

30

NINTH ANNUAL REPORT


OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY:

WITH

AN APPENDIX, LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, &c.

THIS SOCIETY WAS INSTITUTED, 12TH DEC. 1833, AND ITS OBJECTS ARE,
TO PROMOTE THE UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE;
TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES;
AND TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF OUR FELLOW-SUBJECTS, THE NATIVES OF
BRITISH INDIA.

 *Those who receive this Report will be so good as read it carefully, and
give it the widest possible circulation among their friends.*

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY DAVID RUSSELL, 75, ARGYLL STREET;

AND SOLD BY

GEO. GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET; JOHN M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET;

AND OTHER BOOKSELLERS;

AND BY WILLIAM & ROBERT SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

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ANNUAL MEETING.

GLASGOW, 1st August, 1843.

THE Ninth Annual Meeting of the Members and Friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, was held this Evening, in the Relief Chapel, John Street.

On the motion of James Turner, Esq., of Thrushgrove, ALEXANDER HASTIE, Esq., one of the Magistrates of the City, was unanimously called to the Chair.

The Chairman having, in a few remarks, opened the business, called upon Mr Murray, one of the Secretaries, to read the Annual Report. The Treasurer's Statement of the Accounts having also been read, it was—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Dr. Willis*, and seconded by *Bailie Turner* :—

“ That the Report now read, be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the Committee.”

II. Moved by *MacGregor Laird, Esq.*, and seconded by *Mr R. Wright* :—

“ That from the earliest period of the Anti-Slavery contest, the opinion that Free Labour, all other things being equal, is cheaper than Slave Labour, has been held, demonstrated, and received as an axiom by the Anti-Slavery body; and this Society hereby affirms and maintains the truth of such proposition.

“ That it is the duty of this Society to support all plans by which this great truth may be practically brought into operation, provided such plans are consistent with the ‘ moral, religious, and pacific principles ’ solemnly

avowed to be the basis on which this and other similar Societies are formed.

“ That the Slave-trade carried on across the Atlantic is caused by the demand in the western world for Slaves to cultivate Sugar, Coffee, and other tropical productions ; and that it is the opinion of this Society that the only ‘ moral, religious, and pacific ’ plan to destroy that demand for Slaves is to produce at a cheaper rate, by Free Labour, the Sugar, &c., now raised by the labour of Slaves, it being self-evident that when that is accomplished the Slave-trade must of necessity cease.

“ That the free tropical Colonies of Great Britain in the West Indies have abundance of fertile land unoccupied, which only requires labour and capital to render it productive, and that if they possessed a sufficiently numerous population, they would produce Sugar, &c., cheaper than in those countries cultivated by the labour of Slaves.

“ That it has been sufficiently established that the African race, of all others, are constitutionally best suited for agricultural labour in the Tropics, and that it is desirable that any addition to the existing population of the British Colonies should be of the Negro race.

“ That in the opinion of this Society it is highly desirable that such an addition should be made to the population of the British West Indies as would enable them to undersell the Slaveholder in the markets of the world. That in order to do so, it is essential that all restrictions on *the Free Emigration of the Negro race from all parts of the Coast of Africa to the British West Indies be removed*, providing that such Emigration shall only be carried on by her Majesty’s Government *on the basis of perfect freedom* ; and that at all times the Emigrant shall have a right to demand a free passage from the Colonies to the place from whence he came.

“ That the following Petition, embodying these Resolutions, be presented to both Houses of Parliament :”—

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,

THE PETITION OF THE MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, IN PUBLIC MEETING ASSEMBLED,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,—That your Petitioners have, for many years, been associated together for the purpose of abolishing Slavery and the Slave-trade ; and they deeply regret that they have now to approach your Honourable House, to state that it is their solemn conviction, that the condition of the Negro race in Slavery becomes yearly more wretched and degraded, that the Slave-trade continues to be carried on under circumstances of aggravated cruelty,—increasing in intensity in exact proportion with the additional means used by her Majesty’s Government in attempting forcibly to suppress it ; and while Africa continues uncivilized and comparatively unknown—exposed to

the ravages of the Slave-trade—a disgrace to all countries professing Christianity.

That your Petitioners believe that the system of kidnapping and warfare, which has disorganized and desolated Africa, is occasioned by the demand for Slaves, to export principally to the Brazils and Spanish West Indies, to cultivate Sugar, and other tropical productions. That while that demand exists, all attempts to civilize Africa, by European or native agency, will fail; but that when it is destroyed, the great obstacle to civilization will be removed.

That your Petitioners have carefully watched the practical operation of the various treaties for the suppression of the Slave-trade, entered into by her Majesty's Government with Foreign Powers, and believe, that while they have increased the cruelties of the Slave-trade, by making it a smuggling one, they have never yet been found to diminish the supply of Slaves to the Brazils or Spanish West Indies, or to enhance the cost, so as to check the demand for them in any perceptible degree,—and your Petitioners are supported in this opinion by her Majesty's late Secretary of State for the Colonies, who stated,—"To repress the Foreign Slave-trade by a marine guard, would scarcely be possible, if the whole British Navy could be employed for that purpose." "Her Majesty's advisers are, therefore, compelled to admit the conviction, that it is indispensable to enter upon some new Preventive System." (*Niger Expedition Papers*, p. 1, 1843.) By Messrs. Macaulay and Doherty, her Majesty's Judges of the Mixed Commission Court, who, in their Dispatch of the 31st December, 1838, recommended her Majesty's Government to treat all nations as British subjects, if found engaged in the Slave-trade—stating this country's "Only other alternative is, retiring at once from a contest which she has so long waged,—baffled, beaten, and insulted by a set of lawless smugglers; or wilfully continuing to sacrifice thousands of valuable lives, and millions of money, with the full knowledge that the only result of farther efforts will be, fresh triumphs to the Slave-traders, and the increased misery of their victims:—"—And by Sir Fowell Buxton, who states, in his work on the Slave-trade, "Millions of money and multitudes of lives have been sacrificed, and, in return for all, we have only the afflicting conviction, that the Slave-trade is as far as ever from being suppressed." "Once more, then, I must declare my conviction, that the Slave-trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued."—pp. 203, 205.

That your Petitioners have for many years observed the progress of the British Colony of Sierra Leone, founded in 1787, "for the purpose of teaching the natives to give up the Slave-trade on a religious principle, and to substitute for that Trade, a more legitimate commerce," and regret to state that it has utterly failed in affecting the Slave-trade in its immediate vicinity, in extending commerce and civilization, or in spreading Christianity among the surrounding nations,—in corroboration of which opinion, they beg to refer your Honourable House to the Report of Captain B. Hallowell, in 1803; of Admiral Sir J. L. Yeo, in 1816; of the Commissioners of Enquiry, in 1827; of the Select Committee on Sierra Leone and Fernando Po, in 1830; and to the Report of her Majesty's Commissioner, in 1842.

That the Naval Expedition sent out to the River Niger in 1841, for the purpose, as stated by Lord John Russell, of "Arresting the Slave-trade at its source," has returned without effecting that object.—(*Niger Expedition*, p. 1, 1843.)

That your Petitioners believe, the only effectual way to destroy the demand

for Slaves, which created, and keeps up the Slave-trade, to abolish Slavery in Africa, and throughout the world, is to produce at a cheaper rate, by Free Labour, the Sugar, Coffee, Cotton, &c., at present raised by the labour of Slaves. That owing to the unhealthiness of the African climate, European capital and skill cannot be applied to the African soil, to raise such produce by Free Labour; but, that in the British West Indies there exists abundance of fertile land, where the European and Negro races may meet on terms of mutual safety,—and, by uniting the skill and capital of the one with the labour of the other, Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton can be raised at a less cost than in any part of the world cultivated by Slave Labour;—that it is self-evident when that is done, Slavery and the Slave-trade must, of necessity, cease. And that it is in the power of your Honourable House to accomplish this great result by removing all restrictions from, and granting facilities to, the Free Emigration of the Negro race from all parts of the Coast of Africa, to Her Majesty's Colonies.

That the Emigration at present carried on by Her Majesty's Government between Sierra Leone and the West Indies, is not a free Emigration,—a system of Passports, Public Notices, Registration, and Fees, (Instructions to Emigration Agents in Sierra Leone,) having been established in the former place, which restrain, and, in many cases, amount to a denial of the inalienable right of the Negro race to exercise that free will in removing from one place to another, which peculiarly distinguishes the Free man from the Slave,—that, at the same time, these regulations prevent Her Majesty's Colony becoming a refuge for the African who might escape from oppression and Slavery, and have a direct tendency to perpetuate Slavery in the surrounding nations.

That limiting the Emigration to the Colony of Sierra Leone, situated as it is to windward of the most populous parts of Africa, and having no communication with the interior, amounts in practice to Her Majesty's Government acting as a Police force to the African Slave-dealer and holder, and virtually refuses to the Negro race that refuge and security from Slavery and oppression, which, in the opinion of your Petitioners, it is the duty and the policy of this Country to afford them.

That your Petitioners pray your Honourable House to abolish all such restrictions and limitations on the freedom of the African race, and to substitute in place thereof a system, which shall offer in all parts of the Coast of Africa, that refuge and protection now denied them, and to those who may be desirous to Emigrate, a free passage to the British West Indies, with the right to claim a free return at all times to the place from whence they came.

That your Petitioners, after mature consideration, are of opinion, that within a few years after the public and declared adoption of such a system on the coast of Africa, it would be impossible for a Slave-dealer to procure a cargo of Slaves, except from the Portuguese Settlements, as the Slaves on the coast would speedily emancipate themselves, and those in the interior would take refuge on the coast,—and that the African race, being remarkable for their acquisitiveness and industry, the guarantee of the British Government of a free return to their own country, would be sufficient to induce an ample supply of Free Negroes to emigrate to the West Indies in search of employment.

That your Petitioners have carefully compared the productive power of the Free labourers in British Guiana, with that of the Slave labourers in the Island of Cuba, as stated in a Dispatch of Sir H. Light (*Par. Papers*, 1842) and in "*Turnbull's Cuba*," (pp. 115 and 151) and find, that 25,000 Free Agricultural Labourers in Guiana raised 30,000 tons of Sugar, and supposing one-half of the

356,000 Slaves in Cuba to be effective and employed in the cultivation of Sugar, 178,000 Slaves in 1837 raised only 100,000 tons, proving that the labour of one free man is more than equivalent to the labour of two Slaves. That it further appears, from the best authorities, that for every efficient Slave landed in Cuba, two others are sacrificed in his capture, passage, and seasoning. It is therefore demonstrable, that every free Negro who Emigrates to British Guiana destroys the demand for four Slaves, with all the horrors attendant on procuring them, and that the Annual Emigration of Fifteen Thousand Free Negro Labourers, to Her Majesty's Colonies, would destroy the existing Slave-trade, supposing the number of its victims to amount at present to 60,000 per annum.

That your Petitioners believe, that if your Honourable House will be pleased to adopt such measures, the people of this country now suffering under the severest privations, would be relieved from the expense of keeping up Naval Preventive Squadrons, Mixed Commission Courts, and liberated African Departments, (estimated to cost £300,000 annually,) which have been proved, after twenty-four years' experience, to be useless as a preventive against Slavery and the Slave-trade, and only beneficial to the parties procuring places and pensions through them—which will, by increasing the production, so lower the price of Sugar, that all classes of Her Majesty's subjects may be able to procure it, and, at the same time, increase the markets for British Industry, by filling Her Majesty's Colonies in the West Indies with a Free Negro peasantry, and, by their re-emigration to Africa, creating the taste for, and extending the consumption of our Manufactures, throughout that immense Continent, and eventually destroying, by peaceable and moral means, Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world.

III. Moved by the *Rev. Dr. Burns* of Paisley, and seconded by *Dr. John Maxwell* :—

“ That this Meeting rejoice in the cordial reception given to their friend and representative, Mr George Thompson, by the natives of British India ; express their warmest thanks for the information he has communicated relative to his proceedings and prospects of future usefulness to our fellow-subjects in that interesting country ; and entertaining entire confidence in the principle of applying the produce of *Free Labour* to compete with and undersell Slave Labour products, and thus compel the Slaveholder to resort to Free Labour, and emancipate his Slaves ; and regarding the powerful influence which the extended cultivation of COTTON, SUGAR, AND OTHER TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS IN INDIA is calculated to have upon the Abolition of Slavery, and, consequently, of the Slave-trade, in the United States of America, the Brazils, and Cuba ; they trust that Mr Thompson will endeavour to acquire the fullest information upon that important subject ; and this Meeting hereby convey to him the assurance of their fervent wishes for his abundant success, and safe return to his native country.”

An Adjournment till To-morrow Evening having been proposed and agreed to unanimously, the Meeting separated.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, *August 2d.*

On the motion of John B. Ross, Bailie TURNER was called to the Chair.

IV. Moved by *Henry C. Wright*, the Anti-War Lecturer from Philadelphia, United States, and seconded by *Mr John Murray*:—

“That this Meeting most sincerely rejoice in the fact, that Ten Millions of Slaves in British India were, by an act of the Indian Government, in April last, released from Slavery, as if by a stroke of the pen, and they feel it to be their duty to record their gratitude to God for this signal instance of His mercy to the oppressed; and to take courage, and proceed in this good work, in the use of every ‘Christian and constitutional means,’ believing that, in his own good time, God will bless all efforts for the overthrow of Slavery throughout the world.”

V. Moved by the *Rev. John Dickinson*, Independent Minister, and seconded by *Mr William Ferguson*:—

“That this Meeting regard with delight and admiration the unceasing exertions of the Abolitionists of the United States of America to promote the Abolition of Slavery, and its host of attendant evils, of which *prejudice against Colour* is not the least; and, while they regret that the adverse circumstances against which their American brethren have to contend, prevent their labours being crowned with more successful results, they rejoice that in the results of the past year there are two trophies—the repeal of the obstructions to the intermarriage of whites with coloured people, and the establishing of it as a point of constitutional law that the Governments in the several States cannot be used by Slaveholders to seize and return their runaway Slaves—which hold out to them sufficient encouragement to proceed in the glorious struggle until not a Slave shall be found in any of the States.”

VI. Moved by *MacGregor Laird, Esq.*, and seconded by *Henry C. Wright*:—

“That this Meeting regards the enlightened principles of Free Trade as calculated to have the most beneficial effects upon society universally, in melting down the prejudices and differences which separate man from

R E P O R T.

THE Anniversary of Slave Emancipation—or rather of that Act of the British Legislature, which inflicted its death-blow upon the system of Slavery in the British West Indies—requires your Committee to produce the Ninth Annual Report of their proceedings, and of the progress of the cause for the past year. The proceedings of your Committee, since the publication of the last Report, may be comprehended in a few words. They petitioned Parliament against a clause in the Ashburton Treaty, the tendency of which was, to throw difficulties in the way of Slaves who may escape from the United States to Canada.

• They sent out as a Free-Emigrant to Trinidad, a young Negro lad, named George Sanchez, who had escaped from Slavery in Cuba. They also sent one of the Secretaries as a Delegate to the Convention held in London, in June last, and appointed several others, especially MacGregor Laird, Esq., who had visited the coast and interior of Africa, and elected him an Honorary and Corresponding Member of the Society; and he introduced the subject of Free African Emigration to the Convention; some account of which will be found in the Appendix.

Regarding the progress of the Abolition cause, we have to record the Abolition of Slavery in India, by which upwards of Ten Millions were very quietly set free in April last. In the United States of America, all we can say here is, that the Abolitionists have relaxed none in their exertions; but have been zealously and unceasingly diligent and active; although we find but few great or extensive measures to record.

Massachusetts, as usual, has distinguished itself, and set an example to the other States. The Abolitionists have obtained

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., OF WHITEHILL.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. DR. KIDSTON, J. DENNISTOUN, Esq., M.P., J. OSWALD, Esq., M.P.

THOMAS GRAHAME, Esq., REV. WM. ANDERSON.

JOHN MURRAY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

WILLIAM SMEAL, *Recording Secretary and Treasurer.*

Committee.

Rev. William Auld.

John Eadie.

John Edwards.

John Graham.

George Jeffray.

William Lindsay.

James M'Tear.

George Rose.

Dr. Willis.

Messrs. Ebenezer Anderson.

John Barr.

William Brodie.

William Brown.

James Bruce.

Peter Bruce.

Walter Buchanan.

Robert Connell.

James Dunn.

William Ferguson.

John Fleming.

John A. Fullarton.

William Gunn, Jun.

William Lang.

Henry Langlands.

Messrs. William Lohead.

Anthony M'Keand.

William M'Leod.

Robert Mathie.

John Maxwell, M.D.

Colin M'Dougall.

Hugo Muir.

Andrew Paton.

John Reid.

Robert Reid.

John B. Ross.

David Russell.

Robert Sanderson.

James Stewart.

George Thorburn.

James Turner.

John Ure.

Archibald Watson.

George Watson.

James Watson.

Thomas Watson.

Ronald Wright.

Andrew Young.

Honorary and Corresponding Members.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq.

RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHAM.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P.

REV. PATRICK BREWSTER, Paisley.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., Boston, New England.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq., New York.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., do.

JAMES M'CUNE SMITH, M.D., do.

JAMES JOHNSTON, Esq., Frammingham, Massachusetts.

M. GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE, } Paris.

M. VICTOR DE TRACEY,

DWARKANATH TAGORE, Esq., Calcutta.

MACGREGOR LAIRD, Esq., London.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, Philadelphia.

influential from circumstances or number, with its importance, we must leave it to them to urge their respective Governments to carry that Emancipation into effect. It may also materially tend to promote the cause, if we can, at the same time, induce our Government to use its influence on this subject in its negotiations with Foreign Powers."

Experience has fully verified our anticipation of the difficulties to be encountered, in appealing to Foreign Powers on such a subject; of the probable inefficiency of such appeals; and of the tardy progress which might be expected, by endeavouring to impress its importance upon even a few comparatively influential individuals. We have seen how long a time, and what efforts were required by such means to leaven with Abolition sentiments the mass of the people in our own country; where, "with all its faults," there is perhaps as much liberty of public expression as any where else—that boasted land of Liberty and Slavery—not Equality—the United States of America, not excepted.

It is comparatively but few influential individuals that we, or any other Society, can efficiently reach in Foreign countries holding Slaves. Even in the United States of America, when we sent out our George Thompson to propagate such sentiments, the mass declaimed against "*Foreign interference*," and offered a reward for his head; and although for several years past, many of their own citizens—most excellent men, and women, too—have zealously advocated Abolition; yet, may we not ask, what effect have these several years of labour in the cause, had upon the condition or hopes of the Slaves as to Emancipation? That it is nearer, by so many years, cannot be doubted or denied; but, may it not be said, that so it might have been had there been no such advocacy? What impression has such advocacy made upon the Slaveholders? have they, in any degree, relaxed in the exercise of cruelty to their Slaves?—or rather, is there not too good reason to fear, that as our efforts to abolish the Slave Trade have caused greater cruelty on the middle passage, than when the Trade was legal, so are the Slaveholders more vigilant, harsh, and cruel to their Slaves, than before, so as to keep them more in subjection? Are their masters more disposed than formerly, to give or to allow them to get any education to prepare them for Emancipation, for which they declare they are unfit, and some even that they were never intended to be free? Are they in any degree more convinced of the iniquity of keeping their fellow-men in Slavery?—rather do they not still, aye, and more emphatically, with

from the State Legislature, the repeal of the obnoxious inter-marriage law,—a law fraught with gross injustice, arising from prejudice against colour,—and which prevented whites and blacks from intermarrying, according to their choice. They have also got it decided, as a point of constitutional law, that the Governments in the several States cannot be used by Slaveholders to seize and return their run-away Slaves. This arose out of the case of one George Latimer, who was arrested in his escape from Slavery, and detained in jail, at Boston, but, by this decision, rescued from jail and Slavery, through the zeal of the Abolitionists.

These may be said to comprehend the most prominent points in the progress of the cause.

From the position of the Society now in regard to the countries where Slavery still exists, and also to those who carry on the Slave Trade, it cannot be expected that we shall have much to record as to our transactions with these countries.

Nine years ago, when, upon the Abolition of Slavery, by the introduction of the Apprenticeship system into the British West India Colonies, the designation of the friends of Abolition associated in this City was changed from “the Anti-Slavery Society,” to “the Glasgow Emancipation Society,” and its object extended, from the Total Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, to the Extinction of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world; it was remarked, in the first Report of the Society, “that the measures which it is in the power of the Society to adopt, in the promotion of their object, should be fairly considered, before an accurate estimate can be formed of their results.” It was added—“It must be remembered, that it is now with Foreign Powers holding Slaves that our business lies, and that the measures to be adopted in each particular case must be carefully and judiciously considered; must be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of each, and be prudently and cautiously pursued. The jealousy of Foreign interference, so natural to every State, precludes us from resorting to such measures with Foreign Slaveholding Powers as we brought to bear on our own Government. We have no reason to expect that a direct appeal from us to these Governments would be listened to. Hence, the only course left open for us, is, to use every means we can to induce the subjects of Foreign States to consider with the attention which it demands, the question of the Emancipation of their fellow-subjects from Slavery; and, if we succeed in impressing a portion of them,

utterly fruitless, the latter especially,—for we would still be willing to co-operate in such measures—yet we hesitate not to say, that if we really wish a speedy extinction of Slavery and the Slave Trade, we must lay our account to adopt some other more efficient measures along with these. As we said in our Seventh Annual Report, we would “adopt every Constitutional and Christian means in our power to abolish Slavery.”

Seeing, then, the folly and futility of depending alone upon the means referred to above, and seeing that Slavery and the Slave Trade may be regarded as Mercantile speculations, which some men recklessly drive at the expense of the liberty, and at an immense amount of suffering to their fellowmen, and holding, in common with other Anti-Slavery bodies in the kingdom, the Principle—which none have done more to disseminate or speculate upon than the “British and Foreign Society,” and none seem less inclined to act upon it—that *Free labour is cheaper than Slave labour*, and aware of the powerful influence men’s interests have over their actions, we are disposed in every way we can, to countenance such means as will bring Slaveholders to see, and to feel too, that it is their interest to prefer employing their Slaves as freemen, and thus to abolish Slavery and consequently the Slave Trade.

The most prominent measures at present before the Anti-Slavery public, by which this principle may be brought to bear upon Slaveholding States, are the extended cultivation, by *Free labour*, of Sugar, Cotton, and other Tropical productions, in the East and West Indies. All that is wanted in the former country, to carry out this cultivation to an immense extent, is capital, enterprize, and judicious management; for there is abundance of land, and labour is cheap: and but little of the agricultural labour there was performed by Slaves.

