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Our Duty to the African Race.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 21, 1851,

BY

RICHARD FULLER.

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WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 21, 1851.

The Colonization Society met in the Presbyterian Church. A vast audience crowded every spot in the building—multitudes unable to gain admission. Mr. CLAY presided for the last time. He delivered a noble speech, and then introduced Rev. Dr. FULLER, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS—

An humble pastor, occupied with the spiritual cares and labors of my ministry in Baltimore, I have declined all invitations to visit other cities for the purpose of addressing public meetings. I have found the duties of my charge enough, and more than enough, for all my time. As I am not a member of any Colonization Society, I was somewhat surprised on receiving the kind request of your board to meet with you to-night. I felt and appreciated the honor done me. But I felt much more: I esteemed it a call from God to enlist myself in an enterprise, the importance, the grandeur, nay, I will say the absolute necessity, of which, ought, I humbly think, to be perceived by every citizen of this Union. I ask permission, therefore, to express myself with the utmost freedom, as I utter only my own sentiments, and speak for no particular Society,—but for Colonization at large.

I am a Southern man, and surely your Society ought to be as popular with the whole South as it is in Virginia, Georgia, and other Southern States. It was originated by Southern influence. Its object is the retromission to Africa of free colored persons who desire to go there. To this article of its constitution your Society has strictly adhered. Indeed, it is absurd to suppose that this article can ever be violated. Why then should any man at the South object to this undertaking? And is it not most strange that men at the North should proclaim themselves the friends of the African race, and yet resist and calumniate an association formed for such a purpose?

Mr. President, patriotism was once a word of high and holy import. It was, in the ancient States of Greece, a sort of religion, a loyalty to country, which mastered and controlled all other feelings. All other relations—of parent, and husband, and child—were subordinated to the relation which existed between the citizen and the State. Patriotism was once a term of glorious emphasis. Would that it had the same sublime meaning

now; it would enlist multitudes in your noble enterprise. But Jesus has shown us a higher duty than even that which a patriot owes to his country. It is our duty to man as man. Before the Saviour's advent patriotism was the chief virtue; he taught us philanthrophy. As far as we catch his spirit and embody it in our benevolence, so far, I humbly conceive, shall we have the blessing of Him who has all power in his hands to prosper or defeat our plans. And it is to the Christian philanthropist that Colonization is an object of the profoundest interest.

I wish, first to consider the subject before us, with reference to the colored population in the United States who are free. I ask what is to be done with them and for them? What plan can compare with yours, which opens for them a land of promise, and this not a land wrested from strangers, but the very country assigned to their race by God.

Why, sir, if we look merely at what is physical, how desirable such a change for the African. The climate of Africa is far more congenial to his nature than that of the Northern States. And in these States what are his prospects? Each wave is wafting to our shores thousands upon thousands of hardy emigrants, with whom the negro cannot compete; white men who are preferred, and who, moreover, have been inured to an indefatigableness of labor, a severity of diet, a thrift and parsimony, which the negro cannot, or will not endure. No one can now visit any of the Northern cities, after an absence of ten years, without being struck with the fact, that the German and Irishman have superseded, or are superseding, the colored man in every occupation by which the laboring classes procure a livelihood.

But, in my estimate, the physical evils to which one may be exposed by any disadvantages are nothing compared with the moral evils; and in this view, is there a friend of the free colored man who can advise him to remain in this country, when such prospects open to him in another?

Fanatics may rave, recite, and madden round the land, and expectorate rhapsodies about color being no crime. Nobody says it is a crime. It does, however, and it always will, form a distinction of caste, the barriers of which cannot be broken down. The African may be rich, may educate his family, may have a vote, but all this will only awaken him to a more painful consciousness of his abasement. He never will enjoy social equality with the white race in this country. He and his posterity will be, and will always feel themselves to be, a degraded people.

