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SECOND  
ANNUAL REPORT  
PRESENTED TO THE  
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY  
OF  
CANADA,  
BY ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

MARCH 23rd, 1853.

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TORONTO:  
BROWN'S PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT, KING-STREET EAST.  
1853.



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### Agent of the Society :

REV. S. R. WARD.

## RULES

ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE, MARCH, 1851.

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### I.

That this Association be called "THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF CANADA," and have for its object the promotion of right principles upon the subject of Slavery, and co-operation with similar Societies already formed, in diffusing information, and seeking to awaken greater zeal in religious bodies in regard to this momentous question.

### II.

That all persons paying Two Shillings and Sixpence per annum shall be entitled to be Members of the Association.

### III.

That the Society shall hold an Annual Meeting, at which the proceedings of the past year shall be reported, and the account of Funds received and disbursed submitted.

### IV.

That the affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Committee appointed by the Annual Meeting.

### V.

That the Committee shall meet on the first Monday of each month for the prosecution of business; such meeting to be announced previously by the Secretary; who may also, with the consent of the President, or in his absence, of his own accord, convene Extraordinary Meetings of the Committee, as occasion may require; three to form a quorum.

### VI.

That application for subscriptions be made to the friends of this cause, in the City of Toronto and elsewhere, as soon as possible after the Annual Public Meeting.

### VII.

That a Course of Lectures be delivered annually, by Ministers of the Gospel and others, on the subject of SLAVERY, so as to meet prevalent fallacies on the question, opposed to Scripture as well as humanity.

### VIII.

That these Rules shall not be altered or amended, unless after notice of such alteration or amendment having been given One Month previously.

AT THE  
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF CANADA,

HELD IN THE SAINT LAWRENCE HALL,

ON WEDNESDAY, 23RD MARCH, 1853.

THE REV. MICHAEL WILLIS, D. D.,

IN THE CHAIR—

An abstract of the Report of the Society for the past year was read by the Secretary, and the following resolutions unanimously passed :—

On the motion of the Rev. R. BURNS, D. D., (Free Church,) seconded by the Rev. Mr. SANSON, (Episcopal,) it was

RESOLVED—

1. That as the history of American Slavery from year to year, affords cumulative evidence of its sinfulness and destructive influence upon religion, morality, and social order, all who uphold and extend it, or seek to palliate its guilt, are acting in defiance of the laws of God, and the best interests of their country, and of the human race.

On the motion of the Rev. JOHN ROAF, (Congregational,) seconded by the Rev. S. R. WARD, it was

RESOLVED—

2. That, whereas the Fugitive Slave Bill, which authorizes seizure without process—trial without jury—and consignment to Southern prison-houses upon *ex parte* testimony, converting every citizen into a slave-catcher, is declared a "Finality," by the United States Congress, with a Democratic President, and a Constitution which declares "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by THEIR CREATOR with certain inalienable rights: that among these are *life*, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness;" we repeat our detestation of this infamous Act, as well as our abhorrence of those *coercive* laws lately passed by several State Governments, which leave no alternative to the colored man, between Slavery and Expatriation from the land of his birth.

On the motion of the Rev. Dr. WILLIS, seconded by the Rev. Mr. ROBINSON, (Methodist New Connexion,) it was

RESOLVED—

3. That while we regard it as encouraging, that there are several religious sects, and many individual ministers, who have opposed the will of the majority, and have stood prominently forward as friends of liberty and humanity, we would express our strong and growing conviction, that the sin of the continuance of Slavery in the United States, is chiefly attributable to the recreancy and unfaithfulness of the larger ecclesiastical bodies.

On the motion of the Rev. Professor LILLIE, seconded by the Rev. J. B. SMITH, (Baptist,) it was

RESOLVED—

4. That we rejoice in the full and free discussion of the question of Slavery throughout Europe and America, during the past year, which has been largely contributed to by that most admirable book "Uncle Tom's Cabin," as well as by the friendly appeals which have been addressed to American women, on a subject in which they are so deeply concerned.

On the motion of the Rev. H. WILSON, (St. Catharines,) seconded by P. BROWN, Esq., it was

RESOLVED—

5. That we express our warm sympathies with those self-denying and patriotic men and women in the United States, who are labouring so zealously to wipe out the foul stain of Slavery from their country, in the midst of much that is calculated to discourage and to paralyze.

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Another year of our existence as a Society, has passed away—another leaf of the book of Time is about to be closed forever. We would, therefore, in reviewing the prominent events which are chronicled therein, group together for your information at present, and for a stimulus and an encouragement in the future, some of those which relate to perhaps the darkest subject that the page contains, that of Slavery. It is true, this deadly Upas tree no longer grows upon our soil, to spread desolation and death throughout our borders; it is true that no Slave can breathe on British ground, but it is equally true that the rights and privileges which we enjoy, imply corresponding duties. It has been well said that “the world of mankind does not exist in fragments, nor can a country have an isolated existence. All men are brothers; and all are bondsmen for one another. All nations, too, are brothers; and each is responsible for that federative humanity which puts the ban of exclusion on none.” The race is one great family, every member of which is under obligation, as far as he has the ability, to defend those principles which will permanently promote the welfare of the whole. It was on this principle that our existence as a Society was based; and it has been on this principle that we have continued to act since our organization. Humanity, as well as Christianity, forbids that we should sit listlessly by, while separated from us but by a narrow frith, live three millions of Slaves, whom God hath endowed with rational souls and created for immortality, but whom their fellow man has reduced to a state utterly repugnant to every principle of right reason, religion, and humanity. Believing, then, silence or neutrality in such a cause to be not only unnatural but highly criminal, we have, during the past year, sought to sympathize, to the measure of our limited abilities, with our suffering brethren, while we have faithfully, yet affectionately, remonstrated with those who are their guilty oppressors. A brief summary of our action in this respect we now present, as well as a more general survey of what is being done by other members of the great family, for the eradication of that festering plague spot, from whose malignant influences the remotest extremities of the body are not entirely free.

Immediately after the last Annual Meeting, the Report then read was printed, and 1500 copies of it have since been distributed throughout the Upper Province, the United States, and Great Britain. By means of the information which it disseminated, in connection with the visits

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of our Agent, the Rev. S. R. Ward, to the different parts of the country, erroneous impressions in regard to the question of Slavery, have been removed in some quarters, a deep interest in behalf of the Slave created in others, and in all parts such a knowledge of the dire effects of the system imparted, as will lead to still greater and more beneficial results in the future.

Mr. Ward has visited almost every county, as well as the leading cities and towns in Western Canada, and by his efficient labours has accomplished much in the way of removing prejudices and exciting sympathy with the Slave and the anti-Slavery movement. Auxiliary Societies have been formed at Kingston, Hamilton, London, Windsor, and in Grey County, and amongst the office-bearers and managers of these are clergymen of the different ecclesiastical bodies. The attendance at the meetings held by Mr. Ward has been uniformly large, and the responses to his calls and sympathy with his sentiments prompt and cheerful. Ministers of the various denominations have afforded him all necessary aid and assistance in the prosecution of his labours. Although he met with instances in the Western District and along the frontier, where a strong and unchristian prejudice against Negroes still prevails, even in the case of some prominent Christian professors, yet he states that this feeling is very little, if at all encouraged by the respectable classes of society. As there are no laws to uphold it—as it is contrary to the impartial genius of British institutions, there is reason to believe that this unjust feeling, through the influence of the good and the generous, and the rapid improvement which is taking place amongst the Colored people themselves, will soon be banished entirely from our land. In connection with this subject, the attention of the Committee was early called to certain erroneous statements regarding the position and condition of Fugitives in Canada, which had been made by certain professed friends of the Slave who had visited Great Britain on a collecting tour. A statement of facts was drawn up to counteract the effects of what was deemed a gross libel on the people and institutions of this country. The following extract will fully explain the views of the Committee:—

“ Every colored man, as is well known, the moment he sets his foot on the Canadian soil, is forever free, and not only free, but he is on a level, in regard to every political and social privilege, with the white man. He can vote for members of Parliament and for magistrates, and in every other popular election. The colored people have generally their own churches, and their own ministers; and if they prefer joining congregations not of their own race, there is no negro pew in the church, nor a particular place at the communion table, to stamp degradation on them, as in the neighbouring republic. They are not ejected from public coaches or confined to corners of steamboats, as in that country; and with regard to their ultimate comfort in this Province, there can be no doubt, when they are blest with health, and the will to work. Attempts, it is true, have been made by some ignorant and prejudiced persons to interfere with that perfect equality, which is readily conceded, both by law and practice; but these have met with no encouragement, and have been promptly frowned down by the public voice. Canada is too young to be possessed of great wealth, but few countries have a smaller number

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of poor, in the proper sense. Employment at good wages is easily procured, provisions are cheap, and the colored emigrant, like all others, after the first difficulties are surmounted, is certain of receiving daily bread, and in due time many of the comforts and even luxuries of life. Some of them, who have been here for several years, have acquired considerable property. The children attend school along with the whites, unless they wish to separate themselves, which the law at the present time allows them to do. But they rarely exercise this right, and it may be doubted whether it ought to exist, as education will be best promoted by the absence of all such sectional distinctions, even when they are intended, as in this case, to protect and not to injure. The colored people in Canada have no permanent grievance of any kind, and there is nothing to prevent them from filling the highest offices in the Colony. The privations which they sometimes suffer on their first arrival from bondage, are certainly not owing either to the laws of the Province, or to the wishes of the inhabitants. These must be traced to the reckless slave-hunters, who have driven them from their own country, without an hour's notice to prepare for their change."

The Rev. Dr. Campbell, the talented Editor of the *British Banner*, shortly after acknowledged that the statements which had been made, were incorrect, and added the following, to which, from the source whence it emanated, we attach much value:—

"The exact state of feeling entertained by the Canadians towards the Blacks, we are now able to determine by other than epistolary evidence. We have documents before us which irrefragably demonstrate the point, as it respects the great mass of the religious denominations of Canada. We are now favoured with the First Report of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada—a publication which we have read with the greatest interest, and with a satisfaction altogether unmixed. It is highly creditable to all who have had to do with it; the resolutions present a full embodiment of true British spirit. The Committee is comprised of a portion of the best men in Canada, both ministers, and gentlemen of all Communities."

