

Rev. Henry Price
Boscawen

DR. DANA'S DISCOURSE

BEFORE THE

New Hampshire Colonization Society.

DISCOURSE

ADDRESSED TO

The New-Hampshire Auxiliary

COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AT THEIR

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING,

CONCORD, JUNE 2, 1825.

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E. V.

DISCOURSE.

HEBREWS XIII. 3.

REMEMBER THEM THAT ARE IN BONDS, AS BOUND WITH THEM; AND THEM WHICH SUFFER ADVERSITY, AS BEING YOURSELVES ALSO IN THE BODY.

AGES before the SON OF GOD appeared in flesh, it was declared of him in prophecy, that he should "preach the gospel to the poor;" that he should "bind up the broken-hearted;" that he should "give to mourners, beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

In these touching descriptions, we recognize not only the spirit and life of the Saviour, but the presiding genius of his religion. Christianity has come from heaven, to banish the sins and miseries of our guilty race. In accomplishing her benign errand, she neglects no portion of the human family. But she fastens her chief regards on the wretched, the destitute, the helpless, the forsaken. Hence those precepts, addressed to all her votaries—precepts found in no other religion—precepts which carry instantaneous conviction to the heart, that the gospel is an emanation from the God of LOVE: "Be merciful, as your Father also is merciful." "Bear ye one another's burdens." "Comfort the feeble-minded; support the weak." "Visit the fatherless and widows in their

affliction." "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them ; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body."

In the injunctions last cited, we cannot but perceive a peculiar emphasis and meaning. They obviously assume the principle, that we are bound to regard each individual of our race, as another *self* ; to make his interests, his joys and griefs, our own ; and to give to these internal sympathies, their legitimate practical operation and effect. It is thus that the gospel seizes on the most powerful and active feeling of our nature, our self-love ; and, hopeless as the task may seem, bends and moulds it to its own benevolent purposes. Commanding us to love our fellow-creatures *as ourselves*, it converts a principle which is ordinarily a boundless source of error, into a safe, and almost infallible guide. It does not merely correct the mistakes, and repress the extravagancies of our self-regard. It renders it a spring of beneficent action. It extracts from it the most efficient motives and aids to a kind and equitable treatment of our fellow-beings. It is thus that Christianity aims to form the whole human race into one family of peace and love ; a family admitting no separate interests, no conflicting aims, no solitary joys or griefs ; a family in which sufferings shall be softened, and felicities enhanced, by mutual sympathy and participation.

The question may be naturally asked : If the gospel is the sovereign and Heaven-appointed remedy for human guilt and wretchedness, why has it accomplished no more ? Why, after an experiment, in our world, for eighteen centuries, does such an immense and appalling mass of depravity and suffering still remain ?

The answer to this question, no Christian can give, but with pain and grief. The gospel, though designed by its Author for a universal religion, has never become a universal religion. Immense regions of our globe have been as yet unvisited by its heavenly light. Other regions, once illu-

minated, have reverted back to their original gloom. In the nineteenth century of Christianity, only about one fourth part of the fallen race enjoy its reviving beams ; and six hundred millions of heathen call aloud on Christians to obey their Saviour's command, and send them the gospel of salvation.

The *Christian* world, too, confined as are its limits, is most imperfectly christianized. Whole communities have little of the religion of Jesus, but its cold, unanimated form. Thousands, myriads of its professors seem strangely destitute of its spirit, and even unconscious of its claims.

In addition to these deplorable facts, there is another cause which does much to explain the imperfect influence of Christianity in meliorating the condition of man. The *associating* plan, that moral *lever*, by which such mighty movements are accomplished ; that instrument by which Christianity itself puts forth some of its best energies, is a kind of modern invention. Half a century since, it was scarcely understood, that projects of extended and systematic benevolence, baffling the powers and means of individuals, need not baffle the combined exertions of numbers. But the discovery is now made ; and it constitutes a great epoch in the history of the church, and of man. A new order of things has commenced. Brighter hopes are shed on all the momentous interests of religion and humanity. Barren speculations, indolent sensibilities and wishes, give place to lofty enterprises and vigorous exertions. Projects of benevolence no longer expire in the bosoms which gave them birth ; but, communicated from mind to mind, and from heart to heart, change the face of whole communities. The opulent, no longer compelled to groan beneath a weight of useless treasure, at once *impart* their wealth, and *enjoy* it. Christians begin to combine their active energies for the accomplishment of the great objects of their united prayers.