And now, who but sees the sad consequences, the moral evils, of this felt degradation. In the first place, such a condition of conscious inferiority must impair, if it does not wholly destroy, all self-respect. No man will long resist the power of testimony, when it is the testimony of all

around him; and what is the testimony which is uttered in society, everywhere, with reference to the African? How can he rise superior to that public opinion which he sees, and hears, and feels, every moment, in the conduct of everybody? He lives and moves and has his being amidst humiliation. His whole life is a life of humiliation. His spirit will cower and sink. He cannot recognize in himself what every body denies him. He may struggle on, but he cannot elevate himself above the class with which he is identified. He will estimate himself by the estimation in which he is held by others.

In the next place, what chance have the colored free population in this country to develop the powers of intellect which God has bestowed upon them? Many, I know, deny to the African the possession of powers which can by any cultivation raise him to an intellectual equality with the white man. But to this objection there are several satisfactory answers.

First, such an argument can be received only in the school of infidelity; for the Bible declares that the whole human family have sprung from a common parentage. Then, when and where have christianity and civilization and education given the black man a fair trial? Certainly not in the British West Indies; for there the negroes are little better than slaves still. Not in St. Domingo, where misplaced confidence in other and older nations has constantly been fomenting civil disorder. Nor in these United States, for in not one of them does the colored man feel nor can he ever feel, the stimulus to intellectual cultivation.

The most conclusive answer to this objection, however, is furnished by a simple fact. I refer to the Republic of Liberia, which, though but of yesterday, has already commanded the respect of the oldest cabinets of Europe, and has taken her place among the nations. The state papers of that young Republic seem to me to compare well enough with similar documents here. And the last message of her governor is really superior in good sense, and talent, and literary merit, to such communications sometimes emanating from the executive departments of our States.

I think no impartial person will deny to the African powers of intellect, which, if cultivated, would raise him to an equality with other men. But these faculties can never be unfolded in this country. Can he look forward to the future with hope? Is the Bar, the Pulpit, the Medical Chair, open to him? Will he ever be permitted to take his seat in Congress, and aspire to the offices and honors which this nation bestows? In a word, and what is of more importance than all to the expansion of the mind, can he ever feel the quickening, invigorating influence of the highest literary society? To propose these questions is to answer them And how sad a misfortune to a rational being, that, in himself and his posterity, all the noble powers of intellect must be forever crushed.

I mention only a single other, but very sore, calamity of the free colored people in this country. They are not only an inferior caste, but a separate and distinct race; and are in daily contact with a people who enjoy, beyond all people, the very advantages which are denied to them. Let a man be a white man, and, in this country, he need not look up to any one as his superior by birth. There is no appointment, no honor, no eminence, to which he may not elevate himself. The proudest places in the land have been, and are, adorned by men who have been the architects of their own greatness, winning their way amidst a thousand obstacles, by the patient force of a true heart and unconquerable will. All this the black man knows and sees. He sees and knows, too, that it his color only, that color given him by God, which excludes him and his posterity from this noble and ennobling competition. And now, what must be the effect upon his character? It is impossible but that the worst feelings, envy, hatred, vindictiveness, will secretly work in his bosom, rendering him unhappy in himself, and dangerous to the country. Already have we had fearful premonitions flashing up here and there; and rest assured, nothing but fear represses the utterance, deep and loud, of passions, which are only the more fierce, because, as yet, they can have no vent. If the free African is to remain in this country, he must either enjoy social equality and amalgamate with the white race, which is impossible, or he will be discontented, unhappy, and will be ultimately exterminated. He would not be fit for freedom, he would not be a man, if he could be satisfied with his position.

Up to this point, Mr. President, I have confined my remarks to the colored population who are free. If this enterprise contemplated only them, it would be most wise, and patriotic and benevolent. I was glad, the other day, to see that State in which I first drew breath, and which must ever be dear to me—I was glad to see South Carolina rejecting a proposition to drive her free colored people from her borders. I hope she will yet unite with Georgia, and Tennessee, and Virginia, and my adopted State, Maryland, in the great work of transporting that portion of our population, with their consent, to a congenial home.

