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Wm. P. Breckinridge

Cotton Cultivation in Africa.

SUGGESTIONS

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE

Cultivation of Cotton in Africa,

IN REFERENCE TO THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES,

WITH A FEW

OBSERVATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE FRIENDS OF EMIGRATION AMONG THE COLORED
POPULATION OF THE NORTHERN STATES.

BY A COLONIZATIONIST.

PHILADELPHIA:

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P R E F A C E.

THE "Suggestions on the Cultivation of Cotton in Africa," in reference to the "Abolition of Slavery in America," were written for "Friends' Review," as affording to conscientious opponents of Slavery one mode of action, that promises to be very effective, without interfering with other measures tending to the same result. To the intelligent and energetic among the free colored population of the United States, who desire an opportunity of acting efficiently on behalf of their enslaved brethren in the Southern States, this plan offers a field of labor in which their exertions may be eminently useful; and while immediately placing themselves in a position of entire independence, and on a perfect equality with every race and nation, they will enjoy the gratification of knowing that they are, at the same time, accomplishing the glorious work of regenerating an entire Continent, and of elevating an oppressed and degraded people to the enjoyment of the blessings of Christianity and a high civilization for ages to come.

If the conviction of such great results attending their labors, shall fail to arouse them to a sense of duty, it is difficult to conceive nobler views or higher motives that can call forth their exertions.

Believing that this is a subject appealing directly to the sympathies, and the best interests of the whole colored population of the United States,—although but few of them may be willing at present to undertake the work in the manner contemplated,—a few friends, who have read the "Suggestions" in the "Review," have requested the writer to have them reprinted in pamphlet form, for the benefit of those who are likely to be interested in the subject. In now presenting it to them, it is without assuming to dictate to any portion of people what their individual duty or interest may require. Yet, the great fact stands unquestioned, that here is an important work to be performed, in the Civilization and

Christianization of Africa, in the abolition of Slavery throughout the world, and in the education and elevation of the African race, wherever scattered. And who are so well qualified for this as the intelligent and educated colored people of the United States? While it is undoubtedly the duty of all christian men, irrespective of country or race, to aid the oppressed, and recognize a brother in distress as appealing to the heart and conscience of every one in whatever situation he may be placed: yet, who will deny that the great wants of Africa appeal for aid directly and forcibly to her educated and civilized children, now in the United States? Some will find the path of duty and the opportunity of usefulness by remaining in the American States—in the endeavors to elevate their brethren here, while resisting, as far as they may be able, the mountain of prejudice that crushes them. And every effort of this kind should receive not only the best wishes, but encouragement and aid from all true Christians.

It is far from the design of the writer to discourage, in any way, such praiseworthy efforts; but should the most sanguine hopes of such be realized in a reasonably short space of time—should Frederick Douglass be elected to the Congress of the United States, and admitted to take his seat as one of the law-makers of the Country, a position his talents well qualify him for—and should entire political equality be accorded to every colored man in all the Free States, which is their undoubted right: still it is to be feared that it will be long, very long, before they can place themselves upon a perfect social equality with the white race—without which their political right will be of little benefit. What rapid advance must true Christianity make in these United States, before the American people can be brought to acknowledge the common brotherhood of man? And is every descendant of Africa willing to remain and suffer from the great, all-pervading prejudice against his race until this millennium arrives, merely because he was born here, because this is his “native land” from which he will not be “expatriated?” No, they are not. A feeling in favor of emigration is now spreading among many intelligent colored men; but still it is no less strange than true, that the leading and influential men among them have their attention turned to Canada, the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, and even South America, in preference to Africa, where the great mass of thir race reside, and where civilized and christian States are already formed, and are carrying commerce and civilization into the very centre of that long neglected but productive country. Strong as the pre-

judice against the American Colonization Society is known to be among all classes of the colored population of the United States, is it not passing strange that such men as Dr. Martin R. Delany, of Pittsburgh; Mr. J. M. Whitfield, of Buffalo; Mr J. Theodore Hooley, of Detroit; with many other intelligent and educated colored men, should issue a call for an emigration convention, in which all discussion, not only in regard to the colonization movement, but the merits and advantages of Liberia, or Sierra Leone, or any part of Africa, is to be entirely forbidden in the remarks of their speakers! They will have free discussion, provided no one mentions Africa! Believing that much good will arise from this plan of bringing together the most intelligent men from the different sections of the Union to interchange their views on all subjects pertaining to their advancement in this Country, or the advantages offered enterprising emigrants to other lands—and believing also that Messrs Delany, Whitfield, Holly, and others who intend soon to hold a Convention at Cleavland, do not mean to be so proscriptive as their call would lead many to suppose, the writer makes this address particularly to them, known as he is to them as a “Colonizatoinist,” as well as a thorough opponent of slavery and all its concomitants, fugitive slave laws, &c. in the hopes that on reflection they will so modify their rules as to allow a discussion on the advantages offered by every country in the known world, that the black man may be just as free as the white man to seek such a home as will most advance his interest.

It cannot be that any number of intelligent black men can be found who will shut out the claims of Africa to their sympathies; but with increased knowledge of the capabilities of the African continent, the great advantages it presents in many respects to enterprising colored emigrants from the United States, who can take with them the means for developing the resources of the country, and thus introduce in every successive year an improved civilization, must the interest in Africa increase.

