As the starting-point of my address to-night let me bring before you from the Gospel history a scene with which you are all familiar. It is the latter portion of an Oriental afternoon, and the slopes of the mountain on the eastern side of the Lake of Tiberias are covered with thousands of people who have come from the towns and villages round about to listen to the words of Him who spake as never man spake. All day they have been hanging on His lips with such absorbing interest that every meaner thing has been forgotten by them, and no care has been taken by them to provide themselves with necessary food. Nor even as the sun is rapidly westering has any thought of what they should do for bodily sustenance disturbed their minds. The engrossment of the moment was too complete for that. But the disciples, anticipating trouble when the inevitable claims of hunger should assert themselves, and not seeing what they should do to still the clamor which should then arise, came to their Master and said, "Send the multitudes away." Therein, however, they only showed that they had not yet themselves fully comprehended the spirit of their Lord, for He immediately replied, "They need not depart, give ye them to eat;" and when, even by their own greatest efforts, they could raise only five loaves and two fishes, He took them and multiplied them to the feeding of the fasting crowd. Now many purely spiritual lessons of a valuable sort might be learned by us from this interesting episode in the life of our Lord. In particular we might give emphasis to the truth that it is never necessary to send men away from Christ; and that, aye, until upon the throne of judgment He shall Himself say to those upon His left hand, "Depart from me;" no one, be he apostle or bishop or presbyter, has any right or warrant to turn a single sinner away from Him.
But it is not for the enforcement of that truth, glorious as it is, that I have brought this scene before you now. My design is to set in clear and striking contrast on the one hand the policy of selfish non-exertion for the needy, as that comes out in the request of the disciples, "Send them away;" and, on the other, that of self-sacrificing love, as that is enforced by the reply of Christ, "They need not depart; give ye them to eat," and to apply the principles that underlie the Master's words to the work which the American Missionary Association has specially undertaken to perform in our land. Indeed, it would seem to me that in few departments has the cold indifference of selfishness been more manifested by men in modern times than in the treatment that has been given by the community generally to those suffering races whose interests are so tenderly watched over by this Society; while, on the other hand, the spirit of Christian love has been rarely more conspicuously displayed than it has been in the plans which have been formed and the efforts which have been made under the auspices of this institution for those peoples, who, in a manner so marvelous, have been brought by Providence into juxtaposition with the American nation; and I do not think that I can render a better service, not to this Association merely, but to the nation, than by making the truth of this assertion thoroughly apparent.

Here, then, let us take first the case of the North American Indians, and we shall find that the spirit of the greater part of our national dealings with them may be condensed into the words, "Send them away." Every kind of expedient has been resorted to for shutting them up in isolation and preventing them from coming into wholesome contact with our civilization and Christianity. They have been imprisoned within reservations beyond which they are not permitted to move. They have been forbidden to trade directly with those who might wish to purchase anything which they may raise or manufacture. In the words of General Leake, in his able and exhaustive paper on this subject read at the last annual meeting of this Association: "We have placed over each tribe whom we can confine an agent of strange race to them, ignorant of their customs and language, with power to suspend their own chiefs, to suspend all trade, to warn off all visitors of whom he may disapprove. We have prescribed who should sell them anything, the place where the sale should take place, what the article sold should be, and how much they should pay for it." All this is bad enough, and yet they have no security that the reservation assigned to them will be in any proper sense of the term reserved to them, after all. If for any purposes of
gain white men desire the lands which have been allotted to them, they must arise and go elsewhere. “There is,” to them, as it has been strongly but sadly said, “no element of certainty in their title to their lands, but that they will lose them.” And when they gird themselves to defend their rights they are denounced as savages! To what an advanced degree of civilization, I pray you, must we attain before we should tamely submit to such indignities? And what savages our forefathers must have been when they emptied the tea-chests into Boston harbor, and resisted unto blood, striving against injustice! Almost every treaty made with the Indians has been violated, not by the Indians, but by the white man; nearly every promise that has been made to them has been broken; and the principle on which the nation has proceeded toward them has been almost always that of the most selfish dishonesty, to wit:

“That they should take who have the power, And they should keep who can.”

