

## ADDRESS OF REV. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL,

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**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—**

I doubt whether there has ever been so much interest, so much intense feeling, or so much prayerfulness, felt anywhere for the African race as in the city of Boston. This interest has been expressed by various bodies, by philanthropists and members of the Christian Church. I hope this interest will continue, until it becomes more prominent than it has ever done before. Events are now occurring which are likely to place before the world the claims which the African race has for a more enlightened cultivation, for civil prerogatives, and for an advancement in Christian care and Christian attainments. The most of the African race is on the continent of Africa. The population of that country has been stated to be between 100,000,000 and 200,000,000; but the more adventurous travellers, who have penetrated into the interior, and have had opportunities of more extensive observation, state that instead of this number the population is actually between 200,000,000 and 300,000,000. It is a singular fact, that although Christianity has penetrated throughout Europe, and spread over Asia and America to the Islands of the Sea, Africa should be like a withered arm of humanity, and possess none of its blessings. Africa is without God in the world. Nevertheless, it is to be evangelized, and the Gospel will penetrate its darkest recesses. Christianity is to permeate every part of

that continent; for the command has been given to us, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature;" and Africa is included in it. But how is this to be done? How can Africa do it herself? You never found any people, sunk in barbarism, rising to a position of enlightenment and culture. The necessities of commerce cannot effect that object, for we see commerce existing all along the shores of that country, and it is still benighted. Indeed, it is doubtful whether in this respect its influence has been beneficial to Africa or not. Another question is, whether sending white missionaries will accomplish it. Missionaries are sent out, and after a few months' residence there, they come back broken down with fever, and bring the reputation that Africa is the white man's grave. Its climate repels many white men. No doubt the seeds of Christianity can be sown on the coast by white men; but when we compare the progress of Christianity there with its progress in other places, the result is deplorable indeed. When the Almighty chose to evangelize the Jews, he chose Jews to accomplish the work; when he wished to evangelize Greece, he chose Greeks; when he wished to evangelize Rome, he chose Romans; and when he wished to evangelize our forefathers, he sent men of the same blood for that purpose; and it seems to me that when we undertake the work of evangelizing Africa, we must use the influence of Africans themselves.

The present state of missions at the Cape of Good Hope, at Abbeokuta, and at Sierra Leone, shows that God has adopted divers means to evangelize this country; but there is one great agency in accomplishing this work, and that is the Republic of Liberia. I went out there eight years ago. I did not go from this country, but from another. On my arrival there I was very much interested in what I saw, and three days afterwards, in Monrovia, I became a citizen of the Republic. At that time there was not so much industrial activity going on as was necessary for the colony. You know that the first state of a colony is weakness, and there is always disorder, sickness, and uncertainty. This was the state of Liberia. The slave trade was then flourishing; slavers would then come to Monrovia, and overawe the settlers; and many of the emigrants being unaccustomed to hard labor, there was no spontaneous desire to develop the resources of the country. Hence, for years after its formation, there was no certainty of the colony's existence; and this state of things continued until within the last ten years. But after these difficulties had been got over, a great change gradually took place. Uncertainty gave place to certainty, and the colony began to flourish. The people felt that God had placed them to live there, and they put forth more efforts, with more hope, and with more determination. We can see a change already. Take, for instance, the district of Bassa. When I went there, there was a large number of coffee trees planted, but there was little coffee picked at that time. So it was with regard to the other staples of the colony. They were all neglected. But now the people are engaged in trade and commerce. In Liberia there are about 500,000 coffee trees planted, and the people are now so industrious, that their industry is beginning to tell upon the coffee market. At Bassa, sometimes 100 bags are exported; and it is evident that coffee is destined to become a very important staple at that place. The climate furnishes a very fine field for its cultivation; and so profitable is it becoming, that many of the citizens are beginning to turn their attention to it, and there is now more coffee exported from Liberia than at any previous period of its history. Then with regard to sugar. Eight years ago, there was not a single pound of sugar manufactured in the country; but