The opportune visit of our able and indefatigable President to the Mother Country, gave him an opportunity of bringing this subject fully before the British public. He was also called on to combat another report which had been industriously circulated by certain New England Clergymen, and others, who needed an excuse for their indifference, to the effect, that chiefly all those who took a leading part in the Abolition cause on this side of the Atlantic, were tainted with infidelity, at least were not Orthodox enough for them to associate with. This cry of infidelity, which was as absurd as it was false, when applied to any large portion of Abolitionists even in the United States—was caught up and used as a sufficient excuse for apathy on the part of certain Clergymen in Great Britain, whose views on the main question at issue were far from being correct. [See Appendix No. I.] By his Lectures at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Belfast, and other places, Dr. Willis did good service, by exposing the true motives of such men, and stating the true position of the friends of the Slave, in regard to their religious standing in the United States and in Canada. The following extract from one of his speeches while in Great Britain, will explain his views on this subject:—

"Much had been said of infidel agitators and abolitionists. He wished to take the opportunity of making some necessary distinctions here. It was not sufficiently understood that there was in the American Union a large and increasing band of intelli-

gent and pious men, who kept apart from the more libertine agitators. He had himself been present at the Anniversary Meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which the Messrs. Tappan of New York were influential members. He would never forget the truly religious bearing of the leaders of that Society, nor the impression made upon him by their grave and dignified appeals to Holy Scripture. It was a libel on America—a grievous misrepresentation—to affirm that the agitation against slave-holding was identical, in the Union, with agitation against regular government, or against the Sabbath and the Christian religion. Some of the best and the holiest men in that republic were in the front of this truly Christian enterprise; and as to the more notorious, and he would say, more abused class of emancipationists, they were not as a body, either libertine or infidel. A few individuals had indeed, given some appearance of truth to this charge by their loose sayings. With these he had no sympathy. But because some men of violent passions, or erroneous principles, happened to be among the enemies of a real oppression, was this to make them more indifferent to the momentous interest at stake—an interest independent of parties, he might say, in some sense, of creeds—for it was the common interest of humanity, which even an infidel might justly plead—though the Christian was bound tenfold to stand forth its advocate. And he must say that an uncandid use had been made of this fact—of some men of lax opinions on other questions being found among the assertors of liberty for the slave.”

### CHURCH ACTION.

Most of the Christian denominations of Canada have continued to express their sympathy with the fugitive Slave, and to bear testimony against the sin of slavery. The Presbyterian Church of Canada, at a late Synodical meeting, adopted the following Resolutions:—

1st. “That the practice of Slavery, which denudes rational beings not merely of certain conventional privileges of society, but of the most essential natural rights, and reduces them to the level of chattels, to be so accounted of “to all intents and purposes whatever,” is inhuman, unjust, and as dishonouring to the common Creator, as it is replete with wrong, to the subjects of such oppression.”

2nd. “That Christians and Churches, as witnesses for God and truth, are called on to testify against any system of human legislation in the community to which they belong, which obviously violates the commands of God; and that such faithful remembrance with the civil powers is specially obligatory on professed expounders of the Word of God; and a large share of the responsibility of guilt involved in the effects of such legislation cannot fail to attach to silence and indifference upon questions so vitally affecting the salvation of immortal souls, as well as important temporal interests.”

The following Extract from the Minutes of a late Conference of the Methodist New Connexion, is most satisfactory:—

“Recognising, as we do, in every human being, an heir of immortality, to whom it is our imperative duty, so far as it is in our power, to preach the Gospel, and elevate to the enjoyment of all our own bought privileges as citizens of Heaven, we feel ourselves bound, both by our allegiance to the Head of the Church and in love professed to God and man, to lift up our strong testimony against every system and institution which opposes or prevents the will of God being fully realized by every man (guiltless of crime) to the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness. We therefore declare—

“1. Our utter abhorrence of human slavery in all lands, and especially as it now exists in that otherwise favoured land, the United States of America.

“2. Our entire repudiation of the efforts of so-called ministers of religion, who seek to justify man-stealing, from the Gospel of Christ.

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"3. Our deep sympathy with the poor fugitives who are now being driven to seek a home of peace and liberty in the Province, under the protection of the British Crown."

Equally decided is the following Resolution, extracted from the Minutes of the Congregational Union of Canada :—

"Resolved—That this Union looks with constant and deep interest to the proceedings of Evangelical Christians in the United States, respecting Slavery (affecting as these proceedings do, the state of Christianity itself, and exerting a paramount influence upon the course of the people at large,) that we therefore deem it to be right, very solemnly to declare our conviction that, at the present time, much needs to be done by those Christians to counteract the evil operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and that we regret to see, that while many of them disapprove of existing organizations for the abolition of Slavery, and by speeches and the press, endeavour to weaken and thwart them, they themselves adopt no effective measures for that great object. That we therefore call upon all our brethren to be careful in their intercourse with American Christians and Churches, in avoiding fellowship with all who assist in upholding Slavery and in using all their influence to promote decisive measures for the entire overthrow of that most unchristian, inhuman, and mischievous system."

#### LADIES' ASSOCIATION.

The "Ladies' Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Fugitives" have continued, with unabated zeal, to minister to the wants, physical and moral, of the poor fugitives who have been compelled to seek a home on our free soil. Although during the last year the number of those who arrived in destitute circumstances was comparatively small, still the services of these benevolent Ladies, in aiding, instructing and encouraging the poor victims of tyranny who came or who had been already in Toronto, have been of incalculable value. By their assistance many have been enabled to remove from the city to farms in the West, and particularly to the Buxton Settlement, where they are now enjoying, not merely the means of acquiring an honest livelihood, but good moral and spiritual instruction. From this Society the Committee have derived much aid in certain departments of their labours, for which they now gratefully tender their acknowledgments. Sympathizing with the Women of England in their endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the Slave, by addressing a friendly appeal to the Women of the United States—an address similar in spirit, but differing as to the means by which permanent amelioration can be effected, was prepared and extensively circulated. Although its sentiments were deemed more in accordance with the views of Canadians generally, it was not thought necessary to ask signatures, as the only result which any such correspondence could be expected to produce, had been already fully obtained, viz., a free and full discussion of the question of Slavery in circles where it had been little agitated—an expression of the public sentiment, which always does good, even though for a time it may not appear. Some benevolent Ladies of Toronto who constituted themselves a Committee to procure signatures to Lord Shaftesbury's letter, obtained in a short time nearly 14,000 names. As an evidence of the state of feeling on this subject throughout the Province, the Secretary

states that "each packet of letters was accompanied by a letter expressive of warm sympathy for the slaves, and an earnest trust that this effort might prove an humble instrument in the hands of God of at least mitigating in some degree, the sufferings and moral degradation of that unhappy race."

#### SETTLEMENTS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE IN CANADA.

Last year's Report contained a historical account of the different settlements of colored people in Canada, so far as it was practicable to obtain exact information. To the population of these settlements, considerable additions have been made during the past year; but with some exceptions, they have been of a class possessing the means of purchasing farms, or at least of supporting themselves until remunerative employment could be procured. There has been but little of that extreme destitution and suffering which followed on the influx of so many refugees in 1850 and 1851, after the passing of the Fugitive Law. Besides, there have been better organized means of extending speedy relief in any extreme cases. Mr Ward, who has visited most of the localities where there are many congregated together, states, that, though there are various grades of progress among them, as is the case with the white population,—such as being poorer in the towns than in the rural districts—still great improvement has taken place in the state of morals, in the acquisition of property, in efforts for the attainment of intellectual and spiritual culture. This is specially true of those residing at Buxton, in Chatham, London, and some other Western towns.

#### THE ELGIN ASSOCIATION

continues to prosper, so that the benevolent purposes of the friends of the Institution bid fair to be realized to the fullest extent. The third Annual Report of the Directors contains the following gratifying statements:—

"The number of families of colored persons settled on the lands of the Association up to the 1st of August, 1852, is 75—and the number of inhabitants 400. By these settlers not fewer than fifty houses have been erected, after the model which had been submitted to them, and some of these have been acknowledged by competent judges to be in several respects superior, in plan and structure, even to the model itself.

"Besides the regular occupants, about 25 families of colored people, attracted by the advantages of the settlement, have purchased lands in its immediate proximity. Including these 100 colored families, about 500 individuals are now comfortably settled on their own property in that district.

"The number of acres cleared on the Elgin grounds to August 1st, is 350; and 204 of those have been under crop this season. The land is best adapted for the culture of wheat, but it also produces corn, tobacco, and hemp, equal to any that is grown in the Western States.

"With regard to the moral state of the people, sobriety is so general, that no case of drunkenness has occurred; and as a guarantee for peace among the settlers, a *court of arbitration* has been set up, before which *few* cases only have been brought, all of which were decided easily and amicably, and without any expense to either party.

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"The members of the Association cannot fail to take a deep interest in the progress of the settlement in education and religion. The day-school has seventy-three on the roll, the attendance is good, and the number increasing. About twenty of the present number are the children of white parents. The Sabbath school has fifty three attending it. The church, which is supplied by the Rev M. King, the indefatigable and able missionary to the Elgin Settlement, is attended by from one hundred to one hundred and forty persons; and the desire for the administration of the Word, and ordinances seems to be on the increase, particularly among the members of the Bible class, who are the most regular attenders at church. A Latin class was opened last November, which is attended by six colored youths; and it is hoped that some of them may be found qualified for teaching their brethren, or for filling the office of the Christian ministry."

## BRITISH AMERICAN INSTITUTE.

In our last Report, we omitted to mention the name of the Rev. Hiram Wilson as being intimately connected with the early history of this settlement, then called the Dawn Institute. The following extract of a letter from Mr. Wilson, will set the matter right:—

"The Educational Institute was established by myself and not by James Canning Fuller. That excellent philanthropist took a deep interest in the welfare of the refugees in this country, and having occasion to visit England, in 1840, on business of his own, he corresponded with me before he started; and, at my suggestion, raised £350 sterling, mostly among Quakers, for the purpose of establishing an industrial or manual labor school, for the benefit of refugees and their children. Prior to that time I had been laboring in Canada as an anti-slavery agent and missionary for four years, and, but for my exertions in this field, which prepared the way, and my communications to Mr. Fuller, which he bore with him to England, he would have made no attempt to raise funds for the above named purpose, and when raised, it devolved on me not only to select a suitable location, purchase the land, and lay the foundation, but to build the superstructure, to direct and manage it for nearly seven years, from its beginning in the wilderness; whereas my good friend, Mr. Fuller, though a leading Trustee, was never on the ground but once, and then, it had been in operation for about one year.

"The 300 acres of land were purchased and deeded to Trustees solely to subserve educational purposes, and no families have settled upon any part of the tract, except as they were employed about the Institute. There are probably about five hundred colored people in the vicinity of the Institution, say within three or four miles of it, but not on the Institution lands."

It is now a property vested in trustees for the education of colored people, without excluding whites or Indians. It is under no particular denomination or society, the trust deed binding the Trustees to use the property for certain purposes under certain restrictions. It is at present in a transition state, so that neither the estate nor the school are in such a prosperous condition as could be desired. The colored people in the neighbourhood are generally very prosperous farmers—of good morals and mostly Methodists or Baptists.

## REFUGEES' HOME SOCIETY.

Last year, we alluded to this scheme as one which, under proper management, might prove of much service. After meetings held previously at Farmington and Detroit, Michigan, the organization of this Society was completed by the adoption of a Constitution and By-laws at a meeting of the friends of the Fugitive, held at Detroit on

the 25th August, 1852. Its Constitution contains the following articles, which explain the object of the Society :—

"ART. 2.—The object of this Society shall be to assist the refugees from American Slavery to obtain permanent homes in Canada; and to promote their moral, social, physical and intellectual elevation.

"ART. 5.—There shall be appropriated to each family of actual Settlers twenty-five acres of land, five of which they shall receive free of cost, provided they shall, within three years from the time of occupancy, clear and cultivate the same. For the remaining twenty acres they shall pay the primary cost in nine equal annual payments, free of use, for which they shall receive deeds. This article may be varied to favour the aged, infirm, and widows, at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

"ART. 6.—This Society shall give deeds to none, but landless Refugees from American Slavery.

"ART. 7.—All monies received for the sale of lands shall be devoted, in equal shares, to the support of Schools, and the purchase of other lands."

