Unfortunately our lamb not only persists in staying in the water which we claim the sole right to enjoy but keeps on multiplying at a rate simply amazing when compared with that of the white race by which they are surrounded. From 1860 to 1880 the whites increased thirty-eight per cent. and the blacks forty-eight percent. From 1870 to 1880 the whites increased twenty-seven per cent. and the blacks increased thirty-four per cent in those States. ~~The difference in numerical increase has already been alluded to but~~ Besides this the colored man of those States persists in staying at home. Twenty-four per cent of the native white population of those States in 1880 had removed into other States and made their homes elsewhere while of the colored natives of those same States only fifteen per cent. had removed from those States, so that it will be seen that not only does the colored race gain upon the white raceby natural increase nearly one per cent a year, but it also gains one and one-half per cent. a year by its remarkable power of staying at home. This conditions of affairs too, is one which must of necessity continue to increase in the same direction for at least a considerable time to come. The negro is not an emigrator and will not become an emigrator to any great extent at present because of the fact that he lacks as yet that self-reliance which only generations of self-support can ordinarily bestow. There is not anywhere upon the continent or anywhere within the scope of his ken any region demanding and inviting his migration. He does not desire to come to the North because

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there are so few of his people that he feels isolated and alone. He has peculiarly strong social instincts; he desires to live not only with his people but at his old home. Again, he is not at all prepared to compete with the Northern laborer or even with the foreign emigrant in the performance of those lower grades of manual labor for which there is a demand at the North. There are two reasons why he will not come into our workshops. First, he cannot get there and in the second place he is not prepared to do the skilled labor there demanded. It may seem at first sight especially to a New England manufacturing audience that the first of these assertions is hardly correct, but I have in my own person been through the workshop of Massachusetts in the vain endeavor to get a place in a machine shop for the most gifted inventor I have ever known and only because an eighth of colored blood was in his veins. These facts must for a considerable time chain the great body of the Africans of the States we have named to the to the particular soil on which they were born. They will continue to increase and continue to increase much more rapidly than the whites because their condition of increase is in their favor. They are he laborers and it is to the laborers to whom sons are born. Men spring out of the earth now as in the old days when dragons' teeth were sown. The ~~touch~~ touch of the earth makes men strong. The fable of ~~Antinous~~ Antaeus tells itself over and over again in yhe world's history. All the

enfeebling circumstances of the life and civilization of the South affect the whites to a thousand-fold greater degree than they do the blacks. The sunshine, the soil, the way of life, the very fact of slavery itself, has prepared him for successful competition with the whiteson this field. He lives upon what a white laborer at the North would soorn to exist; the house which he inhabitsis but a poor shelter from the sunshine, hardly keeping out the storm. Few wants easily supplied, a climate adapted to his needs; opportunityand incentive for growth and advancement constantly improving; the physical conditions—all these show that the natural growth of the colored man of the future will be even greater than it has been in the past. On the other hand, there is no reason to expect that the condition of the whites will be in any degree more favor able for the competition which lies before them. The enervating influences which attend a life more remote from that of actual physical toil, the lack of actual manual exertion and the strangely narrow sphere of labor which remains to them, all this indicates the fact that the white man of the South, instead of growing stronger add broader and more numerous in the future, is bound to become less and less productive, less and less aggressive in his character and to be restrained by circumstances to fewer and fewer manual avocations.