one man, a Mr. Richardson, from New York, commenced its cultivation, and in consequence of his success, a large number of colonists commenced planting the sugar cane, and the result is that extensive tracts of land are now under cultivation. There are at present nine or ten sugar mills in the Republic, and a large quantity of sugar is exported annually. Some farmers produce as much as 30,000 or 40,000 pounds of sugar, and others as much as 50,000 or 60,000 pounds of sugar a year. There are many advantages for the growth of the sugar cane in Liberia, and for the manufacture of it. The land is peculiarly adapted for it, and instead of planting the sugar cane, as in Louisiana, every year, the roots are allowed to remain in the ground for eight or ten years at a time, without re-planting. This obviates the necessity of expending a large sum of money every year in planting new canes; and with such advantages, Liberia will become one of the greatest sugar-producing countries on the face of the earth. To give you an instance of the pecuniary advantages to be gained from the cultivation of this staple, I may tell you that some time ago, a man named Sharp, who had formerly been a slave in New Orleans, commenced planting it in Liberia. The year before last he wrote to this country for a sugar mill upon credit. The mill was sent to him, and since then he has not only remitted to this country sufficient money to pay for the mill, but I learned that he had \$75 over and above; and when I left the colony, he was making money.

I cannot say much about the cultivation of cotton. Only a small quantity is produced in the Republic; but by the neighboring tribes it is raised in considerable quantities. They manufacture it into cotton cloth, in pieces of 3 or 3½ feet wide, by 6 feet long. Some of the natives have brought from 4,000 to 5,000 of these pieces of cloth at one time. From the port of Lagos alone, 200,000 of these pieces of cotton cloth were exported to Brazil last year; and probably 500,000 pounds of cotton is exported in this way every year, from the whole of the ports of the coast. Great though this export is, it is not all the cotton raised by the natives. A great quantity is used in the interior, and much is wasted in the fields. This shows that Africa can supply the cotton market of England and of this country. The English have an ingenious way of obtaining cotton. They manufacture cotton cloth of divers colors. It is very thin, and they sell it to the factories along the coast. The agents in the factories exchange this cloth for native cotton, and this cotton is taken to England and manufactured there. More cotton goes from the coast of Africa to England than people are aware of. A steamer comes to Lagos or Cape Palmas, on her way to England; and out of twelve steamers, there are not three which do not carry hundreds of bales of cotton to England. What is true of Lagos is also true of Liberia. We are stimulating the cultivation of cotton; and the manufacturers of England, purchasing it from us, carry it to England, and manufacture it there.

But there are other articles which are raised in Liberia, and exported to foreign lands. In addition to sugar and cotton, there are gold, ivory, palm-oil, camwood, &c. Palm oil is the chief article of trade on the western coast of Africa. Some years ago there were scarcely 100 tons of it exported all along the coast, but now there is a large exportation. We have not yet begun to develop all the resources of Africa in this particular article. How far they will be developed we don't know ourselves; but there can be no doubt that there will be very large exports of it, ere many years elapse. When that is done, it

will destroy the trade in tallow which exists between England and Russia; and it is so easy to manufacture palm-oil into candles, that manufacturers prefer it.

I have now a word to say about the factories. The factories are small houses placed along the coast, and are established by English, American, French, or other houses in Europe, for the purpose of carrying on trade with the natives. Some of the agents will frequently go into the interior for one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, to traffic with the natives, and purchase camwood and palm-oil. And such is the natives' love of gain, that they will often travel ten, twenty, and even thirty miles, carrying on their backs quantities of produce to sell to the agents. An opinion is generally prevalent, in this country, that the negro is a lazy man; but when you see them at their work—when you see them coming from the interior, a distance of twenty or thirty miles—and bending down with the burdens on their backs, which they wish to sell to the traders, you would soon dismiss that idea from your minds. Give the negro some incentive to labor, and there is not a more plodding or industrious man in the world than the African. (Loud applause.)

Although there are only 15,000 emigrants in Liberia, they own among them between twenty and thirty vessels, principally sloops and schooners; and it may be an interesting fact for you to know that many of these vessels are built by our own citizens at Cape Palmas. In Monrovia, is one of the ship-builders, a Mr. Warner of this country. He examined the construction of vessels, and finally was able to build them. He has built eight or ten himself. Some of our merchants own one vessel, others own two, others three, others four, and so on. All these are manned and commanded by citizens of Liberia, and are built from African designs.