The writer presents these remarks solely on his own responsibility; feeling a strong interest in the civilization and christianization of Africa, as well as in the welfare of the whole African race in the United States, and having devoted much of his time to the cause of African Colonization, he will with pleasure give any information on the subject that he may possess to those who may desire it.

Cotton Cultivation in Africa.

From Friend's Review.

We present to our readers this week, the first portion of a communication from a correspondent, who has long taken a deep interest in the improvement of the condition of the African race. The fact that the slavery which has blackened our prosperous country, and exposed our profession of freedom and liberality to the censure and ridicule of people less free and enlightened than we suppose ourselves to be, owes its support and continuance to the market for its productions, is too obvious to require illustration or argument; and of the products of slave labor in the United States, it is well known that Cotton constitutes an important part; so important, indeed, that we may fairly question whether the system could be much longer sustained without it. Well may we regret that an article so valuable in itself, and so conducive to domestic convenience and comfort, should be made the basis, either wholly or in part, of an institution so oppressive and degrading as American slavery. There is certainly no reason why this portion of the means which a bountiful Providence has furnished for our use and convenience, may not be cultivated, as well as any thing else, by the hands of freemen.

The soil and climate of Africa are shown to be remarkably suited to the production of cotton; and some of our English philanthropists have recently turned their attention to that Continent, as a source from which they hope to procure a supply for their factories, and thus obviate the necessity of resorting to the slave-fled markets of the United States. It may be hoped that the time will come, and at no distant day, when the native African will no longer be carried across the Atlantic, and subjected to all the horrors of a middle passage, to perform these labors in the western world, which he can perform with greater advantage, under the stimulus of hope, in his native land. Let free labor in Africa be brought, under proper regulations, into competition with the slave labor of the United States, and the fetters of slavery will not long hold together. Enlightened self-interest will dissolve them.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN AFRICA.

A few suggestions on the importance of the Cultivation of Cotton in Africa, in reference to the abolition of Slavery in America.

By the true philanthropist of the present day, whose sympathies are enlisted for the oppressed of all countries, and of every race, any suggestion that may lead to even a partial improvement of condition will be received with favor. And on the people of the United States chiefly rests the responsibility of discovering the best mode of emancipating three and a half millions of bondmen in their midst;—and of providing for their future welfare, when emancipated. This has been deemed so difficult a subject—so complex in its political, social, and economical bearings, that many well-disposed persons have been willing to pass it by, as a question to be solved by time, or by the superior wisdom of a future age; although aware that every successive year increases and strengthens the evil.

But there are some who believe that *the present* is the proper time for action, and that *they* have a duty to perform in this great work, that should not be neglected. To such it is desired to make a few suggestions, under a belief that, with proper effort, much may be done now to effect the desired result, and that measures may be commenced immediately, which will eventuate, at no distant period, in a general emancipation, without violence of any kind, and without any collision with the laws of the land.

As slavery originated in the spirit of gain, by which alone it is still sustained, it is proposed to make use of the same agency to accomplish its overthrow. It is generally conceded that the profit derived from the culture of Cotton is the chief support of slavery in America, and this being the most vulnerable point, is that towards which the attack on the institution should be directed; for whatever shall prove available in making slave labor unprofitable, must of course cause the demand for that labor to cease. It is proposed to accomplish this result by means of the cultivation of cotton in Africa, with the use of free labor. As the soil of Africa is much more fertile than that of the United States, and is particularly adapted to the growth of Cotton, the advantages in its favor must be apparent to the most superficial observer; for not only can all the best varieties at present cultivated in the United States, be more cheaply raised in Western or Central Africa, but there are several kinds indigenous to

that continent, of superior quality, that have been highly approved in the English market. When it is remembered that this plant is perennial in Africa, and produces very much more than it does in America, where it must be planted annually, the superiority of the former over the latter will be very obvious; but in comparing the cost of labor in the two countries, the difference is still greater in favor of the free labor of Africa, over the slave labor of America.

To make this apparent to the most skeptical, it is only necessary to compare the value of slaves in Africa, with the market price of the same class of laborers in the United States. The foreign slave traders usually pay from ~~ten to fifteen~~ dollars for each slave, in trade-goods at an enormous profit; so that the *cash* value of a good field-hand may be safely estimated at from five to ten dollars; while the same laborer in America would cost from five hundred to one thousand dollars. This comparison shows the real difference in the value of labor to be estimated in calculating the relative cost of the production of this important staple, the variation in the price of which so seriously effects our commercial prosperity as to make the information respecting it of the first importance on every arrival from Europe. As this comparison, however, is only between slave labor in the two countries, and as the object of encouraging the increased production of cotton in Africa, is to liberate the bondman there as well as here, some may be inclined to doubt whether the native African, in a state of freedom, can be so stimulated by the love of gain and the hope of improving his condition, as to compete successfully with the compulsory labor used here. But it must be remembered how vast is the population of Africa, and that the employment of even a very small part of it, for a few hours each day, would give a greater amount of labor than that obtained by compulsion from the smaller number in the United States. And when we take into view the difference in the cost of living, the exceeding productiveness of the soil, and that much less clothing is required in that tropical climate than with us, may we not reasonably calculate from these facts, that Cotton, more than equal to the whole product of the United States, can be obtained from the free sons of Africa in their native land, at less than one-half of its present cost, while amply compensating the laborer and, at the same time, greatly improving his condition in other respects? This plan is, then, simply to make the immense profits at present derived by the slave-trader from his iniquitous business, togeth-

er with the great emolument accruing to the planter in the United States from the unrequited labor of his slaves, both available to the African himself. And the same process that thus benefits the free laborer, as a necessary consequence liberates the bondman in America, and emancipates the uncounted millions of slaves in Africa; for it is not to be supposed that slavery will continue long anywhere when it is found to be unprofitable.