Among the benevolent associations which adorn and bless our country, the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY holds a dis-

tinguished rank. This Society originated with men high in the public esteem and confidence. Among its principal officers and patrons, not a few are lights and ornaments of the age. Many of the highest Functionaries of the General Government have been its active friends. No inconsiderable number of the State Legislatures have lifted up their voice in its favor. The representative bodies of nearly all the religious denominations of our country have given it their solemn sanction and patronage. Foreigners of the first distinction, a TEIGNMOUTH, a GAMBIER, a WILBERFORCE, a LA FAYETTE—the friend, and the *idol* of our nation—have honored it with tokens of their regard. These are facts which speak for themselves. A Society thus recommended, can scarcely fail to secure the confidence and support of the enlightened citizens of New-Hampshire. Probably, indeed, our remoteness from the scene has rendered our acquaintance with this object less distinct, than with most others of equal magnitude. The more immediate and palpable interest of our Southern brethren, in the case, may be thought, likewise, to excuse us from a participation in this work of mercy. I shall then, I trust, be permitted, on this occasion, to offer to my respected audience, a few thoughts on the nature and design of the institution, and on the circumstances which give it a claim to general attention and patronage.

The declared and exclusive object of the American Colonization Society, as stated in its Constitution, adopted at Washington, December, 1816, is “to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of color, residing in our country—in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.”

To effect this object, the Society proposes to “act in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.”

The *seat* of the proposed Colony, which the Constitution left undetermined, has since been fixed. Reasons of the most imperious nature fastened the eyes of the Society on

Africa. They first attempted to form a settlement in the Sherbro country. But this attempt, through the insalubrity of the climate, and other causes, proved disastrous, and was ultimately abandoned. They have since procured, near Cape Montserado, a fine and healthful territory, to which they have given the name of LIBERIA; thus designating it as "the home and the country of freedmen." Here they have planted a colony, consisting, at the present time, of nearly four hundred. Land has been distributed to the colonists, houses have been erected, and fields enclosed and cultivated. A species of government has been established, which, while it admits the liberated blacks to a share of the authority, has hitherto proved adequate to the purposes of safety and order. The climate has been found eminently propitious to the health of the new inhabitants. In addition, schools are already established, and houses of worship are in progress. In fine, we are informed that numbers of these injured fellow-beings, restored to freedom, and to the land of their fathers, have found there, a second and nobler liberty—the liberty of the sons of God.

The aim of the American Colonization Society, you now clearly perceive. It is to sever the free blacks of our country from the mass of our population, and reunite them to their kindred in Africa. It is to take them away from a region to which they do not belong, and where they can never feel themselves at home; and give them back to the land for which the kind Author of their being framed and designed them.

Should we not do this on our own account? Does not a wise regard to ourselves, and to the high and sacred interests of our country, imperiously demand it? In these United States, there are not less, perhaps, than three hundred thousand of the children of Africa, nominally free.

Are they happy? They are not. They cannot be. Every thing around them, every thing they see, or hear, or feel, tells them that they are a despised, degraded race. In

a land of freedom, they have but the shadow of liberty. Among a people which has declared in the face of Heaven, that "all men are created equal," they find themselves regarded as a wretched and solitary exception to the general law of the Creator. Their systematic and rigid exclusion from many of the dearest privileges of freemen, and from their very communion, reminds them, every day and hour, that they are a distinct *cast* in society, separated from all the rest by a gulf impassable.

Are they virtuous and moral? It would be wonderful indeed if they were—deprived of the motives, set free from the restraints, which ordinarily influence to sober conduct; lost to the simplicity of the savage life, and to the refinements of civilized society; degraded in the eyes of others, degraded in their own. Yet even from these depths, the gospel has raised some. On numbers of these unhappy beings, the religion of Jesus has displayed its all-subduing, all-purifying, heart-consoling power. These, however, are exceptions to a general rule. The great mass of African population in our country is corrupt and corrupting.