Last year the imports of Monrovia alone amounted to \$150,000; and it would be a very moderate calculation to say that for the year 1860 the amount of imports was \$300,000. Happily for us, our exports exceeded our imports. Those of Monrovia amounted to \$190,000, and for the year 1860 the exports for the whole country amounted to between \$400,000 and \$500,000.

If I were to tell you about a small town in New England having imports and exports of this amount, you would not listen to me; but remember that we are only 15,000 emigrants, and this, after all, is something to be proud of. (Applause.) These facts show that the people of Liberia have a character for industry; and there are no other African men, of the same number, on the surface of the globe, who have done so much for civilization and humanity as those 15,000 men on the coast of Africa. (Renewed applause.)

Our Government is Republican, and the country is divided into four counties. Our President is elected every two years. The Legislature consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. Each county sends two Senators to the Senate, and four Representatives to the House of Representatives. There are no States in Liberia, and there is no chance of any questions arising about State rights, and no danger of any such movement as secession. (Laughter.) We cherish the principles of free speech, and a free press. We have the right of trial by jury, and the people have a right to assemble together and discuss public matters. In fact, we have all the fruits of freedom exhibited among us as they are in other communities. We have lived in this country, and know the value of your government; and although we have not participated in all its advantages, we know how to reproduce them on the West Coast of Africa.

With regard to the adjoining tribes, I may say that they participate in the

same advantages as we do. We afford them protection from their enemies, and in return they contribute their quota of taxation. This arrangement they readily consent to, and when taxes were imposed, a few years ago, they paid them most cheerfully. Frequently there are disturbances among the neighboring tribes, and when these take place we sometimes have to chastise them. I may mention that among the good results arising from the adjoining tribes participating in our privileges is, that they understand trial by jury, and that several of their members have become teachers and ministers.

You know that slavery is indigenous to the soil of Africa, and we are surrounded with the same difficulties in Liberia as you are in this country. We have the same difficulties with regard to fugitive slaves as you have. We have fugitives who come from one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and even two hundred miles from the interior; and we have eight or ten different tribes who come to us for protection. Among these are the Pessa tribes. They come down to us in hordes, and seek protection under our flag. I recollect two boys running away. Their master pursued them, and they came to my family for protection. After some days the master discovered where they were, and he took them before a magistrate, in order to reclaim them. But the magistrate said: "Our soil is sacred, and no fugitive coming from slavery can be returned." (Loud applause.) Thus you see we have extended notions about the extermination of slavery, equally to the tribes around us as to the interior tribes, and realizing the sentiment of the poet—

"No slave-hunt in our borders,  
No fetters on the hand,  
No shackles in Liberia,  
No slave in all the land."—(Applause.)

Another result of the influence which Liberia wields is, that the natives of the interior will give their children to be educated in our schools. These persons are, it is true, but partially educated, yet they can read, write, cipher, and know about God. One day a naked savage came to my house and asked me for pen and paper. I inquired, "What do you want with them?" He replied, "I want to write a letter." And he sat down and wrote a letter as good as I can do it myself. The man, I have said, was a naked savage, and the person to whom he sent it was another naked savage; yet, if there is one, there are hundreds of these savages who have been taught in our schools, and, after receiving some education, have returned to their homes.

I have been requested to make some remarks about our own civilization. It is a difficult matter to do so; but you will generally find the citizens following the customs among whom they have been brought up. Many of them imitate the dress and fashions of their former masters in the South. Others, again, who come from the North, are like the people they have lived among. In Monrovia you will find some brick and stone houses, and in some towns you will find the streets as clean as any in Boston. The houses of the richest citizens you will find as fashionably furnished as the dwellings of the more respectable portion of the inhabitants of this country. Many people of Liberia feel a pride in their country, and feel a pride in their possessions. They may be ostentatious with it, but they live better than people in the same circumstances—either white or colored—do in this country; perhaps at some future time more simplicity may be observed among them.