All the Bible arguments of Southern theologians, or the patriotic appeals of pro-slavery politicians, will not avail to sustain an institution that occasions a clear loss to every individual connected with it. Both slavery itself and its adjunct, the fugitive slave law, will then be numbered with the things that were; instead of laws for the protection of this species of property, we shall see, as John Randolph predicted, the master running away from the slave. Succeeding generations will read the history of the present time in constant wonder that such an institution as human slavery could have existed so long among a professedly Christian and enlightened people, glorying in an eminent degree in the Republican principles of their government.

Assuming, then, that the free labor of Africa may be made available, if properly applied, to the abolition of slavery in both countries, the question will naturally arise, as to the best mode of accomplishing so desirable an object in the shortest time possible; and also that the greatest amount of good, as well as the chief profit, shall result to the advantage of the entire African race.

To this end, care should be taken that the business of collecting, cleaning, pressing, and exporting the Cotton, should not be monopolized either by English or American capitalists, nor by any associations of white men, with even very philanthropic views in regard to the abolition of slavery. The most suitable agents to promote the success of the measure, whose exertions could be made to advance their own interest and that of their posterity, while they were using the most effective measures for eradicating one of the greatest evils of the present age, are enterprising colored men from the United States, properly educated, so as to be qualified for the work, and who are capable of appreciating the immense benefits to the world that must result from their labors. These men could form settlements on the whole Western coast of Africa, between the parallels of 20 deg. North and 20 deg. South latitude, which would include Upper and Lower Guinea and Gambia—selecting, of course, the most eligible points

on the coast not already possessed by other powers, from whence they could gradually extend themselves into the interior. They would thus be enabled to control the vast and continually increasing commerce of a hitherto unexplored region, comprising the larger and better portion of Central Africa—sufficient of itself, with the improvements in cultivation naturally introduced by civilization, to form a large and very lucrative portion of the commerce of the world.

The important results that must follow from the success of this scheme, cannot fail to strike every one who will give it attention. The downfall of American slavery is inevitable, and with it the whole system of servitude throughout the world; for, with the great advantages thus shown that Africa possesses for the cultivation of Cotton over the more expensive lands and labor in America, is it to be doubted for a moment that it can be *profitably raised at much less than one half of the price it has commanded in the United States for many years past?*

Cotton, however, is not the only article of general consumption produced by slave labor, that can be more cheaply cultivated in Africa by freemen. Coffee and Rice grow there luxuriently, and have already been raised to a considerable extent and with comparatively little labor; both being indigenious to that Continent, and the Liberia Coffee is considered one of the best varieties in the English market, where it commands a high price, and for that reason but little is imported into the United States.

This plan for eradicating one of the greatest evils that afflicts so large a portion of the human race, and our own country in particular, may seem so plain, when viewed in the light of its commercial importance alone, and yet so simple in the means proposed for carrying it into effect, that many will be inclined to ask why it has not been tried before, if so efficacious as here represented for the accomplishment of its object? This would be a natural question, and the answer is this: The agents who would be best adapted to the work in most respects, have not been properly educated for it; the influences surrounding them in this country have all been of a depressing nature, calculated to discourage any noble aspirations that would lead them to promote the welfare of their race, and to achieve for it a higher position in the estimation of the world than it has yet attained; and from this want of a knowledge of their own capabilities, they have been too long contented with the most servile occupations. In addition, however, to the want of information among the mass of our colored population, in

regard to the measures best calculated to advance their welfare, and to which must be attributed much of the lack of energy and enterprise among them, a large majority, including some of the most intelligent and best educated portion, have imbibed very strong prejudices against the scheme of African Colonization, as conducted by the American Colonization Society, from the fact that many slaveholders, as well as non-slaveholders, are interested in, and patronize the enterprise. The great mortality that occurred in some of the earlier expeditions that formed the settlement of the present Republic of Liberia, has given rise to very incorrect views as to the salubrity of the climate, and has led the colored man to overlook the great advantages that must result to himself, to his posterity, and to the entire race, from a vigorous and judicious prosecution of the scheme in the manner here indicated. It is, however, not desirable that a very large proportion of our colored population should at once emigrate to Africa, much less a general exodus; but if only fifty thousand of the intelligent and educated should be induced to settle there within the next ten years, what might they not accomplish? This would be but *one-tenth* of the free colored population of the United States, and only equal to about one per cent. per annum. Yet this number, distributed in some eight or ten different settlements along the coast, would form the nucleus of probably as many independent States, hereafter to form a confederacy similar to our own; and, as they would naturally adopt Republican principles, might in less than half a century show a more important destiny for this race, in the civilization and christianization of Africa, and perform a more important part in the great work of the world's redemption, than many of their best friends have ever anticipated. If it should be objected that this calculation is *not entirely within the bounds of moderation*, that the effects hoped for are too great for the means employed, we have only to look at our own country to see the vast results of colonization from small beginnings; or to realize what has been accomplished within the last few years in California and Australia, and then ask ourselves if the colored man has not greater inducements, at this time, to emigrate to Africa, than our forefathers had, in their day, to emigrate to America? And is the prospect of gain that yearly takes so many thousands to the gold fields of California or Australia, to be compared with the great advantages accruing to the enterprising emigrant to Western Africa?