We need hardly remind our constituents that George Thompson proceeded to that country soon after our last Annual Meeting was held, and all we are able to state at present, is, that he is labouring assiduously to promote the interests, and improve the condition of the Natives of India—one of the objects of this Society—and with which the interests of the people of this country are intimately connected; but particulars of his movements will be found in the Appendix to the Report.

In the West Indies, labour *also* is wanted.—But it must be known to those who have read the Appendix to the last Report, that a Scheme is in progress for supplying that desideratum. And, if it is gratifying to Anti-Slavery feelings to find the former Slaves now the *Free labourers* of our Colonies, it must

the help of their Ministers, their Presbyteries, and Synods, quote Scripture in support and defence of their wickedness—of what they, sarcastically, we should think, call the “Patriarchal Institution.” Have any qualms of conscience appeared, and are there any instances of Emancipation, in consequence? Let it not be said that the law prohibits Emancipation in the States. It does not prohibit removing them to Canada, by which act a deed of Emancipation would be dispensed with. But do they not rather watch them more closely, lest they should make their way to that land of liberty, and even hunt them out with blood-hounds when they attempt to escape? “If such things are done in the green tree, what may we expect in the dry?” If so little or no fruits are to be found from such zealous advocacy in enlightened, christianized America, what may we expect in Spain, Brazils, and even in France, where there is no such public advocacy; and where, with all that has been done to enlighten influential individuals, no such advocacy would be permitted.

And what have the Governments of these countries done to abolish Slavery? Nothing—nothing effectual, unless speeches on the subject, or Treaties made like pye-crusts, to be broken, are to be so considered. We *hear* indeed of *progress*,—other Societies, who are perhaps more in the secret, or can penetrate farther than we into dark subjects, or are of more sanguine temperament, profess to see indications of progress, and congratulate themselves and the public on the result, as we would have been ready to do in times past, and would still, were any such signs really visible to us. But we suspect we have been too ready to believe what we were inclined to wish, and have thus only deceived ourselves. Therefore, if the result we look forward to, is to depend upon convictions made upon Slaveholding individuals or Governments, by the use of such means *alone*, we fear that, much as we respect such labours and the labourers, as honouring to Christian principle, and far as we would be from wishing such labours to cease, yet we must look forward to many years’ toil, before we can reasonably expect, in the ordinary course of things, to find these labours crowned with the desired success—before we and other co-operating Societies can make—if ever they are able to make—such impressions upon them, as will result in the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

We, too, have had some share in Memorials to Governments, and Remonstrances to Christians in Slaveholding States; and while we by no means regard these either as

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ON Tuesday evening, the 1st of August, the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Members and Friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* was held in the Rev. William Anderson's Church, John Street. The meeting was highly respectable. On the platform were many of the leading Abolitionists of this City, who have ever taken a deep interest in the cause of Emancipation. Great satisfaction was felt at the presence of M^rGregor Laird, Esq., the friend and companion of Lander, and H. C. Wright, Esq., a staunch Abolitionist from America.

On the motion of Mr TURNER, the chair was taken by Bailie Hastie.

The CHAIRMAN, after thanking the meeting for the honour done him, said the object of their Association was the Abolition of Slavery throughout the world, the improvement and protection of the Aboriginal inhabitants of our Colonies, and the advancement of our fellow-subjects in India. A more appropriate day for their Anniversary Meeting than that on which they had assembled could not have been chosen, seeing it was also the Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in our West India Colonies. (Cheers.) One great object which the Society had adopted had his full and entire concurrence, the promotion of Free Emigration from Africa to the West Indies. There could, in his opinion, be no better way of promoting the Abolition of Slavery; for by this means they would be able to convince the Slaveholder that Free Labour was in every respect more profitable than that which he derived from the Slave. (Cheers.)

Mr MURRAY, one of the Secretaries, read the Report of the Directors for the past year.

Mr SMEAL read the Treasurer's Report; and then intimated that he had received a letter from their venerable and esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Kidston, whose turn it was, as one of the Vice-Presidents, to have taken the chair; but who stated that, on account of his age and infirmities, he was unable to be present among them, though his heart was ardent in the cause, and he implored the blessing of God upon the labours of the Society. Mr Smeal also intimated the receipt of a letter from the Rev. Mr Harvey of Calton, who was absent on account of family affliction. He need not tell them how often they had been indebted to Mr Harvey for important services in the cause—and he was sure they would all agree with him in an expression of sympathy towards their absent friend, under the present trying dispensation.

Mr SMEAL then read a letter from Mr George Thompson, giving the latest account of his proceedings in India.

Dr. WILLIS then addressed the Meeting, and moved that the Report be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the Committee.

also, we should think, be no less gratifying to find, that our Colonial agriculture may be extended by a *Free Emigration* from the same source from which the former Slaves were supplied. Besides the influence upon the Abolition of Slavery and consequently of the Slave Trade, which this Scheme will have by the competition of Free labour produce with that of Slave labour; the friends of the Africans will be gratified to contemplate the progressive advancement to civilization which will thus accrue to the African Emigrants, and from them to their countrymen, when they return home—for they are to be provided with a free passage out and home. Your Committee felt it to be their duty to support this measure at the late Convention in London, although it was rejected by its leaders, and of course, by the Convention. But for further particulars regarding this measure, we must also refer to the Appendix.

Upon the whole, there is no reason to despond. Great Britain has now cleared herself of that remnant of Slavery in the East, with which she was reproached by Slaveholding States, and there is no reason to fear that when Free labour is allowed to have fair play and is properly managed, it will be found to be quite a match for Slave labour. There are several strong proofs of this, which, when brought to bear upon the Slaveholders will induce them to let their Slaves go free. An argument of this kind—the argument of the pocket—is very powerful upon mercenary minded men, and we doubt not, will prevail and that soon, if judiciously applied.

In conclusion, your Committee trust, that their constituents, as heretofore, will sustain them in their efforts in this cause of righteousness and humanity; until, through the blessing of God, the last chain be broken from the limbs of the last Slave on the face of the globe; for, until *that* is accomplished, the labours of this, and of kindred institutions, cannot and should not cease.

interest, in the returns that may flow from the longest period of toil and oppression. (Cheers.) Even the Apprenticeship System gave proofs of this truth; and, in the case of hospitals and public charities, it had been found to operate in the same way; when young people were sent out to labour during long apprenticeships, it was found that their labour did not turn out in a suitable proportion compared with others, or that, generally speaking, they became a credit to those who made the experiment. The greater hope a person had of attaining through toil to its legitimate fruits, comparative ease and comfort, the greater heart would he give to the work in which he was engaged; this was a principle in all spheres of labour, and the case of the Slave was no exception. (Hear.) But this was the lowest view in which the case could be argued, though with many it was the most important argument after all; and it was to be hoped that the argument, such as it was, would speedily come to tell upon those who still supported the horrid Slave System; for he grieved to say, and it was lamentable to think, that a land which had so much of liberty and of light as America possessed, still indulged in this abominable and unjust traffic. (Hear, hear.) However much they might regret this, still they had no reason to deal in unsparing animadversion of America. America was far behind Britain in the period during which she had sustained this amount of blood. (Hear.) Centuries had passed over the head of Britain with the guilt of that blood unrepented of, and the unholy practice unabandoned of buying and selling the bodies and the very souls of men. (Cheers.) Though they had achieved—thanks to God in the first instance, while they would not forget the instrumentality by which it had been won—though they had achieved deliverance from that sin which had dishonoured our national character, they had no cause to look down upon America—but should expect, and he trusted they would not expect in vain, that the example which had been set by Britain would, ere many years, tell upon the system of Slavery in that country. (Cheers.) Though they might, perhaps, be as indisposed as ever to listen to the arguments urged upon this question, he could not help thinking that, with the rapidity of communication between one country and another, and the more easy extension of intelligence which now prevailed, the effect must be greater upon America; and he could not doubt that soon a system so accursed of heaven would be a thing only to be remembered—a thing that had passed away—and had no place in the laws and customs of that country. (Cheers.) The power of religion would ultimately exert upon the system an influence which would lead to its destruction; for he could never forget that it was to religion they owed that redemption which had rescued so many of their fellow-creatures from that grievous bondage, spiritual as well as physical bondage, with which they were oppressed. (Cheers.) He could not forget that it was to the circulation of Christian truth, and to Christian influence, that they were to attribute that blessed change in the state of matters in our West Indian Colonies. Nor could he fail to reflect on the change which had taken place even previously to the Emancipation Act, on which they now congratulated themselves. When he thought of the improvement that had taken place, compared with the horrors of the middle passage; and when he thought of the power put forth by such men as Clarkson and Wilberforce, who so long held to their great object and their holy purpose in the midst of obloquy and contempt; and when year after year rolled on, and with little sympathy extended to them, they stood true to the cause in which they were embarked, it was by the power of religious principle that they were sustained. It was to Christianity that they owed every thing that had elevated humanity, and had made their land the happy land which it

The Report, he observed, was somewhat brief, but it was by no means devoid of interest, and had brought a great deal of valuable matter before them; and not only valuable matter, but proofs, so far very satisfactory, as to the good results obtained in following out the plans of the Society. Reference had been made to the appropriateness of the day, and the occasion of their meeting, and he was sure every one who recollected the very happy event which had occurred five years ago, and which must ever hold a prominent place in the history of our country, will assent to the good taste and judgment of having this Anniversary Meeting on the evening of the day which formed the anniversary of that important event. (Hear.) It was a valuable experiment which the British power made on that occasion, in seconding and following up what was previously the general public opinion of the country; and, though much murmuring was heard at the great expenditure involved in the act of Emancipation—though many thought it unreasonable that, in addition to our other burdens, the country should be called on to incur an expenditure of twenty millions, to be paid to parties from whom it might rather be said that compensation to some such amount was due—(Cheers)—though, on this ground, there might be some reason of complaint, yet, on a large and comprehensive view of the subject, they had cause to rejoice, if not at the sacrifice made, at least in the vindication of the rights of so many human beings, and in the vindication of the cause of humanity and justice. (Cheers.) When they reflected on the many expensive measures adopted in following out the schemes, and often very doubtful experiments of diplomatists—some of them of little value to the country, involving, it might be, some accession to our boundaries and addition to our conquests—when they thought of the hundreds of millions added to the debt of Britain in putting to the test such doubtful experiments, surely they need not grudge the sum which had been paid for wiping away the foulest stain that ever blotted the character and history of our beloved country. (Cheers.) He had called it an experiment; and it was just one of the views with which associations like the present held their annual meetings, that they might be able to point out to other nations the progress and results of that experiment. Notwithstanding what had been said regarding the state of feeling in America, yet, when they took along with that the intelligence of the liberation of so many millions in India, flowing, no doubt, as a result of the success of the cause in our own immediate dependencies, they might look forward with great confidence to the influence which it would exert upon our friends there; and, at all events, they could look back with no regret, for every thing still held true which the intelligence of many politicians long ago predicted, that there would be no damage sustained, and no reason to fear for the cause of peace and order, and that there need be no real concern for the success ultimately of trade and commerce by the exchange of Free for Slave labour. (Cheers.) It was just to use the language of common sense to say, what their Secretary had so well laid down in the Report, that Free Labour must turn to better account in the end than the labour of Slaves. Adam Smith, long ago, in his *Wealth of Nations*, gave the argument briefly but satisfactorily; and when such views had been again and again mooted by men who had directed their minds to the profit and loss view of this question, the wonder was, that it should be so slow in being generally acted upon. (Hear.) Take the case of domestic service, or any trade whatever, and it was common sense to suppose that a person who had an interest in the results of his own labours, would address himself to them with more heart and determination than the man who was chained to the oar, and who had no interest, and no hope of obtaining an

had proposed to the Convention, to ascertain whether, in bringing them forward, he had expressed their sentiments, and to give the Society an opportunity of adopting or rejecting them. The Resolutions he had proposed, he had now to submit to the present meeting. These Resolutions were moved and rejected at the late Anti-Slavery Convention; and the gentleman who moved their rejection styled them an insidious method of reviving the Slave-trade. It would lie with the present meeting to affirm or deny that rejection, after having the patience to bear with him while he explained the advantages which he conceived the plan held out towards the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world. He had heard at the Convention, in London, congratulations on the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause; but if they looked at the present state of the Negro race in all parts of the world, except in our own Colonies, they would see no progress made whatever; on the contrary, he saw a great aggravation of cruelty on the part of the Slave-holding countries from the interference of our Government with their internal concerns. (Hear.) In the United States, the Slaves were treated more like brutes than men, and their treatment was getting more aggravated every year. (Hear.) Look at the Brazils, and there they would find the same increased cruelty. In Cuba, matters were equally as bad—there they might see estates cultivated by perhaps six hundred Slaves, without a single female, who, when their day's work was finished, were locked up at night like so many blood-hounds. (Hear, hear.) He could see no room for congratulation, therefore, in any other country but in our own Colonies in regard to the Negro race. (Cheers.) There he saw a virtuous and industrious peasantry growing up—for they were still young in freedom—to be the future proprietors of those tropics that had so long been stained by the guilt of Slavery. (Cheers.) Now, he would call their attention to the difference of success between their Anti-Slavery exertions, when these were legitimately employed, and when they began to interfere with other countries. In 1807, after twenty years' agitation, they put down the British Slave-trade, and put it down effectually; at the same time they began to interfere with the Foreign Slave-trade. Had they succeeded in putting it down, or diminishing it, aye, or even ameliorating it? (Hear, hear.) Read Fowell Buxton's work; the object of that book was to prove that the Slave-trade had trebled. He was aware that Mr Buxton proposed to go on with the present system, and increase Treaties on the subject of the Slave-trade; but the whole pith and marrow of his book, nevertheless, went to prove the inefficiency, as well as the cruelty of the system practised by the Government of this country. (Hear.) By a stroke of the pen, we had Emancipated millions of Slaves in our East India possessions. That was a legitimate, and proper, and glorious exercise of power; but by the fifty-six Slave-trade Treaties we had executed with Foreign Powers, now in existence, and annually rehearsed in Parliament as so many proofs of the progress of the cause, we had added to the cruelty of the Slave-trade, and not Emancipated a single Slave. It was time, therefore, that men who felt an interest in this subject should look around them and see if there was no other method to be pursued with greater likelihood of success. (Cheers.) By the great work of Emancipation, we got a lever in our hands, by which we can destroy Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world; we must take from it its gains, for no man would keep Slaves but for gain. The Slave-trader went to Africa because he had a market for his Slaves, and if we could destroy that market in the Brazils and Cuba, the Slave-trade would cease—and if the Slave-trade ceased, Slavery could not long continue. (Cheers.) The only way we

now was. They owed it also to the gospel that it was a land of freedom, and destined to be not only the cradle of freedom, but the source from whence the doctrines of civil and religious freedom should go forth to all the ends of the earth. (Cheers.) The Rev. Dr. then proceeded to answer the allegation that there was scripture sanction for the infamous traffic in human beings. His general argument was, that though in the early states of society Slavery was very general, and though there was somewhat of a toleration for it among the Jews, under very special and important limitations, however, still they had no more reason for setting that down as a divine sanction or ground for Slavery, than they had to set down the instances they found in scripture of murder or robbery, for example, as warrants for the commission of these crimes. The unsparing destruction of a whole people, and the plunder and invasion of a particular nation, permitted on special and particular occasions by God, would never be quoted by the Americans as a sanction for their doing the same things; and why, then, should the permission of Slavery, under certain circumstances, be taken by them as a warrant for holding their fellow-creatures in bondage? Another argument sometimes employed was, that there was nothing in Scripture expressly denouncing Slavery, or asserting that such a thing was inconsistent with Christian liberty. This the Rev. Dr. answered by a reference to several passages in the New Testament, and to the example of Paul, and contended generally, that by the laws and principles laid down in the Bible, Slavery, though not by name, was virtually proscribed; and that if Slaves were treated according to the order of Scripture, and the rules there laid down for our guidance—if they were treated as beings having souls to be saved, then the admission was made that they could not be held in a state of Slavery; the thing called Slavery, was wholly incompatible with that love we owed to our brother. After dwelling upon these points with much effect, the Rev. Doctor congratulated the Society on the sustained efforts they were making in the holy cause in which they were engaged. It might be thought, that, because a great point had been gained in rescuing our own nation from the sin of Slavery, they might now let matters alone—that they were not responsible for the conduct of other nations. He honoured that Society, however, for taking its ground on another principle. All men were of one blood, of one family, and it was a narrow and selfish principle to hold that, because the responsibility was not theirs, they might let the matter alone. God had placed them in the favourable position they occupied for holding intercourse with other nations, for a wise and beneficent purpose; and it was the duty of a community, as well as of every individual in it, to occupy the talents which they possessed for the good of the world. Were they not indebted for the very Bible to the Missionaries of other nations? And was it not their duty and privilege to send the light of the gospel, and, hand in hand with a knowledge of the gospel, a knowledge of civil liberty, and the true rights of man, to every nation within their influence. (Cheers.) That Society had asserted this principle, and triumphed in it; and he had no doubt, that, by the strength of religious principle, and the help of such institutions, there would yet be achieved a universal triumph for the cause of justice and humanity. (Cheers.)

Councillor TURNER seconded the Resolution, which was unanimously carried.

MACGREGOR LAIRD, Esq., next addressed the meeting. He said—the Glasgow Emancipation Society having done him the honour to appoint him one of their delegates at the late Anti-Slavery Convention, in London, he was there that evening to lay before them the Resolutions which he

to sell them to the Spanish or Portuguese Slave-traders; they would find it impossible to do so. But here was the true reason of the opposition given to this proposal. They said foreign nations would come forward, and under the pretence of having Free Emigrants, take them to the Brazils, and there enslave them. Well, supposing they did, they would only do that openly, and with much less cruelty, which it was well known they now did with more cruelty in secret. (Cheers.) The number of people exported from the coast of Africa would be much less than now, because it was the interest of the Slave-traders to take them across with as little expense and trouble as possible; but by our interference we had raised the mortality from eight per cent. to twenty-five, so that fewer Slaves would be required. But was it supposed that the Africans had no judgment? If a British and Spanish ship were looking for Emigrants in Africa, would the Spaniard get them? In the first place, he could not keep them in the same freedom on board the ship, and we might rest assured the British ship would always be preferred. But, Sir, are we not to do good for fear that others may do evil? This is indeed a new reading of the commandment. This plan of Emigration was pressed three years ago very strongly on Government, and upon the return of the Niger expedition, without having accomplished its object, a Parliamentary Committee was led strongly to recommend a system of Free Emigration from Africa, and a Free Emigration had been established in name, but not in fact. Nothing could be more liberal than the Government despatch on the subject—Lord Stanley's letter was a masterpiece—but, nevertheless, we are driven to the conclusion that what he called Free Emigration would not be considered Free Emigration in this country. (Hear.) In the first place, they established the passport system, and a man must give three weeks' notice of his intention to leave the country. If a Slave escape to Sierra Leone, he must remain a month in the country before he can give that three weeks' notice; and when he told them that in Sierra Leone labour was very scarce, and paid at the rate of 3*d.* or 4*d.* a-day, they would see how great was the hardship. The emigration was confined to Sierra Leone, for what reason he could not tell. Why should the Negro be deprived of the right of removing himself to whatever part of the world he chose? (Cheers.) This limitation made the Government act as a police force to the Slave-traders of Africa, and stopped all Free Emigration in that country; and unless people, like those who composed this Association, and who could think independently of London Societies, took up the matter, the system of Free Emigration, which was the only chance he saw of salvation to Africa, would be entirely prevented. (Hear.) And by whom? By men who had for thirty years been living on the profession of Anti-Slavery principles. (Hear.) Are you willing that this plan should be stopped by such a set of men—by the Slave-trade Treaty interest? (No.) He hoped not; and he trusted that, by affirming the Resolutions he had the honour to propose, they would say to the world they were willing to open that refuge and protection in the Free Colonies of Britain to the oppressed African which they could not offer them any where else. (Cheers.) But it might be said, why have anything to do with these Africans?—they are lazy fellows, and won't work. He denied that *in toto*. There are not more industrious men on the face of the globe, when fairly treated, than the Negro race. They were industrious in their own country, when they could enjoy the fruits of their industry in security, which was in very few places. But what did they do in the production of Sugar? Why, they produced 100 per cent. more as free men than they did as Slaves. (Cheering.) If they turned to Turnbull's

could affect the Slave-trade was to check the demand for Slaves by striving to undersell the Slave-trader. It was said by some well-meaning people, who knew little of the coast of Africa—and it was once his own idea—that the way to destroy the Slave-trade was to make the Africans cultivate their own soil. People who spoke thus were not aware of the dreadful malaria, that, like a wall of brass, encircled the coast of Africa, preventing Europeans from introducing to the Africans the blessings of civilization. They must bring them into connection with a race of beings more civilized than they were; and he believed the only way to do so was to offer these people, whom we have been trying in vain to protect from having their towns fired, and their children carried off into Slavery, to offer these people a refuge in our West India Colonies. (Cheers.) He could see no insidious plan for reviving the Slave-trade in this; but he saw it to be a positive duty in this country, after disorganizing Africa, to take every lawful and just means to renovate its condition; and he could see no harm in striving to do it in the Free Colonies of Queen Victoria, because they happened to be ten days steaming distance from its coast. (Hear.) Being himself a commercial man, he had studied this matter; and had compared the productive power of the Negro race in the West Indies and the Negro race in Sierra Leone. There was no other difference in the condition of the two parties than this, that in Sierra Leone they had not the guidance and skill of Europeans to instruct them. In Sierra Leone, with a population of 50,000, the value of the exportable produce, in 1836, was £3526. In Trinidad, with a population of 45,000, they raised exportable produce, in 1839, to the value of £560,000. This proved that though there had been freedom in the colony of Sierra Leone for 50 years, they had never been able to raise produce enough to support themselves. If he could have come before the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and offered to give £100,000 to establish a model farm on any part of the coast, he would have been hailed as one of the greatest benefactors of the African race; it was impossible to have the hundred thousand pounds, but they had millions of pounds invested in the West Indies in hundreds of model farms, where the Africans could be employed in peace and security, and brought within the influence of European intelligence and instruction. We had attempted in vain to protect them in their own country. Is there any harm in offering them protection and employment in the only countries inhabited by a free Negro race? (Cheers.) The gentleman who opposed his resolutions in the Convention, stated that there could be no free emigration from Africa; but he (Mr L.) said, make a bridge across the Atlantic, and there would be no fears of free emigration. (Cheers.) Sir, wherever there is a Slave, I say there is an emigrant. (Loud cheers.) How long would Slavery continue in Cuba, if there was a bridge to Jamaica? (Hear.) How long would Slavery continue in the United States, if a flying machine could be got in connection with Canada? (Cheers and laughter.) People talk of protecting the African race by Treaties! He had seen, in the month of June, 1833, from the deck of his steamer on the Niger, seven towns in a blaze. (Hear.) Those men who coolly sat in London, and affected to stir up the Anti-Slavery feeling of the country, talked calmly of these things; but his blood boiled with indignation when it was asserted there could be no free emigration. They said the plan of free emigration would stimulate the internal Slave-trade, and that head-money would be paid; but they forgot to say where the head-money was to come from. It would, in fact, destroy the internal Slave-trade; for when Africans found they could get protection in our Colonies, they would Emancipate themselves. Their chiefs would be no longer able