Do these people furnish materials from which to form good citizens, good friends and neighbors? The answer to this question has been anticipated. In addition, likewise, to all the causes which tend to pollute, to degrade, and render them miserable, there are principles of *repulsion* between them and us, which can never be overcome. They can never forget their wrongs. And if they could, we could not. By a law of human nature, I mean of human depravity, the man who has injured a fellow-being, becomes from that moment, his enemy. If it is hard to forgive a fellow-creature who has wronged us, it is still harder to forgive a fellow-creature whom we have wronged. Our selfishness, our pride, our meanness (and when was pride unaccompanied by meanness?) our fears, all forbid it. Here is an ample source indeed of unkindness from us to the Africans of our country. In the immense catalogue of human woes, where is there an

evil which we have not inflicted on them, or their fathers? And for what cause? What is their crime? Doubtless they are "guilty of a skin" many shades darker than our own. Generally, too, they are guilty of slavery, with all its toil, and sweat, and privation, and debasement. These are their inextinguishable offences.

Let us then, *for our own sakes*, convey these sufferers home. If we would not be pained by the spectacle of thousands and myriads whose very presence is our severe reproach; whom our unkindness has made wretched, and our example rendered both corrupt and contaminating, let us gladly embrace the advantages furnished by Providence for their removal.

Do we not owe this tribute to the Africans themselves, and to that important, but injured region of the globe from which they derive their origin? We have cast a glance at their degraded condition, and degraded character. We have seen, likewise, that between these two species of degradation, there is a plain and palpable connexion. Shall we close to these unhappy men, all the avenues of knowledge; and wonder that they are not intelligent and learned? Shall we remove from them the ordinary incentives and guards to virtue; and wonder that they are not moral? Shall we bar up their path to all the objects of a generous ambition; and wonder that their pursuits are low and degrading? Shall we enslave them; and complain that they are servile? Shall we treat them like brutes; and expect them to be men? Some, indeed, to palliate the enormities inflicted on the Africans, would persuade us that they belong in reality to another species. Cold-hearted, hateful, impious pretence! Well may these persecuted beings retort the bitter taunt on us. If we doubt whether they have *intellects*, well may they doubt whether we have *hearts*. Well may they exclude us from the pale of *humanity*. For what do they know of civilized nations; and (O shame!) what do they know of *Christian* nations, but that they can traffick in their flesh and

blood; can riot in their groans, and feast upon their miseries?

Detain them, then, no longer. This is not their country. Our very atmosphere to them is tainted. In every gale, they perceive the hateful scent of *slavery*. O let them breathe the air of the land of their fathers. With every breeze they will inhale vigor to their bodies, and their minds. It will be *life from the dead*. Send them home; and send with them Christian instructions and privileges; let them feel that they are really free; that they are surrounded with their equals; that the prize of knowledge, of virtue, of glory is set before them; and you will find that Africans are men. You will find among them the blessings of cultivated life, and of social order; the rich fruits of industry, and enterprise; the ennobling virtues of Christianity.

These anticipations, which, to some, I know, may seem chimerical, are sustained by solid, undeniable facts. Scarcely any where, among the untutored tribes of men, have the attempts of pious benevolence to introduce the gospel, been more successful, than among the Hottentots, the Caffres, and other heathen of Southern Africa. Christianity, in this, as in every similar case, has brought in its train, the blessings of civilization. Changes the most salutary and surprising have passed on the most degraded of human beings. Many a wilderness has blossomed as the rose. Many a desert has become vocal with the praises of God, and fruitful in blessings to man.

But an experiment has been made, even more analogous to that we have in view; and made with a success which has astonished its most sanguine friends. I refer to the Colony of Sierra Leone. A few years since, that bright spot was enveloped in the deepest gloom. It was a scene of the most detestable of all species of traffick; the slave trade. The settlement began with a number of blacks from the city of London; the very sweepings of its streets. Next followed some hundreds of fugitive slaves from America. The third

portion introduced, consisted of Maroons from the island of Jamaica; freebooters and vagabonds. The fourth and last class were fourteen or fifteen thousand Africans, liberated from slave ships, and found in the lowest extreme of ignorance and wretchedness. Such was the chaos out of which rose, in a few years, a little kingdom, containing many thousands of inhabitants; under regular government; and embracing schools, churches, a Bible Society, a Missionary Society, a printing establishment, with a weekly gazette; and even sending out native missionaries to preach the gospel to their benighted countrymen around them.*