The chief point is the English language. This language is destined to get

the mastery all along the coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone to the Bight of Benin. Literature is quite common among us. If you go into our houses you will find Shakspeare and Milton, Bacon and Bunyan; or you may find some such ambitious work as Guizot's History of Civilization, or Bancroft's History of America. You will find the American Poets—Dana, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, and all the other great poets of this country; and when the English steamer arrives, you will see heaps of literature, fresh from the English market. You will see the Eclectic and Quarterly Reviews, the Bibliotheca Sacra, and all the other principal periodicals, the Illustrated London News, and the New York Tribune. Not only do you find these papers in the hands of the people of Liberia, but many people of the interior have been instructed by them.

The Methodist, Episcopal, and Baptist denominations have had missionaries in the country, and they have done a great deal of good. Some of the teachers in their schools are native Africans, and many of them are engaged in teaching the English language. In teaching the classes of arithmetic and Euclid, I have had no difficulty. In Euclid the aborigines are quite equal to the best of my own school—and with regard to reading and correct learning, there was one who sat first in his class. At every mission there is a school—in some places there are two or three schools, as the population requires them; and if you go into any of these schools, you will find just the same school books which are used in this country. Besides the common schools, we have several high schools and academies. There is a high school at Cape Palmas, of which I have been principal for the last three years. These schools are attended by native children as well as the children of emigrants, and all through Liberia there is hardly a family which has not three, four or five native children, whose fathers have brought them from the interior to receive an education. This is one of the reasons why there are so many servants in Liberia. Another reason is, that as so many large American and English vessels pass along the coast for trading purposes, the natives wish to have one member of each family who can talk the English language, in order that they may be able to traffic with them; and hence they send them to school to learn it.

And now a college is in course of erection, and it will be completed next year. One result will be, that the native chiefs along the coast, instead of sending their sons to England, Scotland, or Holland, to be educated, will send them to Liberia.

In the Episcopal Mission we recently lost a man of considerable ability. He went out with me, and such was his anxiety with respect to the heathen, that he would often venture in open canoes to go to preach to them. At length he injured his health, and last year we heard that he was dead.

Mr. Seymour, of Connecticut, was another remarkable man, and if he had been possessed of a good education, he would have ranked with Carey, Martyn, Morrison, &c. He had an ardent desire to preach the gospel, and he gave himself up to it. He went to the Pessah country to preach to the heathen, but ere long he fell a victim to his zeal. These are only two cases, but they are examples of the very strong desire which the Liberian missionaries have to preach the gospel.

I have already said that in Liberia there is a population of 15,000 emigrants; but that number by no means includes the entire population. We have received many thousands of recaptured slaves, who are distributed among the families of the colony. It is a great question which arises—Are these men going to be amalgamated with us, or are they going to outnumber us and sink us to their

own level? Two years ago a large number of this class was recaptured in the slaver Echo, and brought to Liberia. Twenty were sent to one family, and twenty to another, and thus they were disposed of. Those who were taken to Cape Palmas were first washed, then put in a house, and afterwards placed under the instruction of a schoolmaster. The next Sunday after their arrival they were brought in a body to the Episcopal Church. They took their seats very quietly, and after the service was over, they returned to the school. Since then they have attended church very regularly. They are quiet, peaceable, industrious men. No vestiges of idolatry—such as fetishism, obeahism, or devil-worship—have ever been observed among them, and they have embraced the Christian faith. They have now become citizens of the Republic. They have been enrolled among her soldiers, and they can perform their duties with as much precision as the others. There is nothing which does so much for civilizing a man as putting a gun into his hands. It makes a savage into a man directly. (Laughter and applause.)

Among the recaptured Africans were two men who exhibited peculiar signs of industry, and two of the colonial women noticed them. One of these women frequently stopped and spoke to one of the men, and fancying that he would make her a good husband, she did what is sometimes done in leap-year in this country—she courted him—(laughter)—and took him before a magistrate and married him, (renewed laughter.) Two years ago he was a savage! His master missed him from his usual employment, went in search of him, and at last found him. He took him before a magistrate and said, “I want this man.” But the man’s wife said, “You can’t have him!” “But he’s my apprentice,” rejoined the master. “But he’s my husband,” replied the wife. (Great laughter.) The result of the trial was that the lady was victorious, and carried off her husband in triumph. (More laughter.)

