wise of every land in christendom, will harmoniously vie with each other in the furtherance of this great benevolent enterprise.

Very few persons (if any) who are acquainted with the history of Liberia, will deny, that Divine Providence has from her incipiency up to and during the incumbency of my predecessor, graciously provided a man suited to the times, on every occasion for the administration of government.

We might commence with the lamented Ashmun, and enumerate the successive Colonial Agents and governors up to the administration of Governor Buchanan, and perhaps we will not find any considerable contradiction to this assertion in any of their administrations. Governor Buchanan's administrations peculiarily marked a new era in the history of Liberia; its great beneficial results remain yet to be adequately disclosed to the world: nor has that of his worthy successor been less beneficial, for it marked an era in Liberia's history more interestingly conspicuous than that of his predecessor. The first colored governor that Liberia could boast of, commencing his administration too very soon after the several settlements had been confederated, his administration was watched with much solicitude by Liberia's friends, and we feel a degree of pride in asserting, that the result of his six years administration as governor of the Commonwealth of Liberia, was a firm conviction wrought on the minds of Liberia's friends abroad, that she possessed within herself governing as well as governable faculty. In fact the success of the six years administration immediately preceding the new organization, and the ample satisfaction it gave, was a part of the means employed by Divine Providence to bring about a change of our political condition: and it was well for us that it was so; for at this juncture, there was a combination of circumstances that impelled such a change; Liberia had reached a crisis in her history, when her political existence depended on her launching out upon (to her) the untried ocean of nationality, and on her evincing after this step, that she possessed within herself, mental—moral—physical and pecuniary resources adequately to maintaining a healthy and honorable state of sovereign existence. Solemn and momentous was the time when Liberia assumed and announced a position of sovereignty; though many considerate friends in America and Europe, as well as Liberians, plainly saw the impelling causes to such a step, yet they reasonably thought, the step rather premature, they were fearful of a failure; as it was, and is still believed that the consequence of such a failure would be, an augmented degradation of our race for centuries to come.

But we find ourselves this day organized into a Republican form of government, of eight years existence, blessed with civil and religious liberty, and possessed of the confidence and respect of nearly all the great civilized nations of the earth; these facts at once answer the question, as to whether Liberia's course has been progressive since her declaration of independence. They respond affirmatively, louder than words can possibly express it, that she has had under the administration of my illustrious predecessor, a hopeful and healthy growth commensurate with her eight year existence; so that the most incredulous as to the capacity of our race have had to confess with reference to this Christian Republic, that indeed, a luminary of hope and promise to Africa's sons has risen in this distant land of darkness—a luminary whose course has hitherto been steadily upward, and which we trust will continue to ascend with increasing strength and lustre, until it reaches the zenith of its glory and sheds forth a flood of redeeming light upon and throughout this benighted continent.

I have ofttimes wondered from whence sprang the silly aspersion, "of the incapacity of the colored race for self government." I have frequently taxed my mind for a discovery of the instance upon which the stigma is based. With the exception of our own, Hayti I believe is the only professed colored

civilized and independent government. It is true that, that unfortunate country has been repeatedly convulsed by revolutions and dethronements, but these were neither restricted nor peculiar to her history; similar causes have produced similar effects among other nations, not of African descent, but purely caucassian. The South American States almost without exception have been equally prolific in civil wars and revolutions, in fact we can even trace them into highly civilized Europe, and as not unfrequently occurring among some of the most refined nations of that enlightened continent: nor would proud Albion have been exempted from them, for so long a space as that which has succeeded the seventeenth century if the protestant faith (which constitutes the basis of that righteousness which exalts a nation) had not taken so deep root in that country. And if I mistake not, the same cause is to be assigned for the almost unparalleled success with which the confederated states of North America have been crowned. The pure seed of the protestant faith, was carried over—planted and nurtured by the early settlers; and as is well known a revival of evangelical religion commenced in that land about the middle of the eighteenth century, which kept pace with the gradual extension of the settlements, east, west, north and south, and by which the pure principles of the protestant faith, became disseminated and to some extent, adopted (really by some; and professedly by others) as a basis of individual—special and national rectitude, and which after all that can be said to the contrary, have been the cementing and preservative principle of that confederation: and for lack of which, Hayti, in common with some other governments to which allusion has been made, failed in demonstrating an equal capacity for self government; and surely the civil wars of Hayti, are no more an argument (if as much so) against the capacity of the colored race for self government, than the multiplied revolutions of the other governments alluded, to, are against that of the caucassian race.

If we impartially look at the aborigines of this land, and carefully study their organizations, and method of government, we cannot avoid discovering incontrovertible proof of their possessing the elements of a great nation. We are ofttimes constrained to admire the facility with which most of the chiefs rule their subjects, and the cheerful and ofttimes dignified obedience and respect, rendered by subjects to their chiefs and the laws; and but for the accursed slave trade of by gone years, by which they have been greatly corrupted, and which has contributed so much to the subversion of their domestic and social happiness, those very heathens would set a pattern of governing talent and governable disposition, by which several of the proud civilized nations of the earth might be profited.

If these elements are so admirably manifest in the aborigines while yet in heathenism, what earthly mind can adequately picture the great national glory, that awaits this christian Republic, when these aborigines shall have fully partaken of our civilization and christianity—when they are raised to a perfect level and flow in one common channel with us—socially—politically and religiously.

Fellow Citizens:—

In thus glancing over some of the incidents in the history of Liberia and congratulating ourselves at the happy issue of our efforts thus far, as also in briefly alluding to what we believe the future prospect of Liberia to be, it is no part of my purpose to inculate the idea, that Liberia is now out of danger, that she can now move on without difficulty towards the zenith of her national glory, or that there may be henceforth a relaxation of judicious and patriotic effort on the part of any citizen for the consummation of our cherished desires. So far from this as that I feel solemnly impressed this day with the fact, that our state is still in infancy, and that greater difficulties

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