The Rev. H. D. Kitchell, a Congregational Minister, Michigan, is the President, Horace Hallock, Esq., Detroit, Treasurer, and Mr. Henry Bibb, of Windsor, Secretary. During the past year, 1328 acres of land have been purchased in the Townships of Sandwich and Maidstone, and of this about 600 acres have been taken up by Fugitives from Slavery. Nineteen 25 acre lots have been occupied by settlers, who are chopping cord-wood and improving their lands. Nine log houses have already been erected, and others are preparing to build. A school-house is to be erected in the spring. Some difference of opinion exists amongst the colored people themselves, in regard to the expediency or propriety of such a scheme. Its opponents say that the representations of agents, who are collecting money in the States of the Union for the purchase of these lands, are incorrect; that there is no need for land-buying organizations, since land can be so readily procured from the Canadian Government, and that there is danger of its becoming a land-jobbing concern under the name of benevolence towards negroes. The friends of the Slave, in the States, have, in consequence, been much perplexed to know whether they should countenance or discourage the scheme. We consider the aim of the Society a good one, but its success or failure depends almost entirely upon the manner in which its affairs are managed. The eminent success which has attended the Elgin Association, proves that success is attainable. It is absolutely necessary that those intrusted with the management of its pecuniary matters, be men of the highest integrity and able to secure the confidence of all concerned. The rules and regulations also should be framed so as not to create prejudice, while, at the same time, they effect the desired object. There is doubtless a better state of things amongst the Fugitives, than existed at the time when such a plan was proposed. The panic, produced by the Fugitive Law, having subsided, the poor refugees have had more time allowed them to prepare for the change, and in consequence their wants have been diminished. The true principle is now to assume that every man, unless disabled by sickness,

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can support himself and his family after he has obtained steady employment. All that able-bodied men and women require, is a fair chance, friendly advance, and a little encouragement, perhaps a little assistance at first. Those who are really willing to work can procure employment in a short time after their arrival, so that what is specially needed, is such associations of friends at the different places where fugitives land, as will interest themselves in the colored man, put him in the way of finding employment, and extend to him such encouragement in the way of grants of land or otherwise, as his altered circumstances may require. In some places, fully to accomplish this, aid from abroad may be necessary, though in most places local charity will, we think, prove sufficient.

In addition to the agencies, already named, for the moral and spiritual improvement of the colored race in Canada, much good has been effected by the labours of the American Missionary Association. St. Catharines, Amherstburg, Mount Pleasant, New Canaan and Windsor, have been selected as Missionary stations, and Missionaries chiefly sustained by the funds of the Association, have been appointed to labour thereat. The amount expended for these missions during the past year, was \$1,441. The Rev. Hiram Wilson, long a friend of the Slave, labours at St. Catharines, where some time ago, he succeeded in organizing a "Refugee Slaves' Friend Society," which embraces many of the most respectable citizens of the place. In the sixth Annual Report of the Association, which was presented on the 29th September last, it is stated that there has been a revival of religion at this Station, and it is believed that many have been hopefully converted to God. Mrs. Wilson and her sister have taught school during the past year with encouraging success. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland, who is stationed at New Canaan, in the township of Colchester, writes—

"The fugitives are evidently progressing in intelligence and in means of acquiring a livelihood. There is comparatively little suffering among them. The demand for schools is increasing. I think there is no way that so permanent a good can be accomplished among this people as to pour light and knowledge into the minds of the rising generation. There is a call for several efficient teachers, the coming winter, in this region. Our school in this place is prospering, and we expect an increase in numbers the coming winter. The Lord sparing my life and health, I hope to accomplish more the year to come than in any year since I came into this part of the field."

We believe that much good has been done through the instrumentality of this Christian association, and that Canada owes it much for thus putting within the reach of a portion of its long neglected population, the means of moral and religious instruction.

In closing this part of our Report, we would, as sincere friends of the Colored Race, remind them that all our labours and those of others for their good, will be of comparatively little value without their ready co-operation. No nation or people can ever rise to prosperity, or power, without intelligence and virtue. Every colored man, therefore, who wishes well to himself, to his children, to his race, should study to

demean himself in such a manner as to compel the respect of those around him. He should seek to be diligent, frugal, faithful, upright, honest, truthful, temperate. He should let no opportunity of improvement pass unheeded. He should seek to earn money to educate his children, to purchase books, to study refinement of manners, so that he may be able to act well his part in society. He should bring up his children to some useful trade or employment, and by his industry, frugality and Christian deportment convict the libellers of the colored race of the guilt of false accusation.

### PRESENT ASPECT OF THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

We regret to say that during the past year, the cause of freedom has apparently at least, been retrograding in the United States. So far from her Legislators having shown any signs of repentance for having engrossed on the statute books that most iniquitous measure, the Fugitive Slave Bill, which has been called "the most infamous libel on the name of law that any legislature has ever enacted," the two great parties have united in sustaining it, and in seeking to put down the agitation of Slavery, under any shape. The following Resolutions form prominent planks in the Democratic platform:—

*"Resolved—That the Democratic party of the Union will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the Acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the last Congress—the Act for reclaiming Fugitives from service or labour included; which Act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency."*

*"Resolved—That the Democratic party will resist all attempts, at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made."*

The Whig party, not to be behind the Democrats in propitiating the Southern slaveholders, passed the following resolution, at its great Presidential convention:—

*"That the series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress, known as the Compromise, the Fugitive Slave Law included, is received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States, as a settlement, in principle and substance—a final settlement—of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and, so far as the Fugitive Law is concerned, we will maintain it, and insist upon its enforcement, until time and experience, shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation, to guard against the evasion of the law on the one hand, and the abuse of its powers on the other, not impairing its present efficiency, according to the requirements of the Constitution; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."*

President Pierce, to judge from the language of his inaugural address, is fully determined to carry the wishes of his party into execution. His language is plain, and cannot be mistaken:—

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"I hold that the laws of 1850, commonly called the 'compromise measures,' are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect. I believe that the constituted authorities of this republic are bound to regard the rights of the South in this respect, as they would view any other legal and constitutional right, and that the laws to enforce them should be respected and obeyed, not with a reluctance encouraged by abstract opinions as to their propriety in a different state of society, but cheerfully, and according to the decision of the tribunal to which their exposition belongs. Such have been, and are, my convictions, and upon them I shall act. I fervently hope that the question is at rest, and that no sectional, or ambitious, or fanatical excitement may again threaten the durability of our institutions, or obscure the light of our prosperity."

So far, then, as the President and his Senate are concerned, they are pledged to Slavery. For the last twenty years the American government has been plotting to annex every country around, in order to extend the area of Slavery. Texas, California, New Mexico have been added to the Union, and already has the Slave Trader found his way into them. The following paragraphs indicate what are the designs of the Slaveholders in regard to California :—

"The division of California into three States, distinct and separate, is now contemplated and pressed there. A majority of the Legislature, it is said, will order a State Convention, and upon that Convention will depend the mode, manner, and boundaries of division.

"The three States are to be named 'Sierra,' the mountain division, which has about 23,000 inhabitants by the last census; 'California,' which has 207,388; and 'Tulare,' the Southern State, including Los Angeles and San Diego, which has 34,150 inhabitants, and about seven and a half millions of taxable property. This Southern State of Tulare, in the division, it is contemplated by many of the occupants to make a slave State of, and one of the objects for pressing the division is to establish slavery there."

Cuba and Hayti are now the magnificent Slave territories to which, with longing eyes, they are looking forward. President Pierce states that his "administration will not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from Expansion," and seeks not to "disguise" that "our attitude as a nation, and our position on the globe, render the acquisition of certain possessions, not within our jurisdiction, eminently important for our protection, &c." He should have added, "for the protection of our peculiar institution." True, there are a few noble exceptions amongst the Senators of the Union—men who have stood up manfully in behalf of freedom and the rights of the slave. The scathing speeches of Hale, and Sumner, and Giddings, and others, prove that they could not be gagged, even though they should be excluded from every committee for not belonging to a "healthy organization."

#### STATE LEGISLATION.

If now we look to the individual States, an equally discouraging spectacle is presented. According to public law, Slavery is sectional and Freedom is universal—the birthright of every human being. If, therefore, a man escapes from Slavery into a State where Slavery is

forbidden, he resumes his birthright—he becomes a free man. And yet not many months ago, in the State of New York—the Empire State, a bill was introduced into her Legislature providing that Slaves *in transitu* may be carried through the State, and receive the protection of the laws thereof. A similar bill was brought into the Legislature of Pennsylvania, but was thrown out on the second reading; and in addition, two other important bills—one to prevent colored persons from acquiring a residence in that State; and the other to prevent fugitives from labour in other States, and Slaves manumitted by their masters, from settling in Pennsylvania.

A bill was lately introduced into the House of Delegates of Virginia, to enable them to sell into Slavery to the highest bidder, at public auction, all free negroes, until their labour shall have accumulated enough of money to transport them to Africa.

Section first of a bill introduced into the Legislature of Ohio, reads thus:—

“*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That from and after the first day of January, A. D. 1854, no black or mulatto person, not a resident of this State, shall be permitted to settle or reside therein.*”

A bill is before the Maryland legislature which provides that all free negroes and mulattoes, who shall be born in the State after the first day of January, 1855, shall, upon their arrival at the age of twenty-one years, be compelled to emigrate to Liberia, in Africa, or upon their remaining within the State for more than twelve months thereafter, (unless in the hands of the Maryland State Colonization Society,) shall be ordered to be sold as slaves for a term of not less than five nor more than ten years, and the proceeds thereof shall be applied to the colonization fund of the city of Baltimore.

Oregon also has passed an act, prohibiting “negroes and mulattoes” from coming to, or residing in, the territory.

Indiana, too, has introduced into her constitution, a clause prohibiting persons of colour, from becoming residents or citizens of that State. Still later, an Act has passed both branches of the legislature of Illinois, which prohibits the entrance of *colored freemen into the State*, under the penalty of *being sold into Slavery*, and authorizes the admission of Slaves, if brought in or sent by their masters.

South Carolina maintains that she has a right to seize any coloured man that enters her territory from another State, and put him in jail, or sell him into Slavery, and has in several instances reduced her principles into practice, even in the case of British subjects. [See Appendix No. II.]

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So much for the conduct of the Federal Government in regard to Slavery, and so much for that of the individual States. Let us now see what

THE CHURCH

says upon it. The larger ecclesiastical bodies refuse to legislate at all on the subject of Slavery, on the plea that spiritual bodies have no cognizance of civil matters. Other denominations, even while bearing testimony against the evils of Slavery, admit Slaveholders to their councils, and treat them as in all respects "*recti in ecclesia.*" The American Tract Society, and the American Sunday School Union, carefully expurgate all sentiments offensive to the South, from their reprints of foreign publications. The following statistics as to the number of Slaves held by ministers and laymen in the different denominations of the American Church, are believed to be correct:—

Denominations.	Church Members.	Number of Slaves.	Number of Ministers.	Number of Slaves to each Minister.
Methodists . . . . .	1,178,637	219,563	5 080	43
Presbyterians . . . . .	333,548	77,000	3,268	23
Baptists . . . . .	812,921	125,000	6,598	18
Episcopalians . . . . .	67,500	83,000	1,404	62
Campbellites . . . . .	—	101,000	—	—
Other Denominations . . . . .	—	50,000	—	—

Total number of slaves held by Ministers of the Gospel and members of the different Protestant churches, 660,563.