secret of the opposition. (Cheers.) He did not say this was the case with the sincere and honest men who opposed his plan; but it was so with the class of place-holders. (Hear.) What had been the result of Fowell Buxton's plan? The appointment of four new Mixed Commissions, composed of parties with salaries to the amount of £10,000 or £12,000 a-year, and with retiring pensions besides. That had been the whole result; and he defied any man to show that more had been done. (Cheers.) The beauty of the Free Emigration plan was, that it did not put money into men's pockets, and that it would be operative, through the aid of moral and religious principle, in Abolishing Slavery in the Western hemisphere. (Cheers.) In the Resolutions which he had proposed, it would be observed that he had stipulated for the free return of the African to the place from whence he came, whenever they desired it. Let them look to the effect of an Emigration so regulated on Africa itself. It would be the most blessed thing for Africa that ever occurred. They would take men to the West Indies and give them partial civilization; and every man that returned would be an apostle of freedom and civilization to his countrymen in Africa. (Cheers.) The man who had tasted the sweets of liberty in the West Indies, would never allow himself to be enslaved in Africa. The effect would be first to take away the power of the Chiefs on the coast to sell Slaves, and then to destroy Slavery itself. (Cheers.) The act of Emancipation had put into our hands a lever by which we might elevate and civilize the African, and put down Slavery throughout the world; and it was a lever which no man need be afraid to use. (Great cheering.) There was not a single thing in the plan that required force of any kind; it was merely asserting the right of the African to dispose of himself as he chose. He did not expect great results immediately from this plan. He was aware that civilization, to be worth anything, must be slow and gradual in its growth; but he affirmed, that in the course of twenty years after its adoption, if he were to visit Africa again, so changed would be its character that he would not know it. He asked the meeting to adopt his Resolutions, as he held that a good principle was sure to benefit all who came in contact with it. Look at the comparative value of a free man as a customer, and the value of a Slave. (Cheers.) He held in his hand a table, showing the value of our exportations to various countries in 1840. To the British West Indies, with a population of one million, we exported 3½ millions of British manufactures. To Cuba, with a population of two millions, we exported £863,520; and to Brazil, with seven millions of inhabitants, our exports were £2,600,000. Now, look at the thing individually, and it would be seen that the free man was worth to us as a customer £3 11s. 6d. per annum; the Slave of Cuba was worth 8s. 8d. per annum; and the Brazilian Slave 7s. 6d. (Cheers.) This held good all over the world; the freer a man was the more were his wants, and the better customer he became to his neighbour. (Hear.) By sending back these emigrants to the coast of Africa, they would inoculate 90 millions of men with so much civilization. Every man who purchased a cotton handkerchief spread to that extent civilization. He had seen on the heads of African ladies Glasgow Turkey-reds, in places where no European had ever penetrated before. Look at the hard-working man of this country, who was obliged to deny his little ones the luxury of Sugar. We had given 20 millions to the Slaveholders—that is to say, we had only, as yet, paid the interest of it, and would leave it to posterity to pay the principal—(laughter)—but we had paid 20 millions in hard cash, in consequence of the increase which had taken place in the price of Sugar since the Act of Emancipation had passed. (Hear, hear.) Previous to 1834, the average

Cuba, they would find that, in 1837, there were 356,000 Slaves in Cuba. Now, supposing one-half of these to be effective labourers, that would leave 178,000; and these produced 100,000 tons of Sugar a-year. Governor Light, in a despatch, had stated that the effective field labourers of British Guiana were 25,000; these, who were all, of course, free men, produced 30,000 tons of Sugar a-year. Taking the same ratio, the Slaves of Cuba ought to have produced 210,000 tons of Sugar. This completely settled the question of the productive power of the Slave under the stimulus of the lash, and the same under the stimulus of fair wages and personal freedom. But this gave the labour of the Negro in the West Indies when working for other people and for wages—what was the result when they worked on their own farm? He found, from a St. Lucia paper, the following statement of facts on this subject:—

“The ‘maiterie’ system has been tried—the theory has been put to the test of practice—and the result speaks favourably as well to the landlord as to his tenant. The allotment of four hogsheads of Sugar to one individual labourer, as his share of a cane-field cultivated on the principle of one-third profit, is not an exception nor a solitary instance, as it has been declared to be by one of the two opponents to the system presented in our island. We know of one estate where no less than thirteen persons devote a portion of their (not their employer’s) time to the cultivation of canes for shares of one-half; this season they made 45,000 lbs. of Sugar, of which they received their moiety on the delivery of the produce, the other half being so much of clear profit to the estate. Upon another estate, in a different quarter, one labourer received as his share four, and another five hogsheads, from canes cultivated for one-third of the produce. Again, upon an estate near this town, one labourer made 27 barrels, of which he received the half as his proportion. These are not isolated cases, but are cited indiscriminately from numerous instances which have come under our notice, all of which go far to show that the Negro can be induced to adopt the plan of so cultivating the staple, without being in any way compelled to make a virtue of necessity.”

This all showed the infinite superiority of Free to Slave labour; and as it proved that one free man does as much as two Slaves, and as Sir F. Buxton and other authorities affirmed, that for every Slave landed in Cuba, another was sacrificed in his capture, passage, and seasoning, it was demonstrated that every Free Emigrant landed in British Guiana superseded the demand for four Slaves. (Cheers.) Everywhere the principle was found the same. Look to the East India Cotton, the improvement in the quality and increase in the quantity of which was as the “handwriting on the wall” to the Planter of the Southern American States. (Cheers.) Look at the Coffee of Ceylon, and let the Brazilian Slaveholders beware lest their Coffee crops should be superseded by the Free Labour of the East. (Cheers.) Now, if the admission of every Free man into the West Indies would do away with four Slaves, it was clear that a very little Emigration from Africa would do away with the Slave-trade now carried on. (Cheers.) Look to the Slave masters throughout the world. Their eyes were fixed upon the British West Indies. There the experiment was being worked out whether tropical products could be had cheaper by Free than Slave labour; and the instant the scale turned, the chains would drop from the limbs of the Slave. (Cheers.) Here lay the whole secret. They did not require to ask the consent of Foreign nations, or to truckle to powerful States, and bully weak ones, as in the case of Spain and Portugal. (Laughter.) It was in the power of this country to effect the change herself, by offering to the poor oppressed Africans a refuge in her Colonies; and yet he was told this was an insidious plan for reviving the Slave-trade. (Cheers.) It was a plan which would do away with the payment of £300,000 a-year under the Treaty system, and that was the

race in connexion with the principles of freedom. They had heard, from the esteemed gentleman who had just addressed them, the importance of this country giving encouragement to emigration. He went along with that gentleman in his views on that subject. He was aware that too little attention had been paid to the matter of emigration; and while it was their duty to attend to such matters as had been brought before them by their respected friend, a most important duty also devolved upon them in regard to our Colonies in the Eastern hemisphere, the encouragement and improvement of the Natives of our Eastern settlements, and of those vassalages that are under the influence of the British Government, and the East India Company. There was not a more interesting subject in the history of this country than of those dependencies in the east, where Mr Thompson was now labouring in his high and holy vocation. It was said in the year 1796, by Edmund Burke, that were the British power annihilated in India he believed they would leave behind them no other proofs or monuments of their ever having existed there, beyond the same kind of monuments which the vulture or the tiger would leave behind them. (Hear, hear.) That was the statement of Burke forty or fifty years ago; and it was an observation of the celebrated Warren Hastings, in the correspondence relative to his own trial, and which he laid down with all the force of an indisputable axiom, "By the sword we got our Indian Empire—by the sword we must maintain it." (Hear.) The Empire of India was comparatively modern in its erection. Though the East India Company had existed for about 150 years, yet little was done towards forming an Indian Empire till a very modern date; and it was truly painful to think of the circumstances that led to the establishment of that Empire. It was well known that, in many instances, the controversies and quarrels among the Native Princes were excited and fomented by British influence and bribery, and that the result of these quarrels among the Native Princes was, in almost every instance, an acquisition of territory to the British Crown. (Hear.) From 1753 down to the present day, there had been a constant acquisition of territory. The year 1753! you will say,—was not that the year when the horrible business of the Black Hole of Calcutta took place. It was, and that was the commencement of the acquisition of our immense territorial power in that country. It might be asked, how could we connect that event so closely with the Indian Empire? Now, no man of feeling could for a moment revert to the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta without shuddering; but, it should be remembered, there was a Black Hole of Calcutta before the fearful event to which he had referred. It might not be known to all that the Black Hole was the British prison, where the Natives were immured, when they sheltered themselves under the walls of Calcutta; and it was well known that the British name, long before, had been tarnished by cruelties of the most revolting kind. (Hear.) It was necessary to keep these things in mind when they thought of the retaliations to which the Native Princes had recourse for the cruelties practised upon them. But the lamentable event of the Black Hole of Calcutta became the occasion of that course of policy which established the Anglo-Indian Empire, and which now placed under the dominion of Britain a population of more than one hundred millions of human beings. (Hear, hear.) And what had been the manner in which we had conducted ourselves towards the natives of that Empire? It was well known that, with regard to their agriculture, our general policy had been anything but kind, wise, or patriotic. (Cheers.) He believed, that had Britain done her duty to that country, the Colonies of India would have been at this moment the most powerful auxiliaries for

price of Sugar was 27s. 9½d. From 1835 to 1838, the price was 35s. 7½d.; and, after the Apprenticeship system, from 1839 to 1841, the average price was 42s. 1d., making a sum of £15,516,391 paid by the people of this country in consequence of the advance in the price of Sugar. Add to that seven years' interest on the loan of twenty millions, being £4,550,000, and there was a sum of £20,066,391 drawn from the pockets of the people in hard cash since the Emancipation Act was passed. (Hear.) He considered this as one great cause of the distress which existed in the country. Give our Colonies fair play—and they have a right to demand it—and this article of Sugar would soon be brought within the reach of all. Sugar was now as much a necessary of life as corn. Next to corn we paid more for it than for any other article, and our capability of using it, if the duty was lower, was enormous in this country. At present it was not allowed to be used in distilleries, in order that the price of grain might be kept up. It was a boon to the landed interest. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") If the proposition he made were adopted, the consumption of Sugar in this country might amount to 500,000 or 600,000 tons. If the people of England consumed as much as the population of New South Wales, the annual consumption would be 900,000 tons. (Cheers.) He could conceive of a country being overdone with corn—though that had never yet been done in this country. (Laughter.) A man could not eat two quarters of corn, but he never found a man overdone with Sugar. (Laughter.) This would be one of the ultimate effects of the plan, but the immediate effect would be the saving of £300,000 of useless expenditure to men in place; and these, with the place-hunters, were the only parties that opposed it. The plan would do away with this extravagance. It would give a refuge to runaway Slaves. It would benefit the people of our own country by opening up a market for the produce of their labour. It would do away, moreover, with all pretence of a war for the right of search, or some other bugbear of Lord Palmerston's, and other Foreign Secretaries. (Hear.) It could hurt no one, while it would benefit all. (Cheering.) In conclusion, Mr Laird again called on the meeting to adopt his Resolutions, and sat down amid loud cheers.

Mr R. WRIGHT seconded the Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

The meeting having thus unanimously passed the Resolutions, Mr Laird then submitted a Petition to Parliament, founded upon them, which, on being put from the chair, was carried by acclamation.*

A gentleman in the meeting asked who were to pay the expenses of the emigration? to which Mr Laird replied, that, of course, these would fall upon the Colonial Governments. He would not give his sanction to a scheme which would lay the burden upon the people of this country. (Applause.)

Dr. BURNS, of Paisley, said the motion put into his hands embraced the deeply interesting subject of Mr George Thompson's mission to India—the object that he had in view in that mission, the character of his labours, and a hope of success in its prosecution. It was not his intention to detain them long by entering into any of those particulars that would come with greater effect in the shape of their printed reports, and the occasional publications circulated by the Society. He could not, however, refrain from adverting to the singularly strong claim British India possessed on the energetic and persevering efforts of all who were friendly not to our own Colonies and dependencies alone, but to the great interests of the human

* For Resolutions and Petition, see pages 3—9.

(than whom a warmer friend of India did not exist)—a letter written by that venerable man, on the verge of eternity, in which he rejoiced that the question of the land, and the mode of occupation, had come to be so seriously considered. This was a vital question, and was attracting much notice, just as the question how the people were to be fed was the question of Ireland. He looked upon it as the Ireland of the Colonial empire. A motion had been made in the Court of Proprietors for greater security in the tenures, and the realization of what had been long wanted, the establishment of a middle class of occupiers, between the extreme of great wealth on the one hand, and haggard poverty on the other. This had been proposed and lost by only one vote; and Mr Clarkson rejoiced that it had come to be rejected by a single vote only, and rejoiced in the prospect of its being soon carried. The culture of Cotton in India had been brought to such perfection, that individuals could be found able to produce more at 2*d.* a-day than the Slaves in the United States at 8*d.* a-day; and the question was, shall we get our Cotton from the Free Labour of India, or from the Slave States of America? A great deal had been said about Sugar being raised by Slave Labour, but little had been said about Cotton raised by Slaves. While much had been said about the Cotton from the southern States, there had been little said about the Free-grown Corn from the northern States of America. (Cheers.) The people who pretend to have great zeal for the Slaves, and great horror of Slave-grown Sugar, still feel no compunction at all as to Slave-grown Cotton. (Hear.) There was happily a remedy for the Slavery of the United States; the Planter there would find it come from a quarter where perhaps he did not expect it; and it would appear, from a statement contained in a letter which he held in his hand, that the experiment had been tried successfully. [Here the Rev. Dr. referred to Col. Colvin's Cotton scheme, and read extracts from Mr Clarkson's letter, showing the success with which the experiment could be followed.] He said it would be a pleasing contrast, the success of this noble measure in India, to the conduct of the Government of that country in a former year, when it bought up all the rice in the land, raising it from 1½*d.* to 3*d.* at a sweep, and bringing famine and death upon the country. (Loud cheering.) It would be some compensation for that and other dreadful occurrences in the British history of India, to raise the natives to be successful cultivators of Cotton, and to promote the cause of free labour, and free trade and commerce all over the world. (Hear.) After all that could be said on the subject, it appeared plain to him that the evils which afflicted humanity, in connection with the civil and commercial state of man, had been very much occasioned by those impolitic restrictions which human policy had thrown around the commerce of human beings. And, after all, the cause in which they were engaged was just a section, as it were, of the great map, spread out before them, and which was illustrating great principles. It had been well remarked,—“Give us a sound principle, and let us keep to it, and there is no fear of the issue.” Let us act on the principle of reciprocal good-will between man and man, and between nation and nation,—for he had yet to learn that the principles of Christianity were not to apply to men in masses as well as to individuals. (Great cheering.) Having read the motion he had to propose, the Rev. Doctor said, what a field was India for their philanthropy! It was venerable in antiquity, and the most interesting field on which Christian philanthropy had been labouring for the last half century; but, oh! at what fearful odds! How was it to be expected they could make progress in their Missions and Schools, when so little was done for the protection and encouragement of the native

our manufactures—they would have been adding largely to our commercial interests, and to the advancement of the solid interests of the country. He believed that we would have had among them multitudes raised higher and higher in the scale of civilization, exchanging the productions of British India for the manufactures of Europe, and carrying on a profitable trade under the mild sway of British Legislation; but, instead of this, our sway in India had been characterized by two features equally revolting; one was the perpetual draining away of immense sums from the Native Princes, on the most frivolous pretences, and the second was the total neglect, or rather discouragement, of the agriculture of that country. They had all heard of the Zemindary system in India, which was essentially the same in principle with that of middlemen in Ireland; with this difference, that in place of only three stages in the arrangement, as in Ireland, there were in India not fewer than five. The Zemindar was at the top of the list, and the Ryot at the lower extremity, while between these were four, all deriving a profit and a living from the same tract of land. (Hear.) Now, while it was possible the Zemindar might be living in comfort, the Ryot might be dragging out a life of misery. But matters had now reached an extreme point. The Zemindar was now reduced in his circumstances as well as the occupants of the soil, and the whole five were characterized by the same features of feebleness and degradation. (Cheers.) And then, connected with these, was the large impost laid upon the productions of the country—the taxes, direct and indirect, which are levied, and the total want of sympathy between the Legislature and the occupants of the soil. Who had not heard of the famines of India? of the melancholy details, for example, of that famine which took place as early as 1770, when three millions, in one of the provinces of India, were swept away in a few months. Who had not heard that almost every year, in one province or another, there was a visitation of famine; and who did not know, that the sole reason of that dreadful dispensation was just the two causes to which he had adverted—the immense imposts, and the total want of encouragement to agriculture. In conversing lately with the wife of an esteemed Missionary in India, he was horrified to hear from her that the sight of the countries through which our armies passed, on their way to the occupation of the Affghanistan Empire, was the most miserable that ever presented itself to European eyes. They travelled among crowds of the diseased, and the dying, and the dead, caused entirely by the prevalence of famine, while the horses of the troopers trampled indiscriminately the dead and the dying, hurrying on as they were to the bloody conquests in Affghanistan. (Sensation.) Oh! the providence of God had interposed in the shape of righteous retribution for our cruelties to the people of India: and he saw, in the melancholy features of that Affghanistan war, the hand of God lifted up in righteous displeasure at the cupidity and cruelty of this country; and it became them to see if yet there did not remain grounds for calling forth his just retribution. If those who had looked to our West Indies with a philanthropic eye could see in what occurred there the hand of God, and if we could see Him in the works of nature spread out before us, even so might we not see, in the melancholy events of the Affghanistan war, the hand of God lifted up to teach us the lesson which the great Saviour and friend of man, and the friend of peace, taught us eighteen centuries ago—"Do ye unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." (Great cheering.) He rejoiced that lately there had been a considerable improvement in regard to the policy that marked our proceedings in India. He held in his hand a letter from Thomas Clarkson to Joseph Pease, Sen., of Darlington

within us, that we ourselves, and our wives and children, all belong to another person, to be disposed of as he pleases. In the morning we hear the shell, the horn calling us to go to labour—we hear the crack of the whip, and we shoulder our tools, and march like cattle to the field, and there, beside our wives and daughters, we dig, dig, dig, dig, with the Slaveholder's lash laid upon our back—upon our naked back—every now and then, and with the scorching sun of a southern clime beating upon our heads. And thus we work from dawn to dark, and then are driven back again to our lair. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps the next day your wife is taken from your bosom, and put up in an auction-stand and sold; perhaps your sons and your daughters, too, are sold, and scattered to the four winds of heaven. I will not talk, Sir, upon this question, with those who are lying on beds of down. You cannot appreciate what I say, unless I plant you there in the Slave's position, and make you feel for him, who is in bonds, as bound with him. And then I will venture to say you wont talk of hard language—we will hear nothing of that twaddle—you will let your hearts out with what first comes to your lips—you wont make fine speeches—you wont think of being eloquent—and you will denounce the system as the devil all over. (Cheers.) Let us speak on this question as feeling for those in bonds, and as bound with them. Place yourselves and your families on an auction-stand, and see your fellow-beings making an auction of you, knocking you off like a dog at auction, and see if you can help feeling on this subject—see if you will not rouse yourselves up like lions on this question. But you will perhaps say, all this is 3000 miles off—what have we to do with it? The person even in Glasgow, who, by silence, consents that a single human being should be kept in bondage, that person deserves to be a Slave, and he is sanctioning a principle that would make him a Slave. (Cheers.) I will not be cool on a question like this—I cannot be cool—transport is reason here. (Cheers.) I have seen the monster face to face. I have been contending with him not 3000 miles off, but to his face—I know what he is, and if he could lay his clutches on you all, he would set you all up at auction, and make merchandise of you every one. (Cheers.) Having read the Resolution he had to propose—which has been already inserted—Mr W. proceeded:—Thanks to God, I say for one, that England has now cleared herself from the curse of Slavery, if so be she has really done what is stated here. If England has washed her hands of Slavery, then thanks to God; if it is not so, then you have a great work to do at home—to pull the beam out of your own eye. (Cheers.) It has been the taunt against England in the United States, ever since we began to agitate against chattel Slavery, that when we talked of freedom, they pointed to the West Indies. Now they point to the East Indies; but when Slavery has been abolished there, so far as appearances go, where has Slavery now a footing on the footstool? If she has one, go break the chain, and let the bond go free. (Cheers.) If England has freed herself from chattel Slavery, the making merchandise of human beings, then she has power to work in America with tremendous force; her moral power is increased; her commercial power is very great already; but let it be understood that merely knocking the fetters from the heel of the Slave does not overthrow Slavery. (Hear.) Merely to deliver the poor victim from his physical thralldom is not the overthrow of Slavery, for Slavery has its root deeper, it lies in the heart. What we want in the United States is to tear up the system from the root. (Cheers.) It is embodied in the hearts of the people, and I look upon the Anti-Slavery cause as progressing only so fast as the principle of Anti-Slavery takes deep root in the hearts of mankind. (Cheers.) If you abolish

population, and when the British name was regarded with far other feelings than those of gratitude and love. (Cheers.) He had no doubt that Mr George Thompson's perspicacious mind and eagle-eye would at once pounce upon the very things they wished him to do, and that he had indeed done so already; and while they sent him their best wishes and congratulations on the success that had hitherto accompanied his labours, let them not forget that they had all a duty to discharge in regard to him and the object of his mission. They had all to sit down and learn important lessons in political economy; they were not to limit themselves to the mere means of extinguishing Slavery, but to a liberal and wise scheme of applying great general principles, and bringing out the resources of Great Britain in the East and the West, in promoting every beneficial work, and helping on the still higher cause of human improvement, universal emancipation, and universal peace. (Great cheering.)—[The address of the Rev. Doctor was one of the very best ever heard at an Anti-slavery meeting.]

Dr. MAXWELL seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to.

It was then agreed to adjourn till the following evening, in the same place, for the purpose of hearing H. C. Wright, Esq., and other speakers.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

THE adjourned meeting of the Emancipation Society took place on Wednesday evening, in John Street Relief Church, when Bailie Turner was called to the chair.