All good men, Mr. President, have mourned that this metropolis is so often the scene of wrath, bitterness, malice and strife, among those who are descended from such ancestors as the founders of this commonwealth, who are bound together by such ties, and ought to love as brethren. Let us rejoice that to-night all is peace and love here—love to God, to each other, and to the whole human race—that to-night we are gathered, not on an arena for sectional contests and conflicts, but in a temple where, with one heart and one mind, we wish to consult for the success of an enterprise, whose moral grandeur turns into contempt all the petty and ephemeral questions of selfish intrigue and political ambition.

I wish, now, to speak of colonization with reference to another class of Africans. I allude to those who are slaves, but whom the master may desire to send to Liberia or some other asylum. I am a Southern man. In the providence of God a number of these people have been confided to me. I may, therefore speak on the subject. I deeply deplore the mischief which has been done by the fanatical agitation of this great question at the North. Even Dr. Channing says of the abolitionists, "They have done wrong, I believe; nor is their wrong to be winked at because done fanatically, or with good intentions; for how much mischief may be wrought with good designs! They have fallen into the common error of enthusiasts, that of exaggerating their object, of feeling as if no evil existed but that which they opposed, and as if no guilt could be compared with that of countenancing and upholding it. The tone of their newspapers, as far as I have seen them, has often been fierce, bitter, and abusive."

While, however, I speak thus of Northern fanaticism, I must be permitted to say, that I think there is a morbid sensitiveness at the South with reference to slavery. It was not so once. You remember, sir, when it was not so. We have documents showing that religious bodies, and political bodies, in the Slave States, used formerly to discuss the subject freely. And we at the South ought still to discuss it. While we repel all impertinent intermeddling, we owe it to ourselves not to allow such impertinence to move us from a calm, generous, and conscientious discharge of our duty. And if such measures were adopted by Congress, as a wise, just, benevolent government ought, in my judgment, to adopt, I am confident there are multitudes in the Southern States who would at once throw all their influence in favor of Colonization, and bring to the cause a noble spirit of disinterestedness and sacrifice.

Mr. President, I sincerely hope that, after the late storm, the tendency of the political elements is to repose. When Chancellor Oxenstiern's son declined a place in the councils of Sweden, on account of his inexperience, that sagacious old statesman said, "Go see, *quam parva sapientia regitur mundus.*" Go see, by how little wisdom the world is governed. And we must remember this proverb. The speeches delivered in Congress and our State Legislatures, are not always true exponents of the calm good sense, the conservatism and patriotism of the people. In spite of certain symptoms and presages, I hope that the late crisis has passed. Nobody, however, can suppose that the danger to this Union has passed. The true peril is one which politicians, I fear, overlook. It is in *the religious convictions and sentiments of the entire North with reference to slavery.* Even if a statesman were an infidel, he must remember that the people are not.

The Bible is the *lex legum*, the law of laws, and must ultimately decide all controversies in this country. Politics is the science of compromises, but religion allows no compromise with evil. And there will be a deep and deepening feeling at the North, a consequent resentment at the South, and a growing estrangement between North and South, until something is done to meet the religious sentiments connected with slavery. As a political question, slavery has in it nothing very exciting or alarming. But we are a religious people, and slavery is, and will ever be, a subject of intense religious feeling.

Now, viewing slavery in the light of religion, it seems to me there are some points which the North ought seriously to ponder.

First, the South are not responsible for the introduction of negroes into this country. It was in spite of the solemn protestations of many of the Colonies. In the next place, the African has been vastly improved, in every physical view, by his transplantation. The African here is an entirely superior animal to the African on his native continent. And as to comforts, I speak from personal observation, when I say that, with a kind master, the slave population are more happy, and contented, and better cared for than a large portion of the laboring classes in Europe. The other morning I had to leave Baltimore for Washington before daylight. I left my servants in warm beds, with no idea of rising before the sun, and then to be clad as warmly as myself, and to fare as I fare. I met near the Depot an Irishman, who, though the morning was bitter, stood thinly clad, and shivering with cold. Upon inquiring, I found that he regarded himself as uncommonly fortunate in securing the place he filled in connection with the rail-road. He was enabled, he said, to pay his rent monthly, to buy his fuel, and to supply his family with food. But, to do this, he had to be at his post every day, the Sabbath not excepted, by three o'clock in the morning, and to be occupied till night. An overcoat was a luxury of which he never thought. When I compared the lot of this man with that of a slave whose master is kind, I felt that no friend of humanity, looking only to his physical condition, would wish the negro to change places with this laborer.