The denominations above cited have under their control 89 colleges with 5,495 students, and 26 theological seminaries with about 700 students. Some of these colleges and seminaries have been built and endowed partly by the sale of slaves, and all are looking for slaveholding patronage.

In fact, Church Legislation has been gradually assuming a worse aspect, and Synods which once spoke out manfully are now far from as favorable to emancipation as they were years ago. Take the following illustration of what we mean:—In 1834 the Synod of Kentucky adopted a Report on Slavery, in which they say,—“These acts (families separated from each other) are daily occurring in the midst of us. There is not a village or road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts hold dear. Our church, years ago, raised its voice of solemn warning against this flagrant violation of every principle of mercy, justice, and humanity. Yet we blush to announce to you that this warning has been often disregarded even by those who hold to our communion. Cases have occurred in our denomination where professors of the Religion of Mercy HAVE TORN THE MOTHER FROM THE CHILDREN AND SENT HER INTO A MERCILESS AND RETURNLESS EXILE. Yet acts of

discipline have rarely (J. G. Birney, long resident in Kentucky, says "never") followed such conduct." And yet, notwithstanding these "blushes" and "confessions," the Synod of Kentucky refuse to emancipate unless colonization follows!

There are several Churches, we are happy to say, which act very differently. The Free Will Baptists—the Reformed Presbyterian—the Wesleyan Methodist—the Free Presbyterian Church, and some others openly advocate Anti-Slavery sentiments.

The American Missionary Association, founded in 1846 by the friends and officers of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, "are openly and faithfully inculcating the Anti-Slavery principles of Scripture with abundant success." The following Resolution, which was passed at a convention of 500 Congregational ministers and laymen, which met at Albany in October last, marks a pleasing advance in regard to American Slavery in that body:—

"Resolved—That, in the opinion of this convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms, and that it is the duty of missionary societies to grant aid to churches in slave-holding States, in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to Slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, 'depart out of that city.'"

#### FAVOURABLE INDICATIONS—REMEDIES PROPOSED.

To this dark picture, there is a brighter side—or to speak more accurately, the picture is not all so black as it was some years ago. During the last twenty years, a gradual improvement has been taking place, owing mainly to the faithful denunciations, untiring zeal, and self-denying labours of the Abolition party in the Northern States. Most thoroughly has the question of Slavery been discussed and investigated. Sound dispassionate arguments—deep, critical acumen, unsparing invective, and scathing denunciations have been used, and used successfully. Slavery with all its hideous features, has been brought to the light, and held up to the gaze of the world. The practical working of the Slave system, the treatment of the Slaves—their food—their ignorance and moral condition, have been clearly revealed. The teaching of the Bible in regard to Slavery, and the relation of the American Church to Slavery, have been thoroughly investigated, while the political aspect of the question has been ably and sagaciously examined. Indeed every "aspect of the question, whether the social, moral, economical, religious, political and historical, has been discussed with an industry and ability which have left little for the professional skill, scholarly culture and historical learning of the new labourers to accomplish." The American

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and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, by its valuable Reports, Anti-Slavery publications and missionary labours, is exerting a powerful influence for good; while the American Anti-Slavery Society, with its ably conducted newspapers and talented speakers, keeps their rulers alive to the gigantic sin of perpetuating and extending Slavery, and the ecclesiastical bodies awake to the guilt of unfaithfulness, and time-serving expediency. The truthful delineations of American Slavery, and the heart-stirring appeals to every human feeling and every Christian principle, of Uncle Tom's Cabin—that most extraordinary book, which is being daily quoted alike in the halls of Congress and in the humblest cottage, and which is being translated into almost every European language, have been of incalculable service to the cause of Freedom. Even into the dark South it has forced its way, and we doubt not, has made many a convert to the doctrines which it so plainly yet gently teaches. During the last few years, some faint indications of progress have been perceptible even here. In Delaware and in Kentucky, there have been some local Anti-Slavery movements. Thomas H Benton, although boldly declaring Slavery to be an evil, and denouncing the Fugitive Slave bill in a Slave State, was returned to Congress, in opposition to a strong political combination. Ten years ago, Gerrit Smith, who is now elected to Congress, was stoned out of Utica and Schenectady for simply *alluding* to abolition. In five Slaveholding States, Free Democratic electoral tickets were formed and supported, although in its creed are to be found the following propositions:—

"*Resolved*.—That the rendition of fugitive slaves, either by National or State authority, is wicked, contrary to God's will, and not binding upon any citizen.

"*Resolved*.—That we are opposed to slavery of every kind, and in favour of every constitutional effort to abolish it.

"*Resolved*.—That we are opposed to any and every compromise with slavery, and that no lapse of time can render any such compromise binding upon us.

"*Resolved*.—That we are not only opposed to the abuses practised under the Fugitive Slave Law, but are in favour of its absolute repeal, because we believe it unconstitutional."

An address lately issued by the Southern Agricultural Congress of Georgia, announces, as one of the leading objects of the Congress, "*to cultivate the aptitudes of the negro race for civilization, and consequently for Christianity*—so that, by the time Slavery shall have fulfilled its beneficent mission in these States, *a system may be authorized by the social condition of that race here, to relieve it from its present servitude, without sinking it to the condition of the free negroes of the North and the West Indies;*" thus recognizing Slavery as a temporary system, and Freedom as the natural and permanent condition of the negro race.

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\* The Free Democratic vote of 1852 amounted to 156,700, making a majority over the Liberty party vote of 1844 of 92,800.

In addition to these Anti-Slavery agencies, there are others tending in the same direction. The spirit of commerce, which is so powerful in its effects, will, it is believed, be ere long in favour of the Slave. Every census shows that Slavery works badly in Kentucky and Virginia, and that Freedom works well in New York and Ohio. To use the words of an eloquent pleader, "Every invention, every labour-saving contrivance helps to break the yoke on the slave's neck. The men who first yoked oxen, *unyoked* men. Ericsson's caloric engine is a mighty instrument to *propel* Slavery out of the world. By and by, the spirit of commerce will be aroused, and men will be as glad to get rid of their tool that does not pay, as once they were to get it; and then the commercial spirit will be pro-freedom as it is now pro-slavery." There is the voice of the nations calling aloud to break the yoke and let the oppressed go free. There is, too, the spirit of humanity and the voice of conscience, which is the voice of God. All these are silently, perhaps, but certainly operating in the right direction.

If American Slavery be the mass of evil which it is represented to be even by some Slaveholders themselves, [See *Appendix No. III*] why does the South so closely press it to her bosom? Why do both North and South not only hesitate before ridding themselves of this incubus, but actually seek to extend the area of Slave territory, and thus multiply the evils and increase the difficulty of the struggle which must eventually come. One main cause is the question of property. It was selfishness and cupidity that first brought about Slavery and the Slave trade, and it is owing to these that its abolition is delayed. Slavery "is so comfortable an institution,"—as an American once described it—"so comfortable, so pleasant, to have fellow men to do our work for us, and wait upon our whims, and be ready at our beck." The fear of losing this comfort is one grand obstacle in the way of emancipation. Cotton has closed the ears, and veiled the eyes, and smothered the sensibilities of many in regard to their sins. Some in the South oppose Emancipation lest afterwards *amalgamation* should be the result. [See *Appendix No. IV.*] Such men, however, who are so frightened at the evils of lawful marriage are never found uttering even a whispered condemnation, of the infinitely greater evils resulting from the present illicit connection existing between the whites and the Slave blacks. Some Slaveholders, again, are found so anxious to save their Slaves from the effects of the crushing prejudice to which they will be subject when freed, that they prefer to retain their fellow-men in Slavery *for their own good!* But after all, the great obstacle to Emancipation consists in the enormous sacrifice of property which it involves. But do these Southerners say that Slavery is to last forever. Some of them do; many do not. What then are the plans contemplated by the latter for ridding them of Slavery? One of these is

#### THE COLONIZATION SCHEME.

What are the objects and designs of this Society? They are the following, as set forth by the parent society:—

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" To rescue the free Colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

" To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the benefits it brings in its train.

" To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the continent of Africa.

" To arrest and destroy the Slave trade.

" To afford Slave owners, who wish or are willing to liberate their Slaves, an asylum for their reception."

This Society, which makes such high-sounding professions, has been in existence for 36 years, and at an expense of \$2,000,000 has colonized about 7000 persons. What do the Colored people themselves who are most deeply interested, think of it? The following Resolution, unanimously passed at a convention of the Colored people of New York, held lately at Albany, will answer :—

" *Resolved*—That it is the opinion of this Convention, the highest object of the Colonisation Society of America, is to remove a large, increasing, and improving free population, that they may hold our brethren the more quietly and securely in bondage."

What are the tendencies of the Society—what the character of the principle upon which it is based. Senator Munroe, of New York, in a late speech before the State Legislature, maintains that the direct effect of the action of the Colonization Society, is :—

" 1. To degrade the free Colored people of the United States, to prevent them from having and enjoying political and social advantages, and by so doing drive them to consent to emigrate from their native land.

" 2. To confirm the domestic Slave trade.

" 3. To perpetuate and give security to the system of Slavery in this country."

To establish these points, he uses some such arguments as the following :—

1. The organs of the Society represent the condition of the Colored population as degraded, as unsuited to their free institutions. By this cry, the prejudices against them are created, increased, and continued. By it also the negroes are discouraged, and in too many cases admit by their actions at least, that the sentiments above are true. [*See Appendix No. V.*]

2. The first effect of beginning to reduce the number of Slaves by colonization would be to increase the market value of those left behind, and thereby increase the difficulty of setting them free.

3. The presence of free Colored citizens in the Slaveholding States is unfavourable to the Slave system. The Slave is constantly reminded

that there is such a thing as liberty, and as long as he sees it he will seek to attain it. To remove this danger the free Colored people are treated in the most oppressive manner for the most trivial offences, and in some instances they are re-enslaved for no offence at all. Their position, in fact, is rendered constantly intolerable, so that it may not be desirable even for the Slave.

By many the colonization scheme is advocated as the only practical mode of getting rid of Slavery. This was advocated by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. What is answered to this? J. H. Latrobe, Esq., in his address before the Society in 1851, says, "Colonization is as utterly incompetent to transport the whole Colored population of the United States to Africa, as it would be impossible to ladle out one of our Northern Lakes with a kitchen utensil." He spoke the truth, as the following facts prove. There are 3,154,262 Slaves in the country, and on a low calculation the annual increase of the whole population is 93,445. To transport and settle in Africa only the annual increase of the black population will require every year not less than \$9,344,500! To send the whole population would cost over \$645,000,000. To settle the present number of free blacks alone would cost \$42,863,700.

There are 3,154,262 Slaves in the country, worth, according to Mr. Clay's estimate, \$1,273,704,800. Now this plan of Emancipation requires the slaveholders not only to sacrifice thirteen hundred millions of dollars' worth of falsely so-called property, but to tax themselves with the enormous sum of \$645,000,000 dollars to remove them when freed, to Africa! thus enormously increasing the difficulty in the way of Emancipation.

Again, it is said that there are many Slaveholders who yearly liberate their Slaves from motives of benevolence, or justice, or self-respect; and that many more do so at their deaths. We admit that there are some such instances of Emancipation. According to the last census, the number of Emancipations for the year ending June 1st, 1852, amounted to 1467—less than the 1-2150th part of the present number, and less than 1-60th part of its annual increase. By this homœopathic system of Emancipation little good can be effected.