Even a joint committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives has reported that “in a large majority of cases” (of Indian wars) “they are to be traced to the aggressions of lawless white men, always to be found upon the frontier or boundary line between savage and civilized life.” And a commission appointed by the President on the same subject reported: “If the Indian is cruel and revengeful it is because he is outlawed, and his companion is the wild beast;” while the common saying in the mouths of heartless men to the effect that “the best Indian is a dead Indian,” may fitly represent the spirit which has presided over the dealings of the nation with his race, and which is solely and absolutely responsible for all the troubles which have arisen between him and the white man. Now, whatever may be the right way of dealing with these aboriginal tribes, this is very evidently the wrong one. For one thing, it will only make them worse. Kindness may elevate them; but cruelty and injustice can only degrade them. “The villainy we teach them they will execute, and it will go hard but they will better the instruction.” How can we teach them honesty, when we are continually defrauding them? How can we produce in them a regard for justice, when we are constantly trampling upon their rights? How can we hope to give them reverence for truth, when our own most solemnly asseverated promises to them are systematically broken? That which we are to them, they will become, in an intensified form, to us, and we need not marvel at the poor success of our Christian missionaries among them, when we think of the treatment they have received at the hands of a nation calling itself Christian. Nor must
we forget that all this injustice will one day return, if we repent not, on our own heads. During all this century of dishonor, in our treatment of these tribes, we have been "treasuring up wrath to ourselves, against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God." The God of Elijah liveth yet; and He who gave Jezebel to the dogs, for the appropriation of Naboth's vineyard, may sooner than we wot of send some national calamity upon us, for our oppression of the red man.

But what is to be done with them or for them? The answer is plain in the light of the saying of the Saviour which I have already brought before you. "They need not depart; give ye them to eat." Give over this selfish, unjust, utterly unfeeling policy; and treat them in the spirit of Him who fed the multitudes upon the mountain side. Let there be an end of truce-breaking with them, and since the plan of deceit and cruelty and injustice has so signally failed, let us try one of love and righteousness and truth. If they are to have reservations, let them be protected in their possession of them, and let us not continually send them away from them at the demand of lawless men. But why should they be confined within any such territorial limits? Have we so little faith in our national civilization that we do not believe it can assimilate a few hundreds of thousands of Indians? Or have we such meagre confidence in the gospel that we cannot think it shall be the power of God unto salvation to a believing Indian? Is it good for the elevation of every nationality but his? And with such trophies of its power elsewhere are we to be daunted here? Let us break down then all these walls of separation, and leave the Indian free under the law to come and go where he pleases and as he pleases. Let us not compel him to remove to a place which he dislikes, or to remain in a locality which he hates. To borrow again from General Leake: "The remedy is to stop driving the red men from the valleys they love to the reservations they hate; but let them scatter as they choose, so that they may soon be lost in the mass of the population. Instead of pushing them beyond the influences of civilization, let them come into the midst of it, where they will be incited and elevated by all good influences around them." How shall the leaven affect the mass if it is never allowed to come in contact with it? Let us put the leaven in the meal, and then we may hope for success. A beginning has been made in this direction, as we have this day been hearing, in the Hampton Institute. We hail it as full of hope for the Indians, and as an evidence of the commencement of national repentance for a great national sin. This is the Christian policy or rather—for
Christianity should know no policy, but principle—this is the Christian principle, and if we will carry it through, Indian questions and Indian wars will disappear, and we shall find that the red man will ultimately take his place among us, and become as respectable as the average citizen of the Republic.

But let us see how the same contrast comes out in our dealings with the negro race. And here it is happily unnecessary for me to go back over the years when slavery was a cherished institution of the Southern States, nor may I seek to revive any of the sectional antagonisms which underlay the War of the Rebellion. I stand before you as one who came to cast in his lot among you after the war was finished, and who was required only to deal with the state of things which he found around him. I rejoice in the good which even at so great a cost of blood and treasure has been realized. Emancipation is an accomplished fact, and the citizenship of the negroes has been recognized—on paper at least—by the amendment of the Constitution. But everybody knows that the settlement of these matters has thrust new difficulties upon us; for citizenship is a name and nothing more, unless the citizen shall be protected in the enjoyment of its privileges and the performance of its duties; and it may even become a danger to the State, unless he is fitted by education and independence to take a right view of his responsibilities, and intelligently and manfully to rise to them. Now it is in dealing with these new difficulties that we see anew the contrast between the two methods to which I have referred. On the one hand, there are those who think that enough has been accomplished when the Constitution has been amended. They virtually say: "The negroes have received their freedom, and the right of suffrage has been bestowed upon them: now let them look after themselves. Send them away; they have no further claim upon us. We are sick of hearing about them. They have cost us enough of trouble and bloodshed and dispeace in the past, but now let them go their own way and attend to themselves; and so far as we are concerned we should rejoice if by any means they could take themselves off and relieve the country of their presence. It is nothing to us if they are prevented from using the privileges that have been conferred upon them. What need we care if they should be sunk in poverty or steeped in ignorance, or debased in immorality? Emancipation has cleared off all old scores between us and they must now shift for themselves."