It is, however, the religious blessings enjoyed by the African in this country which are the most important. And upon this point let me state what I believe to be a fact clearly ascertained. At all the Missionary Stations together there are, at this time, about 56,000 professed converts from Paganism to Christianity. The Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist Churches, in the Slave States, contain about 350,000 colored members. If these Africans had remained in their native land, probably not one of them would ever have heard the sound of the Gospel. By their trans-

portation to this country, five times as many souls are to-day believers in Jesus Christ, as are to be found in all the Missionary Churches together.

These facts all candid men at the North must admit, and they ought surely to silence much of that clamor which has been raised about the abominations of slavery. But, now, while the North ought to admit all this, there are some things which we at the South ought also candidly to admit. I know, sir, that man is fallen, and that he would not be fallen if he at once opened his eyes to unwelcome truths. But, after all, I might confidently ask our statesmen, if they can travel at the North and South, without feeling that while slavery enriches the individual, it impoverishes and desolates the State, and fosters indolence and luxury, vices which have ever been the bane of nations? I might shew that in case of invasion by a free people, slavery would not be to us an element of strength, as has been affirmed, but would be—what it was to the Roman Empire under the inroads of the Northmen—a source of weakness, perplexity and danger. I might appeal to every Christian, whether, when God says "*Search the Scriptures,*" the human mind ought to be shut up from reading those Scriptures? Whether, when Jesus says "*What God hath joined together let not man put asunder,*" the marriage tie ought to be dissolved? I might inquire of every upright man, whether labor ought not to be compensated? In a conversation with that ornament of his country, the late Mr. Calhoun, he expressed the opinion that we do pay fair wages. I will not go into the calculation. It is the principle with which I have to do. In short, to a generous soul, perfect dependence is an irresistible plea for protection; and, left to their own free, innate, generous impulses, I hope that Southern planters are the very men to admire and imitate the Antonines and other Roman Emperors, who became guardians of the slaves, and extended over them a paternal government.

I will not, however, insist on these points. The only concession I now urge is one which I made some years ago, when writing to Dr. Wayland, and against which I heard scarcely an objection. It is, that slavery is not good thing, and a thing to be perpetuated. I believe, sir, there are few at the South who would hesitate about making this concession, and, if this concession were made, might not this great nation interpret and understand itself? Would it not be oil upon the waters, a bow of promise in our troubled sky? Might we not hope that an equilibrium would be restored in our political atmosphere, and the dangerous clouds now lowering in our horizon be forever buried in the deep bosom of the ocean?

If these concessions were made at the North and South; if, in one quarter, fanaticism would cease to denounce every slaveholder as a mons-

ter of iniquity; and if, in another quarter, fanaticism would cease to advocate the perpetuation of slavery as a blessing, it seems to me that a middle ground, a platform of peace and brotherly feeling might be found, upon which all good men could meet, and, in the spirit of a large and generous philanthropy, consult as to the duty of the Anglo-Saxon race towards this other race who are now among them. The question is certainly a most delicate and difficult one. False as are many of Machiavelli's doctrines, he uttered a profound truth when he said, that "*To make a servile people free is as difficult as to make a free people slaves.*"