The Hon. H. Mann refers to another means of Emancipation:—

"There is," he says, "one other means of emancipation—such as our revolutionary fathers adopted against Great Britain, and such as Hungary has lately adopted against Austria, not only with the justification, but with the approval of the civilized world. For this there are two conditions: a sufficient degree of oppression to authorize an appeal to force, and a chance, on the part of the oppressed, of bettering their condition. The measure of the first condition is already full—heaped up—running over. The second condition will be fulfilled, either when the slaves believe they can obtain their freedom by force, or when they are so elevated and enlarged in their moral conceptions, as to appreciate that glorious supplication of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death!"

It is most devoutly to be implored, that God will save the Slaveholders from the madness of defying that vengeance which will assuredly be visited upon them, if they

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continue much longer to act upon, or to advocate the atheistic dogma that slavery is to be eternal. The very declaration that slavery shall be eternal, will give birth to the resolve that it shall not be eternal! Hence, inevitable collision. And the ultimate result of collision is as certain as the fulfilment of any natural law; as certain as that gun-powder will explode on the application of fire, or that the generation of steam, without vent, could convert the solid earth itself into another group of asteroids. In such a collision, on one side is the power of man; on the other side is the Omnipotence of God, "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity," saith the sure Word of prophecy. "The Almighty hath no attribute," says Mr. Jefferson, "which can take part with us in such a contest."

"If," says the Historian Hildreth, "the system of Slavery in the United States be not first extinguished by some peaceable means, it will sooner or later come to a forcible termination. It may be forcibly terminated [in the manner referred to by Mr. Mann] in the case of—1st. Foreign Wars; 2nd. A dissolution of the Union; and 3rd. Political disturbances and Civil War in the Slave States themselves."

Another means of Emancipation remains, and it is that which we think will finally be adopted. Immediate Emancipation by the South, when from without a sufficient pressure may be applied to supplement what may be required from within. We agree with a writer in a late number of the *Westminster Review* that the prison door will be opened just before the pressure of the North from without and of the Slave from within, would have broken it open. This pressure will unquestionably come. At present the prospect may be dark, but there are influences at work which will render their effects visible in due time. The Fugitive Slave Law is fast hastening this desirable era. [See *Appendix No. VI.*] Every Fugitive reclaimed, awakens new sympathies in the North, and will act as an apostle of liberty in the South.\* These unbearable "nuisances," to use the New York clergyman's description, will infuse fresh vigour and energy, both mental and physical, by repeating the speeches of a Douglass or a Ward in the cotton fields of Georgia or Louisiana. Every Fugitive from the South, with his tales of torture, strikes a sympathetic cord in the heart of some Northern philanthropist. As long as the Fugitive Bill continues a law, Congress will continue to be what it has become, "a debating club on Slavery." The friends of the Slave then, have no real cause to be disheartened, though for the present both law and power are against him. There are still Sumners and Manns in the Congress; there are still Beechers, and Colvers, and Barnes in the church; there are still thousands of eloquent lips, and ready pens, and warm hearts on his side. He has on his side that wonderful apostle, Uncle Tom, wandering ubiquitously from door to door, alike in the South and in the North, telling his tale of woe, and forcing the tear of pity even from the stoutest heart; and, as if unwilling to cease his beneficent mission until every heart in every land respond to his call, he is travelling on over sea and land,

\* Since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, about 50 colored persons throughout the Free States have been arrested as Fugitive Slaves.

speaking in every tongue the wrongs of Slavery, and teaching that the Negro is a man and may be a Christian. Can the South then hold out much longer in opposition to such appeals? Can the squares of her cities echo much longer to the wail of families, torn assunder at the auction block. Will she continue to permit her men to sell their sons to the Slave driver, and their daughters to the seducer? It cannot be—the feelings of injured humanity revolt at the idea. But whatever may be the result, it is our duty, as part of the great family of man, to think and to speak the truth—we can sympathise with those who wish to avoid the fearful alternative of servile war (alluded to above), and raise our voice of expostulation. We can sympathise with those of its victims who are driven to our shores, imploring us to rescue them from the man-catcher, and give them shelter on British soil. We can find them the means of employment, and provide for them that moral and spiritual culture, which will make them good citizens, because Christian citizens.

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

Owing, in a large measure, to the influential pleadings of "Uncle Tom," an unusual interest in behalf of the Slave has been manifested in Great Britain, during the past year. Large and enthusiastic meetings have been held, condemnatory of American Slavery; new societies have been formed—pamphlets have been written—remonstrances have been made by religious bodies, and friendly appeals made by the women of England, to excite the sympathies and enlist the feelings of the American women in behalf of those who are the victims of man's pride and cupidity. Allusion has already been made to the address written by Lord Shaftesbury, and the difference of opinion which exists in some quarters in regard to some of the admissions and statements which it contains.

#### IS ENGLAND RESPONSIBLE FOR SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

We cannot agree with the statement, that Great Britain "compelled the adoption of Slavery" in the American Colonies, when it seems to imply, from the connection in which it occurs, that the Colonies were thereby less guilty in the matter. Acts for abolishing the Slave-trade were passed in some of the American Colonies and rejected by the King of England—not certainly because the colonists were opposed to the Slave-trade on moral grounds—but simply because they wished to supply the slave market of their own country, without the competition of the imported commodity. The following extract from a letter written by the Rev. Dr. Channing, while living in Virginia, fully bears out this remark:—

"Not then, either, had speculators discovered how to postpone the destructive effects of Slave cultivation by breeding children, like cattle, for the South-west market, and replenishing exhausted coffers by the profits of the 'vigintial crop.' Virginia had already,

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to be sure, voted for the abolition of the foreign Slave-trade, with the *economical prospect, of becoming the American Guinea Coast, and monopolizing the gains of merchandize in men, &c.*" [See *Life of Channing, Vol. I.*]

It has been a favourite idea with a certain class of writers, down from the days of Jefferson, to represent Great Britain as responsible, not only for the introduction, but for the sustentation of Slavery in the United States. Bancroft, who is a strong believer in the perfection of his countrymen, has taken every opportunity of colouring the same idea. The following extract, from the Boston *Commonwealth*, gives the facts, showing that while England was no doubt guilty in the matter, the Colonies were not less so:—

"Slaves were first brought to Virginia by Dutch trading vessels, and were freely purchased by the planters, and slavery was firmly established in Virginia, and had become a subject of local legislation, before, so far as we know, a single slave had been introduced into that colony under the English flag. Negro slaves were first introduced into New England by Massachusetts' vessels trading to the coast of Guinea. It was not till after the incorporation of the Royal African Company, that the supply of slaves to the colonies passed into English hands. Governor Berkley complained, in 1671, that since the exclusion of Dutch vessels, not above two or three ship loads of negroes had arrived in Virginia in seven years. "The English trade to Africa," says Hildreth, (vol. iii., p. 523) "a monopoly in the hands of the Royal African Company, does not seem to have been prosecuted with much spirit, and such supply of slaves as that Company furnished, was chiefly engrossed by Jamaica and the other sugar colonies." Subsequently the trade became brisker: but it did not reach its height till after the dissolution of the African Company in 1750, and the throwing open the traffic to adventurers generally, when ships from Boston, Newport, and New York, competed with those of Bristol and Liverpool, in the supply of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

The only collision between the colonial legislatures and the authorities at home, on the question of the slave trade—at least till after the commencement of the revolutionary agitation—related to the subject of a colonial revenue to be raised out of it. The colonists generally, especially the southern ones, were strongly inclined to raise a revenue on imports, both by way of encouraging domestic manufactures, and under the idea, that a part, at least, of this impost would come out of the shippers, who were generally British merchants. The mother country, then, as now, an advocate for free trade—at least for freedom of trade to British merchants—opposed this policy. Hence many colonial acts levying duties upon imported goods, and upon slaves among the rest, were vetoed by the crown.

The privilege, however, was presently offered to the Virginians, and was ultimately accepted by them, of imposing what tax they pleased on slaves imported, provided that tax was made payable, not by the importer, as the Virginians would have preferred, but by the purchaser; and during the last French war this tax was carried as high as twenty per cent. It was reduced, in 1760, to ten per cent., upon an express legislative declaration incorporated into the act, and quoted by Hildreth, (vol. ii., pp. 493,) that "the duty had been found a great disadvantage to the settlement and improvement of the lands of the colony, and *not to answer the end thereby intended*, inasmuch as the same prevents the importation of slaves, and thereby lessens the fund arising from the duty." The tax was afterwards repealed altogether, and the refusal of Lord Dunmore to sanction an act for its re-imposition, and a similar veto by Hutchinson in Massachusetts, appear to form the very narrow basis—as is the case of so many other of Jefferson's political assertions—upon which he and so many others have attempted to hold the mother country specially responsible for the introduction of slavery.

South Carolina was accustomed, whenever the price of her staples was low, to prohibit, for limited times, the introduction of slaves. To these acts the royal assent was

given: nor does it appear that had acts been passed by any colony, prohibiting the introduction of slaves altogether, the crown would have interfered. That slavery was introduced into Georgia, and thence into the whole range of States west of it, by the fierce determination of the colonists themselves, against the fixed intentions of those English philanthropists by whom the colony was founded, is a well-known historical fact. What, then, becomes of the pretence that the British government, not the American people, is responsible for the existence of slavery here?"

### IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Lord Shaftesbury's address admits that "dangers would beset the immediate abolition of Slavery," and that there is "a necessity for preparation for this event." Let us examine this statement for a little. "Immediate Emancipation would be both wrong and inexpedient," say slaveholders. "There is a necessity of preparation for abolition," says Lord Shaftesbury. "Many politicians," says the distinguished Historian Macaulay, "are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water until he had learnt to swim! If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in Slavery, they may indeed wait forever."

Immediate Emancipation we hold to be both right and expedient. Every Slave, as a MAN, has a *right* to the enjoyment of freedom NOW, not to-morrow, next year, or next century. This is a self-evident truth. But is it right to deprive the Slaveholder of his property, at least without compensation? We ask, who gave one man the right to hold property in his fellow-man? Show us this right, and we will no longer refuse lawful compensation. We recognize not the right of property originating in piracy, for the African Slavetrader was nothing but a pirate. And the man who now seizes upon children as soon as they are born, and appropriates them as his slaves, as part of his plantation stock, is just a man-stealer or a thief. We might as well talk of recognizing the right of the pirate to his booty, of the thief to his stolen goods, as to speak of the Slaveholders' rights. We just as much owe compensation to the one for the stolen property which we have compelled him to deliver up, as to the other for giving up to the slaves their God-given rights—their own bones and muscles.

"No! If compensation for loss of property is demanded as a *right*, let the right party have it. Let the plundered slave, whose father and mother have watered the ground with their tears and blood, and who has himself toiled on, day after day, without hope, receive it. Let the non-slaveholding whites have it, who have been crushed to the earth by the effects of Slavery. Give it not to the plunderer!"—[See some excellent letters of W. I. Bowditch, in reply to Dr. Peabody, which appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*.]

Immediate Emancipation is *expedient*. We believe that to do right is the highest expediency; but what does history teach us on the safety of emancipating Slaves. In the island of Antigua, there were fifteen

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slaves to every white man, a very much larger ratio than exists any where in the the Southern States.

