claim and the favor of standing before the nations as the "next friend" of the young Republic.

The unrest of the colored people here, and their eagerness to reach the fatherland, has begun to kindle the keenest interest all along the coast of Africa, both in and beyond Liberia, and an earnest desire prevails to welcome back the children of their fathers.

We have come to a crisis! The land ought to be shaken from centre to circumference on this question. Let the better genius of the Press, that mightiest engine of modern civilization, take up the subject. Let the American Church speak out. Let the massive and ever augmenting cohorts of Methodism, whose camp-fires glow in every nation under heaven, and whose mighty tread is as the angel of God beneath whose feet the rock-ribbed earth is trembling—let the solid army of the Baptists, whose ranks are thick with Converts standing for the defence of the common faith of Israel—let the Episcopalians, whose banners stream upon the rejoicing air and whose altar-fires grow beautiful in the great dawn of the advancing day—let the Presbyterians, the sons of French Huguenots, of Scotch Covenanters, and of Irish Ulster men—mailed with iron shield and stalwart in the heat of battle as the gray crags of Switzerland—let the Congregationalists, whose pilgrim fathers colonized New England's shores



and made the coast one line of freedom's glorious light—in the midst of which their Boston stands to-day—outshining Athens as Christ outshone the Socrates of old—let the Lutheran, whose name recalls the Reformation and makes us hear again the unfettered voice of that intrepid monk who shook the Papal world—let the fervent Quaker, whose illustrious pioneer brought hither the benignant spirit of his Order, and gave title to the "Key-Stone State" and perpetuated his piety in the very name of her magnificent city—let the sectary of every name, Protestant and Romish, join hands together to solicit this grand subsidy of national beneficence. We are paying now at the rate of \$18,000 for a Congressional funeral. Let the flood-gates of petition be opened upon Congress, and from every class and from every corner roll in upon that Body a volume of supplication. Man's extremity is God's opportunity! On this matter likewise the maxim will be true to the letter in the ears of Congress.—"The voice of the people is the voice of God!"

At Waterloo the flails of Napoleon fell heavily and long on the hollow squares of Wellington. "Hard pounding this, gentlemen!" he cried, "but we must pound the longest." At last the moment came and the voice rang like a trumpet in every soldier's fiber, "up guards and at them!" That was the final order—the herald cry of victory! Too long has silence reigned in the camp of this American philanthropy. Too long have the friends of Liberia withheld their last appeal. The hour is come when we must win success with our own nation and demonstrate in a way we have never done before that this Republic is indeed "the next friend" of *that* over yonder, rising as the day-star of African regeneration, and that we are glad and proud of this relationship.

No misgivings—no tremblings—no waverings now! The world is beginning to acknowledge the spirit and methods of this Society and to vindicate by overwhelming testimony the practical wisdom in which it had its origin. If ever in our times the guiding hand of Omnipotence is visible in human affairs, it has been in the labors and results of the American Colonization Society.

I will end therefore as I began—heavy doors on the smallest hinges! If on that night in the church in Georgetown, dimly lighted with tallow candles, where Francis S. Key, author of the "Star Spangled Banner," was pleading with silver tongue the cause of colonization, no one could have foretold the transcendent results which have since transpired before our eyes, who shall say that from this very altar around which we gather on this occasion, a flood-tide may not spring which shall roll to the remotest limit of the Republic and rouse a mighty people as with the hand of one man to a new and

grander beneficence and to exertions that shall never cease till over  
all the soil of Africa a song responsive to our own shall swell,

And the flag of the stripes and the white star shall wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!