Says a member of the British Parliament, referring to the changes which have occurred within the last nine years: "Every person who hears me, will concur with me, I think, in concluding that there never was so hopeless an experiment as that undertaken at Sierra Leone in 1816. Who would not have said that centuries must pass away, before we could make any efficient alteration in the state of these savages?—That is one side of the picture. But turn the other. Out of this strange mass of people, what kind of population has been formed? A population which, in order, and decency, and sobriety, and in the knowledge and practice of Christian duty, not only may rival, but I firmly and from my heart believe, exceeds any equal population in the most favored part of this highly favored country."†

And why might not a colony from our own country be fraught with equal blessings, not only to the individuals composing it, but to Africa itself? Why might it not convey Christianity and civilization, the sciences and arts, into those benighted and cheerless realms? Why might it not deliver myriads and millions of unhappy beings from the grossest ignorance, from the most degrading superstitions and idolatries, to the knowledge, the service, and the enjoyment of

* See the Third Annual Report of the American Colonization Society. *Appendix*.

† See Missionary Herald, vol. 20, p. 332.

the only living and true God? This, my hearers, is a debt which we indispensably owe to Africa. She has long known us by our crimes, our cruelties, our ruthless invasions, and the wounds we have inflicted in her very vitals. Let her at length know our mercy, our penitence, our wish to sooth the anguish of her heart, and bind up her bleeding wounds. Her cries have long ascended to the throne of eternal justice, and imprecated on us the vengeance of the Deity. Let us now lead her to the throne of *grace*, and engage her intercessions there, that, if possible, the wrath we have merited, may be turned away.

It is pleasing to remark that the great object of benefit to Africa, had a prominent place in the design of the Colonization Society, and the wishes of its founders. "It may be reserved," (say its Managers, in their memorial to Congress—it may be reserved) "for our government—the first to denounce an inhuman and abominable traffick, in the guilt and disgrace of which most of the civilized nations of the world were partakers—to become the honorable instrument, under Divine Providence, of conferring a still higher blessing upon the large and interesting portion of mankind, benefitted by that deed of justice; by demonstrating that a race of men, composing numerous tribes, spread over a continent of vast and unexplored extent, fertility and riches, unknown to the enlightened nations of antiquity; and who had yet made no progress in the refinements of civilization; for whom history has preserved no monuments of arts or arms; that even this hitherto ill-fated race may cherish the hope of beholding at last the orient star, revealing the best and highest aims and attributes of man. Out of such materials, to rear the glorious edifice of well ordered and polished society, upon the deep and sure foundations of equal laws and diffusive education, would give a sufficient title to be enrolled among the illustrious benefactors of mankind; whilst it afforded a precious and consolatory evidence of the all-prevailing power of liberty, enlightened by knowledge, and cor-

rected by religion. If the experiment, in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast regions and unnumbered tribes, yet obscured in primeval darkness; reclaim the rude wanderer from a life of wretchedness to civilization and humanity; and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstitions, to the holy charities, the sublime morality, and humanizing discipline of the gospel; the nation or the individual, that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benignant enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race; unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of divine beneficence—a glory, with which the most splendid achievements of human force or power must sink in the competition, and appear insignificant and vulgar in the comparison.”

These are great, and lofty, and momentous considerations. No heart alive to the feelings of piety and benevolence can fail to feel their force. Still, the argument which pleads most directly and imperiously with the inhabitants of these States, in behalf of the Society in question, arises, perhaps, from another source. I refer to its probable connexion with the final and complete extinction of the slave trade, and of slavery.

On the magnitude of these evils, I have, at present, neither time nor inclination to expatiate at large. Indeed, were it otherwise, the ear of humanity would tingle at the recital; and every heart, that is a heart of flesh, would bleed. As to the slave trade, could its history be accurately written, it would constitute, I verily believe, the blackest page in all the annals of human crime, and cruelty, and suffering. It would substantiate, as *more* than poetically true, what has been declared by one Poet:

Man is to man the sorest, surest ill.

And by another:

There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart:
It does not feel for man.

And when we recollect the part which our own countrymen have borne in this inhuman traffick; when we reflect, too, that the broad eye of Heaven has looked on these enormities; that they remain uncanceled on its records; where is the American but must shudder for his country?