"When the opportunity was given to the West India planters of choosing between immediate emancipation and the apprenticeship system, the white planters of Antigua, the very men, if any, whose throats were to be cut by the liberated slaves, adopted immediate in preference to gradual emancipation. And what was the result? On the night of the 31st of July, 1834, the negroes, who, according to Slaveholders and their friends were to 'be converted by the touch of freedom into idle and sensual savages,' assembled in their chapels to sing hymns of joy and listen to their preachers. The spacious Wesleyan chapel in St. Johns was crowded, and as the clock on the cathedral began to strike the hour which was to make them freemen, they fell on their knees, and remained so, until the clock had done striking, when they burst forth—with cries for revenge? No! with utterances, in broken negro dialect, of gratitude to God! and from that day to this, there has not been a single instance where an emancipated slave has taken revenge for the wrongs inflicted on him in Slavery! For a hundred years before emancipation, the Christmas holidays had always been an anxious time for the planters—martial law was always proclaimed, and the police and military forces were greatly increased, in order to be able to keep the slaves in subjection. At the first Christmas after emancipation, this extra precaution was abandoned, and there has not been a parade of soldiery on any subsequent Christmas. Not only this, but the very constables who are appointed on the plantations to aid in keeping the peace, are emancipated slaves.

"Some one will, perhaps, point to St. Domingo as affording a dreadful proof to the contrary of all this, and yet, the wisdom of immediate emancipation was never more signally proved than in the case of St. Domingo. 'The History of Emancipationism in St. Domingo,' says Elizabeth Heyrick, 'and of the conduct of the emancipated slaves for thirty years subsequent to that event, is a complete refutation of all the elaborate arguments which have been artfully advanced to discredit the design of immediate emancipation. No instance has been recorded in these important annals (Clarkson's Pamphlet) of the emancipated slaves (not the gradually, but the immediately emancipated slaves) having abused their freedom' (Eliz. Heyrick's Pam. p. 9). "All the frightful massacre and conflagrations which took place in St. Domingo, in 1791 and 1792 occurred during the days of Slavery" (ib. p. 10). "In the latter end of 1793, liberty was proclaimed to the slaves by the Government of the Island, for the purpose of extinguishing a civil war which had been for some time raging and which the government found itself, although aided by troops from France, unable to quell; as well as in order to resist an invasion of the English. Early in 1794, this act was confirmed by the national convention. The emancipation of the negroes, 500,000 in a body, produced the effects desired. The civil war was extinguished; the English were expelled; and Hayti continued to flourish until 1802, when Bonaparte endeavoured to restore Slavery there. He was foiled." (Chas. Stuart's pamphlet, *The West India Question*, p. 13). And it was this attempt of Bonaparte which was "the sole cause of that sanguinary conflict which ended in the total extirpation of the French from the soil."

To this friendly appeal of English women, scores of pro-slavery replies have been made, but, when stripped of rhetorical flourishes, they just amount to this: Women of England look at home. There is enough of pauperism, vice, degradation, and misery at your own doors to occupy all your benevolence. Go and search out your woe-begone children in alleys and lanes—look after your "illicit" costermongers—feed your starving needlewomen—relieve your factory girls from grinding misery. This is the argument which, by the way, was the favorite argument of the West India planter, in days gone by. But surely all this evil, all this degradation, all this crushing woe is as

nothing when compared to the "all-blighting curse and all-encompassing horror of Slavery." There is something still left,—some drops of comfort, some rays of light in this misery, this bitterness, this darkness, where Slavery is *not*. We may not snatch up one of these alley children and sell it like a young hog. We may not separate between the frail costermonger and his frail companion; nor dare the human flesh dealer cast his blood-bargaining eyes upon their "young barbarians rolling in filth and clad in rags." This is something, and this something is still the ray of God's own light and justice, however foul, and dark and woe-begone the place it penetrates."

"The long and the short of the case is this (as Lord Shaftesbury puts it): We have had, and we still have, in England many evils but we are now doing our best to remove them. They have had, and they still have, in America, a great evil which they not only will not endeavour to remove, but they make it daily worse (witness their Fugitive Slave Law,) reviling, moreover, and persecuting every one who ventures to jog their memories on things of vital importance to the temporal and eternal interests of the human race."

We may here mention, that at the request of the friends of the Slave in Great Britain and Ireland, we have deputed our Agent, the Rev. S. R. Ward to visit these countries, to plead the cause of the Slave and to let our friends know what is being done in this country for their present relief and future deliverance from bondage.

#### WEST INDIES.

One or two facts in regard to the condition of the Negroes in the West India Islands, may be interesting in this connection; and in looking at the state of these islands, we must remember that a nation of slaves cannot be instantly converted by an Act of Parliament into a nation of intelligent, laborious and successful agriculturists, or educated and exemplary Christians.

In Jamaica, there have been many adverse influences at work—the evils of the apprenticeship system—the competition with slave-grown sugar—and the conduct of the planters themselves, yet Mr. Bigelow, on his return from the island, writes thus in regard to the free negroes.

"The coloured people of the island seem to appreciate, in important respects, the advantages which freedom gives. A freehold of five acres will supply nearly all a negro's physical wants, and will also give him the privilege of voting. There are now over 100,000 belonging to the class of land proprietors, and the number is constantly increasing. The average property of each proprietor is estimated at about three acres. This number of landholders must be regarded as a very large one, when it is remembered that only seventeen years have passed since nearly all of them were slaves. The present tendency of things is for the island to pass into the hands of the blacks (p. 291)."

This single fact, (adds Mr. Bowditch in his reply to Dr. Peabody,) speaks volumes in favour of the foresight of the blacks. In the short space of seventeen years, the blacks have appropriated 300,000 acres,

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whilst the whites, who have had possession of the Island for centuries, have reduced under cultivation only 500,000 out of 4,000,000 of acres. At this time, the whole colored population is estimated at 384,000. So that nearly every adult male black must have acquired a freehold! In this way it is that slaves, by the touch of freedom, are converted into idle savages.

The following table of exports from the United States to the West Indies explains itself. The emancipation act was passed in 1838. The apprenticeship system was abolished August 1, 1838.

" Value of exports for the year ending June 30, 1835 - - - -	\$1,755,487
" " " " " " 1836 - - - -	1,748,855
" " " " " " 1845 - - - -	4,124,220
" " " " " " 1846 - - - -	4,947,557
" " " " " " 1850 - - - -	3,791,446

In other words, about three times as much of U. S. exports are consumed in the West Indies now, as were consumed in the days of Slavery.

At a meeting lately held in Liverpool, England, called to hear three highly respectable gentlemen lately from the Colony of Jamaica, J. B. Yates, Esq., is reported in the *Liverpool Mercury*, to have said:—

"The condition of the remainder of the population of Jamaica, which numbered perhaps, eight or ten times as many persons as the whites, was, he was happy to say, greatly ameliorated," and "no one could rejoice more than he did, at the happy and prosperous condition of the blacks."

The Rev. John Clark, a clergyman residing amongst them, says that "their advancement thus far has been highly satisfactory, and that, were a comparison to be made between their present and their previous state, it would be found that NO PEOPLE ON EARTH EVER MADE GREATER PROGRESS in the same length of time."

It has often been said that the touch of freedom will bring out their sensual propensities and unrestrained passions. What are the facts?

"In Antigua, where Slavery expired, and freedom came with the striking of a clock, for the nine years ending December, 31, 1832, there were only 157 marriages between slaves. Less than 200 marriages in 9 years in a population of 30,000! In 1833, the last year of Slavery, there were 61—whilst in 1835, the first whole year of freedom, there were 450 marriages duly solemnized. In 1834, not one-tenth of the adult population knew their letters. In 1837, six thousand children were attending school daily. The master in a Sabbath School in St. Johns said, that the sudden increase of his scholars after emancipation, could only be compared to the rising of the mercury, when the thermometer is moved from the shade into the sun."

Let us now glance at the results of Emancipation in the

#### FRENCH WEST INDIA COLONIES.

In a late number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in an article by Captain Bouet-Willamez, formerly Governor of Senegal, we

find the following facts. The Island of Martinique contains about 250,000 acres of surface, and a population of 120,000. The whites or creoles number about 9000, and own the most of the land and capital; the mulattoes are 9,700 in number, live in the towns, and support themselves by trades, &c.; the blacks number about 75,000. Emancipation took place in 1848, and during the ten years preceding, the exports of sugar averaged about 60,000,000 lbs. yearly. During the transition years, the exports decreased greatly; but in 1851, they rose to 51,500,000 lbs., and during the first three months of 1852 there was an export of 12,500,000, while the same period of 1851 exported only 9,000,000 lbs., thus promising to reach the average it had before Emancipation. The importations of this Island present equally gratifying results.

Guadeloupe has a population of about 129,000, composed of whites, colored men and blacks. During the ten years preceding Emancipation the average exports amounted to 73,000,000 lbs. sugar; in 1849, they fell to 39,000,000 lbs. In 1851, the exports rose to 45,000,000 lbs., and 1852 showed a still more gratifying result. A favourable change has also taken place in the importations.

Bourbon has a population of 103,000. During the decennial period preceding 1848, the annual average of the sugar production was 56,000,000 lbs. In 1848, it fell to 49,000,000 lbs., and the following year to 41,000,000 lbs., and it was expected that that of 1851, would reach the average of Slavery. The imports, which had fallen to 10,479,375f., rose in 1849, to 11,502,746f., and in 1850, to 15,715,084f., nearly the amount of 1847. These facts incontrovertibly prove that "liberty and laziness do not always go together, and that, under proper regulations and circumstances, negro slaves may be released from their brutal thralldom, without injury to themselves or their former proprietors."

#### CUBA.

We regret to say that England has not been so successful in her negotiations with Cuba, where, in spite of treaties and prohibitions, the Slave Trade still flourishes, and not, it is believed, without the connivance of the Spanish Government.

"In 1849 there arrived twenty vessels with 6,575, Africans. In 1850 seven vessels with 2,325, and in 1851 seven vessels with 3,687. These are matters of documentary evidence. During the same three years accurate investigation reveals an added number of 4,196, and from the brig *Hanover* built in New York and delivered in Cuba last summer, 650 slaves were landed in the last week of February at Sierra Morena; and to the eastward of Sagua la Grande, by vessels not yet known, 800, making a grand total of 18,233 slaves imported into Cuba during the last three years."

Neither the British Press nor the British Government, however, are silent upon the subject. The Spanish Government, it is alleged, are continually insisting, in their official communications to British Ministers, upon the dangers which surround the West India Colonies of

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Spain, and upon their own inadequate means of defence. But, says the *Times*,—

“If the Spanish Government wishes to obtain the earnest support of England in defence of those possessions, should they be menaced or attacked by any foreign power, the very first condition must be the cessation of that traffic which has enriched so many successive Captains General of Cuba, and has so long violated the most solemn obligations and promises of the Spanish Crown.” The *Daily News* announces “that the admiralty have lately issued orders to despatch several swift steamers to the coast of Cuba for the purpose of enforcing the treaty obligations; and their presence may also operate as a check upon any lingering disposition of invasion, should such a feeling anywhere exist.”