Fortunately or unfortunately this state ofaffairs

is not at all likely to be remedied by accessions to the white population from without. Although emigration has been pouring into our country at the unprecedented rate of a million a year since the close of the war, there are thirty thousand fewer people of foreign birth in the States we have named, than there were in 1860. The Census of 1870 was unquestionably very defective in one respect throughout the Southern States. How great this defect may have been it is impossible to say, but from all the data which can be derived with regard to it, it is well established that it affected both races equally, there being in none of these States which we have under consideration any appreciable difference that can be ascertained in this respect. It should be remembered that the defect of this Census was simply the omission to return the entire population. There is no claim of excess or of false returns in any case, but only defective enumeration. Yet despite this fact there were in 1870 two thousand more people of Northern birth in the States named than in 1880 when the utmost care was exercised and every inhabitant of the South hunted up and duly returned. During all this time we have been told the story not merely of Northern aggression but of Northern emigration filling in and making the waste places glad. The story which the Census tells is one of decrease and constantly decreasing emigration. This is too, the natural result. There are but two classes of Northern men who can be naturally and reasonably expected to go South. First,

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the man who has already made a fortune and thinks he sees in some of its natural advantages opportunities for profitable investment. Secondly, the man who has the seeds of consumption in his nature and hopes by migration to some less exacting clime to prolong his natural term of life. Unfortunately millionaires and consumptives are bad stock to build up a country or increase a race. Yet there is no other class of white men of the North or foreign emigrants to which the South offers any natural and sufficient incentive for emigration. The farm laborer of the North cannot compete with the colored man of that region in the production of its staples or in the price of labor. The agricultural laborer of this region receives about one-half the price paid for the same quality of labor at the North. While there is some little advantage with regard to cost of living there is an immensely greater disadvantage in consideration of the comfort and surroundings. No white man dependent upon his hands for the support of himself and his family, unless it be now and then an engineer or some such higher class of mechanic, is likely to find sufficient inducement in the conditions of labor and society at the South to induce him to fix his home there. In those States the very fact that one-half the population in every one of them is colored and in three of them a much greater proportion, is of itself sufficient to deter him from such an enterprise. As a laborer he must compete with labor that has been debauched by centuries of servitude. As a man

he must stand as a hand worker so near to the social level of the slave as to be constantly galling to his sense of manhood and independence. Schools, churches, pleasant surroundings which go so far to make up the blessednessof a Northern home, he must in a very great degree abandon if he would cast in his lot with the laborers of those States. It is useless to argue the question, the mere statement of the fact which no man dare deny is sufficient to assure every reasonable being that the white people of those States will receive no very considerable accession of numbers from outside.

So that we have have our black fleeced lamb coming day by day in greater numbers to the stream beside which our good-natured, forbearing, cultured,high-conscienced wolf stands waiting for the water to be cleared. It is aggravating this claim for farther consideration and especially when it comes in the provoking form of a demand for money. There is not anything that a thoroughly cultured Anglo-Saxon values quite so highly as a dollar. He is willing at a pinch to give his life for a principle and to wear himself out in the pursuit of fortune, but the man who lays his hand upon the pocket nerve wakes a thrill that stirs the inmost functions of his nature. The negro absurdly enough comes to the surface now and says that he is unable to preserve the basis-idea of our government andsecure the rule of the majority in competition with the whites of the South unless he is given

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the opportunity to acquire the knowledge necessary for the performance of the functions of citizenship. It seems to be true. It seems as if without some extraneous aid the colored man must gradually either shrink away from the light to which he was lifted up, or else that the strong hand of power must insist upon and maintain his right to co-equal participation in the affairs of our government and in the opportunity we profess to give him. It is uselessfor us to say to him, "We have done enough." He does not deny the fact in terms and yet the denial does not seem to be sustained. We say to him, "We have given you liberty" and themocking echo comes back to us, not from him but from a listening world, "You gave a liberty to which you declared that he was entitled; of right and by nature." Somehow the shoe pinches just here. That for which we would take credit we had already estopped ourselves from regarding as a benefit. "Ah!" but we say, "we have given to you opportunity; we have opened the gates of the future to your feet," and the reply comes back, "We have given of our lives and of our strength to build up the American republic. Fifty billions of days' work, fifty billions of days of toil, not short and brief and simple, but under the lash of the driver's whip, under the spur of slavery, under the degradation and control of the white man, we have given to make the American republic what it is. Fifty billions