Mr H. C. WRIGHT, from America, began the proceedings of the evening. He said the subject on which he was about to speak was so large a one, that a person could scarcely begin to talk upon it, unless he had a whole night before him, because it involved the question, whether a man was a man or a beast—whether he was to be looked upon as a human being, or a piece of property, to be bought and sold like a dog in the market. And if that is the question—and if a man cannot talk, and talk long on the subject, he has no heart. I wish to say, before commencing my remarks, that, in order to understand me, you must place yourselves in the position in which I am, otherwise you will not understand nor appreciate my remarks, and you will be apt to consider me harsh and denunciatory. We are not to plant ourselves in a well furnished church, or well furnished parlour or drawing-room in Glasgow—we are not to plant ourselves on Change in Glasgow, or in your stores, where you buy and sell, and make money—we are not to plant ourselves in the hall of your legislature, in order to understand this question. No. To understand my remarks, and feel as I feel on the subject, just take a trip with me for a moment some three thousand miles, to the plantations of Louisiana or Georgia—say to Georgia. We go there with a wife and little children, and we go to a slave's cabin, and lie down in it. That shall be our resting-place. There we shall sleep not on a bed of down, but on the ground, with no comforts at all. There we will slumber, if we can, with the conscious feeling rising

community where the children of our common Father are looked upon thus as property, and calculated by the dollar. It is enough to destroy the moral constitution of any country on earth ; and, in my opinion, it has destroyed the moral constitution of the people in America. I wish many of them were present to hear me say these things of them in Scotland. I have told them so in their own country, for I would not say here what I should shrink from telling them at home. (Cheers.) I say, then, the moral feeling of the country is overturned. One-sixth of the people of the nation are compelled to work from the dawn of life to its close, and never have one farthing of their labour at command. The Slave cannot say the eyes God gave him are his own, but he must say, "my master's eyes, my master's brains, my master's blood and sinews, my master's hands, my master's heart and soul—it is all master's." (Sensation.) Nothing belongs to the Slave. That is the law. Now, one-sixth of the nation are in that predicament. Another fact:—It is a crime punishable with imprisonment, and in some instances with death, to teach one-sixth of the nation to read the Bible. (Shame.) Think of that, and the ministers who uphold it claim to be Christian, receive that book as the will of a common Father, and then make it a crime in one-sixth of the people to learn to read it. That is a fact, and no one will deny it who comes from America. Another fact:—Among the very people who create, from year to year, and perpetuate the infamous system, there are about 3000 in the country licensed and ordained to go up and down the nation to preach the gospel. (Hear.) Oh! Sir, my very soul sickens at it—going up and down the nation to preach the gospel, the very people who uphold this system of wholesale robbery, plunder, and prostitution! (Cheers.) There are about 3000 Slaveholding ministers in the country of all denominations ; there are 17,000 or 18,000 in all, but about 3000 of them are Slaveholders, and recognised all over the land as Christian ministers by the great mass of the people. (Shame.) Slavery is in the pulpit there, and she spews it out upon the people ; Slavery is coiled up on the altar there, and she bows her snaky head in honour of the cursed system ; she is baptised at the font ; she is consecrated in the communion ; she is licensed and ordained to the pulpit ; she is held by and sustained as a Christian institution. Oh! it is like turning hell outside in ; and I would be ashamed if I did not loathe and denounce it. (Great cheering.) The very men who maintain this state of things are the men who are sent to make our laws in the National Government and Legislature. The President of the United States is a thief and a robber ; and I request that this be recorded, if a Reporter is present in this meeting. (Cheers and laughter.) I state to you a fact, and I hardly ever find an American that has brass enough to state it. Perhaps you will think I have no patriotism, but I have ; I am full of it. It is not America, nor England, nor France, nor Europe that is my country, but the world. (Cheers.) I have no wish to acknowledge any country but the world, and no countrymen but the human family alone. Now, standing on this platform, I say that John Tyler, the President of America—and I have the evidence before me—sold his own son at auction. (Sensation.) The people of the United States, knowing the fact, elected him to be their President. (Shame.) Why, it is no disgrace at all for a man in that country to sell his own offspring ; and why should it be, if it is no disgrace to sell any body else ? (Cheering.) It may be more horrible, but the principle is the same. No one will deny in that country that John Tyler has children in Slavery, and that he has pocketed money for them. (Sensation.) The children of Jefferson, the writer of the boasted document of American Independ-

Slavery on commercial and political grounds, then on the same grounds may Slavery be established again. When Slavery goes down to rise no more, it must go down covered with eternal infamy, and that is the death we wish to give it in the United States. (Cheers.) It is the only death with which the monster will ever die. (Hear.) It must go down covered with infamy; and let all who hold by it beware, for it shall go down as sure as there is a God in heaven, and when it goes down all who hold on by it shall share in its infamy. (Cheers.) Since I have been in England I have been pointed to the United States, by one class or another, with exclamations of "see what a country that is." Well, I have laughed in my sleeve to hear people talk about America. The moment my countrymen arrive here they are all good Abolitionists, but in their own country they dared not open their mouths; and it is the same thing with hundreds who go from this country to mine; they are great Abolitionists here, but when they go there, and meet the monster face to face, they show themselves cowards and traitors to the cause of Abolition. (Cheers.) I wish to state a few facts in relation to my country; there are 18 millions of inhabitants in that country—that the nation is composed of 26 States, each governed by their separate legislature, and bound together in a federal government; 13 of the States are Slave-holding, and 13 of them are free—that is, nominally free; but they are all bound together to hold up the infamous system. One fact is, that one-sixth of the population of that country are Slaves. And what is meant when we say that one-sixth are Slaves? It means that one-sixth are by law deprived of the privilege of the rite of marriage. There is no marriage institution recognised among one-sixth of the inhabitants of that country. They are shut up from the only institution that can throw its hallowed arms around the domestic hearth—they live in a state of prostitution, like the beasts of the field, and they are compelled to do it. (Hear.) Conceive this in a country full of bibles, and meeting-houses, and churches, and schools! Judge Storey, the Chief Justice of the United States of America, has laid it down as law that a Slave has no civil rights or privileges—and that he is unable to enter into any contract whatever,—therefore he cannot enter into the contract of marriage. The institution is trampled in the dust; and, what is most infamous, you may go there and hear the clergy and the churches calling upon the people to give money to send to far distant parts of the globe, because they have heard that there are people living there without the privilege of marriage, while in their own land there are three millions living in the same condition, and they will not permit us to lift our voice and utter a word in their behalf. (Hear.) I wish you to keep this in mind, as applicable to the great mass of the clergy in America. Another fact is, that one-sixth of the children born in that country are not looked upon as adding to the great human family. They are not welcomed to the brotherhood of man as brothers or sisters. There is no one to take them to his bosom and say, "You are welcome, my brother or my sister." No; but they are taken and counted as chattels—like beasts—and they are trained as chattels, not as human beings. From the dawn of life the little child is looked upon as a beast, a thing, a piece of property to be bought and sold in the market; and every pound he brings, it is not adding so much to humanity, but so much to the purse of the owner. And the master, as he talks about him, does not talk about him as a brother, but as adding so much to his purse. He will bring ten dollars this year; when he grows bigger he will bring twenty; when he is four or five years old he will be worth fifty; at ten or fifteen he will be worth one hundred dollars, and so forth. (Hear.) Now, see what effect must be produced on a

hopeless ; Mr William Goodell is of the same opinion ; and both of them are satisfied that nothing can be done but to separate, and to set up a newer and purer system. (Cheers.) There are two or three aspects of this cause that might be considered. I was pleased with the commercial aspects of the question noticed by friend Laird, who showed what could be done in overthrowing Slavery, by the introduction of free labour Sugar and Cotton into your market ; and I cordially join with him in saying, only let freedom and Slavery have a fair field of contest in the British market, and you will drive Slavery out of the world—I mean so far as physical Slavery is concerned—for Slavery in America rests only on the cotton bag—(Hear)—Slavery lives by and lays its head, I was going to say, on the cotton bag ; but I will not say it. Slavery does not rest entirely on the cotton bag in the United States. The whole nation is a cradle, a great cradle, and Slavery lies on that cradle. Now, I speak it with reverence, when I say that, in the estimation of the people there, the Bible is made the pillow for Slavery, and the professed ministers of the Lord Jesus sing its lullaby there. (Hear.) They have kept the monster slung in that cradle, and they have tried to make the Bible support it ; but for that, Slavery could not have lived so long in America. (Hear.) In a commercial point of view, you may do mighty things to put down Slavery there. Only set your free labourers in India to raise Cotton and bring it into your market, and you can undersell the Slaveholder all the world over. I have much to say on the question of free trade as bearing on this subject ; but I cannot now. There is another aspect of the cause to be considered. We will welcome all kinds of instrumentality to put down Slavery, and we shall bid God speed to them all. If the British nation can do anything by Treaties to abolish Slavery, let them do it ; but I very much agree with our friend last night, that they are nothing but little bits of paper. What does Slavery care for your paper Treaties ? It will trample them under foot. You cannot bind the monster Slavery by a paper treaty. He will break loose, and stalk like a monster demon over the globe, carrying fear and trembling to the hearts of human beings in spite of all your Treaties. (Cheers.) But something can be done in that way, and I say let Britain do whatever is in her power by her Treaties. All these things belong to politicians and commercial men ; but I have another field before me. Slavery is based on the moral sentiment of the world. It rests there mainly for support ; and what we want is to make Slavery infamous all the world over—to dig its grave so deep down that nothing in the universe can ever call the monster to life again when it dies. (Loud cheering.) Let it die a final death, and in order to do so we ought to work on the moral sentiment of the world—to make Slavery in the eyes of the world as infamous as to be a pirate on the sea. (Cheers.) England declared that Slave-trading should be held as piracy ; and America joined with you, and declared that it should be punished with death. What did America do, after making such a hullabaloo about this Treaty ? What did the national government do ? It turned right round, and licensed the very traffic in the district of Columbia, the seat of the national capital. (Hear.) Talk about a Treaty with such a people ! It is miserable. What we want is to strike at the root of this evil, and we wish to have the moral sentiment of the people of Britain along with us. And, let me say, you have a work to work at home yet. You have Abolitionists here, and it is easy to be an Abolitionist here ; but to go there, where Slavery scowls like a demon in every corner, to make Englishmen, and Scotsmen, and Irishmen quail before it ; and I am sorry to say that they do quail. (Hear.) The Irish that have gone there have been making a great ado about a

ence, are in Slavery, and this no one will deny in our country. (Hear.) I have before me (continued Mr W.) the last doings of the ecclesiastical bodies in that country—the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the doings of the Baptists and Methodists. There you may go into the old school Presbyterian Assembly, which sits in Philadelphia. I have attended all these meetings for ten years, with one or two exceptions, and I have invariably found a man-stealer in the chair as Moderator. This body assembles to consult about the best means of spreading the gospel, and converting the world to God; and what do they do? They put a thief in the chair to preside over their deliberations—not a man that steals sheep—they would not have such a one there—they would not have a man that steals dogs, or kittens, or one that would take coats, or hats, or jackets, or shirts—they would have none of these—but they take one that dashes his way past them all like a desperado, and, getting behind the jacket and the shirt, steals a man—and that thief they put in the chair. (Cheers and laughter.) And they set him to pray and to preach! I ought to have been turned out of the Convention for sitting to hear it, but I went as a spy, not as a participant. (Hear.) This year the question was brought before that canting body, that miserable set of scamps—with exceptions, always be it understood—for I will not speak disrespectfully of all—but I would as soon have gone to a band of robbers as to the Presbyterian Assembly of the United States, because that body has in it men who would not steal sheep but who steal men. The new school Presbyterian Assembly and the Baptists are upon an equality with the others. The latter had a thief and a robber of the name of Johnston to preside over them a few years ago. The Methodist Church, too, is full of blood and full of Slaveholders. Now, I say, let the people of Scotland, let the ministers of Scotland, in their ecclesiastical capacity, lift up a warning voice, and cease to have fellowship with every man coming from the United States, who is connected with the upholding of this dreadful system, or, if they do, they will be helping to sustain the monster of blood amongst us. (Cheers.) Suppose a den of thieves were to set themselves down at the mouth of the Clyde, and live by stealing your herds and your sheep, and that there they live, a little colony by themselves, to the amount perhaps of 100 families. They build themselves a church, and then they get a minister; the church is built by the fruits of stealing your cattle and sheep. By the fruits of that kind of industry called stealing, they also obtain the communion services; they steal to pay the minister, and he goes out perhaps and heads them in their expedition, and all the elders and deacons of the church live by stealing your cattle. Now, suppose all the ministers of Scotland knew that community, and knew that they lived by stealing, and suppose any of these ministers, say Dr. Chalmers, should invite the minister of that stealing community—and who himself steals sheep—into his pulpit, would you not say he was shaking hands with a thief, and was a participant in the crime? (Hear.) And suppose this minister should go to Edinburgh, and be received into fellowship; and the members of the Synod or Assembly of the Church should set him to preach their anniversary sermons, and to make speeches at their Bible and Missionary meetings, what would you think of such a thing? I ask the people of Glasgow, would you not say that all these men were banded together to steal your sheep? (Hear.) Well, that is just the position of the Church of the United States—at least of the great mass. They are not a sheep-stealing Church, nor a sheep-stealing clergy, but they are a man-stealing Church, and a man-stealing clergy. (Cheers.) The Rev. John Rankine has become satisfied that the reformation of the body of the clergy is

brother by brother, noble-looking men, the stamp of God's image on their brow, and yet held as Slaves, and doomed by their masters to be so all their lives. They told their history, and the privations they had undergone; and Nicholas, lifting up an over-coat he had upon him, showed more than 100 holes made by the rifles of their pursuers. (Hear.) On one occasion the coffin had burned the band from his wrist. There were some Slaveholders present, and they scowled upon the poor fellows while they were relating their tale. One of them asked at last if they had plenty to eat when with their master? Yes. Were you whipped? No. Were you worked hard? No. Had you good clothing? Yes. Now some people seem to imagine that if a master only treats his Slaves well, and gives them food and clothing, they by so doing, have overturned the arguments for abolition. Nicholas answered that in these respects he had nothing to complain of. "Then, why did you run away?" said the Slaveholder. His answer was, "I wanted to be looked upon as a man among men." (Great cheering.) And there is the gist of Freedom. It makes a man a man, while Slavery bears him down, and reduces him to the condition of a brute. Mr W. then proceeded to enforce the obligation of every man to use every exertion in his power to lay the monster of Slavery prostrate; and concluded his eloquent and touching address by moving the resolution.

Mr MURRAY seconded the resolution, and took occasion to read the deed abolishing Slavery in the East Indies. He also referred, in congratulatory language, to the success of the cause in Massachusetts, which had refused any longer to be the Slave-catcher for the south.

The Rev. J. DICKINSON, late of Kilmarnock, moved the next resolution. We regret that, in consequence of the length at which we have reported the speeches of the preceding speakers, want of space precludes our giving a full report of Mr D.'s. After some appropriate introductory remarks, he proceeded to welcome Mr Wright as the advocate of peace and universal Freedom. (Cheers.) War has been veiled, and we have looked at it hid under the mask of national security, state policy, and, at the very worst, as a necessary evil. And warriors of rank have been viewed as the personification, the very *beau ideal*, of all that is noble and generous, magnanimous and brave. (Hear.) Historians have recorded their achievements—poets have sung their praises—senates have agreed to do them honour—and, as they have returned in triumph from the scenes of battle, they have been hailed by an assembled people with loudest plaudits—even the fair have smilingly extended to them their special favours,—and our youth have been taught that to imitate their example was true nobility. (Cheering.) But our friend comes to draw aside the veil, to remove the mask, and to exhibit war in all its native deformity. (Cheers.) We receive him as "the dove with the olive branch," the messenger of peace. And as Noah knew by the return of the dove to the Ark that the waters of the Deluge were abating—so we hail our friend as a pledge that the waters of the moral deluge of War and Slavery are receding. (Cheers.) My motion refers to Slavery in America, from whence our friend has come, and fearful are the accounts he has just given us. Oh! Slavery is a foul crime; it is denounced in the Word of God. The Rev. Doctor who moved the first resolution last night did well in what he advanced on the scriptural argument against Slavery, but, in my humble opinion, he inadvertently overlooked one special instance of condemnation. In 1 Tim. i. 9, 10, we read "That the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with

speech that Dan O'Connell made in Dublin a few weeks ago, when he received an address, which I brought over, from the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Association. They wanted to bring him out, and see how his opinions stood on the question of Slavery; and, to be sure, he showed himself more than Richard again. Instead of showing to the Irishmen in that country that he sympathized with them on Slavery, his speech proved to be the Ithuriel spear that touched the toad at the ear of Eve. The moment the Irishmen in America found Daniel O'Connell denouncing all Slaveholders as villains, they began to disband the repeal association, and to denounce O'Connell for no other reason than because he made that excellent Anti-Slavery speech. (Hear.) Mr W. here intimated, that in all probability he would take other opportunities in Scotland for farther explaining himself upon this large and important question, into the full merits of which he could not enter in a single speech. He then proceeded: a crisis in the United States is near at hand, and it is not in the power of man to stop it; there will soon come a final crisis on this question of Slavery, and how it is to come God only knows; but it is my feeling, and the feeling of those who have watched this movement, and who know the malignant nature of the monster, that we have reason to fear it will go down in an ocean of blood. (Hear.) We pray to God, however, for the contrary. By the form of the national compact it was always understood that the Free States were to give up runaway Slaves, and the question of these runaway Slaves has now become an important item in the Anti-Slavery movement. Now, Massachusetts, last fall, for the first time, declared to the world, that the government of Massachusetts would no longer be made the Slave-catchers—the bloodhound of the Southern States. No officer of the State, neither Sheriff, nor Judge, nor Jailer, would now have anything to do with the imprisonment of a runaway Slave. Somebody said last night, talking about runaway Slaves, that they were always described as the most miserable fellows on an estate, and that the best of the Slaves stopped behind. A more noble-minded being than the runaway Slave it was difficult to think of. Just take his case: suppose he starts from the extreme south of Louisiana or Mobile, he takes the north star, and steers his course for Canada—for 1200 miles he has to run the gauntlet through a Slaveholding Republic, and with bloodhounds and rifles at his heels. He travels by night and sleeps by day—he traverses her broad swamps, and wades her mighty rivers, and makes his way, amid difficulties and dangers, which no one here can understand, till he arrives in the kingdom of Queen Victoria, and then, thank God, he is safe. (Cheers.) Talk of such a man being a miserable being. It requires a man of a mighty spirit to attempt such a task as I have described; and I believe there are not on this footstool nobler spirits, or more daring, high-minded, courageous hearts, than are embodied in the runaway Slaves in Upper Canada. (Cheers.) Had they not been such they never would have been there. Permit me to tell you an anecdote to show you what kind of men these are: I was attending a delegate meeting in the town of Bloomfield, on the Tennessee River. It was a bitter cold day, and the snow lay deep on the ground, but we had about 1200 delegates present. Just as we were going into the meeting, who should come along but two of these runaway Slaves. Their names were Henry and Nicholas Howard. They had come from Baltimore, and as we stopped them to inquire into their case, they trembled all over, and hardly dared to come among us. It was touching to see the poor trembling fugitives—men six feet high—watching around to see if some one was not there to carry them back. We got them on the platform; and there they stood,

of Christ, with the price of the bones and sinews, the flesh and blood, of their fellow-men. (Great cheering.) America was viewed as a moral giant, and the eyes of the civilized world were directed to her as the asylum of liberty. She boasts a constitution which recognizes the natural equality and equal rights of man; and yet America holds millions of her population in bondage; she is the land of Liberty and Slavery—not equality. But even in her darkened hemisphere there is one bright streak of light above the horizon. There—the American Abolition Society, what is it? It is the infant Hercules; and, though but in its cradle, like him of whom we read in classic story, already is its strength evinced, and by its might shall the Alpean waters of public opinion cleanse from all its foulness and impurity the Augean stable of American Slavery. What is it? It is the very Thermopylae of American freedom; and by this little band, led on by some modern Leonidas, the Xerxes of oppression and cruelty and blood shall be vanquished. Not more certainly did the proud Philistine, spite of his boast, fall before the stripling son of Jesse, the shepherd's lad, than shall the Goliath of Slavery be slain by the stone from the sling of this Society. They fight in a holy cause, and David's God is theirs. (Loud cheers.) Speak not of their weakness. Who hath despised the day of small things? The oak, that stands unmoved amidst the storms of ages, and seems but the firmer rooted by the winter's blast, was once an insignificant acorn dropped from the parent tree. Newton, the priest of nature, and enthroned by the suffrages of all men the prince of philosophers—Newton, whose star-like spirit shot athwart the darkness of the sphere, counted the number of the stars, ascertained their situation and distances, and weighed and measured the sun—was once a little boy, and learned to read his A, B, C. (Great cheering.) Do you ask what has it done? We reply, it has held up the system in all its odiousness to the public gaze—it has excited public attention, and, as the attention is directed, will the mind be affected and the conduct influenced. It has roused opposition, and this is, indeed, a good sign, and by their rage the Slaveholders acknowledge the power of this Society. It has set afloat the current of righteous principles, and this current cannot be restrained. Hopeless were the attempt. As well might we say to the waves of the majestic ocean, recede; or to the sun, when, in all his glory, he has disappeared below our horizon, thou shalt not again arise; or to the lightning, that shoots athwart the darkened gloom, shine not, or bid the mighty thunder cease its noise. It is a power which human agency cannot overthrow, and before which tyranny and oppression shall fall. (Cheers.) The enemies of this Society are compressing elastic materials. In the natural world, when bodies act upon each other, and by their chemical agency produce new compounds, which cannot be permanently compressed, but must have vent, though, for a while, if covered in the earth, they may appear quiescent, they are at that very time acquiring potency and strength by which the ground shall vibrate, and, by and by, the earthquake, with the fearfulness of its devastation, shall declare their power. And like to this is the compression of the moral elements in America. If they give them not vent, in the liberation of their Slaves, their country will be overthrown by the moral earthquake of revolution and anarchy. They have applied the high-pressure to the steam-power of freedom, but unless, through the safety valve of this Society, they allow it, to escape. like unto many of their own ill-fated steam-ships, will there be an awful explosion throughout the whole of American Society. (Hear, hear.) The question is, what can we do? We give to this little band our sympathy. We can tell them that they have our approval, and this will do much. It will