If any one doubts the capability of colored men to overcome difficulties in establishing for themselves an independent govern-

ment, and in spreading the blessings of civilization and christianity among the savage people, he has only to cast his eyes on Liberia to see what has already been achieved by a few thousand of the same class, a large majority of whom were emancipated slaves, without any previous education or the least experience in the great work they have so successfully accomplished. Liberia has fully established the capacity of the African race for self-government and the highest degree of civilization, and she stands at this moment as the most successful example of colonization to be found in the annals of history.

There we see an independent government, formed on strictly Republican principles, modelled after our own ^{own} respects, *slavery excepted*, established and creditably conducted by less than ten thousand of the African race, most of them from a state of bondage in America, and of whom not one hundred ever had an education in this country such as is to be obtained in our best schools. They were aided, indeed, in the first instance by the labors of a few of the self-denying and devoted friends of this oppressed people, among whom the names of Ashmun and Buchanan should be held in grateful remembrance by every true hearted black man in Africa or America.

Liberia is now enjoying a high degree of prosperity, and occupies an honored and most respectable position among the civilized governments of the world, her sovereignty and independence having been acknowledged by Great Britain, France, Prussia, Belgium and Brazil, with all of whom she interchanges national civilities, and a mutually lucrative trade; her flag and her revenue laws are respected by the vessels of all nations, and her citizens meet on equal terms those from Europe or America who visit her ports in the pursuit of commerce, or in the employment of their respective countries. On the two occasions when her chief magistrate visited Europe, he was received with distinguished consideration by the nobility and crowned heads, and by the virtuous of other classes of the most powerful and most refined nations of the Eastern continent. Liberia, however, still needs the sympathy and aid of her friends in extending the benefits of education among her growing population, as both the government and people are far from a state of affluence. Yet they have overcome most of the difficulties incident to the settlement of a new country, especially that great obstacle, the slave trade, with which they had to contend for many years, and which resisted them with all its power, constantly inciting the natives to oppose their friendly and peaceful advances. The

slave trade is now entirely destroyed, not only within their own borders, but it is prohibited in *all* their treaties with the native kings who have sought their friendship. The Liberians have otherwise exerted a healthful influence in the suppression of wars between the different tribes with whom they have had intercourse. The cultivation of Coffee has been prosecuted to a considerable extent in Liberia, and within the last year or two some attention has been given to the culture of Cotton.

With these facts before us, showing what has already been accomplished by a handful of comparatively uneducated people, what may we not expect from a much greater number, properly educated for the work? May we not safely calculate on benefits as important to the world from the colonization of Africa by intelligent and well educated black men, as have been achieved by our own race in the colonization of America? And if so, should not all the opponents of slavery, and all the sincere friends of the colored race, unite their efforts to promote so important an enterprise? In urging, however, the great value of this department of anti-slavery labor, it is by no means our intention to undervalue other efforts in the same cause, especially the moral influence that may be brought to bear upon the great system of oppression and wrong by the judicious and well directed efforts of able writers, who forget not the law of love and Christian obligation while exposing enormities to which the system of slavery is liable. The works of John G. Whittier, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and others of the same class, will be fully appreciated by those who desire some practicable plan in which all may labor who desire to accomplish, at the earliest period possible, the abolition of so deep-rooted and wide spread an evil. Neither will the friends of free labor deem it necessary to confine their efforts to any one point, however important that may be shown to be.

It is also to be hoped that the idea of extending the culture of flax in our Northern and Western States, may be realized by those who desire thereby to make it a substitute for Cotton in the manufacture of many articles for the home market. It is therefore desirable that the very able and interesting essays on this subject, that have appeared in the "Review," may be extensively read by those who are interested in this question. When it is remembered that the entire yearly consumption of Cotton in England alone is upwards of 800,000,000 of lbs., and of this 79 per cent., or more than three-fourths, is raised in the United States, it will be readily perceived how indispensable it is that we should under-

mine this powerful support of slavery, in our plans for the overthrow of the institution. This done, we may safely leave the repeal of all fugitive slave laws, and the answer to all pro-slavery arguments, to the slaveholders themselves. Make slavery obviously unprofitable, and the work is done.

In this view of the case, our first and great duty would seem to be, to raise the colored man from his present state, infuse into him a noble ambition to occupy a more elevated position in the world, and to qualify him to act the part which appears to be so clearly marked out for him in this age of progress.