days' work. Only think of it! Five billions of dollars at ten cents a day, and now he asks at the best that only a tithe of this which he has earned should be paid back into his manhood to prepare him for the duties of the citizen. Of course his claim is absurd, and yet it has a flavor of justice that it is hard for a people to shake off or deny. But we have him at one point at least; we can tell him how much we have done for his moral welfare; if we gave him nothing else aside from toil and disgrace, we at least gave the Christian relyion. We taught him to say "Our Father which art in Heaven." And if he was sometimes short of provender he was never short of prayers. The claim is a serious one and is not ~~lightly~~ lightly to be thrust aside. The American people unquestionably gave to the African slave just so much of religion as he could catch from his master. It was taught, if not by precept of course always by example. He was taught that our Christianity was a religion that gave the weak into the hands of the strong. He was taught that our Christianity was a religion that put a barrier around the white man's hearthstone but opened the door of the black man's home to the wolf. He was taught that every white man's heart was sacred before God but that the black man's soul was a matter of barter and sale. Ah, God! what a Christianity we did teach him by precept and example! That he did gather from it something good, something sweet, something pure and something holy, for this let us thank God with self-abasement in sackcloth and ashes, but never

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again let us boast that to the African slave the white man of America broke the bread of religious life.

In casting up the ledger then whatever may be the balance between the colored man andcivilization, whatever may be the distance between the American African of to-day and his ~~its~~ congener on the African coast, one thing is true, that the balance ~~between him~~ as between him and the American citizen, the white man of America, is immensely and irretrievably against us.

What he did for us he did at our compulsion; he did by the exercise of wrong and injustice upon ~~our~~ part. What we did for him we did only under the whip and spur of necessity. Whatever he learned from us he learned because we taught it to him for our advantage. We shut up to him the doors of knowledge; we barred him out of the kingdom of God upon earth; we destroyed the instinct of the family and the impulse of chastity in his heart; we did all that we could to break down and destroy his manhood. So far as our purpose and intent, so far as our beneficence and tuition extended, we are yet immeasurably his debtors.

This, of course, constitutes no good ground why we should put our hands in our pockets today and so direct our national authority that knowledge, power, development, should flow into the hands of the colored man. The debt which one age incursnever devolves upon another. If the past has been a harsh master to the colored man, it is his misfortune. If he

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he is not able to -day to compete in the race of life with the Caucassian it is only a part of his ill-luck. It is not this question of right or wrong, justice or injustice, to the colored man to-day that at all demands our attention. If that were all, however good or deserving the cause I have no idea that I should trouble you or any other audience with its consideration.

Another and to us much more important feature of this matter presents itself to-day. If these two forces thus naturally opposed to each other, separated by the insuperable barrier of race and color, continue to increase only a little more, only a few days longer, nay if they are to remain in the same proportion as to-day, how far off is the time when this new springing life will begin to feel its own power and assert its demand to equality and right. It cannot be far, we know it cannot be far. Noman can pretend to deny that these two conflicting forces must, unless some means are taken to prevent it, come some time into harmful collision. In other words the time will come and come very soon unless something is done to lessen the danger, when the colored man shall have reached the very limit of his endurance, when the white man shall have deemed himself to have paseed the limit of forbearance and strife and bloodshed must prevail between them. It is a terrible picture, it is a fearful thing to anticipate, it is one with which the Southern man has been familiar for generations—the fear of a negro rising has been a constant