mankind, for *men-stealers*, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine." On the meaning of the phrase "*men-stealers*," I give you the opinions of two profound Biblical critics—Macknight, one of the brightest ornaments of the Church of Scotland, a man whose learning is acknowledged by all parties, and Joseph Benson, the friend of Wesley. Benson's piety was deep, and his erudition profound. It was said of him that he was as familiar with his Greek as with his English Testament. In his admirable Exposition he gives Macknight's views incorporated with his own. "*Men-stealers—who, in the grossest sense possible, break the Eighth Commandment; for of all thieves, those that steal human beings are the worst. In comparison of them highwaymen and housebreakers are innocent!*"—"They who make war for the inhuman purpose of selling the vanquished for Slaves, as is the practice of African princes; and they who, like the African traders, encourage this unchristian traffic by purchasing that which they know to be thus unjustly acquired, are really *men-stealers*." "And such are all the nations who legalize or connive at such proceedings." Let it not then be said, let it not then be thought, that that accursed system is not positively prohibited in the Word of God. What statute can be more express? Talk not of patriarchal institutions, and curses because of filial disobedience. We live under the dispensation of mercy. (Applause.) As the deleterious stream is purified in the ocean, and from thence ascends in vapours to fertilize the earth in fruitful showers, so the gospel of Christ turns all curses into blessings. (Cheers.) Its office is to bless all, to curse none. This, Sir, is an Anniversary Meeting; and we look back with grateful feelings to the 1st of August, 1838. It was indeed a sublime spectacle, when the Island Empress rose in her might, and said to this foul traffic in human flesh, be stayed. (Cheers.) It is indeed delightful to contemplate benevolence, whether we view it in its pure source in the Divinity, or in the angels who do his pleasure, or personified by Howard, the friend of the distressed. We love our country. But under what aspect is she the most attractive? Is it when, by her martial prowess, she is proclaimed victorious in the field of battle—or, by the bravery of her tars, the undisputed mistress of the seas—or when, by the enterprize of her sons, she carries her commerce to the ends of the earth? Ah! no. It is when she stands as the benefactress of the world, and proclaims—"That where Britannia's power is felt," "*mankind may feel her mercy too.*" (Enthusiastic applause.) We have paid our twenty millions. Be it so. There may be, there is a difference of opinion on this subject; and I for one would rather have given compensation to the injured Slave. But what then? Have we not expended millions of money and oceans of blood in our continental wars—and for what? Why, to perpetuate despotism. Let our twenty millions go. By it we wiped out a foul blot from our nation's history, and Victoria, whom God preserve, now reigns the Queen of Freedom. (Cheers.) We look to America; ah! there is gloom. There rests on that country the dark cloud of Slavery. In this land Slavery was ever the sin of the men of the world. In America, "*Tell it not in Gath,*" or, rather, proclaim it aloud, that it may meet the universal execration, it is the sin of the church. (Hear.) Men who profess to be the disciples and ministers of the God of mercy, denying the rights of humanity to their fellows—ministers of the sanctuary acting as nurses of Slavery, and office-bearers of the church purchasing the Communion elements, by which they professedly commemorate the dying love

be felt as a dead weight on that mill. It was just so in the West Indies ; and this showed that emigration was not likely to reduce wages in any material degree. In Guiana, the labourers had spent £80,000 in buying their old masters' estates. In Jamaica, 8000 freeholds had been created since the Emancipation Act passed. Here was a middle class rising that could not have existed in Slavery, but which always was to be found in every free and well-regulated country. These middle class men were gradually making more room for new labourers. Since African emigration had been permitted, the re-emigration which had taken place has been to a very small extent, consisting only of delegates from the different Colonies. But we may judge what will be the result, from the analogous case of the Coolies, who were introduced five years ago on indentures, at wages of 2½ dollars a month and certain provisions, and were sent back when their indentures expired last year ; and a Parliamentary paper had been printed stating the sums they carried with them. They had only their spare time to make money in, and yet they took back 12,000 dollars, or £2,500. The average saving of 121 Coolies was 161 dollars a-head. Now, the Coolies were an inferior race to the Negro, the latter being able to do a third more work than the former. There need be no alarm at any sudden fall of wages. In the first place, the emigrants could not be all got in at once—you cannot swamp the emancipated population by a sudden influx of labourers—the process would be a gradual, though a sure one. He had stated last night that the African race were fated to possess the tropics. In America, they had increased almost in the same ratio as the free population. There were seven millions of them in the Western hemisphere, and it seemed as if God had intended them to possess that land. Mr L. again referred to the clause making it imperative to send back the emigrants free, as a guarantee against their being detained contrary to their inclinations, and contended that there was little danger of their being ill used within fourteen days' steaming of England. (Cheers.)

Mr H. C. WRIGHT seconded the Resolution, as he wished to have his name connected with this question. The Anti-Slavery principle gathered around it all the good principles in the universe, and free trade came right into it, and was a glorious part of it. How was it that England put heavy duties on the growth of the Free States of America, while she permitted the Slaveholding produce to come over for almost nothing? (Hear.) Why was it that their men of commerce, their men of business, did not look that question in the face?

Dr. LIGHTBODY said the reason was obvious. The landlords of this country thought it their interest to prevent the introduction of agricultural produce, but the Cotton of the Southern States did not affect them.

A conversation here took place between Mr Laird and one or two gentlemen in the meeting—the latter appearing to be of opinion that the emigration scheme would not benefit this country—that what we greatly wanted was employment for our industrious population, and the free interchange of products with Brazil or any other country, without giving the Colonies any advantage over them. Mr Laird contended that this country must be benefitted by every free labourer taken to the West Indies, inasmuch as they would be better customers for our manufactures than when in Africa or in Slavery. He also argued that we were bound to put the West India Colonies on a footing of equality with other countries as to labour, before we admitted the produce of other countries on the same terms with theirs. (Cheers.)

As this conversation was of rather a desultory nature, it is deemed unnecessary to give it more in detail.

cheer them onward. But we can weaken the power of their enemies. The stronghold of Slavery in America is in the Church. Let the Church here do its duty. Let the Churches here expostulate with the churches there because of their sin, and, if they repent not, disown them. When their ministers come to this country, let the first question be, "Have you anything to do with Slavery? because, if you have, we have nothing to do with you." Let British Christians tell the American Churches that we will hold no fellowship with those who buy and sell their fellow-men, who make merchandise of those for whom Christ hath died. Let us tell them that we view their zeal for the conversion of the heathen, hypocritical pretence, while they deny the rights of humanity to the Slave at their doors. That we care not a straw for their revivals, while they countenance a law which keeps the word of God from their fellow-men among whom they live. Tell them we will have no green curtains in the sanctuary of God to separate the whites from the blacks. Let British churches faithfully and honestly do this, and American Slavery will tremble, will totter, will fall. The Free Presbyterian Church has done well. Let the Rev. Dr. Burns move, and the Rev. Dr. Willis second, a letter of sympathy with the American Abolitionists, and a letter of remonstrance with the American churches, in their Assembly in Glasgow in October next, and let other bodies of Christians follow this example, and mighty will be the results. (Cheers.) We say to the American Abolitionists, Go on, your cause must prosper. Slavery is a blot which cannot remain amidst the glories of Messiah's reign. That is the reign of righteousness. Slavery is inconsistent with the dominion of mercy. It is a deformity which shall not mar the beauty of the picture which shall be exhibited, when this world shall own the sway of Him who came from heaven to earth, not to enslave but to free, not to destroy but to save the sons of men. (Great cheering.)

MACGREGOR LAIRD, Esq., moved the sixth resolution. He said there was one thing which must come before free trade, and that was fair play. It would not be fair to admit Brazil Sugar upon an equal footing with our own Colonies so long as Brazil got Slave labourers in any number from Africa, while we prevented our Colonies from procuring them. On equal terms, as regards labour, our Colonies could compete with the whole world. (Hear, hear.) A gentleman had, the previous night, put a question as to whether this system of emigration would or would not tend to lower the wages of the labourers in the West Indies. He had prepared, from Parliamentary papers, a statement of the condition of the labouring class in the Colonies, and he considered it a perfectly satisfactory answer to the question. Mr Laird then read from the papers referred to a variety of extracts to show, that the labourers in the various islands were in a high condition of comfort, and were in the receipt of wages so high that the most extensive system of emigration would scarcely affect them. He thought the condition of labourers who could drink champagne (as some accounts stated they did) was an unnatural condition. The introduction of emigrants from Africa would not lower their position in any perceptible degree. In the larger Colonies, such as Trinidad and British Guiana, there was an immense amount of fixed capital in the shape of buildings, &c., which was not employed from want of labourers—Sugar mills, which might produce 1500 hhd. of Sugar, were only working 150 hhd. It was not the wages that was felt, but the want of hands. Supposing a manufacturer, with capital here were to erect a mill, and could not get it worked sufficiently for want of hands, it would not be the high wages paid to a small number of hands, but the want of sufficient labour, that would

not seen at home. In a few days, a "Draft Act" was published, which has been already noticed in this Journal. That has since become Law, and Slavery may be said to be virtually abolished; inasmuch as *it receives neither sanction, recognition, nor protection from Government*. An open Proclamation, declaring Slavery abolished, would have been more acceptable to the people of England, but such a Law was thought by the Council there to be inexpedient. The chief merit of the new Act, is due to William Wilberforce Bird, the Deputy-Governor and President of the Council, with whom G. T. had a good deal of conversation on the subject. Since the Draft Act was published, his object had been to give it all the publicity he could; and so explaining to the native community, its nature and effects, as that it might be widely taken advantage of, and lead to the general and complete abolition of the Slave system. Slavery has also been abolished in what are called "The Straits' Settlements"—that is, at Penang, Singapore, and Malacca. Respecting the *operation* of the new Law, G. T. would do all in his power to acquire information, up to the last moment of his stay in India.

THE HILL COOLIE EMIGRATION SYSTEM.—On this question, he had got all the information by any means obtainable, respecting the old system, and the operations of the late Act, authorizing the re-opening of the traffic. On these, want of time prevented his writing much. This is the outline. The Planters of Mauritius want Labourers. Every man they at present obtain, puts them to the charge of about 100 Rupees, or Ten Pounds sterling. Of this, the Government pays from the Island Treasury, 70 Rupees, as a Bounty upon Immigration; leaving a direct expense to the Planter of about 30 Rupees. How is this spent? As follows:—The Sugar Planter says to his agent in Mauritius, You must send me some Coolies. The agent straightway writes to the firm with whom he does business in Calcutta, and instructs him to ship a certain number. The agency house there then employs what are called Duffadars, or Recruiting Officers, or Crimps. These, again, send men into different parts of the country, to seduce parties from their homes, and bring them down to Calcutta. When there, they are kept in miserable holes, until the time for shipping them comes. They are then taken to an office at the river side—questioned by a Government Coolie agent—a certificate is made out, stating their name, caste, country, age, height, and any peculiarity about them. A doctor then sees each man, and certifies that he is sound. They are then put on board, and a Custom-house Officer remains until the pilot takes charge of the vessel. Then the pilot is responsible, until the ship is clear of the river. These latter precautions are to prevent smuggling a larger number than the Act allows. On arriving at Mauritius, a Protector, so called, goes on board the ship, and receives the certificates—examines the vessel—counts the Coolies—inquires after the treatment as to food, water, means of cooking, &c.,—then lands them, and gives the captain the order to receive the Bounty. The Mauritius agents then claim those which have been sent to them respectively—hand them over to different Planters—the Planters carry them before a Magistrate, who binds the Coolies to their master for one year. Away they go then to the Plantation.—Now for the expense. The *Crimp* manages to get about 15 Rupees for each man, from the Calcutta agent. Out of this he may give the poor Coolie two Rupees, or one—which is all the money he gets, until he earns it at Mauritius? Then say 15 Rupees to the Duffadar, clear Bounty for each man. The former 15 is charged as expenses for finding the man, bringing him from the village, keeping him at Calcutta, &c. The Duffadar, therefore, in all gets—say 30 Rupees. Set down the pass-

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr R. WRIGHT moved that the Committee and Office-Bearers be re-appointed, with power to add to their number.

Mr WILLIAM SMEAL had to propose the last Resolution; but before reading it, wished to ascertain whether the meeting would unite in a request he was about to make, that, as their friend Henry C. Wright had told them he could not in a brief speech do any justice to a delineation of the horrid system of Slavery in the United States, a special opportunity should be given him, of addressing them on that subject exclusively, under the arrangement of the Committee. (Cheers.)

Mr H. C. WRIGHT expressed his readiness to gratify the meeting in this matter, in the course of a week or two. (Applause.)

Mr SMEAL having farther expressed a hope, that Mr Wright would also address the citizens of Glasgow on the subject of Peace, and the latter having signified his assent, he then moved a vote of thanks to the Minister and Managers of the Church, and also to their Chairmen, Bailie Hastie and Bailie Turner, which, as well as the preceding motion, was unanimously adopted.

The meeting then separated.

No. II.

MR GEORGE THOMPSON IN INDIA.

THE Subscribers and Friends to the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, have already been made acquainted with Mr Thompson's proceedings in India, up to the 4th April. What follows, comprises the substance of his letter read at the Annual Meeting in August last; and one subsequently received. They are extracted from the *British Friend* of 9th Month, (Sept.) 30th, 1843:—

A press of matter has prevented our continuing the narrative of G. T.'s proceedings, for two months. The letters, of which we are now to give the substance, are dated "Calcutta, *May 8th*," and "*June 1st*;" the former was written with a view to its being read at the Annual Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, on the Anniversary of Slave Emancipation in our Colonies.

G. T. had done all he could to make the "Landholder's Society" useful, by bringing a number of subjects before them, and by labouring very hard in the preparation of documents for them to lay before the Government. So far, those sent in have been very favourably received; and the Society has yet a number of topics under consideration. The importance of some of these may not be apparent to those at home, but they all affect, more or less, the interests of large numbers in India. Some subjects, upon which G. T. was in the practice of speaking in England, are next noticed. The first of which, is

SLAVERY.—On arriving at Calcutta, he obtained from the Government, all the Papers on this subject; and set himself to examine such as he had

accompanied, on his return to this country, by the King's son, or one of his Nobles. He had been indebted for this appointment and the good opinion of the King of Delhi, solely to the report which had reached him of G. T.'s exertions in England on behalf of India, and to the impression which his correspondence with him, had made on the King's mind. In his Journey to the Upper Provinces, as they are called, he would have a good opportunity of seeing the country; proceeding by way of Benares—the residence of the Rajah of Sattara. From thence he purposed going to Allahabad, to see the Governor General, who was on his way to Calcutta, and with whom he had business; and thence to Delhi. Dwarkanauth Tagore would follow G. T. in his route to Delhi; they would visit some parts of the country together, return to Calcutta, and then take their departure for England.

The day before leaving Calcutta, G. T. was to dine with the Governor of Bengal, and the Secretaries. It was a bad season to travel, it being oppressively hot, but he was not permitted to choose. On the journey, he would be in his palankeen 18 hours a-day; halting from 10 A.M. till 4 P.M., and it would require 1100 men to get him to Delhi! Such is the want of roads in India. Should the King of Delhi's business require G. T.'s early appearance in England, his plans as to returning from Delhi would have to be altered; in which case, he might proceed from Delhi to Bombay, and leave on the first of August for England, and arrive early in the month following. If otherwise, and the original route be kept to, in company of Dwarkanauth Tagore, he need not be looked for at home, until January, 1844.

MR THOMPSON AT DELHI !

SINCE the foregoing was in type, further communications from Mr Thompson, addressed to one of the Secretaries of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, have been received; accompanied by extracts from sundry Calcutta newspapers, the *Delhi Gazette*, &c. The dates are from the 19th July, to the 16th September. The reader will observe that Mr Thompson's first letter from Delhi, is dated 8th August; while those he refers to, in the commencement of his letter of the 10th, must have been lost in the wreck of the Steamer *Memnon*, as they have never come to hand. We regret the want of them, as the details they contained would, doubtless, have proved equally interesting with those we have now the pleasure to record.—The various articles that follow, are arranged as much as possible, in the order of time; and we leave them to make their own impression.

APPOINTMENT OF MR GEORGE THOMPSON AS AGENT OF THE LANDHOLDERS' SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

(From the DELHI GAZETTE.)

It will be seen by the following minutes and correspondence, that Mr Thompson will henceforth represent the interests of the Landholders' Society in England. This appointment proves that Mr Thompson has

age money at, on an average, 40 Rupees ; and add five for the food of the Coolie during a six or eight weeks' passage, though they manage to feed them for less than four. You have then, 75 out of the 100—the remaining 25 are divided between the agent at Mauritius, and at Calcutta. Out of this 100 Rupees, as already stated, the Government pay 70 as a Bounty, taken at present from the Reserved Fund of the Island.

G. T. had been on board the Coolie ships, when starting with 250 or 300 Emigrants, and it was indeed a mournful sight to see men, and some few women and children, quitting a country like India, to which their attachment is so strong, and crossing the ocean, to which they have both a natural and religious aversion, for the sake of earning five Rupees a month, in another region. The ships he had seen, were lofty between decks ; still, as the voyage is long, and the climate hot, there must be a dreadful amount of inconvenience and suffering. It was difficult to obtain any correct information regarding their actual treatment upon the Plantation. He had taken measures to gain some intelligence, and hoped to succeed. A number of instances of abuse had come to his knowledge, which he had made public at Calcutta. Some of these we have seen. The Government were well disposed. G. T. was engaged on a plan for the correction of some of the evils of the Coolie Emigration System ; but *without positive proof of ill treatment at Mauritius*, it could not be expected we should succeed in putting down the system a second time.

LAND TAX.—This is the most difficult question connected with India. It is that on which G. T. had read and thought most ; but upon which there is the greatest difference of opinion, and the greatest amount of sensitiveness. Nevertheless, he had not been wholly unsuccessful, in his efforts to obtain partial benefits for the cultivators of the soil. Some beneficial changes will be made in existing Laws ; and he trusted that, with regard to the North Western Provinces, there will be, ere very long, a Settlement upon far better principles than those which have been adopted in the other Provinces. To write intelligibly, however, on this subject, required more space and time than he could then command.

THE ELEVATION OF THE NATIVES TO A HIGHER RANK, AND LARGER PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY.—Ever since his arrival in India, G. T. had been enforcing the necessity of acting in the spirit of the 87th Clause of the last Charter of the Company ; and was glad to intimate, that there were symptoms of improvement in the Local Government. A Draft Act had just been published, declaring that the Natives shall, henceforth, be eligible to the situations of Deputy Magistrates, with the power, in the Local Government, of giving them the authority (but not the *pay*) of the Superior Magistrate, who is an European. But more of this another time.

At this date (8th May) G. T. was writing with the glass at 94, in the shade ; the great heat rendering exertion of any kind painful. As he was in India, however, for the purpose of working, and had a great deal to do in a very short time, he did not suffer the heat to overcome him ; though he sighed for a colder climate, and would welcome with rapture the first breeze wafted to him from the hills of Scotland.

In his letter of the 1st June, he describes himself as being, from close confinement, incessant study, and the extreme heat, quite an invalid, and under the Doctor's care ; but he hoped to be well by the 8th, when he was to leave for a Journey to the ancient capital of the Mogul Empire ; whither he had been sent for, by the King of Delhi, upon special business ; by whom he had also been appointed, under the Imperial Seal, *Envoy from the King of Delhi to the Queen of England* ; and will probably be

this country, in England, take this opportunity of tendering you their sincere thanks, and of expressing a hope, that through the medium of your kind Agency, they will be enabled to enlarge the sphere of their usefulness, and to promote the interest of the class which they represent.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) PROSSONNO COMAR TAGORE,

Secretary to the Landholders' Society.

CALCUTTA, 26th July, 1843.

MR THOMPSON'S REPLY.

BEGUN'S PALACE, DELHI, August 3d, 1843.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 26th ultimo, informing me of my having been appointed the English Agent of the Landholders' Society, by an unanimous vote of that body, on the 17th ultimo.

You have also conveyed to me, in very flattering terms, the thanks of the Landholders' Society, for the interest I have taken in the general welfare of this country, while in my native land; and for the humble efforts I have made to promote the objects of the Society since I arrived in India.

Such a communication as that which you have made to me, cannot but be in the highest degree satisfactory and encouraging.

I beg you to assure the Members of the Society, that I accept the office of their accredited Agent in England, with a deep sense of the honour they have conferred upon me, and a just appreciation of the magnitude, importance, and responsibility of the duties connected with it. I shall endeavour, by the future unreserved devotion of myself to "THE CAUSE OF INDIA," to maintain the high opinion the Society entertain of my attachment to this country; and I shall labour most assiduously to prove, that the confidence they have reposed in me, by selecting me to represent them in England, is not misplaced.

The Society may have greatly overrated my ability to serve the objects they have in view; but I may be permitted to say, that their choice could not have fallen on an individual more sincerely desirous to advance the interests and happiness of the people of India.

I fervently hope that the honourable connection which now subsists between the Landholders' Society and myself, will be lasting in its duration, and of much benefit to this country. I pledge myself, that as long as I continue to be the Agent of this Society, I will with uprightness, activity, and *undeviating principle*, seek, by all proper means, to advance every wise and patriotic object, to which the Society may devote its attention and energies.

I look forward with pleasure to an early opportunity of renewed personal communication with the Members of the Society, previous to my departure for England. I shall then be able to avail myself of the Society's wish to put me in possession of all the information necessary to enable me to prosecute their cause in England.—I have the honour to be, your obedient Servant,

GEO. THOMPSON.

TO BABOO PROSSONNO COMAR TAGORE, }
Secretary of the Landholders' Society, &c. &c. }

succeeded in gaining the confidence of the most influential Association at present existing in India, for the purpose of benefiting the country. We believe that Mr Thompson was mainly instrumental in reviving the Society, and that during his late residence in Calcutta he gave a large portion of his time to the preparation of Memorials to Government for the removal of several obvious and wide-spreading evils. The first Memorial sent in by the Society appears, from a late Draft Act, to have been successful, and from the respect and attention with which the Society's representations are uniformly received by the Government, we should hope that it will prove a very useful body. The appointment of Mr Thompson to the office of Agent in England, and of a Member of the Calcutta Bar to that of Honorary Secretary, seems to indicate that the Society intends to be an active and efficient body. Mr Thompson will now be able to speak with far greater authority upon Indian questions. He will draw his information from the very best source, and will, besides, be supported in the demands he may feel it his duty to make, by the most intelligent portion of the Native population, as well as by many of the European inhabitants, and the Press generally. The latter, though differing on many minor points, being agreed on all matters affecting the interests of the people of British India :—

“ At a Special Meeting of the Landholders' Society, held at the Society's House, Chitpore Road, Calcutta, July 17th, 1843.

“ The SECRETARY brought forward for special consideration, the subject of appointing an Agent to conduct the business of the Society in England.

“ BABOO DWARKANAATH TAGORE informed the meeting, that Mr Thompson had, in reply to a letter addressed to him on the subject, kindly consented to accept the appointment of agent to the Society in England, if the members *unanimously* elected him to the office.

“ It was then moved by RAJA RADACAUNT ROY, BAHADUR, and seconded by BABOO DWARKANAATH TAGORE—‘ That the Landholders' Society, having already witnessed the zeal, assiduity, and attention with which Mr George Thompson co-operated with the Society during his residence in Calcutta, and being fully aware of the intense interest manifested by him in the CAUSE OF INDIA, in England, most gladly elect him as their Agent ; and that the Secretary be authorized to inform Mr Thompson of his appointment, and to convey to him, at the same time, the sincere thanks of the Society for his past services, with their wish to furnish him with such materials, previous to his departure, as will enable him efficiently to bring the business of the Society before the proper authorities in England.’