Lord Palmerston, in giving instructions to the British Minister at Madrid, in October 1851, uses the following language, after pointing out the success which attended the serious efforts of the Brazilian Government to fulfil their engagements in 1850:—

“A similar result would take place in Cuba and Puerto Rico, if a similar course were pursued by the Spanish Government; and her Majesty’s Government cannot but entertain a hope that the Cabinet of Madrid will at last awaken to a due sense of its duties and obligations, and will put an end to a system of crime and piracy which is a stain on the Spanish character and on the honour of the Spanish Crown. I have to desire, that your lordship will give a copy of this dispatch to the Spanish Minister.”

#### AFRICAN COAST.

Chiefly through the interference of Britain, the slave trade on the Coast of Africa is nearly extinguished.

“North of the Equator, for the distance of twenty-five hundred miles along the coast, the Slave trade has been utterly extinguished, with the exception of that carried on at Lagos, Poto Novo, and another factory on the Slave Coast. In fact, the whole trade on the Western coast of Africa, is now confined to these three points, and eight or ten factories in the Congo country, occupying a line of coast of less than three hundred miles in length. The old seats of the trade about the mouths of the Niger have been entirely broken up by the blockade, and the natives are now applying themselves exclusively to legitimate traffic in palm oil and other articles of commerce. The legitimate trade of the African coast, which formerly did not amount to £20,000 annually, has now increased to over £2,000,000. The number of vessels employed is not less than two hundred.”

We have thus presented a brief sketch of what has been done during the past year in Canada, on behalf of the colored race. We have also given a summary view of the chief movements in the United States, both in the way of perpetuating and of abolishing Slavery; as also a general account of what some other countries are doing for the Emancipation of that very large portion of the American Family who are still in bondage. (*See Appendix No. VII.*) In conclusion, while we have expressed our views in regard to the sin of slaveholding, strongly and faithfully, we disclaim all feelings of national prejudice or jealousy. We sincerely desire the well-being of the American Slaveholder, as well as of the Slave, and therefore do we seek to contribute our part to that healthy agitation

of the question which must finally accomplish its great aim. Christians of the North and of the South! philanthropists! men of conscience and faith in a just God! permit us to ask you, in the words of the *New York Tribune*:—

“How long, O how long, shall the horrible system which causes such atrocities be sustained by your sanction or connivance? How long will you, for the sake of office, or custom, or gain of any kind, lend a moral support to that which is the occasion as well as ‘the sum of all villainies?’ How long shall Democracy be shamed and the patience of Heaven derided by the existence and predominance of Slavery in ‘the Model Republic,’ in this nineteenth century after Christ? What are you doing to hasten its downfall?”

Friends of the Slave! of the final issue of the struggle in which you are engaged, there can be no doubt. He who liberated Israel from bondage will yet liberate the African. Before it be too late, may your warning voice reach the consciences of those who are provoking, to their own destruction, Him who “looks from the height of his sanctuary, to hear the groaning of the prisoner, and to loose the children of death,” in the advocacy of the cause of human freedom.

“Oppression shall not always reign:  
There comes a brighter day,  
When Freedom, burst from every chain,  
Shall have triumphant way.  
Then Right shall over Might prevail,  
And Truth, like hero, armed in mail,  
The hosts of tyrant wrong assail,  
And hold ETERNAL sway.”

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS HENNING,

Secretary.

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# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

The following extract from a sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, by the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Aghadowey, contains sentiments which we should like to see expressed by every Christian minister in every church:—

"I see no difficulty in coming to a righteous conclusion on a subject, on which our Scottish brethren have puzzled themselves with metaphysical distinctions. As there would be no difficulty about excluding from all fellowship of the church, thieves, murderers and socialists, I see no reason for holding communion with men in America, who hold their fellows in hopeless and degrading bondage. As we value the inhabitants of that land over which floats the star-spangled banner, which Irish Presbyterian hands so gloriously upheld—we should protest against it floating over any but the free. After, therefore, warning them of their guilt and danger, we should withdraw from them until they repent and reform. Should any person say that the Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian Churches are all alike guilty in this matter; instead of being influenced by the logic of numbers, we should reply, "We have not so learnt Christ." Certainly it would ill-become us, after breaking with the Establishment of Scotland on account of its Erastian bondage, to welcome to our fellowship men who claim property in man, who forbid access to the Bible, who, by a kind of compulsion, urge to impurity and claim the right of sporting with the lives of their fellow men. As all such abominations will doubtless vanish before the Millennium, it becomes us, as we desire to advance towards that era, to reprove sharply all who claim property in a creature who wears the aspect of humanity, and in his immortal nature, reflects the image of God. Let others conjure up difficulties regarding what, after all, is a plain question: but as Ireland never shared in the slave trade, and as Irish Presbyterians have always cherished a love of freedom—so long as we read in our Bible (Exod. xxi., 13), and "He that stealeth a man shall surely be put to death," "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," I trust we shall reject the fellowship of those who, by claiming property in man, set at nought the plainest maxims of the word of God. Let other Church courts modify their testimony, but as for us we have not so learnt Christ. Having unfurled our banner to aid in subduing the world to Christ, let there be no parley or compromise with Slavery; but rather an expression of our belief that the religion of Jesus repudiates such an alliance, and that in its progress it will overthrow all oppression—and say to each manacled Slave, both in a civil and religious sense, "Be thou free in the Lord."

## No. II.

### COLORED SEAMEN IN CHARLESTON.

"We are informed, upon the very best authority, that in 1851, thirty-seven British subjects were seized and incarcerated, and forty-two in the course of last year; and that there is no doubt of many free colored British subjects having been sold into slavery under the operation of this law, all traces of whom have been lost. The cases of Pereira and Roberts are, however, now being prosecuted, with a view of bringing the subject before the Supreme Court of the United States. The Legislature of South Carolina asserts its intention of resisting to the last any attempt to abate one jot or tittle of the law, alleging as its reason for making so resolute a stand, that an attempt has

been made to defy the law, and bring the States of North and South Carolina into conflict with the Federal Government. On the other hand Her Majesty's Government will allow the case to go on until the decision of the Supreme Court is known, when it will no doubt, in the event of an adverse verdict, take that course which is at once consistent with what is due to its own dignity, to the spirit of our treaties, and to the freedom of British subjects."—*London Anti-Slavery Reporter, for March, 1853.*

No. III.

EVILS OF SLAVERY.

The *North American Review* for October, 1851, which no Southerner ever accused of abolitionism, says :—

"There is the curse of Slavery; it allows the slave to rise as near to manhood as it dares, because the more intelligent labour is, the more profitable. But beyond this, it systematically represses all mental or moral culture, which would tend to awaken the instinct of freedom. It is not that the slave is not well fed and clothed, and cared for, as an animal; but that the institution of slavery maintains itself by preventing his rising above a condition half-way between the animal and the man. It is not that men in other conditions do not live in ignorance, and endure life-long deprivations; but that slavery is an institution which sustains itself only by systematically keeping on a degraded level those under its control, and must cease to exist, where any general and serious effort is made to raise the slave to a higher mental or moral level. And they who, for the sake of their personal comfort, ease, or gain, support, without attempting to change an institution like this, must expect to encounter the sober reprobation of the Christian world."

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON THE SOUTH.

Mr. Pulszky, in his late work, states the following in regard to the effects of Slavery on the South :—

"Free Schools cannot be established here, and newspapers have a very limited circulation; instruction is not widely spread, nor the spirit of enterprise diffused. Locomotion is scarce; railways therefore are not a very profitable investment for capital; they are slowly built, and canals are not heard of. Land is cheap, and yet it is not taken up. Compared with the Northern and the Western States, we find the South stagnant. Instead of an ever-busy and enterprising population, we see here on the plantations a kind of aristocracy, careless, large landed proprietors, whilst in the cities the middle classes are much below the level of the North. They lack commercial enterprise and manufacturing skill, and are morally and materially dependant on the planters."—*Pulszky—Red, White, Black—Vol. II., p. 52.*

(From the *Examiner, U. S., April 15, 1848.*)

All the South—		New York—	
Value of Cotton, Rice, Sugar, and Tobacco for 1839, - -	\$74,866,310	Agricultural products of 1839, - - - - -	\$108,275,281
VALUE OF ARTICLES MANUFACTURED.			
Slave States, - - - - -	\$42,178,184	Free States, - - - - -	\$197,658,040
ANNUAL EARNINGS.			
Slave States, - - - - -	\$403,429,718	Free States, - - - - -	\$658,705,108
N. & S. Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, - - - - -	\$189,321,719	New York, - - - - -	\$193,806,432

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## CHILDREN AT SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, &amp;C.

Slave States, - - - - - 301,172 | Free States, - - - - - 2,212,444

A young New Yorker, now on his first southern tour, and not yet cottonized by the new influences surrounding him, has written to one of the publishers of the New York *Tribune* an account of a slave auction he attended in Richmond. His letter has been published in that paper, from which we copy an extract :—

RICHMOND, VA., March 3, 1853.

Since I left New York I have seen the original Declaration of Independence, and I have seen it "illustrated" here in this place. Oh, my God! Oh, my country!!

I have been an eye-witness this morning to scenes such as have never been described, and never can. You and I have been told by some of the *doughfaces* of the North that the evils of Slavery are exaggerated. But they have not been half told, and I have neither the ability nor the heart to describe the scenes I have this moment come from witnessing.

I have spent two hours at the public sales of slaves. There are four of them, and all in the same street, not more than two blocks from the Exchange Hotel, where we are staying. These slave depots are in one of the most frequented streets of the place, and the sales are conducted in the building, on the first floor, and within view of the passers-by. There are small screens behind which the women of mature years are taken for inspection; but the men and the boys are publicly examined in the open store, before an audience of full one hundred. These examinations are carried on by various persons interested, and are enough to shock the feelings of the most hardened. You really cannot conceive that men in human form could conduct themselves so brutally; each scar or mark is dwelt upon with great minuteness—its cause, its age, its general effect upon the health, &c., &c., are questions asked and readily answered. I saw full twenty men stripped this morning, and not more than three or four of them had what they termed "clean backs," and some of them—I should think full one quarter of them—were scarred with the whip to such an extent as to present a frightful appearance; one in particular was so cut that I am sure you could not lay your finger on any part of his back without coming in contact with a scar. These scars were from the whip, and were from two inches to one foot in length. These marks damaged his sale; although only about 45 or 50 years old, he only brought \$460; but for these marks he would have brought \$750 to \$800.

I saw several children sold; the girls brought the highest price. Girls from 12 to 18 years old brought from \$500 to \$800. \* \* \* \* \*

But I cannot go further. This subject grows on my hands, and if I should only say half what I think and feel just at this time, I should tire your patience. I am *chuck full*, and shall reserve the overflow until I see you. But think me not untruthful from this unavoidable excitement. I don't tell half the truth. I have said nothing of the brutality of the audiences I saw at four of these auctions. I tell you for a truth that I saw full one hundred Legrees, and even worse than he.