With a liberal education, it is not to be supposed that he will fail to recognize the responsibility resting on him, and learn to know that it is on his own exertions he must mainly depend to become a useful and respected member of society; he will then see the importance of immediate action, to secure for himself and his children some of the advantages that the Continent of Africa offers to the enterprising emigrants who seek her shores; and having thus secured a home for themselves, and laid the foundation of an extensive Christian empire, will soon be able to receive all of their brethren whose interest or adventurous spirit may lead them to seek a new abode from under the dominion of "the proud and imperious Saxon," where their labor will be estimated at its proper value. Our duty, however, will be but partially performed to a long-neglected portion of our brethren, by freeing them from actual bondage, without, at the same time, making provision for their future welfare. We must bear in mind that the prejudice arising from a long course of degradation will not soon be eradicated after chattel slavery shall have ceased; that while we may grant them entire equality under the law, in accordance with our republican creed, yet that social equality which cannot be looked for until the feeling of brotherly love, engendered by a truer spirit of Christianity, than at present prevails, shall have pervaded the mass of the community; and as this work will be a work of years, many of the free spirits among our colored brethren may not be willing to await this "good time coming;" and when the certainty of a general emancipation is made manifest to our Southern brethren, it is to be hoped that there will be shown a liberal and Christian spirit toward their slaves, that will induce them to allow such educational privileges as will prepare them to become useful citizens, either in the land of their nativity or that of their adoption. Many, no doubt, will still be employed as laborers in the Southern States, where their services, to a certain ex-

tent, will be indispensable, while others will seek new residences, in which they can immediately become landed proprietors. To provide for a large emigration of this nature, consequent upon the success of the measures indicated for the overthrow of slavery, a broad and sure foundation should be laid, upon which these new African States will be erected.

In asking the attention of the friends of the African race to this subject, it is respectfully suggested, that much may be done towards the object at the present time, by extending the facilities of education to the different towns and settlements in Liberia, in establishing primary, high, and normal schools for both males and females, and also by furnishing each settlement with the necessary machine for cleaning and pressing Cotton. These must be extended as new settlements are formed, whether under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, or by individual enterprise; both of these measures were considered desirable by our friends Eli and Sybil Jones, who visited Liberia a year or two since, neither of the objects being within the province of the Colonization Society; and as the emigrants are generally very poor, they require all their means for the cultivation of their farms. Capital is, therefore, much needed by them for such purposes. To secure the accomplishment of this plan on a scale commensurate with the important end to be attained, combined effort will be necessary; and as the measures proposed do not come within the prescribed duties of any existing organization, the object will probably be effected in the surest manner by a union of all the friends of freedom in America, whose sympathy for the oppressed is not limited by geographical boundaries or national sovereignty, in an association with the philanthropists of Great Britain, (or in such manner as shall receive their co-operation;) and as distinguishing the society, and explaining its object, it might be called "The African Civilization Society." It would occupy a different field of labor from any other anti-slavery association, and thus be free from the objection of many, whose exertions have been limited to mere partial measures. There are in our religious Society many who deeply feel the wrongs of slavery, and who would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity of more extended usefulness, but who have not deemed it their duty to take an active part in the political conflict that the slavery question has engendered. Such will probably see in this quiet and peaceful, yet most effective mode of overcoming the principal obstacle to our national prosperity, the way made clear for extending more enlightened

views of governmental policy to the nations of the world, some of whom may have been deterred from adopting our professed principles from the inconsistency of our practice, in continuing an institution at variance with both the obvious precepts of Christianity and our boasted republicanism.

The Editor of the "New York Colonization Journal," in copying into that paper the suggestions on Cotton Cultivation in Africa, copies also the following remarks of the Editor of the "Review," with his corrections, showing that "Colonizationists" do not hold the views that many have imputed to them.

COFFEE AND COTTON CULTIVATION IN LIBERIA.

We cheerfully transfer from the *Friends' Review* two numbers of a communication from a correspondent, C., on the cultivation of Cotton, Sugar, and Coffee in Africa, as throwing light upon the path of duty and expediency for our intelligent colored population.

In introducing the second number of the series, the Editor of the *Friends' Review* makes the following remarks :

"In continuing the suggestions of our correspondent, relative to the cultivation in Africa of those productions which are usually brought into the market through the instrumentality of servile labor, it may be proper to remark that neither the writer of the 'suggestions' nor the Editor of the Review designs to give any countenance to the scheme of compulsory emigration, or to the wild and visionary project of transporting the whole colored race, now in the United States, to what is sometimes termed their fatherland. The right of the colored man to remain, as long as interest or inclination dictates, in the land which gave him birth, is no more liable to question or doubt than that of any other class of our diversified population. Though the colored race in the United States are in actual possession of much less than their relative portion of the wealth of the country, there can be no rational doubt of their having performed their full share of the labor, though probably not of the skill, which has brought it into existence.