As to slavery itself, it is now generally admitted that it is one of those rare evils in which there is no good; the foulest blot on the face of our country; a gangrene, corroding its very vitals; its *curse*—debasing its morals and manners, enfeebling its energies, obstructing its improvements, blasting its very soil with sterility, and threatening to deluge it with blood.

Yet even this description reaches not to the full extent of the evil. Slavery, let it not be forgotten, is an outrage on the authority of the GOD OF HEAVEN. It is a direct violation of that ETERNAL LAW which bids us love our fellow-creatures as ourselves; which bids us *treat* each fellow-creature as another self.

I am sensible that it is pleaded in behalf of slavery, as it exists in our country, that it is rather our infelicity, than our crime; that whatever guilt may attach to its original introduction, the present holders of slaves are innocent. In short, it is contended that the evil must now be patiently borne, as being absolutely necessary and irremediable.

Is this reasoning satisfactory? Is the necessity of holding our fellow-beings in bondage, so plain and palpable; is it so *invincible*, that its injustice is vacated? Is it not a first principle in morals, that we ought to encounter the greatest possible inconvenience, rather than commit the smallest sin? Unquestionably, then, in the present case, we cannot be innocent, until we have employed every practicable effort to rid ourselves of the evil.

Indeed, this law of *necessity*, or of *expediency* (for they are essentially the same) is a tremendous affair. It is the pretext which has been employed to justify most of the oppressions and cruelties under which our race has groaned, from

age to age. It is a weapon, too, which may change hands. The slave may brandish it, as well as his master. And what if the slaves of our continent should think it a matter of *clear expediency*, and of *very pressing necessity*, that they should be free? Or what if, imbibing the very sentiments which our nation has solemnly recorded, that "all men are created equal;" and that "liberty is an inalienable right;"—what if they should conceive the project of carrying these principles into practical operation?

But we believe that correct sentiments respecting the moral evil of slavery, are gradually pervading every part of our Union. We believe that they are cherished by numbers who inhabit the slave-holding States, and by many who are themselves holders of slaves. And we doubt not that such sentiments had an important influence in giving birth to the American Colonization Society.

Had this Society, as some have supposed, no other object than simply to rid the slave-holding States, at the expense of the whole Union, of the incumbrance of their free black population; and this, that they may retain their slaves in greater peace and security, the object would confessedly be unworthy of the patronage of New-England. But the Society has far greater and nobler designs. Beside contemplating the most precious and substantial benefits to the free people of color, and to Africa, it aims to prepare the way for the entire extinction of slavery. And as this is a point of vital importance, I must be permitted very briefly to offer some proofs.

Adverting to the First Annual Report of the Society, we find, in the opening speech of its President, Judge WASHINGTON, the following sentiments. "The effect," says he, "of this institution, if its prosperity should equal our wishes, will be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic society; and should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the *slow, but gradual abolition of slavery*, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them; and in

palliation of which we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity, until we shall have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction."

In an Appendix to the same Report, are contained the following thoughts of the lamented HARPER, published likewise under the sanction of the Society. "Great as the benefits are, which we may promise ourselves, from the colonization of the free people of color, by its tendency to prevent the corruption of our slaves, and to secure to them a better treatment, by rendering them more worthy of it, there is another advantage infinitely greater, in every point of view, to which it may lead the way. It tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us gradually and entirely, in the United States, of slaves and slavery; a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is justly apprehended. It is in this point of view, I confess, that your scheme of colonization most strongly recommends itself, in my opinion, to attention and support.

"It is obvious," adds this great Statesman, "that a vast benefit would be conferred on the country, and especially on the slave-holding states, if all the slave laborers could be gradually and imperceptibly withdrawn from cultivation, and their place supplied by free white laborers."

"If Africa is ever civilized," says one of the Society's Agents,* "the slave-trade must cease. If Africa is ever colonized, the slave-trade *will* cease, at least in the vicinity of the colonies."

