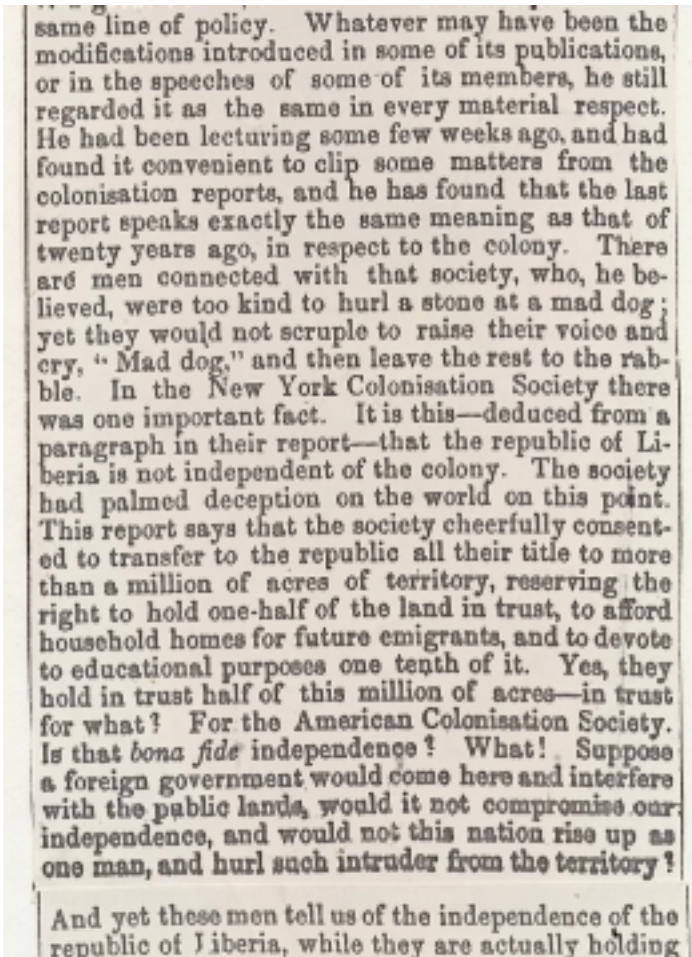


Rev. Dr. PENNINGTON next came forward to address the meeting. He did not commit himself to every shade and title of what was comprised in the resolutions which had been read. Of course they could not expect he would do so. But he would say that his antagonism to the colonisation scheme was not a new platform to him. He had written on the subject twenty-one years ago, and he would, with the permission of the audience, read some extracts from what he had then published, and which is given in "Garrison's Thoughts on Colonisation." Mr. P. then read copious extracts from this publication, denunciatory of the scheme of African colonisation. They were not strangers in this country, nor aliens. The constitution did not call on them to be naturalized. They were already American citizens. Their fathers had been among the first to people this country. Their sweat and tears had been the means, in a measure, of raising her to the elevation she enjoys. Many of them fought, and bled, and died for her liberty. And should they now forsake their tombs and flee to an unknown land? No? let them remain until the day arrives when "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God." These were the sentiments which he then held, and which he still entertained. His mind was not changed one iota in respect to the African Colonisation Society. There were one or two points on which their minds ought to be intelligent just now. One of them is the fact, that that society is not changed in character, not changed in its composition, not changed in its elements, not changed in its policy. It is the same now that it was twenty years ago. It consists, to a great extent, of the same men, and pursues the

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same line of policy. Whatever may have been the modifications introduced in some of its publications, or in the speeches of some of its members, he still regarded it as the same in every material respect. He had been lecturing some few weeks ago, and had found it convenient to clip some matters from the colonisation reports, and he has found that the last report speaks exactly the same meaning as that of twenty years ago, in respect to the colony. There are men connected with that society, who, he believed, were too kind to hurl a stone at a mad dog; yet they would not scruple to raise their voice and cry, "Mad dog," and then leave the rest to the rabble. In the New York Colonisation Society there was one important fact. It is this—deduced from a paragraph in their report—that the republic of Liberia is not independent of the colony. The society had palmed deception on the world on this point. This report says that the society cheerfully consented to transfer to the republic all their title to more than a million acres of territory, reserving the right to hold one-half of the land in trust, to afford household homes for future emigrants, and to devote to educational purposes one tenth of it. Yes, they hold in trust half of this million of acres—in trust for what? For the American Colonisation Society. Is that *bona fide* independence? What! Suppose a foreign government would come here and interfere with the public lands, would it not compromise our independence, and would not this nation rise up as one man, and hurl such intruder from the territory? And yet these men tell us of the independence of the republic of Liberia, while they are actually holding