On the St. Paul’s, numbers of recaptured slaves are apprenticed out, and the minister of that place told me that his church, which had previously been almost deserted, is now well filled with these recaptured Congoes. Two houses are now being erected for the use of them; and from what I have seen of them, I have no doubt they will become good citizens of our country. Already the young negroes refuse to speak their own language, and talk the English language instead. To give you a proof that the recaptured Africans soon acquire a taste for the habits of civilized life, I may mention an instance which occurred in the family of Judge James. He had taken two recaptured females into his house as servants, and after they had lived there for a few months, he took two others. But the first two refused to associate or eat with the second two, and said they were not civilized enough. But by and by the second two became brightened up, and were then permitted to associate with the others. (A laugh.) Some time afterwards, other two recaptured females were taken into the house, and not only the first two, but the second two also, refused to associate with them, and on precisely the same grounds. I mention this to show you how plastic the nature of the negro is, and how easily they can be raised up to become good citizens and Christian men and women.

The speaker then gave some account of his journey from Cape Palmas to Monrovia, and spoke in glowing terms of the picture of prosperity which the country presented, with its saw-mills, ships, warehouses, neatly built houses, and well-dressed inhabitants, and then proceeded to say:—The questions have often been asked—Will not Liberia fail? Do you think this little

Republic will live? Well, it is *possible* it may fail. Famine may depopulate our settlements. Pestilence may come among us, and sweep us away. The squadrons of the Great Powers may be removed from our coast—the slave-trade be revived—and the slave trader ravage the entire line of our coast, and obliterate every vestige of our budding civilization. But, sir, such extraordinary occurrences, such monstrous and abnormal events, are out of the common course of Providence. Things so disastrous, so prodigious, so awful, are not the rule of life, either to communities or nations. And therefore we may dismiss such anticipations, and assure ourselves that they will not take place—and take it for granted that the benignant Providence that has visited us for so many years, will continue with us, and that this young nation will strike its roots deep in the soil, and flourish—that it will grow up in strength and beauty—and that its branches will stretch out on every side, until our small communities shall be developed into a mighty and beneficent nation.

Here, then, is the agency for the great work which is to be done for Africa. And for this work, my brethren who emigrate from this country are, it seems to me, peculiarly fitted. I know, indeed, the numerous ills and trials we have endured in this land. I have a most thorough acquaintance with the sufferings and afflictions of my race in your country. For I left America at such a mature age, that I can speak from experience of the wrongs we have to endure here. But in connection with the painful providences of our lot in this nation, God has also given us special advantages and singular favors. One of these is capability of endurance, and wonderful tenacity of life. The black man, even in the lands of his thralldom, shows extraordinary vitality. If you go into some quarters of the earth, you cannot but see how, at the approach of a civilizing power, the aboriginal races fade away and perish. The mere breath of civilization seems destruction to some of the tribes of men, and they vanish before it. But the black man appears to be of harder stock. He lives, even amid the most adverse circumstances. The old slave-traders used to say the negro had nine lives. However severe the storm of disaster, he still stands. And endowed with a most plastic nature, he is enabled to suit himself to the hardest lot, and in the end, to subserve some beneficial end to himself. And thus it is that by a kind of instinctive eclecticism he draws to himself good and advantages from the nature and the society of *that* people, whoever they may be, to whom he is subjected, and among whom he lives; and assimilates himself to them, their habits, their political state, and their rules of life.

So here, in this Protestant country, we have succeeded in availing ourselves of many advantages. Notwithstanding the injustice of American laws to us, notwithstanding our deprivation of many of our rights in this country, we have not been entirely divorced from your civilization, from the prerogatives of your civil State, from those peculiar rights and privileges, which go to make you the great and important nation you are; nor have we been cut off from those lofty ideas and great principles which are the seeds of your growth and greatness.