In their Seventh Report, offered the last year, the managers thus decisively denounce the whole system of slavery. "In our national constitution," say they, "young and vigorous as it is, there exists a disease, growing with our growth, and strengthening with our strength, which unless remedied, will ruin us; possibly by slow decay, probably by sudden

* Rev. Mr. BURGESS, now minister in Dedham, Mass. See his Address to the American Colonization Society, read at a special meeting, Washington, Nov. 21, 1818.

violence. Loudly, then, as by an Angel's voice, are we called upon to awake, and before age has fixed our habits, and the poison become mingled in the fount of life, make those exertions which may secure perpetual strength, purchase immortal glory, and save us from terrors, darkening as we advance, which invest the future with clouds of mysterious and tremendous calamity."

Of the point in view, I offer no farther proof; and my respected hearers will require none. If regard is due to the explicit and repeated declarations of gentlemen whose known probity and honor place them above suspicion, it follows, that the entire abolition of slavery is a great and prominent object of the parent Society.

That its plans and efforts tend to produce this glorious result, is not less evident. It was a memorial of this Society to Congress, which occasioned the act of that honorable body, denouncing the slave-trade as *piracy*, and the punishment of all concerned in it, as death; an act stamped with the brightest characters of humanity and glory. And when the views of this Society shall be realized; when the arts, and sciences, when civilization and refinement shall have poured their united radiance on Africa; when, above all, the gospel of Heaven's mercy shall have softened those hearts which for ages the lust of gain has hardened into adamant, will not the accursed traffick in flesh and blood terminate of course? When, in addition, colonies shall be scattered along the coast; colonies guarded and cherished by the physical and moral energies of a Christian nation; a nation which has declared eternal hostility to the trade in slaves, must not the evil be dried up to its very source?

When the supply of slaves from Africa shall have thus ceased, nothing will be wanting to the complete abolition, in our country, of slavery itself, but the liberation of those now in a state of servitude. It is in this very point, that the benign aspects and tendencies of the colonization sys-

tem are most strikingly visible. This system opens a path to freedom, which, while it is fraught with blessings to the slaves, is safe for their proprietors and the public.

It is a fact, given us on the most unquestionable authority, that there are now in the Southern States of our Union, hundreds, and even thousands of proprietors, who would gladly give liberty to their slaves, but are deterred by the apprehension of doing injury to their country, and perhaps to the slaves themselves. It is a fact, that in the States of Maryland and Virginia alone, there were, fifteen years since, sixty-three thousand free people of color. It is likewise a fact, that within a few years past, more than five hundred slaves have been emancipated, in the State of Virginia, by only three proprietors.*

Indeed, so prevalent has been the disposition of Southern proprietors, for many years, to give liberty to their slaves, that this condition of things has excited a serious alarm. The Legislatures of several States have interposed their authority, and prohibited the emancipation of slaves, except on the condition of their being transferred to some other State. But these transfers are opposed by powerful objections. Nor is it improbable that almost every State to which these miserales would wish to fly, will ultimately shut its doors against them. And shall they never find a home? Shall their wanderings and their miseries never cease?

Let it likewise be considered, that if emancipations are so frequent, even in the face of all the restrictions and inconveniencies which attend them, they would doubtless be vastly multiplied still, could these formidable obstacles be removed.

In the view of all these facts—and many more of similar description might be adduced†—who will deny that the fin-

* See the Appendix to the Third Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.

† In one of the reports of the American Colonization Society, it is stated, on the authority of General Cocke, of Virginia, one of its Vice Presidents, that General

ger of Providence points most distinctly to colonization? Are we not urged by considerations the most affecting and imperious, to give to the myriads of Africans in our country, already free, and to those other myriads on the verge of freedom, an asylum, a home, in the land of their fathers? May we not indulge the delightful, transporting thought, that this is the very mode pointed out by Heaven, in which to raise up a vast multitude of degraded and oppressed fellow beings to the dignity, the privileges and comforts of men; and at the same time, to deliver our land of boasted freedom from the deep-rooted, wide-spread, and portentous evils of slavery?