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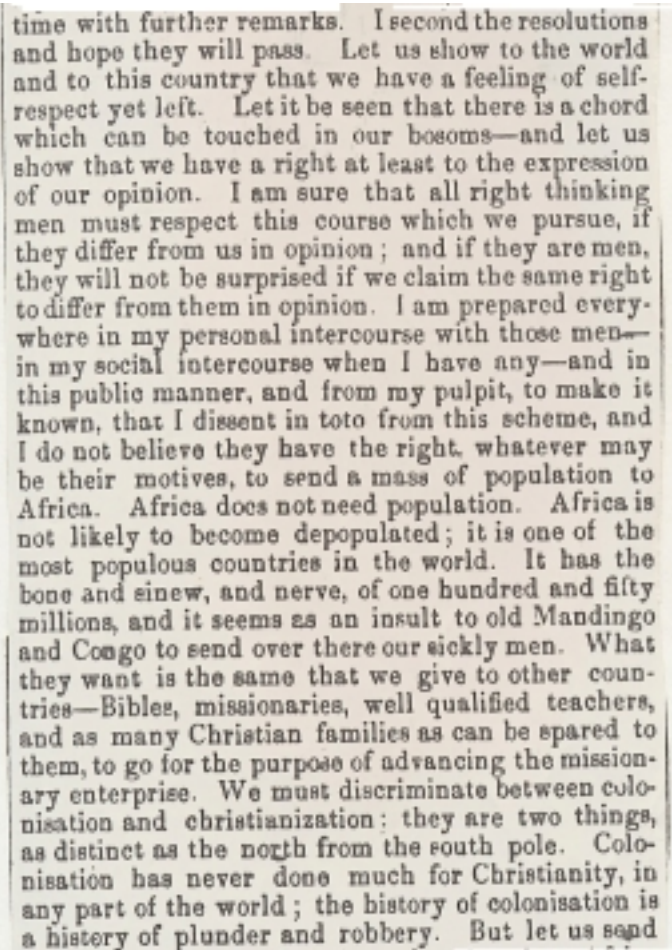
in trust five hundred thousand acres of land for the Colonisation Society! Now, I say this is an important fact, and the republic is not *bona fide* independent. It is dangerous to the colony itself. Now, I have always said that, if it is proper for any coloured man to go to Africa at any time, the American Colonisation Society should not have control over one inch of the soil. I do not mean to praise that line of policy introduced into the constitution of the republic, to exclude men from having land there; but I do say that here is a body of men, proved to be unfriendly to the interests of the race, who organized their society here, and that it is dangerous that they should have control over such an immense tract of land in Africa, and within the jurisdiction of an independent republic. It is a political anomaly which ought not be permitted to exist. In conclusion, let me say that whatever is to be done in opposing the policy of this society, we can do it now, as well as we did it thirty years ago. I have sometimes thought that the most effectual way to do so is to re-enact those resolutions given in the second part of "Garrison's Thoughts on Colonisation," commencing with Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, New Haven, and Albany, and to call on those several towns to reiterate these resolutions and addresses, and let the second edition of them go out through the press, and we can then know whether the people have changed their views; and if so, let that fact be known. I now endorse the same address which I wrote to the citizens of Brooklyn, twenty years ago. I father it. I take it to my heart. In it you have my sentiments. It is not necessary to occupy your

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time with further remarks. I second the resolutions and hope they will pass. Let us show to the world and to this country that we have a feeling of self-respect yet left. Let it be seen that there is a chord which can be touched in our bosoms—and let us show that we have a right at least to the expression of our opinion. I am sure that all right thinking men must respect this course which we pursue, if they differ from us in opinion; and if they are men, they will not be surprised if we claim the same right to differ from them in opinion. I am prepared everywhere in my personal intercourse with those men—in my social intercourse when I have any—and in this public manner, and from my pulpit, to make it known, that I dissent in toto from this scheme, and I do not believe they have the right, whatever may be their motives, to send a mass population to Africa. Africa does not need population. Africa is not likely to become depopulated; it is one of the most populous countries in the world. It has the bone and sinew, and nerve, of one hundred and fifty millions, and it seems as an insult to old Mandingo and Congo to send over there our sickly men. What they want is the same that we give to other countries—Bibles, missionaries, well qualified teachers, and as many Christian families as can be spared to them, to go for the purpose of advancing the missionary enterprise. We must discriminate between colonisation and christianization: they are two things, as distinct as the north from the south pole. Colonisation has never done much for Christianity, in any part of the world; the history of colonisation is a history of plunder and robbery. But let us send



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them Christian missionaries—that is what Africa wants. Holding these views, I go for the adoption of the resolutions, and hope they will pass, and that the people will adhere to the sentiments they contain. This is your home—here you are bound to rear your children. This is the corner stone of your future prosperity; and whenever you can spare your children to go on Christian missions, let them go; but this is the home of the masses of the people, and if they do not go on well and prosper here, “there is,” as the Scotchman would say, “a screw loose,” and you must see to that, and grease the wheels, and make the machinery go; and if you do this it will go far to put a stop to this agitation of the old system of colonisation. Mr. P. concluded amid much applause,

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