On the contrary, we have learned clearly and distinctly the theory of free speech, and of Constitutional Government. We have participated somewhat in all the vast wealth, both religious and civil, of your Anglo-Saxon literature. We, too, have learned the advantages, and have risen to the elevation, of all those great legal charters which interest men in government, and which make Government subserve the best interests and desires of citizens. These ideas and sentiments inhere in our mental and moral constitution, and we have borne them with us across the Atlantic. Our trials, in God's providence, have been good for us. And in my new position, in Africa, I can see more clearly than ever before, how God has thus severely tried us for his high and saving ends, through us. Indeed, sir, it seems a divine law that when God designs a people to perform some signal service, to work out some larger and magnificent destiny, he carries them through the dread ordeal of pain, and suffer-



ing, and woe. Thus the Israelites were for centuries in bondage, to the end that they might be prepared for the grand purposes of God, in all human history; and there came out of it a great people; and have ever since touched, everywhere, all the civilization of man with a mighty influence. Take the history of your own race, and see how by the successive invasions of the Roman, the Dane, and the Norman, and the sore trials they inflicted, by the yoke of the feudal system, and by the severities of the wars of the Roses, God trained you to force and endurance of character, so that this Anglo-Saxon race stands the foremost among the nations of the earth. It seems that a people who are to be a great people must pass through distress, calamities, and suffering. Through such a severe training this African race has been passing, during the centuries; and though it has brought bitterness and woe, yet it has given us a mental and manly preparedness, amid the institutions of the land, for a great work. We have secured here, in the Free States of this Republic, a fitness for the prerogatives of government, in advance of many peoples, who, perchance in other respects, are above us. The free American black man is the best black in the world. He may be inferior in scholarship to the British black man, in refinement to the French black man. But in force, in enterprise, and political capacity, he is superior to both. We have secured the sterling qualities of American character, and we are what may be called "black Yankees."

In the particular points to which I have referred, the free black man of this country is, I feel assured, superior to the Russian, the Poland, the Italian; how inferior soever he may be to them in other respects. Notwithstanding our numerous trials and our afflictions, we have been enabled to reach a clearer knowledge of free government than they, and to secure a nobler fitness for its requirements and obligations.

And now, sir, seems the *time* when all this fitness and capacity are called for, and required for use. This, too, is a remarkable Providence. Why has this race been kept so long in swamps and jungles and morasses, on cotton fields and rice plantations, in lowly circumstance and in sad condition; and now only recently called forth from thence? The Slave trade has been legally interdicted by all Christendom; and in the West Indies, the English and the French, by generous emancipation, have exterminated Slavery. And in this, your own country, the negro is pressing up to manhood, to freedom, and superiority. Why such peculiar Providences, unless God, by a powerful voice, is now calling the race to majestic duties, to a high vocation?

See, too, that while the whole world outside is tossed and agitated, God is holding them in quiet reserve; and Africa remains in peace, and stands waiting. There is Asia, her old idolatries and ancient civilization crumbling to pieces, before the presence and power of European civilization. All seems standing on the verge of desolating revolution, which may shatter everything seemingly stable, through all its bounds. And here, this your own America is being terribly shaken by a moral and political convulsion. But the African everywhere seems now under that special providence and guidance which indicate promise and progress. They seem to me to be standing in a state of preparedness for a new world's history, for a mission of civilization for the latter period of the earth's existence.

You know, sir, how the forms of being often give way to new developments; how the old civilizations decay; how the ancient forms of political life die out. When the civilization of Egypt became effete, Grecian civilization arose, taking to itself the wealth and treasures of that which had passed away. Then the Roman civilization, in a like manner, rose upon the ruins of the Greek, grasping at the same time much of its opulence. And now, in these latter days, by the same law, Anglo-Saxon civilization has been built up on the foundations of all former States and societies, and reigns supreme. And now the negro is rising, and will rise. And though I must not presume to prophecy about the future, yet it seems to me that God has destined a

great future for the negro race; and that on the continent of Africa, a civilization, of a new type, and more noble and more glorious, in some of its features, than has ever before existed, is on the eve of starting into life.

As for us in Liberia, we understand somewhat our position, and the solemn duties it brings with it. We feel deeply the responsibility of planting afresh, in a new field, a new form of political being. We are conscious of the obligations which come upon men, laying the first foundations of new empire. And I believe we are rising to the dignity of such a commanding position; and are endeavoring to tread the paths of duty with the high spirit and the deep moral convictions of true men!