To some, I am not insensible, the expense attendant on the plan of colonization, appears formidable. And there was a time when obstacles from this source wore an aspect not a little discouraging. But these obstacles, like many other objects which appear magnified through a mist, have sensibly diminished before the light of truth, and actual experiment. Causes are now in operation, from which may be anticipated immense facilities in conveying the exiled children of Africa to their own country. This, too, is the era of pious and humane exertion. Every great object of acknowledged benevolence meets support. Every evil of magnitude finds its appropriate remedy, or mitigation. At such a time, it is not credible that a design combining the extinction of the most appalling forms of human suffering, with the accomplishment of positive good, to a vast and unknown amount, can fail, or even languish, for want of an

KOSCIUSKO, (the celebrated Polish warrior and patriot) bequeathed a fund, exceeding twenty thousand dollars, in the hands of Mr. JEFFERSON, late President of the United States, to be laid out in the purchase of young female slaves, who were to be educated and emancipated. It is further stated that General Cocke has, at the request of Mr. Jefferson, undertaken the administration of this trust, in the hope that the difficulties opposed to the wishes of the Testator, under the existing laws of Virginia, might be obviated, in accordance with the terms of his will, by incorporating the bequest with the funds of the American Colonization Society, under the sanction and control of a Court of Equity.

animated and vigorous support. In such a cause, we may confidently expect the ultimate cooperation of the friends of religion and humanity throughout our country.* We may expect the fostering patronage of the Legislatures of the States, and of the Supreme Legislature of the nation. And who can doubt that GOD HIMSELF, THE FATHER OF MERCIES, THE ALMIGHTY PATRON OF THE OPPRESSED, will smile upon a cause so signally his own; will add to our humble efforts his sovereign energy, and his effectual blessing?

GENTLEMEN OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE AUXILIARY COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

I have attempted a brief view of the nature and claims of that great and benevolent enterprise in which you have been pleased to engage. I have imperfectly sketched its aspects and bearings, as they regard our own country, and some of its dearest interests; as they regard the oppressed sons of Africa, and the land which gave them birth; and finally, as they regard the removal of evils which are the opprobrium of humanity, and the direst scourge of our nation.† If the cause commends itself at once to our con-

* Since this discourse went to press, the writer has learned that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (a representative body, embracing more than 1600 congregations) have, by a recent and unanimous resolution, recommended to the churches under their care, to promote the objects of the American Colonization Society; particularly by raising collections for its funds on the 4th of July, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding, or subsequent.

† In the discussion of the subject, the writer chose to confine himself to considerations of a moral nature. With a theme fruitful in so many sublime associations, and so many motives of imperious duty, as well as so many tender and humiliating reflections, he was unwilling to mingle any suggestions of a merely interested aspect. Still, it may not be improper to remark, in this form, that should the plan of colonizing Africa from the United States succeed, and be pursued to a considerable extent, it will probably be instrumental to open, in future time, a commerce between the two countries, incalculably advantageous to both. It is the opinion of travellers of science and information, who have visited Africa, that her soil and climate are eminently propitious to the growth of a vast variety of articles, not only of necessity, but of convenience and luxury. "It cannot admit a doubt," says the celebrated PARK, "that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might be naturalized and brought to the utmost perfection

science, and our self-regard; to our coolest reason, and our tenderest sensibilities; to our most ardent patriotism, and most expansive philanthropy, let us embrace it with a proportionate interest and zeal. Let it not die, let it not *languish* in our hands. If the good to be produced exceeds all calculation, let us spare no exertion to effect it. If the evils to be remedied are immense, appalling, destructive; if they are, at this moment, powerfully working in secret, and may soon burst in thunder on our heads, let us not slumber till they are purged away. Let us not imagine, for a moment, that we, in this Northern clime, are exempt from that enormous guilt, connected with slavery, and the slave-trade, which we are so ready to appropriate to our brethren in distant States. We have no right thus to wash our hands. From NEW ENGLAND have gone the ships and the sailors that have been polluted with this inhuman traffick. In NEW ENG-

in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end, but example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible," he adds, "for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labor and food, and a variety of other circumstances favorable to colonization and agriculture, and reflect withal on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation without lamenting that a country so abundantly gifted and favored by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state."

The subject of an extensive commercial intercourse between our country and Africa, so interesting to the merchants and the patriots of the United States, has not escaped the attention of the Managers of the Parent Society.