But this selfish and indolent indifference, besides being unutterably unchristian, is miserably unenlightened; for it would be easy to show, from the annals of the past few years, that the presence of a million of voters,
or thereabouts, in the land, who are characterized by ignorance, superstition and immorality, must be a constant danger. Either they will be tampered with by traffickers for their own nefarious ends, or they will be ground under the iron heel of a terrorism not many degrees removed from the slavery from which they have been so recently set free. Thus we have in the midst of us a new form of the old peril which Longfellow, in lines referring to slavery, has so admirably described.

"There is a poor blind Samson in the land,
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,
Who may in some grim revel raise his hand
And shake the pillars of this common weal,
Till the vast temple of our liberties
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies."

Selfishness always ends in the punishment of self; and the nation that neglects the mental and moral well-being of its citizens will soon cease to have any greatness that is worthy of the name. Even in the North it has been felt that some system of national education is needed to counteract the dangers that confessedly attach to universal suffrage. The common school is recognized as the great assimilating organ of the body politic, and in some of the States—this of Connecticut among the number—the education of every child under a certain age is made compulsory. But if this is felt to be indispensable in the North by us whose children are born into the heritage stored up for them by centuries of freedom, how much more is it for the negroes of the South; and so, even on the principle of an enlightened selfishness, this policy of indifference to the colored race must be denounced as one of shameless inconsistency and shortsighted folly. But mere education will not suffice. We are Christians, and as such we believe that no education is in the highest sense salutary, but that which is pervaded by the spirit of the Gospel. We see that the negroes must be not only educated, but Christianized, if they are to be really elevated, and are to cease to be an element of danger in the midst of us. They need a religion which shall be to them not merely an occasional diversion or dissipation, but a permanent and abiding principle of life. They need to have impressed upon them the dignity of labor, the sanctity of chastity, and the sacredness of property, for it is especially in these three respects that they carry on their souls the scars of the wounds inflicted on them by slavery. But where shall they learn the first of these more thoroughly than from the contemplation of Jesus at the carpenter's bench in Nazareth, and Paul in the tent-maker's shop in Corinth? How shall they acquire the second more fully than from
Him who bids them regard the body as the temple of the Holy Ghost? And how shall they see the third more impressively than from Him whose whole life was one of constant self-sacrifice for the good of others, and whose servant said: "Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labor, working with his hand the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." This is the true Christian method, and the American Missionary Association is following in the footsteps of the Lord Jesus when it says of the colored people, "They need not depart," and appeals to the churches for the support of its educational work in the words: "Give ye them to eat."