## No. IV.

## AMALGAMATION.

"In those States of the Union where Emancipation has taken place, there is not the hundredth part of amalgamation, that is found in the Slave States."—*Rev. J. G. Fee.*"

"A Colony of blacks, three or four hundred, were settled in the County of Brown, a few miles from my residence in Ohio, and there has been but one Mulatto child born amongst them, as I am credibly informed, during the last 15 years. I repeat in the

words of Dr. Channing, it is a Slave County that reeks with licentiousness of this kind, and for proof I refer to the opinions of Judge Harper, of North Carolina, in his defence of Southern Slavery."—*Hon. Thomas Morris, in the Senate of the United States.*

"We" says the Editor of the *New York Tribune*, "travelled through Virginia in 1835 in company with a Mississippi overseer, who openly boasted of and chuckled over his triumphs in subjecting the enslaved girls under his control to the dominion of his lust, and this is but one illustration among many of a system which prevails wherever there is any necessity for resorting to force. Mrs. J. E. Swisshelm, of the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor*, in a late letter in reply to Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler, among many facts illustrating the abominations of Slavery which came under her notice during a two years' residence at Louisville, Kentucky, (where the system exists in its milder form) gives the following:—

"There I became acquainted with a lady 'to the manner born,' who used to tell me her causes of sorrow. One of these was that she had brought her husband a large fortune, which he had squandered in common with his own, and reduced her to comparative poverty. A second was, the loss of a waiting-maid, a wedding gift from her grandfather. This girl she described as beautiful, 'tall and straight as an arrow,' with finely moulded form and delicate features, hair which fell to her waist in natural ringlets, and large, soft eyes. The mistress was very proud of her little maid, but once, during a short absence of the wife, the husband and master had, by whipping and threatening, compelled the girl, then ten years old, to become his paramour. For four years she kept the girl in her family, knowing the relations she sustained to her husband, and also knowing they were wholly involuntary on her part. She looked to her mistress for protection from her master's brutality, and according to that mistress's own account, she had endeavoured to protect her, but in vain. Then, to use her own words, 'I got so I could not bear her in my sight, and she got saucy, so I sold her to go down South with a lady, and only got seven hundred dollars for her. Two years afterward she was up here with her mistress, and she had grown so tall I hardly knew her—as fine a looking girl as ever you saw, and they say she was easy worth two thousand dollars.'"

"This is a very brief history of number two of Mrs. —'s great and incurable sorrows. Number three was that a bachelor uncle had died intestate. She had been his favourite niece, and he had always promised to give her two boys—'two as beautiful boys', she assured me, as ever I 'had set my eye upon.' They were his own sons—their mother a mulatto slave, whom he had compelled by imprisonment, starvation and stripes to become his mistress. She had resisted almost to the death, because she loved a fellow-slave whom she wished to marry. The master's vigorous courtship prevailed, and she became the mother of the 'two beautiful boys' who were to have been a legacy to Mrs. —. She died of consumption while her children were quite young, and their father had loved them very much. It was his affection for them which had prompted his *benevolent* intention to give them to his favourite niece; but death came suddenly, and they were sold and divided with the rest of the estate.

"The lady who told me these particulars of her family history, was a regular member of the Methodist Church—a praying woman—and her quivering lip and clenched hands as she spoke of these matters, left no room to doubt the truth of her story, even if it had not been corroborated by all the circumstances of her life, and the testimony of others; yet this woman defended the institution of Slavery, with as much zeal as Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler, and with precisely similar arguments. She was a native of Kentucky. Her whole life had been spent there, and she had no conception of any other state of society. She felt personally injured, but was quite unable to trace that injury up to its true source, while the strange jumble of ideas in her mind about the unprotected state of female slaves—her bitter hatred of them for its consequences—her religious valuation of a soul, and money account of loss and profit in disadvantageous sales, proved the most perplexing psychological riddle I ever attempted to read.

\* \* \* "A bachelor merchant took advantage of the pecuniary difficulties of a native farmer, to compel him to sell a slave daughter, "Maria," a tall, bright qua-

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droon, whom he had educated for freedom. The purchaser brought Maria to the city, and established her in a well-furnished home; but she refused his conditions of peace and plenty—"meat twice a day and bread without stint"—so long that his patience as a suitor was worn out. He tried a bread and water regimen, keeping her locked in her chamber, and employing an old negro hag as a jailor; but still she spurned his suit. He brought his clerk to help him bring her to terms, and together they bound and scourged her until she was dripping with blood; but she was only aroused to phrenzy, and fearfully swore she would take her own life or his at the first opportunity, if he made her more than his servant, which she was resigned to be. The whipping was repeated again and again, but the neighbour women had got into the secret, and made a disturbance about it. Then he sent her to the work-house as a disobedient slave, and had her whipped by the public officer; but the case had been reported to some ladies who were aroused to compassion. They went to see her, and the master thought best to accept the offer of one to buy her; A lady from Louisiana purchased her and took her home."

## No. V.

## CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Let us present a few facts in regard to the free People of Color, who are generally regarded as an idle and improvident class. As early as 1829, Governor Giles of Virginia states in one of his letters to Lafayette, that "the proportion of annual convictions to the whole population, is as one to five thousand. This and other facts prove to demonstration—1st. That this class of the population is by no means so degraded, vicious and demoralized, as represented by their prejudiced friends; and 2nd., That the evils attributed to this caste are vastly magnified and exaggerated." Two or three years ago, the Society of Friends in Philadelphia appointed a committee to investigate their condition in that city. The result of this Report "exhibits a population to a considerable degree sober, industrious, and independent; steadily advancing in wealth and social improvements—supporting from its own resources, charitable and religious associations—exercising most of the handicraft arts—desirous of education and instruction, and possessing all the elements of civil respectability and social happiness."

During the last Summer, in a remonstrance presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania against the Acts brought forward to oppress them, the free blacks of the city and county of Philadelphia say:

" There are among us 120 Mutual Beneficial Societies, consisting of about 6,500 members, who expend annually for their sick and burying their dead	\$ 22,000
The amount of property in the city and districts,	800,000
Public Property,	148,000
Amount of House Rent paid,	239,000
Water Rents,	2,000
Volumes in Private Libraries,	20,000
do Public do	600
Debating Societies,	3

Average number of colored prisoners sent to the County Prison, from 1835 to 1840, 121; from 1840 to 1845, 94-8; from 1845 to 1848, 79-67.

Average number of the Colored Prisoners sent to the Penitentiary, from 1835 to 1840, 64-2; from 1840 to 1845, 41-8; from 1845 to 1848, 31.

Average number sent to both prisons, for the first five years, 185-2; for the second five years, 135-2; for the third five years, 110-67.

This is the entire number of people of color sentenced to hard labour in the prisons, and the rapid and steady decrease is certainly remarkable.

The following extract is taken from the able address issued by the convention of the free blacks of New York, recently held in Albany.

The cities of New York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburg, contain more than the third of the entire colored population of the State. A hurried investigation, in which many instances have been overlooked, and all the estimates rendered low, shows that coloured persons have invested in business carried on by themselves—

In New York City, - - - - -	\$755,000
In the city of Brooklyn, - - - - -	76,200
In the city of Williamsburg, - - - - -	4,900
Total, - - - - -	<u>\$839,200</u>

And that, apart from business, colored persons hold real estate, deducting incumbrances :

In the city of New York, - - - - -	\$733,000
In the city of Brooklyn, - - - - -	276,000
In the city of Williamsburg, - - - - -	151,000
Total, - - - - -	<u>\$1,160,000</u>

And these sums are distributed among a large number of individuals, engaged in business or holding real estate, no account being taken of personal property.

Twenty years ago, the same class held in these cities :

Real estate, - - - - -	\$350,000
Business investment, - - - - -	511,000
Total, - - - - -	<u>\$861,000</u>

That is to say, while this population has increased twenty-five per cent., its wealth has increased one hundred per cent.

As to the condition of the masses of our population in these cities, we adduce the respectable authority of the New York *Tribune* for the statement, that coloured beggars are extremely scarce in New York, except such as come from "the South, asking money wherewith to buy their own muscles, blood and bones."

By the second annual report of the governors of the Almshouse of New York, for the year 1850, it appears that there was expended by them during that year—

For the poor generally, - - - - -	\$606,642 60
For the colored poor, to wit :	
The Colored Home, - - - - -	\$7,664 58
Colored Orphan Asylum, - - - - -	2,607 13
Total, - - - - -	<u>\$10,271 31</u>

The Colored Home and Orphan Asylum contain all the colored poor dependant on public support, with a very few exceptions. From the above, it seems that one-fiftieth of the amount expended has been for the colored poor. In New York city, the colored population to the white, fairly estimated, is as one to 25; hence the colored population of that city are 27 per cent. less burdensome than is the white population, to the poor fund. And this happy state of things had arisen, in part, from the fact that the former class have mutual benefit societies, with a cash capital of \$30,000, from which they take care of their sick and bury their dead.

It is farther proof of the improved condition of the colored population, in the city of New York, that the proportion of deaths among them decreased, gradually, from 1 in 22 in 1821 to 1 in 41 in 1845, which latter has been about the proportion since the last date; and statistis agree that the mortality of a people is always a fair measurer of their comforts.

The sending of children to school is a fair test of the intelligence of a people. During the year 1850, there were 3,393 colored children in attendance in common schools, in New York city, which is nearly the same proportion as there were white children attending the same class of schools.

In Cincinnati, there are 2,049 free colored people. "One thousand of these," says the Rev. J. G. Fee, Kentucky, "are Church members, 509 belong to Temperance Societies, 369 have been slaves, for whose redemption there was paid (chiefly by themselves) the sum of \$166,050. They hold property in the city to the amount of \$150,100. They have 5 churches, 3 literary societies, and 3 schools." The Legislature of Michigan having appointed a committee to report upon the propriety of extending the right of suffrage to colored men, stated, "Your Committee has been assured by citizens of Detroit, well qualified to judge, and entitled to full credit, that the moral habits of this people are better than those of an average and equal number of whites. The colored people of Detroit number about 300. It has 2 churches, 2 sabbath schools, a day school, a temperance society, a female benevolent society, a young men's lyceum and debating society. Over 250 regularly attend the churches. The same facts were also shown in regard to the colored population of Washtenau. In that county, there are many farmers of the highest respectability. They are independent in circumstances, good citizens, encouragers of schools, churches, and morality."

## No. VI.

## FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

"To the Southerners who expect from it the indefinite continuation of Slavery, I would show an antique bronze badge in my possession, with the inscription—"Jussione DDD NNN, ne quis servum fugientem suscipiat." By the Decree of our three Lords, no one shall harbour a fugitive slave. The three Lords were the Emperor Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius. They had also enacted a severe fugitive Slave Law; and in their time, the slaves had to wear such badges, with the warning inscription upon them. And yet Slavery ceased in the Roman Empire shortly afterwards, though the slaves were of a different race from the owners. They were uncivilized barbarians, unfit for the social order of the Empire, but bondage could not be maintained long, and the fugitive Slave law accelerated the emancipation."—*Pulszky, vol. ii. p. 65.*

## APPENDIX.

## No. VII.

PROBABLE NUMBER OF COLORED PEOPLE IN THE  
NEW WORLD.

United States	3,650,000
Brazil	4,050,000
Spanish Colonies	1,470,000
South American Republics	1,130,000
British Colonies	750,000
Haiti	850,000
French Colonies	270,000
Dutch Colonies	50,000
Danish Colonies	45,000
Mexico	70,000
Canada	35,000
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	12,370,000

Of these, seven millions and a half are in slavery in the United States, Brazil, and the Spanish and Dutch Colonies; one quarter of a million in process of emancipation in the South American Republics; and the remainder, four millions six hundred and twenty thousand are free.