"The establishment, however, of colonies on the African coast, constituted of persons fitted by nature to flourish in a tropical climate, and prepared by education to carry the blessings of civilization and Christianity to that benighted continent, is a very different affair from the project which the declarations of many prominent advocates of colonization have given reason to attri-

bute to them : that of clearing off the free colored race, in order to render the possession of their slaves more secure. Such emigrants as some of those mentioned in this week's paper, may reasonably be expected to exercise a salutary influence, wherever they may be located on the African shore. If the emigrants could contain a good sprinkling of such characters, we might confidently hope to see, in a few years, well-constituted Republics spreading along the coast, stretching into the interior, and proving, by ocular demonstration, the capacity of the negro race to establish and support free governments. When William Penn was about locating on the banks of the Delaware a colony with a government which he intended as a model for ages to come, he remarked in a letter to one of his friends, while still in Europe, 'There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment;' and it may be said that there is room in Africa, though not in the United States, to try the experiment of entrusting the colored race with the government of themselves. The experiment has indeed been tried there and has succeeded. A few more, if equally successful, might perhaps lead some to imagine that their admission here to a share in the enactment and administration of the laws to which they are expected to yield obedience, would not be such an absurdity as it has been supposed."

While agreeing in the main with the above, we demur on two or three points to the implication conveyed as to the sentiments of Colonizationists.

The Editor, in seeming deprecation of censure for having inserted the communication of C., remarks, that "neither the correspondent nor the Editor designs to give any countenance to the *scheme of compulsory emigration*, or to the *wild and visionary project* of transporting the whole colored race, now in the United States, to what is sometimes termed their fatherland." As to compulsory emigration, the Colonization Society carefully, from its origin, guarded itself on this point by a constitutional provision, confining its operations "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color," and by this very limitation denied beforehand the charge of proposing "a *scheme of compulsory emigration*," or "a *wild and visionary project of transporting the whole colored race*." Let it be understood, therefore, that the Editor of the Review did not properly refer to any thing chargeable to the Colonization Society, when he made the remark just quoted, but to some supposed theory of State

legislation, or individual argument or theory, as to what would be practicable or desirable.

We quote again from the editorial as follows: "The *right* of the colored man to remain as long as interest or inclination dictate," &c., &c. The Colonization Society was not founded on any theory which questioned or controverted the "right," but upon the expediency and wisdom of his emigrating, and the benevolence, in view of all the circumstances present and prospective of his condition, of promoting a plan for his voluntary emigration.

To assert the right implies that it has been denied, and we wish simply to defend the Colonization Society from the imputation of such denial. The "right" being then admitted to remain or to emigrate at their option, there remains simply this question between the promoters of the plan of Colonization and their opposers: Which is acting most wisely, and with the greatest practical benevolence—he who advocates and encourages voluntary emigration, or he who opposes and discourages? Remarks upon the "suggestions" of C. we reserve for another number.

The following articles will be found to confirm the statement with regard to the advantages of Africa, in both soil and climate, for the production of cotton:

"From Friends' Review."

The brief notice which appears in one of our columns, respecting the culture of cotton in Algeria, is a corroboration of some of the remarks of our correspondent C., as given in preceding numbers. If the French can raise cotton in Algeria, where labor is not so cheap as in many other parts of Africa, surely the English also may obtain it from parts of the same continent which are accessible to them.

AFRICAN COTTON.

France is becoming every day more and more a cotton producing country. The very full and explicit details given by our Paris correspondent some weeks since, on the increased cultivation of cotton in Algeria, certainly denote that not without reason does the French government believe that in a few years France will grow, on its own soil, Cotton enough for its own manufacturing wants.—*Daily Register*.

AFRICAN COTTON.

Dr Irving, a missionary to Africa, has written the annexed remarks. The letter is published in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society :

“ In December, 1853, I was ordered on service to Abbeokuta, with Commander Foote, then senior officer. There I was much struck with the superior appearance of the people and their great capabilities, the productiveness of the soil, the variety of objects which might lead to an extensive and lucrative commerce with England, more especially that of cotton, which is indigenous, and carefully cultivated by the Yarubas. These comprise a population of nearly three million souls, clothed entirely in cloths manufactured by themselves.

On my return to England, I represented these things to the Church Missionary Society, and many of the samples of African productions I brought home excited great attention among manufacturers and others. The cotton proved to be of the very quality required for the purpose of manufacture. Among them was also an entirely new kind of silk, respecting which several eminent merchants in London are very anxious for further information. I volunteered to go out and examine the country between the Niger, Bight of Benin, and Lander's route, between Badagry and Boussa, a country, excepting at one or two points where our missionaries had been the pioneers, never yet visited by white men. My offer was accepted, and I started as agent for Yaruba, with the sanction of Sir James Graham and Lord Clarendon. The necessary instruments for making observations have been forwarded to me.”—*Colonization Herald*.

COTTON FROM AFRICA.

On Saturday, advice was received in Manchester by Mr. Thomas Clegg, cotton spinner, of the arrival of five more bales, weighing in the aggregate rather more than 1000 lbs., of raw cotton from the coast of Africa. This makes Mr. Clegg's receipts to amount to about 12,000 lbs., as the result of the very important movement which originated with him. Some three or four years ago, learning that there was plenty of cotton growing wild near the colony of Sierra Leone and the Church Missionary station, Abeokuta, and that as it bloomed and ripened it dropped to the ground and rotted, no one regarding it, he communicated with the officials of the Church Missionary Society in London, and through them

sent £100 to the place named, with instructions that it was to be expended by the missionaries in setting the natives to gather and clean the indigenous produce, and to forward it as quickly as possible to England.