“ The resolution was carried unanimously.”

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION OF THE SOCIETY TO MR THOMPSON.

TO GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ., Delhi.

SIR,—I am directed by the Landholders' Society, to communicate to you, that in pursuance of your kind offer, they have unanimously elected you to act as Agent for the Society in England. You will accordingly be pleased to put yourself in communication with them, through the usual channel, and on your return to this city, all the necessary information connected with the affairs of the Society will be furnished to you, previous to your departure for England.

The Society having already witnessed the ability, zeal, and assiduity with which you co-operated with them during your late residence in Calcutta, and the intense interest which you have ever evinced in the cause of

this before I close. Since I came here, the Government (the Supreme Government, that is to say, Lord Ellenborough) has tried hard to thwart the object of my mission. I have had a long correspondence, and have come out of it quite victorious. They have felt themselves obliged to concede every thing I asked in regard to my unrestricted communication with the king. I hope now to advance with my business.

The sickness increases here alarmingly, but I continue in tolerable health. Friend Murray must consider all to you as sent to him also. —Again, Yours ever,

GEO. THOMPSON.

Mr WILLIAM SMEAL, Glasgow.

(From the DELHI GAZETTE, Aug. 10th.)

We are able to state, for the information of some of our contemporaries at a distance, who appear to have misapprehensions on the subject, the real state of the case respecting the progress of Mr George Thompson's mission to Delhi. The facts may, we believe, be relied on, and are as follow:—Previous to Mr Thompson's arrival in Delhi, the King had written to Mr Clerk, the Lieutenant-Governor, informing him of the nature of Mr Thompson's appointment, and requesting *free communication* with that gentleman, as his Majesty's accredited Agent. To this letter the Lieutenant-Governor replied, that the King was at perfect liberty to avail himself of the services of Mr Thompson or any other European gentleman, not being at the time in the Company's service; and that he had no objection to his seeing any person so appointed. He, however, used some arguments to dissuade the King from sending a deputation to England. Notwithstanding this letter, the Agent, Mr Metcalfe, declined to sanction any intercourse beyond a visit of ceremony, at which no nuzzer should be presented, nor any khilut conferred. The King and Mr Thompson alike declined to avail themselves of this limited permission, and reference was again made to the Lieutenant-Governor, who was requested to state with unquestionable explicitness, his views on the subject of intercourse—the presentation of nuzzers—and the bestowal of distinctions. Within the last few days a letter has been received from Simlah, stating that instructions have been forwarded to the Agent, to act in all respects according to the expressed wishes of the King in the above points, as far as they concern Mr Thompson. All impediments, therefore, are now removed. The Lieutenant-Governor has acted as we always thought he would act, when called upon to decide; while the Agent, we have no doubt, acted up to the views he entertained of the extent of his authority, as defined by the practice and custom of his predecessors. Mr Thompson will, almost immediately, pay his first visit to the King.

MR THOMPSON'S SECOND LETTER.

BEGUM'S PALACE, DELHI, August 10th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have now been a month in Delhi. By the last mail I informed you of the circumstances which led me to come here direct from Calcutta, and I gave you, in letters which I posted on the 30th of June, and the 6th of July, some account of my journey for 800 miles on the road. I arrived within three miles of this city on the night of the 8th of July, but was not permitted to proceed further, as the King had arranged to give me a suitable *entreé* the next morning. I was accordingly

We learn, by letters of the 10th instant, from Delhi, that Mr George Thompson reached that place on the preceding day. He was met, about three miles from the city, by some half dozen of the nobles of the Court, with a large phalanx of attendants, and was conducted to the residence, set apart for him (the Begum's palace) on the King's elephant, richly caparisoned, with a glittering howdah and splendid trappings. Every possible mark of distinction was shown him; and in fitting up the Begum's palace for Mr Thompson, his Majesty is said to have consulted, to the utmost extent, the European tastes of his visitor. The Hukeem, we are told, had received from the King three dresses of honour, and divers jewels, in token of the King's approbation of the manner in which he had executed his mission to Calcutta.—*Bengal Hurkaru, July 19th.*

Mirza Shahbrookh, with Meer Hamud Alee Khan, Rajah Debee Singh, and others, went out to the Kootub with the ostensible purpose of performing some religious ceremony, but in reality, to meet Mr Thompson, who however, did not leave Delhi. That gentleman (Mr Thompson) has received from His Majesty the King a document in Persian, handsomely engrossed, and duly framed, in which he is styled *El danish poor vekaroo kherkhae jan baen El-chee-i-Shah-i-Hindoostan*, which may be translated as the "wise, the high in rank, the well-wisher of either side, the deputed of the Shah of Hindustan."—*Delhi Gazette, July 19th.*

(Extract from the BENGAL HURKARU.)

We must not pass over in silence the Draft of an Act, which has just appeared in the *Gazette*, for the repeal of the obnoxious Registration Act, No. 1. of the present year. It is calculated to give great satisfaction to all whom it concerns; and does great credit to Government, as evincing a laudable desire on their part, to meet the wishes of the landholding community. Our readers may remember that, early in the present year, the Landholders' Society took up the subject with much zeal, and addressed themselves to the work of obtaining a repeal of the Law, rendering registration imperative. Their efforts have been crowned with success; and, it is now enacted, that "no conveyance or other instrument affecting title to land, or any interest in the same, whether made before or after the first of May last, other than such deeds or certificates as aforesaid, are, or shall be, in any respect void for want of registration"—the Draft was published entire in yesterday's *Hurkaru*, and we have reason to know, that it has been read with very great satisfaction by parties, whom it will peculiarly affect. Great praise is due to the Landholders' Society, for their spirited exertions—nor less to the Government for their judicious concessions to public opinion.

MR THOMPSON'S FIRST LETTER.

DELHI, August 8th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am happy to inform you, that since I wrote the first sheet, I have learnt that the very first Memorial I sent in for the Landholders' Society, to the Government, in March, has been entirely successful, and led to the repeal of a Law on Registration, which was passed in the preceding January. Thus, my labours have not been wholly without fruit. The other measures on which I have written, are under consideration, and several of them will, I have reason to believe, lead to similar results. I send you a scrap from the *Hurkaru*, on this matter. Also, a scrap referring to my reception at Delhi. I shall try to add something to

this before I close. Since I came here, the Government (the Supreme Government, that is to say, Lord Ellenborough) has tried hard to thwart the object of my mission. I have had a long correspondence, and have come out of it quite victorious. They have felt themselves obliged to concede every thing I asked in regard to my unrestricted communication with the king. I hope now to advance with my business.

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BEGUN'S PALACE, DELHI, August 10th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have now been a month in Delhi. By the last mail I informed you of the circumstances which led me to come here direct from Calcutta, and I gave you, in letters which I posted on the 30th of June, and the 6th of July, some account of my journey for 800 miles on the road. I arrived within three miles of this city on the night of the 8th of July, but was not permitted to proceed further, as the King had arranged to give me a suitable *entrée* the next morning. I was accordingly

met on the road by a party of the King's nobles, with elephants, troopers, sepoy, silversticks, &c., &c. ; and being placed in a glittering howdah of crimson and gold, on the back of a majestic elephant, was brought into Delhi, and conducted to the residence provided for me, where I received the respects of a large number of the persons belonging to his Majesty's court, and was then left in quietness. Here I have remained ever since, attending to the business I have undertaken, but with ample leisure to examine the vast number of interesting objects around me. I have explored the city and its neighbourhood—visited and been visited by the principal persons—and, during the heat of the day, have devoted myself to reading on the subject of the rise and fall of those empires which have had their seats on this spot, or in the immediate neighbourhood. I deem myself fortunate in having come to Delhi under such peculiar circumstances ; as I have, in consequence, every facility afforded me for seeing whatever is worthy of inspection. Nothing is closed to me but those sealed and sacred buildings, where eastern jealousy keeps watch over female beauty. The present city of Delhi is of comparatively modern date. It is *one* of the finest, if not the very finest city out of Europe—surrounded on three sides with a very handsome wall of red stone, and on the fourth side by the Jumna, which during this, the rainy season, is a broad, rapid, and beautiful stream. There is a magnificent mosque here, called the Jama Musjid, which is a sort of St. Peter's, or St. Paul's. The palace of the Emperor, too, is celebrated for the exquisite workmanship in white marble which it exhibits, and for many other beauties. The city has seven gates. All beyond these is a realm of ruins. For ten, twelve, or fifteen miles in every direction on this side of the river, you walk over the mouldering fragments of forts, palaces, pagodas, towers, mosques, tombs, and other edifices—a few of which only are in such a state of preservation, as to give you any idea of their former grandeur. The eye is relieved, however, by the frequency of what were once gardens, and cost almost incredible sums of money, but are now luxuriant wildernesses. I must leave you to imagine with what feelings I have roamed over these regions—my mind, at the time, full of the events which have transpired here for a thousand years. This, of all other places in the world, is *the* place in which to read the history of India ; for, on this spot, the fate of the country has been again and again decided. Here the Hindoos have struggled, too frequently in vain, with the Persian, the Affghan, and the Tartar ; and here, in later times, the Musselman has had to carry on a bloody debate with the hosts of the Mahratta Chieftain, who at last made himself *de facto* the ruler of the Empire, until a stronger than he appeared, in the person of the British Conqueror, and humbled alike the pride both of Hindoo and Musselman, and transferred the power, the wealth, and the territory of both, to the hands of the Sovereign of Great Britain. But I must leave to other times the narration of all my adventures, the description of all the sights I have seen, and the expression of the feelings with which they have inspired me. Those times will I hope come, and soon, when I shall be able, either in public or private, to carry you with me over the ground I have trodden.

I am now within three nights' journey of the Hymalayah mountains, and shall be off to them as soon as my business will allow me to do so. I long to stand 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, and cast my eyes over that interminable range of snow-crowned points—the glory of Asia—which stand like sentinels to mark the boundary between realm and realm, and people and people. And yet, would men love one another, these would be no barrier to a kindly and affectionate intercourse. Oh ! when shall it be, that men shall cease to war, and learn that their true interest and true

glory consist in helping and blessing each other! Descend, descend, Spirit of Peace, upon this wicked world! Tame the worse than tiger hearts of men, and sway thy sceptre from the sea to the mountains, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth!

The Landholders' Society of Calcutta, have, since I left the city, appointed me by an unanimous vote, their Agent in England. I send you their letter to me, and my reply. Thus officially connected with the most influential body of Natives in India on the one side, and the President of the Bengal Society of Junior Reformers on the other—the Representative of the Rajah of Sattara, who is the nominal head of the Hindoos—and the Envoy of the King of Delhi, the lineal descendant of the Timours, and the acknowledged head of the Mahometan nation in India, I think I shall be pretty closely connected with my fellow-subjects the Natives of this country! But, think not, that any or all of these engagements will draw my mind away from the interests of the *whole people*, or warp my principles to the extent of a hair. Why do I at this moment stand related to the parties above named? Simply, because I have espoused the cause of the people, and have not ceased to reiterate the principles on which I conceive the country should be governed, both in great things and small. Here, however, as I have before told you, my sphere of operations is limited. There is a boundless field for observation, and endless opportunities for acquiring knowledge and experience; but, the circumstances and education of the people, no less than the form of the Government, prescribe a much more confined system of operations, for the effectuation of a change in the principles of the administration, than at home.

Though not very strong, I have reason to be thankful for so large a measure of health. Sickness, just now, is all around me, but I am enabled to work without intermission.—Yours ever,

GEO. THOMPSON.

That this cover may not go blank, I transcribe from my note-book, a

SONNET,

WRITTEN ON THE MORNING OF 1ST AUGUST.

Ye, who lack courage in the trying hour,
When Truth contends with Error, Right with Power,
When Persecution lifts its horrid head,
And pity from the tyrant's breast has fled;
And bloated wealth asserts its right to wield,
The lash o'er those who till the burning field;
And sport is made of Nature's holiest ties,
And God's dread law in dust forgotten lies;
Think on *this day*, and banish your despair!
Think on this day, and henceforth, no more dare
To doubt the issue of that glorious strife,
Which leads to justice, liberty, and life!
IT IS DECREED! nor far remote the time,
When Freedom's trump shall sound through every clime.

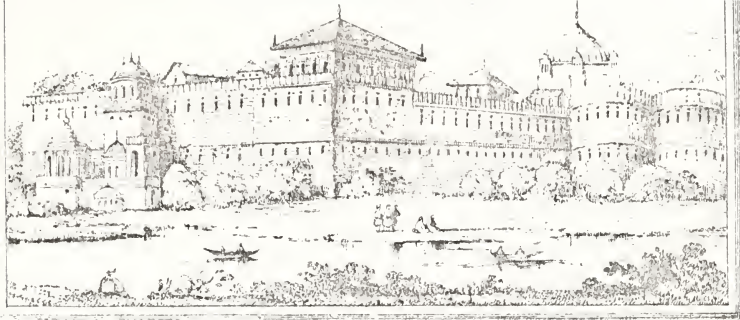
G. T.

DELHI, August 1st, 1843.

MR THOMPSON'S THIRD LETTER.

DELHI, *August 12th*, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Notwithstanding the bulk of my dispatch on the 10th, I must inflict upon you a supplementary letter, that you may have the earliest intelligence of my reception at the hands of his Majesty the King. The enclosed paragraph will explain the reasons why I did not before go to the King. This morning, at Eight o'clock, was fixed for my reception at the palace. Soon after Six my escort arrived, and consisted of mounted men, a great number of others on foot, carrying swords, several elephants, and an open carriage for me and my immediate attendants. A little before Eight I started, and soon reached the Fort within which the palace is situated. Soldiers were drawn up within the barbican. I must at some future time endeavour to describe to you the splendid architecture of this residence of the king, which, if supported in a proper manner, would be one of the most magnificent royal residences in the world. After passing under what Bishop Heber describes as the noblest gateway and vestibule he ever saw, consisting not merely of a splendid Gothic arch in the centre of the great gate-tower,—but after that of a long vaulted aisle like that of a gothic Cathedral, with a small open octagonal court in the centre, all of granite, and all finely carved with inscriptions from the Koran, and with flowers,—I passed through a spacious court-yard, and under another gateway—then across another wide court, to the HALL OF AUDIENCE, an open building, surrounded by screens—one of these was removed, and I was met by the Vizier, or Minister, who taking me by the hand, led me to the commencement of a carpet leading up to the spot on which the King was seated, surrounded by his sons and nobles. Here I had to pause, and make my salaam. I then advanced and presented a nuzzer, or a gift of two gold mohurs (£3 4s.) to the King. I was then stationed by the side of the King, who handed to a herald a paper in Persian, containing the titles he had conferred upon me. I then was led by the Vizier to the place where I made my first salaam, and there my titles were proclaimed. I then made another salaam—then advanced and presented a second nuzzer. After some time, I was led out to be robed in the dresses of honour prepared for me. Then brought back to the original spot, and salaamed—then advanced and gave a third nuzzer to the King. The King then placed jewels round my neck, and fixed others upon my head. Then I retreated again, and salaamed, and then came forward, and presented another nuzzer. Honorary dresses and jewels were then presented to four of my servants. Then a present of an elephant, a horse, and shawls to me—then more salaams, and another nuzzer—then finally, I had to make another salaam, and present another nuzzer in token of gratitude for all these favours. During these ceremonies, the herald and a crowd kept shouting and echoing the titles of the King—"Lo, the ornament of the world." "Lo, the asylum of the nations." "King of kings!" "The Emperor Bahadoor Shah! The just, the fortunate, the victorious!"—and my titles also,—“The wise, the high in rank, the mediator between both parties, the well-wisher, the chief favourite of the light of the universe, the great Bahadoor George Thompson!” My servants, too, had all to present nuzzers of inferior value, and my moonshee, who is a Mahratta, a Brahmin of the very highest caste, and a man of rank, and who would die rather than serve any one but his own prince and me, impoverished himself by making his nuzzers as large as possible, presenting gold, and getting in return a title, a dress, and some



A portion of the Wall surrounding the Palace.
(see page 50)

The Old Fort

DELHI.
the Jumna.

the Palace

Royal family with what it was 200 years ago.

The Hall of Audience is a spacious pavilion of white marble, elevated on a terrace of the same material, and is 150 feet in length, by 40 in breadth. Its pillars and arches are most exquisitely carved, and ornamented with gilt and inlaid flowers, and inscriptions in the Persian character. Round the frieze is the motto—

“If there be an Elysium on earth,
It is this, it is this.”

But, its glory has departed. Instead of the lines I have quoted—

"Icabod"—or "Sic transit gloria mundi," might be written in their place. Some other time I will give you a longer and a better description.

August the 14th.—This is the last day for despatching letters to leave Bombay on the 1st of September, and I must, therefore, conclude my letter. I have little more to add to it. I have arranged to visit the King, privately, every evening, at a certain hour, and to talk over all his affairs. He wishes to send one of the Princes with me, upon which, however, I shall have something to say. Dwarkanauth is coming to join me while I am here, and after visiting several places, we shall return to Calcutta together. I feel more unwell just now than I have done since I came to Delhi. Still, I have escaped wonderfully, being better than thousands around me. The native troops are in very bad health; and very many families are almost without servants, through the prevalence of fever. You shall hear from me fully, next mail, unless you should refuse my letters, in consequence of the postage. What has become of "*The British Friend*?" I have looked anxiously but in vain for it.—Yours ever, most truly,

GEO. THOMPSON,

As in a former case, I will occupy this cover, by transcribing another Sonnet, in the spirit and truth of which I know you will concur:—

SONNET,

WRITTEN IN THE BLANK LEAF OF MY BIBLE.

Were all the books the pens of men have writ,
Stored with their learning, eloquence, and wit,
Their thoughts profound, and most impassioned verse,
And those which deeds of gods and men rehearse,
Together brought to charm the human soul,
This single volume would transcend the whole.
Here is the history of our fallen race,
The mystery, too, of God's redeeming grace;
Morality and wisdom from above,
In suffering taught and sealed by dying love;
The strains that have been hymn'd by Angel choirs,
The songs that saints shall sing to golden lyres,
A chart on earth, a title to the skies,
Salvation, knowledge, truth, within this volume lies.

G. T.

DELHI, *July 23d*, 1843.

MEMORANDUM.

One word upon a personal matter.—The papers that were most opposed to my efforts to arouse and direct the minds of the natives, and were constantly ridiculing the latter, and seeking to discourage me, no sooner found that I had undertaken the case of the King of Delhi, and was to have my *expenses paid*, than they turned round and censured me for what they called a desertion of my duty, and an abandonment of the cause of the people, for the interests of one man. The *Bengal Hurkaru* nobly vindicated me, and took the *Friend of India*, especially, to task for some remarks. I wrote from Delhi to thank him. My letter was private, but he thought fit to publish it, and I send it you from his columns, (No. 1.) This drew forth some additional words from the *Friend of India*, (See

No. 2) and also something from the *Spectator*, (No. 3.) I send you them for your own satisfaction, as I desire you to understand the state of things here. I can add nothing to what I have said in my private letter to the *Hurkaru*. I can truly say that my mission to this city, and my intercourse with the natives here, have done more to furnish me with information upon some points on which I most desired it, than any thing else in India. The secret cause of the sneers and opposition of the English press—that is the Anti-Native press,—for there is a feeling here nearly allied to the abominable American “Colourphobia,”—I say I believe the secret was my influence over, and popularity with, the natives, and their desire to injure, if possible, my reputation.

G. T.

No. I.—August 11th.

MR THOMPSON'S LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE HURKARU.

“I have marked the course of certain papers on the subject of my recent ‘acceptance of office’ under the King of Delhi, and have been grateful to you for what you have said on my behalf. I can truly say, before the searcher of all hearts, that the step I have taken has appeared to me to be one that was likely to prove conducive to my permanent usefulness in the cause of India. I have again and again told you, that my heart’s desire is, to be devoted, not only in heart, but in life and in effort, to the cause of the people of this country. In proof of this, I have preferred a *mere existence*, during the last five years (and that a precarious one) to emolument, and popularity, and prospects to boot. I have toiled, as I believe no other man in the present day has done, *con amore*, for India—and this, when I had no more idea of seeing India, or forming any connections here, than I have at this moment of being the Envoy of the King of Timbuctoo. That I came to this country with a single purpose, God knows. I only sought, besides, to keep my family from want during my wanderings. My object was to qualify myself for future and more extensive usefulness in the cause of this country. The motive that brought me here, has governed all my actions. If, while I prosecute this my great object, I can secure any business that will enable me to *live* when I return, and so save me from the necessity of turning my thoughts in another direction, I feel not only justified in accepting it, but unspeakably thankful to the Providence that places it in my way—for I can truly aver, that my sole feeling of embarrassment, when contemplating the future, has grown out of a fear that I might be compelled to abandon the object, above all others dear to my heart, in order to realize some support for my family. I shall devoutly praise God, if this is not the case.—Now, as to my connection with the King of Delhi. I sought not his Majesty—he *sought me*. I made no terms, but what were far less advantageous to me, than those at first offered. I sacrificed no duties, for my purpose was already formed, to visit this part of the country. I have given up no principle, for the cause of the King is one of justice and faith between man and man. I have lost no opportunities of seeing the state of native society, and gaining knowledge; but, as my present experience avouches, secured many and rare ones. I have not circumscribed my movements at home, for I have distinctly told the King that in all places, and at all times, I shall be the advocate of the cause of the whole people. His business in England will not only *not* lessen the number of my opportunities to do good to this country, but it will increase them. The discussion of an individual case will always enable me to illustrate general principles, and if I have not to discuss his case in public, why then my public efforts will be exclusively with reference to the questions that affect the masses of the people. I never have,—I never will gain a penny by the support of any cause which is *bad*—I will starve rather: I would see my children starve, rather than feed them on the wages of prostitution. But if I can, for the sake of wife, children, and India, secure a maintenance by the honourable exertion of my talents in an individual case—and give myself without stint to the cause of millions without money and without price—I will do it. I say to the impoverished millions around me—‘I am your friend. I would raise you, instruct you, protect you. I would be your advocate without a brief, and without a fee, and bless God if made the instrument of doing you service. But I must live while I do this. If there be those who can afford it, who desire to engage my

help, for the advancement of their personal ends, and will pay me for my advice and assistance, I will, if the cause be essentially one with yours—the cause of equity and truth,—give them what aid I can, and rejoice that I am enabled, while I do so, to be your unpaid and independent champion.’ What more can I, or need I say? My heart is before you. My hands are clean.

“GEO. THOMPSON.”