So far, we at the South, who are seeking earnestly to know our duty, can see no change, contemplating the residence of such a vast number of Africans amongst us, which we regard as worthy of our attention. Nay, we see none which we do not consider most calamitous to both races. If the large and increasing black population at the South are to stay there, it must be as slaves or as masters. In States where there were only a few of these people, and where slavery was becoming an expense, laws were enacted for the prospective extinction of the institution. Such laws will not be passed at the South. Upon our rich lands slave labor is the cheapest and most profitable labor, and society would be subverted by the manumission of such a multitude belonging to another race. Moreover, if any movement is ever made in behalf of the slave, it must be under the influence of Christian principle; but all these legislative interpositions have been purely political. The object has been to rid the State of an evil. Such Acts of Assemblies are really notifications to slaveholders to remove their slaves farther South, before a certain period. As a Christian, I have no sympathy with any such plans. They overlook the slave, and seek the good of the community. They proceed as if man was made for the good of society, and not society for the good of man. They reverse the ethics of Jesus Christ, and place patriotism above philanthropy. With the Bible in my hands, I feel that a single immortal human being has a nobleness far exceeding that of this whole nation, as a nation; but all these enactments regard the human being as little, the State as everything.

In looking to the British West Indies, we see nothing to invite us to imitate the policy there pursued. In fact, I do not regard the experiment there as a fair one. The movement there was not a free, spontaneous, generous impulse, originating a noble enterprise. It was forced upon the masters. Hence, they yielded everything mutinously. And what was yielded grudgingly, was received ungraciously, and doggedly, with no gratitude to the masters, but with a feeling of aversion to them, as tyrants who had been compelled, by a diatant government, to do this tardy and reluctant justice.

For the African in this country, if he is ever to be liberated and elevated, there is but one hope. It is Colonization. I turn, and turn, and turn, and see scarcely a ray of light in any other quarter. At a very early period I find the State of Virginia applying to the President of the United States, to know if a tract of land could be procured on our Western frontier, as a settlement for the free blacks. Not very long afterwards a most able memorial was presented to Congress, seeking the interposition of the National Government, for the purpose of transporting to Africa the free blacks who should wish to go, and others who should be manumitted for the purpose of being transferred to some colony.*—Other memorials of the same kind have since been presented, and reports have been made, but hitherto the great work has been carried on almost wholly by individual generosity. The settlement at Liberia is not a Colony founded by a Government; it is a young nation, reared, and fostered, nay, created, chiefly by private Christian philanthropy.

The time has now come, when we ought not to invoke in vain the patronage of the nation, and the attention of the whole people, to this grand enterprise. The power of Congress to make appropriations for such an object can, I think, be easily established. And shall $300,000,000 be lavished in a war about a plat of some few square miles,† and justice, humanity, religion, plead in vain? Congress has, I suppose, been hitherto reluctant to commit the nation to an undertaking, which seemed to many a chimerical, Utopian experiment. But this thing is no longer an experiment. There stands the Republic of Liberia! And if private benevolence has achieved so much, what cannot be accomplished by the wisdom and resources of this nation.

I wish, sir, I had time to read letters which were written on this subject, by Mr. Jefferson, General Harper, and others, when your Society was first organized. These wise men were of one mind. They regarded Colonization by this Government as the only hope for the free colored population. And they went farther. They viewed it as the only solution of the great problem now before us with reference to slavery.

Mr. President, this Society recognizes distinctly the rights of property claimed by the South. You remarked, when first, some twenty years ago, you took the chair you now fill, and which I hope you may long live to adorn, that you and others were members only upon this condition. I am a Southern man, and speak as such. In the providence of God I am a slaveholder. And it is as a Southern man, and slaveholder, that I feel the deepest interest in Colonization. *What is to be the end of all this?* such

*See Senate Records, for the proposal of Mr. King to apply the proceeds of the public lands to this object.

†The Mexican war.

is the question which, for years, has been the subject of my most devout and prayerful solicitude. Nor can I see, for myself and for hundreds who feel as I do, any answer, unless Congress shall meet our earnest desires, and wisely and nobly employ the power which Congress unquestionably possesses.

The great body of the Southern people prefer, at present, to hold the sort of property they now have. And their rights and feelings must be most sacredly respected. Surely men ought not to hold office under the Constitution, and yet disregard the articles of that instrument which may happen to conflict with their views. For such persons duty is plain.—Let them seek an amendment of the Constitution. Failing in this, they, of course, are involved in no responsibility. People may differ as to the language of the Bible with reference to slavery; but there can be no difference as to the precepts of the Bible requiring obedience to the laws.