At the same time they were directed to lay before the chiefs the advantageous opening which presented itself for the employment of their people, and how much better it would be to do that than to pursue their horrid traffic in human flesh. This was a direct appeal to a leading trait in the character of the native chiefs of that part of the continent, for by the universal testimony of those who know them best, they are admitted to possess a strong liking for money, and to be as clever at barter as any Yankee pedlar; for trafficking, indeed, they seem to have a natural gift, which only requires to be turned from slaves to cotton to enable us to dispense with our squadron on that coast. The inducements held out proved sufficient to attract attention, and in the year before last a few hundred pounds were collected. Since then Mr. Clegg has received above 10,000, exclusive of that which he received the advice of on Saturday, and altogether at present every thing points to great results at no distant period. But the duty of attending to the collection and forwarding of the cotton has become too large for the missionaries to undertake, and therefore two agents are about to be sent out especially to undertake it. The great aim at present is to show the chiefs that there is a market for whatever cotton their people can collect of that which grows without the necessity for bestowing more labor upon it than what is required to gather it from the pod; that effected, they will then be asked to encourage its growth by cultivation. Mr. Clegg has spun a quantity of the cotton himself, and has given some to four firms, with the request that they will experiment upon it, and favor him with a report.

In staple it is equal to Egyptian or good Orleans, used in spinning fine yarns for Nottingham and Leicester trade. The price of cotton suited for such fine numbers has more than doubled within a comparatively brief period, and what was selling at $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound, is now fetching $20d.$, and has been for some time; so that this supply will come in most seasonably to meet the scarcity of suitable sorts which the price indicates.

It must not be supposed, however, that all that has been described has been accomplished by Mr Clegg's £100; that gentleman unloosed his purse-string when he saw success "looming in the future," and he has been aided by other friends of the

African race, especially by Lady Buxton, who has contributed £100 towards the fund for carrying on operations.—*North American.*

COTTON CULTIVATION ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

The soil itself is admirably adapted to the fructification of the plant, and this is proved by the numerous specimens which are to be seen in almost every piece of ground, spontaneously growing amongst the other shrubs and trees, and supplying large and well filled pods of the soft downy substance. The rearing and cultivation of the cotton plant would, in my opinion, be an acceptable kind of employment to the African laborer: and, as the price of wages is not high, and the time occupied in bringing it to perfection by no means slow, the return would plentifully reward the planter as well as the purchaser. The quality of the article produced from the cotton plant of Sierra Leone has already been pronounced to be very good, and capable of a durable and yet fine texture. The extensive portions of land in the neighborhood of Freetown, and indeed throughout the colony, which lie uncultivated, might be employed with advantage in the growth of this article, for which they are in every respect fitted. The continent of Africa, in fact, throughout, is, for the reasons already offered, well suited to the cultivation of the cotton plant. Some years ago considerable attention was paid to it, and the undertaking promised every success. A large quantity of it was produced of a superior quality, and the attempt only failed through want of perseverance, good seed, and a thorough understanding of the proper manner of conducting and carrying it out into practice. The seed of the native was not supposed to be so good as that which was imported, and for this reason the undertaking was prematurely but foolishly relinquished. The natives themselves, particularly as you advance more into the interior and up the Gambia, grow a good deal of it, and make very capital cloths for their own use from the material, which they work after their own fashion. The opportunities afforded for the cultivation of cotton in the vast tracts of land bounding that river, and the readiness, I imagine, with which it would be undertaken and carried on by their possessors, if a fair inducement was held out to them, ought not to be passed over by our manufacturers at the present crisis.—*Poolé's Sierra Leone and the Gambia.*

LETTER FROM LIBERIA.

The writer of the "Suggestions on the Cultivation of Cotton in Africa," has announced himself as a Colonizationist," and is fully aware of the very strong prejudice that is entertained in regard to that term, by the mass of the colored population generally, as well as by many among their white friends, whose opposition to the "American Colonization Society" he is convinced has arisen from a misconception of its objects, and of the motives and aims of its founders, many of whom gave their lives to the cause, thus testifying in the strongest manner possible, their devotion to what they conceived a work of vast importance to Africa, and exemplifying a labor of love to a depressed and scattered people.

Without, however, discussing the subject further at this time, his principal object is to draw the attention of the enterprising portion of our colored population who are not satisfied with their progress here, to the wide sphere of action that has been opened to them on the Continent of Africa. For this purpose he introduces the following appeal, addressed "to the free colored population of the United States," by the Rev. John Day, a colored Missionary of the Baptist Church, who has resided upwards of twenty years in Liberia, and has devoted himself to the cause of the improvement of his people, and of enlightening and Christianizing the heathen of Africa. He is therefore competent to speak of his adopted Country, and is a man universally respected and beloved, wherever known.

Philadelphia, August, 1854.

Bexley, Liberia, August 26th, 1853.

EDITOR OF COLONIZATION HERALD:

Sir,—I have long been an observer of movements in the United States in reference to the free colored people, and have also noticed with much interest the feelings and views of my colored brethren in reference to colonization and to this Republic; and feel to rejoice that the Republic is attracting more attention and consideration among them; and desire through your columns to address a letter to them.

To the free people of color of the United States.