On this letter, the Editor of the *Hurkaru* remarks:—

“We must add that the above is from a private letter, addressed to us as a private friend, and that we have to apologise to the writer, for making this use of it, as we are sure that nothing was further from his intentions than that any portion of it should find its way into print. For the publication of it we alone are responsible. We have laid it before our readers, because it places Mr Thompson’s motives in an unmistakeable point of view, and no one, not deeply prejudiced against him, after reading these passages, can accuse him of deserting the cause of India, for the sake of the King of Delhi’s rupees.”

NO. II.

(From the FRIEND OF INDIA of August 17th.)

MR GEORGE THOMPSON.—The *Hurkaru* thinks we have acted ungenerously towards Mr Thompson, in saying that the remarks of the Press on his acceptance of the offer to advocate the claims of the King of Delhi in England were remarkable for their lenity; and has published a letter from that gentleman on the subject, which we cheerfully copy. Though we have had occasion to differ from Mr Thompson on many questions connected with the Indian administration, and may still be called to meet him, in the field of controversy, we have such respect for his personal character, and are so thoroughly convinced of the purity of his motives, that if any remark of ours has inflicted a wound on his feelings as a man, we most willingly retract it. In accepting the post offered to him by the King of Delhi, Mr Thompson has committed no offence against the rules of morality, or even of propriety. He is as much at liberty as any other man, lawyer or layman, to undertake the case of the prince. The employment is honourable; and we are certain that the advocate the King has now chosen, will throw his whole soul into the business, and amply repay by his exertions whatever allowance may be given to him. At the same time, judging of Mr Thompson by his own high standard of philanthropy, and bearing in mind his frequent assurance of having come out to this country from motives of perfect disinterestedness, the mind is apt to question the delicacy of his accepting an office which makes his visit to India a source of advantage to himself. Somehow or other, it appears to want the “grace of congruity.” But when we have said this, we have said all that *we* have to allege against the measure. We have no idea that Mr Thompson will give up the advocacy of, what he considers, the interests of India, because he has a special retainer from one of its princes.

NO. III.

(From the BENGAL SPECTATOR of August 29th.)

MR GEORGE THOMPSON.—The acceptance, by Mr Thompson, of the office of Envoy to the Emperor of Delhi, having elicited from the greater portion of the Press unpleasant remarks and insinuations against him, we think we shall be neglecting a duty we owe to that gentleman, if we allow this opportunity to pass away without saying a few words on the subject. Those who attended the meetings at which Mr Thompson delivered addresses, must no doubt join with us in expressing gratitude for the great interest and zeal he evinced in rousing the attention of the Native community, to ameliorate the condition of their country, the sound and judicious advice he imparted from time to time, as to their mode of procedure, and the means they should employ in furtherance of that end; his repeated assurances for the warm advocacy of their cause, his liberal contributions to the *Conversazioni*, and the *Bengal British India Society*, and the assistance rendered by him in the formation of the latter institution. We often saw him busily engaged in matters connected with the interests of the people of this country, and we must say that we feel greatly obliged to him for the amount of labour and thought bestowed upon them. His public addresses to the native community, cannot be said to have been attended with no benefit. It could hardly be expected that the effect should be more than what has been,

considering the innumerable obstacles in its way. They have certainly not called forth a proportionate amount of exertion and activity, a circumstance which, sad as it is, is partly ascribable to causes of an extraneous and adventitious character. But however disparagingly Mr Thompson's addresses may be spoken of, it cannot be denied that they have, in some measure, led to the awakening of a sense of duty in a number of individuals, to further the good work of national amelioration, and given an *impetus* to the promotion of inquiry into matters coming within the reach of that object. This must be evident from the proceedings of the monthly meetings of the Bengal British India Society, and the plan of its future operations. The Landholders' Society had been sunk in a profound lethargy before Mr Thompson's arrival in Calcutta. The very creditable activity infused into it by his connexion with that Institution, adds to the utility of his labours during his short sojourn in Calcutta. When we recall to our mind all that he did in England, and here, for the Natives of this country, we cannot but think that he is entitled to their warmest thanks, and has every claim to their gratitude.

The following is an interesting, and as far as Bengal is concerned, a true account of the Crop season; it is from the *Friend of India*, September 7th:—

THE SEASON.—It is but rarely that our public journals allude to that very English subject, the Weather, but the present season has been so remarkable, as to deserve a distinct notice. It is remarkable on many accounts. We have had perhaps the mildest hot season on record for twenty years. The days of extreme heat, in which all bodily and mental exertion is irksome, were extremely few. The burning, blistering month of May, was so repeatedly refreshed by showers, at due intervals, as to render the arrival of the rains, which are looked for on the 10th of June, scarcely perceptible. June came without its supply of rain, and the month of July, in which the country is generally saturated with water, passed off without any heavy showers. At the end of July, the *tanks* were nearly as dry as at the end of May. The rice crop began seriously to feel the want of rain, and the Natives anticipated a famine. The rains did not set in fairly before the beginning of August, when we had a month's supply in a week. During the last three weeks, however, the rains have been again suspended, and showers have descended at long intervals, and in scanty measure. Our books, the binding of which exhibits so great a sympathy with the weather, and is usually covered with such mouldiness as to require constant attention during the rains, have been remarkably free from all appearance of mould. The river has not, up to this moment, risen to its usual height during the rains, and in another fortnight will begin to subside. The current of the stream, which during the months of July, August, and September, usually rolls almost with the rapidity of a cascade, has been extremely languid; and the influence of the flood tide, which is generally suspended during these three months except at the springs, has been felt in an unusual degree. In short, this has been the most extraordinary season we have had for twenty years, and its singularity is attributed—and possibly not without reason—to the influence of the Comet.

The Indigo season is perhaps the finest on record. A Planter always anticipates a larger crop than he obtains; but in this year of the Comet, the Planters, with few exceptions, have already obtained more than they anticipated, and they have nothing to quarrel with but the reduction of price which the exuberant bounty of the season is likely to inflict. Tirhoot promises 40,000 maunds. Other districts, though not equally blessed, will yield an unusual harvest. We see the crop stated by brokers, at 139,000 maunds; but all brokers, those of Calcutta excepted, have an interest in moderating the public expectations. If the accounts we hear from every quarter, without exception, be authentic, the crop is likely to exceed, rather than to fall short of, 150,000 mds. These accounts refer not to plant on the ground, still exposed to the vicissitude of the seasons, but to that which has been already cut and manufactured. We have not, of course, the same means of ascertaining with accuracy the extent of the crop, as those who are professionally engaged in watching its progress, and comparing the accounts of each individual factory with its former out-turn; but we will venture to say that, not even in the most productive of past years, have the reports of the Planters been so generally cheerful as in the present year. For once, the croakers are in a contemptible

minority; and long will the year of the Comet continue to be remembered at the Indigo factories.

The *Englishman* of this morning gives us a long and very flattering account of all the great things which Lord Ellenborough is about to do for Scinde. There is however an amusing simplicity in the following remarks of our contemporary; "If we are really to have no more wars, it is to be hoped that these plans of improvement will not be confined to Western India, but that Government will *endeavour* to lay out the surplus revenues in plans of permanent utility for the improvement of every part of the country under British rule." Why, we have been hoping the same thing for the last twenty years, but in vain. When Government has no money, it pleads poverty; when it is rich, it has no will. Twice within the last twenty years have we had a full treasury, and on one occasion it was emptied by a Burmese and on the second by an Affghan war. Sad experience confirms the truth that Government has never been found less willing to improve India than when it had the most ample means of doing so.—*Friend of India*, Sept. 7th.

MR THOMPSON'S FOURTH LETTER.

DELHI, September 16th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have, in consequence of other engagements, postponed writing you, until it is late in the month, and dangerous to delay despatching my letters intended for the October mail from Bombay. I shall, therefore, have to be very brief in my present communication. As, with the exception of one excursion to the ruins of the old city of Delhi, I have been leading a quiet and studious life in my own house, occupied almost entirely in investigating the affairs of the Royal Family. I have very little to write about; for, events worth chronicling are, at a station like this, in the time of peace, very rare. One event, however, I must record—the arrival of the 4th and 5th numbers of your publication, "*The British Friend*," which I have perused with great interest, and sent round to others, who have been much pleased with the publication. H. C. Wright's Peace Lectures have been read by an American Missionary here; also, Garrison's account of himself, from the *Liberator*; and we have had many and long conversations on Abolition topics in consequence, and respecting Garrison, Wright, and others. I am glad to find that some of my earlier letters and papers to you, have been available in your publication. My more recent ones will also, I trust, be acceptable.—Your paper is, in all respects, a most creditable publication—respectable in its appearance—attractive in its title—the material good—the type excellent—the matter varied and interesting—the tone high and firm, yet mild and conciliatory—and the doctrine (whatever others may say) just to my taste. I long to know all about "*The British Friend*," its origin, history, prospects, &c., &c.

I had fully expected Dwarkanauth here; but after proceeding 200 miles up the Ganges, circumstances compelled him to return to Calcutta. I can say nothing positive at present respecting his revisiting England, but think it very likely he will leave in December or January, and reach England, *via* the Continent, during the early part of the summer, and that we shall be in Scotland together in the Autumn. Sickness has prevailed to a most alarming extent all around, and many of my servants have been attacked, but I still continue to rejoice in the possession of health sufficient to enable me without intermission to keep at my work. The weather will from this date be cooler, and I do not expect to experience any more very oppressive weather before my departure.—October, November, December, and January, are considered cold months here, and the most healthy. This is a delightful prospect for me, for I have much to do before I start. I still

adhere to my purpose to leave, if I can, by the Steamer from Calcutta, on the 14th of November; but there will be another mail from Bombay before that, by which you shall know positively. I shall send you some scraps from the papers, and must now subscribe myself, as ever, your affectionate friend,

GEO. THOMPSON.

MR THOMPSON'S FIFTH LETTER.

DELHI, September 21st, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—As the express is not despatched until to-day, I am able to send you a few extra lines.* I enclose you a scrap, showing the workings of the Coolie System in Calcutta. Put it into "*The British Friend*," and blow the trumpet of alarm.

The next four months will, I think, produce some new and important political events in this country. An army of about 20,000 men are ordered to assemble immediately near Agra. This force will very likely be employed in the settlement of the affairs of the great State of Gwalior, and perhaps conclude by making it a part of our territory. The Prime Minister at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, on the other side of the Suttee, has murdered the reigning Prince, Shere Sing, (the son of the famous Runjeet Sing) and every member of the Royal Family, but one boy of ten years of age, through whom he (Dhyan Sing, the Minister) intends to rule the country. This event may lead to the mustering of another army on the banks of the Suttee, and to the taking of the whole of the country lying between the Suttee and the Indus, including the beautiful country of Cashmere. Lord Ellenborough will, I am persuaded, lose no opportunity of enlarging our dominions in this country. He is essentially an ambitious and war-loving man, and anxious to build himself up a name, by extending our territory in this part of the world.

I am now recovering the energy I lost as soon as I reached this country. During the hot weather—though I had no illness—I felt the effect of the climate upon my mind and body. The cold weather (so called) is now commencing, and I find I can stand and scribble ten hours a-day. I am keeping three amanuenses at it just now, assisting me to prepare my case for the king. I long to begin my trip to the hills, from which I expect some pleasure.

I got my English news (but not my letters) down to the 6th of August, a few days ago, and was much grieved to read the account of the loss of the *Pegasus* steamer. Poor Mackenzie! Little did he anticipate so melancholy a fate.

I must now conclude till next month. Remember me most kindly to Murray and all friends.—And ever believe me, yours affectionately,

GEO. THOMPSON.

COOLIE EMIGRATION.—THE CRIMPING OF EMIGRANTS.

Recently there have been many cases of *crimping* brought to light. It would appear that the practice of inveigling people for shipment to the Mauritius, without their consent, is a prolific source of gain to the *duffadars*, who are actually employing agents to go into the interior for the purpose of getting men. One of these crimping agents brought away seven men from the district of Hoogly, under false pretences. He first of

* This was too late.

all engaged to procure for them Government situations, at four rupees a month, which the men were all very glad to accept. Deluded by the offer, they accompanied him to Calcutta. They were here comfortably housed for some days, but not permitted to go abroad, after which the original offer was changed to one more advantageous. It was proposed to them to ship for the Mauritius, which was described in glowing colours, as a country *paved with gold*, and where gold dust could be actually collected by handfuls. The men, however, were more cautious this time, and refused to consent, being particularly unwilling to venture on ship-board, and brave the dangers of the sea. The crimps then assured them that there was no danger whatever in the passage; that the country was healthy, and a place where they might become *very rich* in a very short time; and, moreover, that if they did not like it, they could return to Calcutta, as the voyage might be performed in only *three days*. But the men would not still yield their consent, in spite of the dazzling picture which had been drawn to them of the country, whose soil was said to be encrusted with gold. But maugre their reluctance, they were taken to the strand, for the purpose of being put on board against their consent, if not with it. Just as they were about to be removed to the boat, however, they evinced their disinclination in the only way in their power, namely, by vociferating for help. Their cries attracted the notice of a police chowkadar, stationed in the strand. He went up to them, and learning the reason of their vociferations, interposed his authority in their behalf, and prevented their forcible shipment. The case was investigated by the Chief Magistrate, but owing to some small fault in the evidence, was obliged to be dismissed.

It ought to be stated, that in the above case, even had not the chowkadar come forward to interfere, the ultimate deportation of the men could not have been effected, as it could scarcely have eluded the numerous checks involved in the preventive system adopted by the Emigration Agent. Mr Fraser, in the first instance, being furnished with the names of the intending emigrants, causes them to be taken to the Police Surgeon to undergo medical inspection. The surgeon's report being in their favour, the necessary forms are gone through, and Mr Fraser then explains to them the nature of the country they are going to, the labour they will in all likelihood have to undergo, the remuneration they will receive, &c., &c. When these men come to be received on board, a bond, signed by the Agent, must be produced for each man, without which the commanding officer is not authorized to receive an emigrant; and if so received, the Preventive officer is required to report the circumstance. Last of all, when the emigrants are all put on the vessel, and it is about to drop down, the Agent himself goes on board, and musters the men, examining the bond of each, and questioning them separately as to their willingness, or otherwise, to emigrate to the Mauritius. No doubt, the highest credit is due to the Emigration Agent, for the stringent system of checks adopted by him, to prevent any unlawful shipment or deportation of natives to the Mauritius. —BENGAL HURKARU, *September 14*.

MR THOMPSON'S SIXTH LETTER.

BEGUN'S PALACE, DELHI, *October 13th, 1843*.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is within three days of the time fixed for the despatch of the mail from Delhi, and as I do not wish to neglect any opportunity of writing you, I commence a letter.

On my way up from Calcutta to this place, I spent my time at the Bungalows in which I halted, as well as at Allahabad, where I spent ten

days, in writing to my friends at home. I sent *you* two very long letters, and, at the time of closing them, flattered myself they would prove the most interesting I had written you. These you should have received early in September; but with all the rest I sent, they were lost on board the *Mennon* steam-packet in the Red Sea. My next letters to you would be also a month behind their time, owing to the steamer having to put back for coals. Well, here I am, still fixed at Delhi. I did not anticipate so long a stay, but there have been several causes. 1st, I was detained several weeks by a correspondence with the Government. 2d, The work I have had to do has been much greater than I expected. 3d, The king was for some time ill, which suspended some business; and lastly, the habits of the people at native courts are most dilatory and procrastinating. My detention, however, has not been a disagreeable or unprofitable one. I have read and written a good deal—seen much of this neighbourhood—had a great deal of intercourse with native society—and have studied one of the most interesting chapters of our history in India, in connection with the Royal Family of Delhi. Within the last three weeks, I have had an attack of fever, which brought me very low, and I am even now feeling its effects. The weather is, however, getting much cooler, and I hope not only to escape any further attack, but to enjoy the remainder of my stay in India very much, as this is the beginning of the pleasantest part of the year.

I have received Nos. 6 and 7 of "*The British Friend*," since I last wrote you, and have much enjoyed the perusal of them. From Richard Webb, of Dublin, I got a long letter, giving me a full account of the London Anti-Slavery Convention, and many other things. Communications from England are truly refreshing here in the very heart of India. H. C. Wright paid a visit to my dear wife and children at Lewes. I wonder he has not given me a letter since he has been in England. I hear you invited him to the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, (now long over). I am anxious to see some account of it, and hope you have not omitted to send me the papers. I trust to be permitted to be with you at your *next* anniversary. I shall then only have been absent from two—once when I was in America, and once while here.

I have now made up my mind to leave by the steamer *Bentinck*, from Calcutta, on the 14th of December, to be home early in February. As soon as my business is wound up here, I shall take a run up to the Hymalayahs and down again, and then proceed to Calcutta by way of Agra. Dwarkanauth is on his way to me, and will, I dare say, return with me. I have really little to tell you this month, and feel in the worst possible mood for letter writing. If I can think of any thing else, I will take another sheet.
—Yours ever, most truly,

GEORGE THOMPSON.

P.S.—I send along with this, a few lines intended for the last express, which proved to be too late. Since that was written, there have been so many murders in the Punjab, that scarcely any distinguished native chief is left alive. There is little doubt that some party in the State will make an appeal to the British Government, and then our troops will at once take possession of the country. In the *Friend of India*, which I send, you will find some articles worth notice.

*To the MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION
SOCIETY.*

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I should, I believe, be neglecting a solemn duty, if I did not address you in reference to the infamous traffic in the natives of India, at present carried on between the ports of Calcutta and Madras and the island of Mauritius. As far as I am acquainted with the facts connected with the shipments made from the former place, I think I am justified in saying, that the system is, in many of its features, a system resembling the *Slave Trade*; and I am fully convinced that in all its parts it is defective, inefficient, and objectionable. It is called a system of "*free emigration*," and it is pretended that a sufficient degree of supervision is exercised to prevent flagrant abuses. The facts which will accompany this letter, will prove that such is not the case.

You are aware that the system of exporting the natives of India to Mauritius, was revived by the COLONIAL PASSENGERS BILL. The measure was successfully opposed when brought forward by Lord John Russell; but was carried last year by Lord Stanley. When the clauses of that bill affecting India were submitted to the East India Body for their sanction, I stood up and denounced them, venturing, at the time, to predict, that notwithstanding the appointment of certain persons called *Protectors*, the same atrocities would be perpetrated under the new as under the former regulations. I did not then expect that I should write from India for the purpose of furnishing the proof of the truth of my own prognostications. The first cargo of Indians shipped to Mauritius under the new act, passed me in January last, as I was ascending the Hoogly on my way to Calcutta, and for two months there was a brisk trade, owing to the large number of natives that had been collected at Calcutta in anticipation of the arrival of the order to ship. I did all in my power to obtain information respecting the manner in which the natives were enlisted—the sums paid to them by the Crimping Agents of the merchant-houses of Calcutta—the expectations raised respecting the prospects of the natives in Mauritius—and the actual circumstances in which they were landed on the island. I learnt enough to satisfy my mind that the *duffdars*, or low crimps, sent out to collect the natives, were little better than kidnappers; and that on reaching the island of Mauritius, the emigrants had no choice of masters, but were consigned to the Planters who had sent written instructions to their agency houses in Calcutta. Knowing that the system itself could only be put down by the people and government at home, I drew up, with the assistance of a highly intelligent gentleman, fully conversant with the practical workings of the system, a Memorial to the Bengal Government, pointing out the abuses connected with the trade, both in India and Mauritius, and suggesting a scheme for their effectual prevention. This Memorial was unanimously adopted by the Landholders' Society, and duly forwarded to the Government. Of the Memorial I have heard nothing; but since I left Calcutta, I have been continually reading in the papers, accounts of the monstrous and cruel frauds practised by the miscreants who are employed to roam over the face of the country, for the purpose of entrapping the inhabitants of the villages by the most lying representations and delusive promises. On the day for despatching the last Overland Mail from this place, I received a paper, containing an account, so horrible in its details, of a wholesale robbery and shipment of men and women, that I should immediately have written you on the subject, but I was prostrated by sickness, and could

do no more than send the paper to your Secretary. The narrative then sent has been proved, subsequently, to be worthy of implicit credit, in regard to all its main statements. I now enclose you a letter from the respectable gentleman through whose instrumentality the iniquity was brought to light.* I hope you will give it the widest possible publicity. It is of itself sufficient to justify measures for the utter extinction of the atrocious system. Let it be remembered that all the wretched beings on board the vessel had passed their examination at the Government Shipping Office, where it is the duty of the officers to question them on every point relating to their country, language, family, expectations, the means used to induce them to emigrate, &c., &c. I send you also an extract from the *Hurkaru*, of the 16th of this month,† from which you will gather that the trade is still carried on with “*unabated zeal*,” and that Calcutta itself has prison houses not a whit better than the Slave marts of Cairo, Constantinople, or Washington. I need write no comments on these documents, neither need I suggest the measures you should adopt. I know you will do all that is necessary to inform and arouse the people of Great Britain. I shall follow this letter in a month, and be prepared to give you much additional information. In the mean time, I feel confident you will not be inactive. I send the copy of a letter I have published here, and which will be reprinted in Calcutta.‡ I believe the Local Government of Bengal will interfere; but nothing will be so effectual as a voice from England.—Yours, faithfully,

GEO. THOMPSON.

MR THOMPSON'S SEVENTH LETTER.

AGRA, November 15th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Since the enclosed was written, I have come hither. I left Delhi on the 7th, and arrived here on the 10th, where I met Dwarakanauth, and have since been seeing with him the wonders of this neighbourhood, which abounds, like Delhi, in edifices in all stages of decay, and possesses, besides, in good preservation, several of the finest buildings in the world, an account of which I must postpone till we meet. I send some papers with additional affirmations on the Coolie question, and will bring with me much more. I saw some account of your Annual Meeting in one of my Calcutta papers, and read with much pleasure the speech of Dr. Burns. I have taken my passage by the *Bentinck*, and hope to reach London from the 10th to 15th of February. I leave this city this evening, and go to Calcutta direct, with the exception of a twenty-four hours' halt at Benares. I shall reach Calcutta on the 1st of December, and sail on the 15th. My affectionate remembrances to Mr Murray, and all other friends. In *haste*.—Yours ever, affectionately,

GEO. THOMPSON.

ILLICIT SHIPMENT OF EMIGRANTS ON AN EXTENSIVE SCALE.

(From the BENGAL HURKARU.)

There is a case pending before the Chief Magistrate of attempted illicit deportation of labourers to the Mauritius, in which about FIFTY persons were put upon shipboard against their consent, and were very nearly conveyed away from Calcutta. So extensive and active is the agency employed by the *duffdars* to carry out their illegal and nefarious traffic, that this

* The letter here referred to, has not come to hand.

† This document also is awaiting.