The rights of the South must be untouched. As to slavery, whatever is done must be done by the South. They are responsible to God, and to God only. But, sir, there are many at the South who, like myself, are willing to make very great sacrifices, if we can see a way open to enlighten, and elevate the human beings committed to our care; and Congress ought to be ready to make large appropriations to meet these cases. Such citizens have a right to expect these appropriations. Year after year, money is voted to encourage, and aid, every improvement in the arts and sciences. It is nothing to expend thousands upon inventions, not only to benefit, but to destroy our race. All sorts of contrivances for exploding gunpowder, and projecting the missiles of death, seek and find favor here. Is it not time to apply some part of the resources of this Government, to the greatest of all improvements, *the improvement of man himself?* Surely too, such appropriations are due to the slave. This country ought to make some reparation to Africa for the wrongs inflicted upon that continent.

I have said, Mr. President, that many at the South are willing to make greater sacrifices than any abolitionist ever has made, or would make, if they can thus benefit the slave; and that the govnrnment ought to co-operate with such citizens. But, sir, in my humble judgment, this is not all which the government ought to do. I venture the opinion, that this government ought to go much farther. I am no statesman, nor politician. I am an humble minister of religion, and what I now say may, at first, seem like madness to politicians and statesmen. But, sir, if it be insanity, it has come upon me as insanity never comes, by the most calm, patient, protracted, and prayerful contemplation of a great subject. Let not the thought I throw out with humility, be scouted, then, as wild and chimerical, but let it be weighed candidly.

I am supposing, sir, that the North sincerely desire the good of the slave, and are willing to make sacrifices for that object; but feel the folly and mischief of contributions and lectures, since the destiny of the slave is entirely in the hands of his master. I am supposing, too, that multitudes at the South are anxious for the same noble consummation, do not desire the perpetuation of slavery, but see only ruin to themselves, and their slaves, in any project of emancipation in their power.

Now, sir, supposing such a state of things to exist, and I believe it does exist to an extent of which we have no conception, could not the national legislation be adapted most wisely, and with the happiest results, to such an emergency? Sir, I am not given to circumlocution and indirection, when I have any thing to say; and what I mean is this. It seems to me, that the salvation of this Union, a sacred duty to Africa, peace, harmony, love, and justice, all invoke the interposition of the nation, not only to deport, but to redeem the slaves of those who are willing thus to enter into a vast, and tedious, but most glorious enterprise.

To any such scheme I know a fiery fanaticism will oppose itself, exclaiming, "It will be acknowledging the master's right!" But is this friendship to the African? The right, the power, exists. No earthly power can destroy it. And is not the liberation and happiness of a single human being, of more consequence than the discussion of an abstract and useless dogma? I put out of view the fact, that multitudes of the slaves were originally purchased from Northern men, who imported them into the Southern harbors. I ask these objectors a single question. Admit, as you say, (a calumny which I deny and detest) that we are robbers. If your child was in the hands of robbers, would you refuse to redeem it? Would you harangue about the right of the robber, and allow your child to remain a captive?*

So unhealthy an excitement exists at the South that there, too, any such project will at first find much opposition. And, of course, as far as the South objects, nothing can be done; for, I repeat it over and over, no tampering with our rights will be permitted. But would such opposition be reasonable?

First, we at the South are constantly asserting the right of each individual to do what he will with his own, provided he do not interfere with others. And the exportation of my slaves would really benefit my neighbor. But this is little. The interests, the preservation, of the South, require that some such channel be one day opened, and a draining commenced.

*This Government has redeemed captives, I allude to the Algerine prisoners.