"Will not the time arrive," they say in one of their Reports, "when Africa will have her commerce too? Has not the single port of Sierra Leone exported, in one year, since the abolition of the slave-trade by England, a greater value than all Western Africa, a coast of several thousand miles, yielded, exclusive of its people, for a like period, anterior to that event? When this abominable traffick shall have been utterly exterminated; when the African laborer can toil secure from the treachery of his neighbor, and the violence of the man-stealer, that continent will freight, for legitimate trade, those ships which now carry thither chains, fetters and scourges, to return home with the bones, the sinews, the blood, and the tears of her children. Her gold, her ivory, her beautiful dyes, her fragrant and precious gums, her healing plants and drugs, the varied produce of her now forsaken fields and lonely forests, will be brought by a joyous and grateful people, to the nations who, once their plunderers, will have at length become their protectors, friends and allies."

LAND are the forges which have framed fetters and manacles for the limbs of unoffending Africans. The iron of NEW ENGLAND has pierced their anguished souls. In NEW ENGLAND are found the over-grown fortunes, the proud palaces, which have been reared up from the blood and sufferings of these unhappy men. The guilt, both of the slave-trade, and of slavery, is strictly national. Few, few indeed, in any part of the land, have done what they could, to purge themselves and their country from this foul stain. National, then, let the expiation be. Let our whole country, polluted as it is, with the blood of Africa, confess its guilt, and resort to the blood of the DIVINE REDEEMER for pardon. And while we mourn those wrongs which nothing but infinite mercy can forgive, let us, as far as possible, repair them. Let us raise up the humbled children of Africa from their dust. Let us unshackle their limbs, and pour the light of heaven into their benighted minds. Let us send them back to their native land; and let us send with them the treasures of science and of art, and the richer treasures of the gospel, to be diffused through their instrumentality, among their wretched fellow-countrymen. Then Africa herself will bless us. Conducted to the cross of HER SAVIOR, and taught by his dying prayer, the divine art of forgiveness, she will receive even *us*, her penitent oppressors, into the arms of her charity. She will love us as her friends; and bending, each morning and evening, before the eternal throne, she will invoke heavenly mercies on us, as her benefactors.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

NEW HAMPSHIRE AUXILIARY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 1.—This Society shall be called THE NEW HAMPSHIRE AUXILIARY COLONIZATION SOCIETY, and shall be Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

ART. 2.—The object to which its views shall be exclusively directed, is the colonization on the coast of Africa, with their own consent, of the free people of color of the United States; and this Society will contribute its funds and efforts to the attainment of that object, in aid of the American Colonization Society.

ART. 3.—The officers of this Society shall be a President, ten Vice Presidents, twelve Managers, a Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall also be members of the Board of Managers; all of whom shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Society; and shall have power to fill up vacancies occurring during the year.

ART. 4.—The Board of Managers, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall meet at Concord, as soon as convenient after their election; and afterwards on their own adjournments, or when called together by the Chairman, or any three members.

ART. 5.—Every person who shall subscribe his name to this Constitution and pay annually one dollar, or more, to the Treasurer, shall be a member of the Society; and eve-

ry person who shall at any one time, subscribe and pay ten dollars, or more, shall be a member for life.

ART. 6.—The Society shall meet annually at Concord, on Thursday next following the first Wednesday of June, at 5 o'clock, P. M. for the purpose of electing officers, and receiving the Report of the Board of Managers.

ART. 7.—A Delegate, or Agent, shall be annually appointed to attend the meeting of the parent Society at Washington, and report thereto the state of this Society.

ART. 8.—A member may, at any time, discontinue his subscription, by notifying the Treasurer thereof.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1825.

His Excellency DAVID L. MORRIL, *President.*

REV. DANIEL DANA, D. D., JONATHAN SMITH, Esq., HON. MATTHEW HARVEY, HON. LEVI WOODBURY, REV. BENNET TYLER, D. D., REV. JOHN H. CHURCH, D. D., HON. SAMUEL BELL, MOSES P. PAYSON, Esq., HON. CALEB KEITH and WILLIAM A. KENT, Esq., GEORGE B. UPHAM, Esq., *Vice Presidents.*

REV. JONATHAN NYE, HENRY HUBBARD Esq., HON. SAMUEL MORRIL, ISAAC HILL, Esq., TITUS BROWN, Esq., HON. ANDREW PIERCE, HON. JOSHUA DARLING, EDMUND PARKER, Esq., NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, JUN. Esq., MILLS OLCOTT, Esq., and MOSES BAKER, Esq., *Managers.*

REV. NATHANIEL BOUTON, *Secretary.*

WILLIAM PICKERING, Esq. *Treasurer.*