It will be said, indeed it has often been said, that the colored people are incapable of receiving such a Christian education. But to that I reply that the statement is at once a calumny and an insult. It is a calumny, for I have known educated colored people whose culture would not have disgraced any of the more favored race. While I was a student of theology, there came to Scotland a young Caffre Christian, black as jet, to be educated for the ministry of the Gospel. He went first to the University of Glasgow, and in the Greek class there, if I remember rightly, he had awarded to him—by the votes of his class fellows, too—one of the prizes of the year. He was received as a friend in many Christian homes, and married a young Scotch lady of good family who went out with him as a missionary to his people. And now his biography, as the life of the Rev. Tiyo Siga, is one of the most interesting books in modern missionary literature. As the moderator of the council who ordained him I took a prominent part in the examination of the Rev. Barnabas Root, who some years ago was sent out to his native Africa by this Association, and I deliberately affirm that no examination of the kind which I have ever heard was more satisfactory than his, and that his acquaintance with Scripture was richer and fuller than I have met with in the average of our seminary students. I have been privileged, too, on at least two occasions, to be present at Commencement at Hampton College, and in the addresses of the students there I did not perceive any marked inferiority to those which I have heard at some of our Northern colleges. With such experiences as these, therefore, I cannot but regard the taunt of inferiority as a calumny upon the negro. Give him the same advantages and he will improve them as thoroughly as his white brother. But the sneer is more than a calumny. It is an insult, to which I can think only of one feeble parallel. For centuries in England the test acts shut the doors of Oxford and Cambridge against Nonconformists; and then Churchmen turned
around and sneered at Dissenting ministers as uneducated men. But now that the universities are open, hardly a year elapses without seeing the name of a Dissenter on the honor list and often high up there. So for generations the colored people have been kept in ignorance, and now they are to be jeered at as inferiors. Wait a little until they have their opportunity, and we may see some things that may surprise their censors. But be not in too great haste to make your estimate. "Judge nothing before the time, but judge this rather that every stumbling-block shall be taken out of their way;" for we cannot expect that all at once the evils inherited from centuries of slavery can be eradicated from them. We hear a great deal in these days of the doctrine of heredity; and if there be anything in that, are not the colored people entitled to all that can be said on that score in their defense? Is it wonderful that after long subjection to a system in which marriage was degraded, it should be difficult for them to understand the very idea of chastity? And can we be surprised that the spirit of self-help should at first be feeble in a race which for so long had no care or thought of self? Nay, even as to mere knowledge, who shall tell how much of our intelligence has come to us unconsciously through our surroundings? or at what a disadvantage one must stand who is born into slavery? Judge Tourgee has set all this forth most admirably in the later of those two books, which—as is allowed on every hand—give such a fair and candid description of the condition of things in some of the Southern States since the war. Thus concerning the lame preacher Eliab, he says, "What he achieved was without that substratum of general intelligence which the free white student has partly inherited and partly acquired by observation and experience, without the labor or the consciousness of study;" and again, that "our conscious familiarity with the past, which is as the small change of daily thought to us, is as a strange currency to his mind." There is immense force in all such considerations, and in judging of the educability of the negroes they must be duly weighed. Let us not expect the highest results too soon. That poor, down-trodden race has centuries to make up in the march of civilization, and that is not to be accomplished in half a score of years. Nay, considering all the disadvantages with which they have to contend, I cannot but be amazed at the results which have been achieved among them. Let us, therefore, continue on in the line which we have begun. Let us not be weary in this well-doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not. Many of you may have seen Ary Scheffer's beautiful picture which he called "Christus Consolitor." The Saviour is there in the center, and around
Him are the poor, the lame, the blind, and the broken-hearted, seeking that help which He never denies. There, too, on the outer edge of the company is the negro, making his mute appeal with eager eyes and pleading hands for assistance. Some considerable time before the war, a religious book was published in a Northern city, and in it an engraving of that picture was used as a frontispiece, but so strong was the prejudice that in the engraving the negro was left out. That was in deference to the spirit of the time which said, "Send him away." But now we have begun to reverse all this. Thanks to this Association for its grand share in the good work, we have put the negro back again into that picture. Let us keep him there. Let us seek to have him in direct and living contact with the loving Christ, that He may heal the bruises which are the marks of his long degradation, and make him worthy to be not only a citizen of this Republic, but also a denizen of Heaven.

But narrowing in now to a conclusion, we may see the same contrast in the treatment which has been given to the Chinese within our borders. Not Kearney and his followers alone, but even the legislature of California, and, had its members not been prevented by the veto of the President, even the Congress of the United States would say: "Send them away;" but the Christian sentiment of the country, enlightened by God's word, and inspired by the spirit of the Gospel, says, "Let them remain, and while they are here let us introduce them to the Lord Jesus, that they may return at length to their own people, and tell them what great things God hath done for their souls." It is the same old story. Mammon is selfishness, but God is love; men repel, but Christ attracts; and in proportion as we become assimilated to Him we give over saying "Depart," and begin to cry "Come." So far from wishing the Chinese to be banished from the land, the Christian views their presence here as a providential opportunity, and seeks to take advantage of that, not only for their own good, but also for the welfare of that marvelous country which has been for so many centuries closed against intercourse with other nations. He hears the Master saying to him: "Give ye them to eat," and he hastens gladly to obey. And if any should affirm that they are incapable of education, he can point to the excellent characters maintained, and the honorable positions secured in our own schools and colleges by those Chinese youth who have been recently domiciled among us. Said a teacher in one of these schools not long ago: "This school would be a paradise if all the pupils were to show the same diligence, docility and decorum as the Chinese among them do." Nor is this all. The fact that in the Sandwich Islands recently,
among a company of Chinese settlers, there were about a hundred
with certificates of membership in the Christian church, who raised
a house of worship for themselves, and took means for the mainte­
nance of Gospel ordinances among them, is a proof that they are not
only capable of being Christianized, but also able to carry into their
Christian life the same qualities of patience, perseverance and inde­
pendence which they have manifested in the conduct of their ordinary
affairs. Besides, if we can be but instrumental in converting them,
what noble missionaries they will make among their own people! We
cannot hope for the evangelization of China by any merely foreign
agency, but here, close by our side, are numbers of the Chinese them­
selves, as if the very design of God was that we should take them and
train them for that great work. And yet men will thrust them away
and speak of the great peril which they bring to our civilization! Peril!
The peril is all in the other direction. The peril will be if we neglect
our opportunity; but the improvement of that opportunity—if we be
wise enough to improve it—will be one of the richest honors our
American Christianity has ever won. Who knoweth whether we are
come to the kingdom for such a time as this? If we fail in our duty
still they will be evangelized; “enlargement and deliverance” shall
arise from some other quarter for them, but—let each conscience sup­
ply the ellipsis for itself.