See! Slave territority is now strictly circumscribed. The slaves are rapidly increasing. At some future day Texas and the slave States, will be overstocked. What then? Why, then State after State will have to protect itself against the introduction of negroes. What then? Within the borders of each State, the African will multiply, until the land shall groan under the load; and, instead of a Bill to recover fugitive slaves, the difficulty will be to recover fugitive masters. The North, I am confident, do not desire to see the South thus ruined. If we at the South do not perceive this approaching evil, we are blind. If we see it, and, either *by secession*, or opposition, defeat all attempts to anticipate and prevent it, we are worse than blind, we are infatuated.

Looking, then, only to the interest of the South, I say, '*Vementi occurrite morbo!* Meet the disease while it is coming on! And do not meet it with opiates, still less, with stimulants. Let no one, however, suppose that I am speaking only for the South. I am pleading for man and for God; and I look mainly to this scheme, for the ultimate liberation and elevation of the African.* The Gospel is abroad, and is everywhere triumphing. That Gospel rebukes the madness of sudden and violent movements in such a cause. The Gospel is love. This love is now altering the relation between master and slave. It will gradually melt off all servile bonds, and cause the master to desire to let the slave go free. And what a blessing to have a benignant government, ready to second the wishes of the master, and to become the guardian of the slave.

Such a plan would daily make converts among christians. The North, with a large and constantly increasing co-operation from the South, and finally with the whole South, would be united in the sublimest enterprise which ever employed the wisdom and power of a great empire. And though the pioneers in this cause at the South might have to encounter much not easy to be borne; yet the consciousnes of duty discharged can sustain a man in much; God can support and console a man in all. Future generations would honor the memory of such persons; and in them would be fulfilled the language of the Saviour, 'The Fathers persecuted the prophets, the children build their tombs and garnish their sepulchres.'

I feel, Mr. President, that I owe on apology for the length to which I have gone, unconscious to myself, though I fear not without the consciousness of this audience, crowded as it is, and many of them standing. I have said nothing of the vast resources and the commerce of Africa. I

*I do not suppose that the two races can ever be entirely separated. Many may remain as free laborers. We must, too, never overlook the shameful but glaring fact, that, while legitimate amalgamation is out of the question, the two races are amalgamating everywhere throughout the country, especially in the slave States, by illicit intercourse, and the Ethiopian is thus changing his skin.

have not alluded to the able report of a distinguished member of Congress now present, with reference to a line of steamers to Africa. The days of miracles are past, but God can open the sea to facilitate His purposes. Nor have I mentioned the slave trade, which can be more effectually suppressed by Colonization than by the combined navies of Great Britain, France and America.

If I could bring the minds of those present, especially if I could secure your attention, and that of other statesmen whom I see before me, to the subject which presses upon me, I should thank God and take courage. Perhaps what I have suggested will be regarded as the dream of a visionary. In the popular vocabulary, wisdom and folly often mean the compliance or non-compliance of our views, not with truth, but with public opinion. Hence, the first insurrection of the human mind against any usurpation of society, is always regarded as insanity. "*A strange man uttering strange things!*" people say of him who first differs from the mass around him. But if the strange things, uttered by that strange man, be true things, they will not be lost. No testimony, however feeble, if for great principles, can wholly be lost. It will awaken an echo somewhere. And I am persuaded that what I have spoken to-night, with great diffidence, and with the sympathy of, perhaps, only a few of this multitude, will, one day, be regarded, not as the chimera of an enthusiast, but as the language of soberness and truth. And, though what I have proposed would require a vast expenditure and many years, perhaps centuries, yet money and time are nothing in so glorious a work. Why, sir, the interest on the national debt of England for ten years would purchase every slave in this country at a fair value. And, as to time, chronic evils demand chronic remedies. God has admonished us, by his own conduct, that all great works demand time and patience. In creation, in redemption, he proceeded slowly. It is only little and contracted and foolish men who hope to do anything in a hurry.