DEAR BROTHERS,—When I have noticed the prohibitory and oppressive laws enacted in many of the States in special reference to you, I have wept and wondered whether every manly aspiration of soul had been crushed in the colored man, or does he pander to the notion that he belongs to an inferior race, and that he must hew wood, draw water, and crouch to every indignity, contempt, and oppression which others may impose on him. Or does he not believe that God has planted a Paradise on the Western Coast of Africa, where the soul of the colored man expands, and imbibes all that is ennobling to human nature. Do they believe that this country is congenial to them, its institutions favorable

to development and improvement; that here the colored man stands erect in all that dignifies man; that he knows nor acknowledges a superior? Why then cling to a land which, whatever it may be to others, to you is a land of oppression?

I have heard objections to emigrating to Liberia urged on the ground of benevolence to the poor suffering slaves—of a tenderness towards them which forbids leaving them in chains. This is an old doctrine preached more than twenty years ago, before I left the United States. What good has your continuance there done them? None; nor ever will. And besides, are not the poor heathen of this country our brethren? And are they not in chains more galling than those of American slavery? And cannot that benevolence which binds you to the interest of enslaved brethren in America, expand to a desire to unshackle the many thousands to whom here you can have access? Liberia presents a larger field and surer prospects for the exercise of that noble principle, which seeks the benefit of others.

But brethren, are you not mistaken in the object of your continuance in America? Is there not some incongruity in the existence of so noble a principle with a spirit so servile as to stoop to the most menial and degrading service? I hope I shall not offend.

Some in the Northern States boast of all the privileges they desire. And what are those privileges? Just what Liberians disdain to call by that name. Nothing will satisfy Liberians short of equality. Equal—politically, socially, and religiously with all men. And will soon be mentally, morally, and in every other way, equal to any people on earth.

Visit our legislative halls and hear discussions on principles of political economy, diplomacy, laws, national and international, and wonder where those men were raised. View the militia, and witness the officer-like conduct of those in command, the regular movements in every department, and say if you ever saw us excelled. Go into the Courts of justice, and see the distribution of justice as well administered as in America. Visit the Churches, and hear the word of God expounded in its beauty and grandeur, and you will be led to ask what raised this people to this height. My dear brethren, you do not know what Liberians are, nor what Liberia is. My brother in America has asked me, how it is that colored men in America are so insignificant, and here are so great? My brother and his dear children may read this letter if they choose, and see.

In America, we had nothing to incite us to proper application of mind, nothing to aspire to. We read superficially, we knew superficially many things known to our white neighbors. We knew the passing occurrences of the day, &c., &c., but having no interest in those things, that knowledge was lost on us. But in Liberia we found ourselves an embryo nation, but incapable of filling many of the various important stations requiring real knowledge. Superficiality would not do. We applied ourselves to study closely and intensely, and acquired, in many instances, profound knowledge, that sort which gives power. Many who have thus made themselves are superior men.

Point to one act of any of our officials, since this has been a Republic, which would not do credit to any people. Now, if I understand the logic taught by these circumstances, it is, that colored men who breathe a proper atmosphere, surrounded by proper influences, incited by proper objects, will become as learned, as noble, and as great every way, as any other men on earth, and will stand on a level, and gain equal footing with any people. The past history and present prospects of our people justify the anticipation. Did not Africa once blaze in the light of civilization and the arts? In what state was Europe then? As deeply sunk in heathenism as Ethiopia is now. And since Africa gave letters and Canaan gave religion to Europe, has no dark cloud overbrooded it! What did Romanism do there? Romanism is not dead. Is it not in America, on the wings of a friendly toleration, receiving what it never gave, spreading its baneful influence over that apparent garden of the Lord, waiting your exit to fill your place with herds of poor, infatuated Romanists from Europe, fit emissaries of distraction? May not a reversion take place, and Africa again be the garden of the earth? How comfortable to reflect, that you have contributed, not to the downfall of any, but to the building up of poor, long neglected, much injured Africa.

I have said you do not know Liberia. I have spoken of it as Paradise. Of course, you will allow the use of that term in a very qualified sense. It is, however, Paradise to me, compared with any place where I am pointed out as of a distinct and inferior class. Liberia is, however, a part of that land of which it is said, in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. It, however, is a fertile land, and abounds in abundant resources for the comfort or even wealth of its inhabitants. It is a free and independent Republic, and that is the zenith of national government.

Some have objected to coming to Liberia, on account of their

dislike of the Colonization Society. I dislike as much as you, unkind, and, in some instances, unjust remarks of many who have written and spoken on the subject of colonization. The Colonization Society is, however, one in which more elements combine in working out a good, than any other I know on earth. Because God is in it, and all things shall work together for our good. Whether the kindest benevolence, or the most malignant hate conspire in sending us here, here is the place which God has blessed and made the happy home of the colored race. Do, my brethren, give up your prejudices against the Colonization Society. The work and counsel of that Society are of God, and you cannot overthrow it. But while the Providence and designs of Heaven, in the achievement of that Society, are unfolding, and while vast fields of usefulness are opening, come to the help of the Lord. Come to the land of true liberty, where you and your children may not only be happy yourselves, but where you can assist in making Africa the praise of the whole earth.

I am your old acquaintance and brother,

JOHN DAY.

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