But good as is the work which the American Missionary Association
has done among these three races, it has as yet made only a beginning.
The cry is for enlargement, and we must endeavor to secure that this
cry shall not be made in vain. Our own interest demands it. No
duties are more pressing upon our churches, in these days, than those
of evangelizing the masses of our large cities; carrying the Gospel
to the emigrants who are daily penetrating by hundreds into the new
West; and giving a Christian education to the colored Freedmen
throughout the South. It is hard to say which of these is the most
urgent; but it is at our peril if we neglect any one of them, and
however important the other two may be, the case of the Freedmen
is pre-eminently imperative. We may not say of it merely: “If
it were done at all, it were well it were done quickly,” but rather it
cannot be done at all unless it be done quickly. For whether we
educate them or not, they will receive an education; but it may be
such an education as will make them as smoke in our eyes, and
thorns in our side during our entire after-history, and we may find
it impossible to undo the mischief which our neglect has caused.
Every subscription given for this object now, therefore, is a premium
paid for the insurance of our national safety in the future; and thus,
even on the lowest of all grounds, we ought to help on the enlarge-
ment of the work of this Association. But I cannot, I dare not, I will
not leave it on this low ground. Here is the great motive: "For ye know
the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though He was rich, yet for
your sakes He became poor, that ye through His poverty might be rich."
Let us take fully in all that these words imply, and giving will rise
from a duty into a privilege; from a necessity into a luxury and a joy.
Permit me to conclude what I have to say with an anecdote which
I heard from my father many years since.

Some ninety years ago, or more, before there were any macadamized
roads in Scotland, it was the custom for farmers to convey their
grain to the mill in a sack on the back of a horse. One day my grand-
father was going to the mill, taking the grain after that fashion. The
road was steep and stony, and the animal stumbled so that the sack
fell off. He tried to put it up again, but the weight of three score
years and ten was upon his shoulders, and he was unable to do so.
By and by he saw a gentleman on horseback coming near, and he
thought: "He will help me, perhaps." But as he drew near he dis-
covered he was the Earl who dwelt in the neighboring castle, and
his heart sank within him, for he thought he could not muster courage
to ask assistance from him. But he did not need, for the Earl was a
gentleman by a higher patent than that of any earthly nobility, and
when he saw the old man's need, he dismounted and said: "Here,
John, let me help you." So between them they replaced the sack
on the animal's back. Then my grandfather, who was a gentleman,
too, although he did wear homespun—or, as we call it in Scotland,
"hodden gray"—took off his Kilmarnock bonnet from his head and
said: "Please your lordship, how shall I ever thank you for the great
kindness you have done for me?" "Very easily, John," was the re-
ply; "whenever you see a man needing your help as much as you
were needing mine just now, help him, and that will be thanking me."

And now for the application. You stand and look at the cross of
the Lord Jesus Christ, and you say: "What shall I render unto Thee
for all these benefits of salvation, of instruction, of elevation, of
holiness, conferred upon me?" He says: "Very easily. There are
those poor, afflicted races needing your help. Raise them by educa-
tion, by evangelization, and in so many other ways help them, and
that will be thanking me."

For my sake! That is the motive; and if but that motive could be
brought to bear with all its power on every Christian heart, there
would be no difficulty among us in doing far greater things than this
Association has yet even conceived of.