In conclusion, whatever we do, let us do it with faith; faith in God; faith in ourselves; faith in our cause. No element in human conduct contributes more to success than confidence of succeeding. By faith Leonidas fought and fell at Thermopylæ; and his heroic devotion made Greece invincible. By faith Columbus stood intrepid on the deck of a frail bark, while around him all was discouragement and mutiny. By faith he saw an unknown land and resolved to reach it. Alexander wept for another world to conquer, but his tears availed not. The faith of Columbus revealed that other world. It sustained him as he journeyed from court to court, seeking sympathy and aid in his glorious scheme. And when at midnight, on a stormy sea, the entire crew, and all the officers of his ship,

demanded the abandonment of a voyage which seemed so utterly hopeless, what but an inextinguishable faith still cheered him, and assured him that in three days his toils would be crowned with success? What would have been the fate of this nation, amidst the struggles of the Revolution, had not faith sustained our forefathers? And thus it ever is. The timid and weak believe not, because they see not. The great are great, they conquer, because they believe. Faith ever has been, and must be, the strength and consolation of those who do great things. In all grand enterprises we may say with truth, "*According to your faith be it unto you*," "*Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.*"

As patriots, it seems to me, that all good citizens must desire to promote the great work which I have advocated. If the North and South can agree in so sublime an enterprise, not only must the selectest blessings of God rest upon this nation, but the very co-operation would bind the members of this Union together by the closest and most delightful bands. Instead of discord and strife, how pleasant a sight to see brethren, from every portion of this great commonwealth, consenting to make disinterested sacrifies; consulting as to the best means of atoning for the wrongs done by their forefathers to an unoffending race; over the very highway once vexed and cursed by the keel of the slave ship, sending our stars and stripes to restore to Africa her long lost children—and restore them, not as they came, utterly imbruted, but, by God's blessing overruling the mercenary spirit of man, civilized, enlightened, converted and qualified to regenerate and reclaim that degraded continent.

Mr. Chairman, such a scheme would perpetuate this great Republic. Not *esto*, but *erit perpetua* might be written upon the noble monument erecting on the common yonder.* But, sir, if something practical and effectual be not done, vainly shall we cry, 'Peace,' 'Peace,' when there is no peace. As the Roman augurs explored the bowels of their victims for the signs of coming events, so, to predict the future destiny of a nation, we must not look at the surface of society, we must search into the heart of things, we must study the hidden principles, and motives, and feelings, of the people. And, looking to these, no one, it seems to me, can love this country much, without fearing much.

For my part, born at the South, educated at the North, intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the South and North, and residing where I am daily in contact with the feelings of North and South, I utter my most solemn convictions when I say, that the elements of danger, the *ignes suppositi cineri doloso*, are under our feet. Unless something be done, this Union cannot, I fear, be saved from the agitation of the slavery

* The Washington Monument.

question, and (which may Heaven avert!) from civil conflict. Your days, sir, are almost numbered. Your venerable head will soon be reposing in the tomb, and the shock and tumult of a fratricidal war will not disturb your long, last, sleep. But some of us may be young enough to see that dismal hour. Unless something be done, the noble column yonder may rear itself to heaven only to have inscribed upon it the epitaph of this nation. Or rather, it had better remain as it is; it had better never be completed. It had better be left like those unfinished pillars which we see in our grave yards, the mutilated shaft telling of a life broken off in the midst—its hopes, its promises, its destiny, all suddenly blasted.

I love my country, I love this Union. May God spread over it the banner of his protection! But, sir, much as I love my country, I finish by repeating what I said before. I love *man* more. And it is as one of the greatest of all the achievements of philanthropy, that I most ardently wish success to Colonization. In this view, its dignity, its sublimity, transcend all language, all thought. Its object is the noblest upon earth. Statesmen and conquerors, who control the outward policy of kingdoms, have no greatness when compared with the humblest individual who enlightens and saves a human spirit. Such a man works upon imperishable materials, and works for eternity. In him is fulfilled that saying of the Redeemer, "The glory which thou gavest me, have I given them." He shares with Jesus his most resplendent honor, that of rescuing and regenerating the human soul; of raising it from degradation and perdition to an ever-growing immortality, an immortality which shall still be expanding and brightening when all the vain records of this earth shall have been forgotten, when the stars shall have burned out, and the sun itself shall have been extinguished.

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