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nightmare with them almost ever since the slave was subject to bondage. These hostile elements are approaching nearer and nearer the period of collision. And suppose this period arise? What then? What have we to do? Not much; not much. We claim to be a Christian people; we claim to be a free people; we claim that we wish to be a peaceful people. If the whites and blacks of the South choose to fight upon the question of the rights of either, why should we intervene to prevent? Perhaps we ought not. Of course it would seem that there could be but one result, and yet we may be in error. A race driven to desperation by the oppression of centuries is a dangerous thing to trifle with. In a country like ours the torch is a thousand times more potent than the sword. In their wild, ungoverned agony it is possible that the colored man might appeal to the means within his grasp not merely to destroy but to terrorize and paralyze his enemy. No man knoweth when it may come. A few more cases of massacre, a little more disregard of the rights they claim, a little more assumption of unlawful authority, and in an hour the tumult may burst forth that whatever its immediate result may render the South a place of ~~age~~ horror for all the ages. So far as mere power is concerned, so far as capacity for slaughter upon the battle field is involved, the white race is now and perhaps may for a long time be capable of maintaining its superiorityy but so far as the nameless terror which comes when an oppressed people rise to assert their rights and redress their

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wrongs, so far as that power to make the home a place of terror, the advantage of such conflict is unquestionably upon the side of the colored people. God save us from its manifestation. God save us from any shadow of peril of this character. It may not touch our homes, it might not render the firesides of the North less radiant and cheerful, but it would be a blot upon our civilization, a curse upon our Christianity that ages of well-doing could not wash away. If out of the circumstances of the past, if out of the conditions of the present, come strife and slaughter or oppression and degradation upon our heads will rest the responsibility and our garments will be stained with the blood. This is not one of those questions that can be settled by the sword. If a million of the colored race were slain to-morrow the native vigor of the race in half a decade would restore the disproportion that now exists between the races. The slaughter that followed Bartholomew's Eve or the sea of blood that was spilled by the French rebellion would not change the aspects of affairs so far as the predominance of numbers is concerned, even for a period of ten years. Unless some great miracle shall intervene, unless the Supreme Being has some special watchcare over the white race within half a hundred years it will have hardly a foothold in the States referred to. In the mean time what events shall take place? Shall this be a period of peaceful natural evolution of forces? Shall the colored man rise intelligently, peacefully and harmoniously

with the whites to the plane of co-equal, legitimate and acknowledged authority. Or shall we leave knowledge and ignorance , wealth and poverty, strength and weakness to fight out the battle of to-morrow as they may. It is a question for you to answerI do not know, it is not an absolutely certain thing that we have now the power to prevent if we would the doom which seems to threaten the future. It may be that if we dared to do so much of missionary work as our opportunity offers, if we dared to say that one week of war is a thousand times more costly than a year of education, if we were brave enough to look the futurehonestly in the face and say if knowledge, if the opportunity to grow brave and strong can make the colored man the equal of the white, he shall have that opportunity, it may be that ifwe dared to do this, we might take away from the future the possibility of terror, the probability of shame. What shall we do with him? We have asked the question now fora hundred years and every year it has come before us in some new striking, more emphatic lgght. Suppose we vary it now and ask the question, not, what shall we do with him but what will we aid him to do withhimself? The destiny of the coloredman in the Hited States is in his own hands. We can strengthen those hands, we can directhim aright or we can leave his energies to be debased and take the consequences that may result to our civilization. I am no terrorist. I have no interest in this question further than that of the ordinary citizen. Before it is decided I

shall have passed over to the majority. Only for our fame only as regards our standing in the history of the world, as a wise, prudent and Christian people am I concerned. It seems to me the heigth of folly to have such tremendous forces to the direction and development of chanece. It seems to me that the God who appointed to our nation an unexampled prosperity has asked and is asking of us to-day, not generosity, not kindness but simple justice, honest and sincerity. Of the civilization which he has given to us, of the prosperity which he has bestowed upon us, of that might and of that power. Of the billions of dollars of which we took from the blood and toil of the slave, of that he asks us to give back what we hold in trust, only a tithe, that the blessing of civilization of which we boast, that the knowledge of which we vaunt ourselves, that the opportunity and the power to do of which we claim to excell all the ages and all the realms of earth, that this opportunity and this privilege and this power may be shared rightfully and honestly by those whom we have looked down upon, by those whom we have debarred for centuries of the growth which has given us this power.

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