‡ Not yet arrived.

very large number of individuals, both men and women, were decoyed away from various parts of the country and brought to Calcutta, and kept several days under restraint until their shipment. The deposition of some of these individuals is given below, and will serve to afford an idea of the mode in which the daring practice is carried out, and the extent to which it continues to prevail, notwithstanding all the stringent measures already adopted by the authorities :—

BHUGOOWAN.—I am a native of Benares, and came to Calcutta by working out my passage as *dandee* of a boat. About a month ago, I went to see the Fort when I fell in with a person, who offered to procure me a situation of Rs. 25 per month to go to the Mauritius, which, I was told, was only four days journey from Calcutta. He also told me, that I would get an advance of Rs. 10, and at the same time instructed me to say “yes” to whatever a gentleman, to whom I was to be taken, might ask me. On this representation I went with this person to his house, where I was kept under restraint, with seven others, for eight days. After that time we were taken to the Bankshall when a gentleman took down our names, and a baboo gave us Rs. 6, a suit of clothes, and some brass utensils. We were next put on board, and then I suffered greatly in regard to food. I have also been beat by the *duffadar* and his men. I remained on board for above a fortnight, after which we were taken out by a gentleman of the Police.

JAN BEBEE, apparently a crazy woman, gave a rambling unintelligible account of having been taken on board by two *duffadars*, on the pretence of being sent, as she said, to Allahabad for the benefit of her health.

RADHAMOHUN Doss.—I am a native of Trepurah zillah, and came to Calcutta for employment upwards of a month ago. I met a person on Chitpore bridge, who asked if I could read and write, and said if I could, he would get me a situation at sixteen or twenty rupees a month, and if I could not, I might get employment to go to the Mauritius at a salary of ten rupees a month. After this, I agreeing, he took me to his house, and kept me confined there for about a couple of weeks, during which I was very unwell with a fever and cough. I was next put on board, and for the several days I remained on the ship, I was nearly starved, having had to subsist on bare *choorah*. I was told that Mauritius was a place at a short distance from Calcutta, and, therefore, only consented to go there; but now knowing better, I would rather beg about in my native village than go there.

EKKALDOSEE was decoyed away like the others, and put on board and subjected to the like privations and sufferings. He is a native of Midnapore, and was coming to Calcutta to seek for employment. On his way hither, while crossing the river at Ramkissenpore, he met a person who made large offers of getting him a very lucrative employment, and on this flattering offer, he was inveigled away to Calcutta.

OBHEERAM, a native of Cuttack, was employed in cultivating lands belonging to one Bhuggoo Mull, when a person came to him, and offered to get him a situation of Rs. 12, if he would accompany him to Calcutta. He came here on the promises of the man and was imprisoned, beat, starved, and put on board against his will.

IBRAHIM ALEE, a mendicant youth, and a native of Chanipore, was begging about in the Hooghly bazaar, when a person met him, and made the usual offer of employment, and brought him to Calcutta, and confined him, and treated him as the rest.

HURRY BISWAL.—I am a native of Cuttack. I with four others were on our way to Calcutta, where we expected to get some employment. On our

way, near Balasore, we put up one night at a *seraee*, and a person who had on a badge put up in the same place with us and other travellers. The following morning we resumed our journey and the *chaprasee*, the man with the badge, proceeded on the road with us, and entered into conversation with us. By-and-by he proposed that we should go with him to Calcutta and he would get us into service. He offered to procure me a situation of Rs. ten, per month, to go to the Mauritius, which, he said, was a place only four days' journey from Calcutta, and that I would be at liberty to resign whenever I liked. I accepted the offer, believing the statement of the man, with whom accordingly I came to Calcutta, and so did my companions. On our way he imposed silence upon us, and told us not to communicate to any stranger whither we were going. When we arrived in Calcutta, we were taken to a house north of the town, and there all of us were kept in one room, the door of which was always guarded by two or three men to prevent our egress. We were not permitted on any account to go out, and if we ever did so, it was under an escort. We were so kept for about two weeks, after which we were taken to the Bankshall, to a gentleman to whom we were strictly enjoined to say "yes" to whatever he might ask us. When taken before this gentleman, I replied in the affirmative to the questions he put to me, and expressed my consent to go to the Mauritius, still being ignorant as to what kind of a place the Mauritius was, or where it was, or that I should have to go thither in a ship. Next I received a suit of clothes, a cap, a blanket, some brass utensils, and also six rupees. Of this sum the *duffadar's* people took away four, a chest was bought for me with one, and the remaining rupee was appropriated to the purchase of sweatmeats, &c. After this I with the others were put on a dingy, but I remonstrated, saying, that I had been led to understand, that the way to the Mauritius was not by water. On this I was told, that we would have only to cross the river. Instead of this, however, we were taken to a ship in the middle of the stream, and put on board with a great number more. The day we were put on board, was a day after the Mahommedan festival of the *Soobrath*. The ship was then off Calcutta, but two days after it proceeded down to Coolie Bazaar, and thence again to Garden Reach. Here we remained on board until Friday (the 29th ultimo) when a gentleman went on board and brought us on shore, all those who were unwilling to proceed to the Mauritius, and said they had been put on board against their wish. During the time I was in the ship, I subsisted by eating the *choora* and sweatmeats, that had been procured for me, and sometimes by eating a little half-boiled rice which I was obliged to cook in my *lota*.

SHAIK SOOJUDDGE.—I am a native of a village called Moorie, in Zillah Hooghly. Some time ago, an inhabitant of the village came to me, and asked me if I would go to Calcutta to get employment. I replied, I would, when he took me to a person who offered to procure me a handsome situation. I then came to Calcutta, and was kept, with many others, confined in a room in the Bankshall for above a week, at the end of which time I was taken to a gentleman, before whom I had been previously instructed to answer "yes," to whatever he asked me. I told the gentleman that I was willing to the questions he asked me, as I had been taught—and then he gave me a paper. I next got six rupees, some clothes, and a few brass utensils. The person who had kept me confined, first took away four out of the six rupees, and then the remaining two rupees also. In return he gave me a small trunk, and some tobacco and sweetmeats. I was then put on board and kept under deck for sixteen days, during which, I ate the sweetmeats that had been provided for me, and some bare rice.

GOPAL RAKOOT.—I live in Sulkeah, and am employed as a cart-driver. A person used to come to my house and tell my wife, that it was a disgrace for me to serve as a cart-driver, on so small a salary ; that I ought to do something better ; and that if she agreed to it, he would put me in the way to get a situation as a police chuprasee, on a salary of 16 rupees a month, and get her and her mother a situation of eight rupees each ; but that should I agree, I would have to show a willingness and readiness to answer all questions, that a gentleman of the Bankshall might put to me, in the affirmative. My wife consented to the proposal, and persuaded me, and I consented too, and so we left Sulkeah, along with my mother-in-law, above a month ago. We came to Calcutta, and were kept in a house in Hautkhola for ten days, and were then taken to the gentleman in the Bankshall and put on board, where we were beat and nearly starved, &c., &c.

RAMBUKSH, a native of Allahabad was decoyed away from Midnapore in the same manner like the rest.

BALUK, a native of Goruckpore, decoyed away from Burdwan.

KOONIEE, brought away from Gyal, in the same manner like the rest.

MITSOO, a native of Arrah, decoyed in like manner.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the large number of persons above stated were collected from almost all parts of the country, both far and near, and shipped off illegally in spite of the checks that have been established by the Emigration Agent. These unfortunate creatures were kept huddled together on board of the ship in an almost starving condition, for two or three months together, with every likelihood of their successful deportation, which was chiefly prevented by the humane interposition of a respectable gentleman living in Garden Reach. The vessel, with the crimping victims on board, for several days, remained moored off Garden Reach. Those who had been forcibly shipped became clamorous to be set free, but their cries and remonstrances were of no avail. One evening, three of them, desperate with their situation, threw themselves overboard. This was observed by the gentleman alluded to, who was walking at the time on the beach. He immediately got a boat to go to the assistance of the men who were still struggling in the water. The boat picked up two of them, but nothing is known as to what became of the third. These two men were landed on shore, and they related the history of their shipment to the gentleman, who apprised the police of the circumstance. The Deputy Superintendent lost no time in deputing a European officer to the ship, from which all those who appeared reluctant to proceed to the Mauritius, being forty-five in number, were brought away on shore.

THE COOLIE TRADE AGAIN.

Since the issue of our last number, the draft of an Act has been published, which ordains that after the 1st of March next, Coolies shall be shipped only from the Port of Calcutta, and that an Emigration Agent shall be appointed there on the part of the Government of the Mauritius. The Governor General is so anxious to carry the Act through, that he has suspended the rule which requires the publication of the Draft two months before the Act is passed. Yet, strange to say, the Act itself is not to come into operation for nearly four months. We can divine no other cause for this extreme haste and subsequent delay, than the desire to allow those who have made arrangements for the collection and shipment of Coolies at Madras and Bombay sufficient time for winding up their affairs. If the ports had been originally opened on the system which was guaranteed

by the Privy Council, no such concession of time to the Coolie merchants would have been requisite. Their vocation has grown out of a breach of public faith, which cannot be palliated. It will, of course, be their business to make the most of the three months and twenty days which the new Act allows them—and it will be the duty of Captain Rogers and Mr Fraser to exercise more than ordinary vigilance to prevent abuses.

The Act grows, of course, out of the suggestion of Mr Anderson, the Coolie Protector, who has been sent up from the Mauritius, after ten months of inaction, on a special Mission to Bengal; and we regret much to see the selfishness which appears to characterize the proposed law. The only reason given for now carrying into effect that part of the original design which provided for the appointment of an Emigration Agent at the port of embarkation, and which was held out as a remedy for the abuses which had rendered the older trade intolerable, is, that a sufficient number of women had not been sent with the men! The abuses which have grown out of the neglect of this appointment do not seem to have occasioned the smallest disquietude, and are not so much as hinted at. It would appear as though the Mauritius Government, suspecting that if the Emigration had been at once placed under the charge of a responsible agent, the wants of the island would not be supplied as rapidly as the planters desired, have been quite content to leave the provision of Coolies to individual cupidity, however revolting might be the abuses which it engendered. The Mauritius Authorities appear to have waited till the island was sufficiently stocked with labourers collected under a system of private agency, before any check was placed on these proceedings. And its present interference has no respect to the interests of the Coolies; it is publicly declared to arise from an exclusive attention to those of the island. It was found that the supply of twenty thousand Coolies had cost the colony fourteen lakhs of Rupees, and that as the men had in general come without their families, and would claim their privilege of return at the end of five years, an annual expenditure of 30, or £40,000, would be necessary to keep up the complement. It is on this ground that the Mauritius Government appears to have sent round an Agent to make arrangements for stopping all farther Emigration, unless the men could be induced to take their families with them, and thus hold out a hope of their settling in the island. We will not affirm that such is the reasoning on which that Colonial Government has been induced to appoint an Agent in Calcutta, and to call for an Act restricting Emigration to those who should obtain a passport from him. But such is the plain and obvious reading of the new law. It would have been far more discreet to have kept these selfish considerations out of view altogether, and simply to have stated that, whereas the original plan of the Ministry made provision for the appointment of an Emigration Agent, and whereas, the neglect of this provision had revived the old abuses, be it enacted that no port shall be open to the export of Coolies but that of Calcutta, and that no labourer shall be exported from thence but under a certificate from the Emigration Agent to be appointed by the Mauritius Government. That Agent might then have quietly rejected the application of all those who were not willing to expatriate themselves for ever with their wives and children. As the Act now stands, the Legislative Council, which ought to have had the interests of this country primarily in view, appears to have closed its eyes upon the injury which has been inflicted on it, and to have based its legislative enactment only on the interests of the Crown Colony, by proposing to pass an Act, the chief object of which is to part for ever with those who may embark for the Mauritius.—*Friend of India*, Nov. 2d, 1843.

No. III.

LETTER FROM THOMAS CLARKSON, TO JOSEPH PEASE,
OF DARLINGTON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have truly sympathized with you, in your late most agreeable communications made to me. It has pleased Him, who governs the Destinies of Empires, to employ means inscrutable, and little calculated upon by us, to produce events of the greatest importance to mankind, and amongst these, I rejoice that the Government of India itself should have so nobly thought of granting freedom to the Slaves throughout their vast territories. It gives me pleasure also to think, that the vital measure, which is to do justice to India, and give prosperity to her people, namely, *the giving permanent settlement to the landed tenure*, was nearly carried, being lost in the Court of Directors, by the majority of only *one vote*: this *vital measure* is of the utmost consequence to the Company, for it will give an impetus to the industry of the natives, which will secure such an improvement in the cultivation of the land, as will prevent those horrible famines which have swept away hundreds of thousands of them, and will give, at the same time, a greatly improved revenue to the Company, almost beyond calculation. I say, “I rejoice in the small majority of one,” because it shows that *some light* has been spread among the Directors; and because, be assured, my dear Friend, that this light will be further spread, both throughout the Council of India, and throughout the English people, so that justice will finally prevail.

The accounts so obligingly furnished by the East India Company, of the immense culture of Cotton throughout India, by the exertions of the Home Directors and the Government in India, have afforded me much pleasure, as they prove to me the 900,000 bags of *Slave-grown American Cotton*, which England annually consumes, will now soon be supplied by the *Free twopence per day labour* of India.

The progress which Colonel Colvin has made on the banks of the great Delhi Canal, is wonderful, he has brought a hundred villages into the regular cultivation of Cotton. How admirable is the plan which you have submitted to the Directors, to select some of the most energetic Officers of the army in India, now happily released from active service. Are you aware that if a hundred, or more, of these Officers, were to conduct similar Establishments to that of Colonel Colvin's, they would, with only half of his exertions, and half his success, supply us with more Cotton than the whole growth of the United States, which does not require a greater surface of Land than three Millions of Acres—not equal to the County of York.

Why, my dear friend, I would ask, whether there are not on the banks of the great Delhi Canal alone, more than three Millions of Acres of Cotton-growing Land?

Oh, my dear friend, when I consider that Slavery is abolished in India—that permanent settlement may in a short time be granted to the landed tenures, and that *Free-grown Cotton, cultivated so cheaply as to cost but 2d. per day for labour*—may supersede the *Slave-grown Cotton of America*, where the cost is estimated at *8d. per day*, so that the East India Company may have the high honour of abolishing Slavery there;—or what a

consolation it is to me, that now, in the winding up of my days, these bright prospects are opening out before me to secure the great object, which, throughout a long life, I have laboured to accomplish for suffering humanity.

I will only add, that the late James Cropper, of Liverpool, whom you knew well—a man of the clearest intellect, and who had studied the subject as a mercantile man, was always of opinion till his death, that the East India Company, by granting Leases in perpetuity to the Natives, at a small rent, and by cultivating their waste land for Cotton, might derive to themselves a revenue which would free them from all their difficulties, and receive an overplus that would astonish them.—I am, my dear Friend, affectionately yours,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

PLAYFORD HALL, June 13th, 1843.

No. IV.

A WORD FOR AFRICA.

It is impossible, we should think, for any one whose conscience is not deadened by a life of cruelty and injustice, to reflect upon the great amount of those evils which have, for centuries, been inflicted upon Africa by professing Christian nations, without feeling pained for her suffering people: and that a deep responsibility lies somewhere, to be yet accounted for at a High Tribunal, both for the enormous evils inflicted, and also for the neglect and indifference respecting them, manifested by the guilty parties.

Notwithstanding all the stir which has, from time to time, for the last 50 or 60 years been made about the Abolition of the Slave-trade and Slavery, how many do we find, of all ranks and professions, who have come into life, and are gone, or ready to go out of it, and have not concerned themselves about the matter—a thousand human beings may every day be dragged into Slavery, or butchered in the attempt to do so, and since they are *Negroes*, and from Africa, these individuals are quite indifferent about it; they are too much engrossed with their own temporal affairs to attend to such things.

But if twenty or thirty head of sheep or cattle are taken away occasionally from a farm in their neighbourhood, or some of their neighbours' houses are broken into now and then, and money or plate taken away: how all the neighbourhood is in an uproar!—what a theme for conversation!—what sympathy for those who have been robbed!—what indignation!—and what desire for vindictive punishment!

But the sympathy of such persons cannot cross the Atlantic—it cannot feel for Negroes stolen. They are not their *neighbours*—"the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans."

Such is not the morality of the scriptures. Our Saviour, in the parable of the good Samaritan, commends to his disciples the sympathy of one whose notions of neighbourhood were not circumscribed by such narrow prejudices, but overleaped the boundaries of sect, as they would those of colour.

Now Africa is as *he* who "fell among thieves;" and she has been "stripped," robbed of her children, aye "wounded" at every pore,—thousands of her people annually destroyed for hundreds of years back; and the greedy monster is not yet satisfied, although Africa is left more than "half dead;" and who has "had compassion" on her?

It will not, we presume, be disputed, that of all the nations who have been revelling in the blood of the people of Africa, Great Britain, since she has ceased to afflict them, has shown more compassion on her than any other. But it may be questioned—and it is an important question for consideration—*has even her compassion been in any degree equivalent to compensation for the innumerable and grievous evils which she inflicted on Africa, from generation to generation?*

It may afford an instructive and impressive lesson, to look a little more closely into the black account of mortality, as it stands between Great Britain and Africa.

By an elaborate calculation, too tedious to introduce here, the extent of the African *Slave-trade*, carried on by Europe and America, from 1550 to 1840, has been estimated at 32 millions!!! The British share of which *Trade*, from 1562 to 1807, is estimated at 8,720,000, or say eight millions. This includes those carried away into slavery, and those killed in the capture, or in taking them down to the coast.

But even this is but a portion of the evil inflicted on Africa by Great Britain alone. She is justly chargeable also with the deficiency of population, occasioned not only by the withdrawing and murder of these eight millions, but with the amount of population these would have arisen to, by natural increase, in that time, had they remained in Africa. It is estimated, then, that had those who have been from time to time—from 1562 to 1807—carried away into slavery by Great Britain, or murdered in the capture, and in driving down to the coast, been allowed to remain in their native country undisturbed, they would, in those 245 years, have amounted to 28,384,000; and out of all this number, only about 900,000 are to be found in the British Colonies,—showing that the amount of human beings destroyed, to gratify the avarice of Great Britain alone, is 27,484,000, or, in round numbers, 27 millions—equal to the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, Isle of Man, and all the army and navy on shore, in the United Kingdom, in June, 1841!!!

Here, surely, is a grave subject for governors and governed, senators and people, to contemplate. May it not be truly said of "the workers of iniquity," that "they eat up my people as they eat bread, and call not upon the Lord."

A WORD, ALSO, TO GREAT BRITAIN.

But since Great Britain has, six and thirty years ago, ceased, it may be said, to consume the Africans in this way, why, it may be asked, bring up such a charge *now*, especially since she has not only herself abandoned, but has been endeavouring to prevail upon other nations to abandon, or to prevent them from carrying on this wicked *Trade*?

The reason may be stated in a few words. It is, that although many may have heard of the *Slave-trade* generally, few may have heard or contemplated the extent of it—even of the portion of its inhuman and horrible cruelties which have fallen to our share, as a nation. And that every British subject, even of the present generation, may reflect seriously on the obligation which lies on us, and on succeeding generations, until it is

redeemed, to endeavour to make some amends for the incalculable injuries inflicted upon Africa. It is not enough that we have ceased from the evil : some reparation lieth at our door. Think what good Britain might have done to Africa in these 250 years ; but, on the contrary, what immense and irretrievable evil she has actually inflicted.

If only an insult, as it is called, is perpetrated to a piece of bunting, alias, the flag of Great Britain, how, quick as lightning, is the resentment kindled of those who are so jealous for what they call the *NATION'S* Honour ! and such is their patriotism, that they are ready to spill their very heart's blood, to be avenged on the individual, or kingdom, that would dare to insult even the *rag* which is emblematical of the Nation ! Is not the *Nation's Honour* equally concerned in her having so grievously, and cruelly, and cowardly, trampled upon a helpless and unoffending people, and destroyed them by thousands and millions ? Conduct not only disgraceful, but shameful and sinful.

But who stands forward to have the Nation's Honour vindicated in this—who for Retribution to Africa ? When the few remaining Slaves were to be freed in the Colonies, there were innumerable pleas and advocates for compensation to their claimants ; few or none to the Slaves themselves, although *they* were in reality the only deserving and suffering parties. Would that there were as much desire to vie with one another to devise the best means to recompense Africa for the grievous and irreparable injuries she has sustained from Britain, as there is exhibited to defend her *Honour*, falsely so called, or as there was to compensate the Slave-holders. Although *complete* reparation is, however, impossible, it is yet proper that the Nation should have before it the extent of the evil, and be found always on the side of justice, and willing to make every possible amends.

But another, and the main reason why this charge against Great Britain is thus brought up is, because although *she* has, to her credit, abandoned this wicked traffic more than thirty years ago, the evil has not ceased ; other nations carry it on as greedily and cruelly as ever. Is proof wanted ? We have it. The *Esperanza*, a Portuguese schooner of 44 tons, was lately condemned, commissioned to the Mozambique with a crew of ten men, and provisions for fifteen days, to take in 220 Slaves ; or if the "*bales*" (as Slaves are termed) were small, 250. They were to be packed in the hold of this vessel of 44 tons—about the size of an ordinary scow or lighter on our canals—not the largest, for some of the latter carry 100 tons ; and the space for the Slaves was between two decks, only 32 inches asunder—less than the height of an ordinary toilet table from the floor—a space in which they could not sit upright. And here they were to be stowed and chained together for fifteen or perhaps twenty days, in their own filth, and thus to cross the Atlantic ; unless the one half of them might be thrown overboard, dead or diseased, as is not unfrequently the case !!! Let any one imagine the state of that hold—let him think of its effluvia—language would fail adequately to describe it. Many such cases, and some even worse, might be given ; they are of every day occurrence.

Such, then, is the cruelty now commonly resorted to on the "*Middle passage*," owing to the stringent measures adopted by British Cruisers to intercept and capture the Slavers ; and yet, notwithstanding Treaties, and Cruisers, and all other means hitherto devised, the accursed traffic it seems cannot be stopped, but, on the contrary, is generally believed to be nearly as extensive as ever.

Africa is still prostrated, not acknowledged—not recognized among the nations—and who will extend to her an helping hand ? And there is another equally important question—*how is it to be extended*, or applied, so

as *most speedily and effectually to restore her to her place among the nations* ? It is that inhuman, cruel, and cowardly traffic in her children which keeps her down. She is resorted to for Slaves, by those who still persist in that iniquity, with as much indifference as does an Aristocrat for sport, as he calls it, to his game preserves. She is the preserve where nations resort to hunt for Slaves—human beings,—and while other nations, many of them, look quietly and indifferently on. Truly it may yet be said, as it was many years ago, by the immortal bard—

“There is no flesh in man’s obdurate heart,
It does not feel for man. -The natural bond
Of brotherhood is sever’d as the flax
That falls asunder at the touch of fire.
Thus man devotes his brother and destroys.”

If, therefore, Great Britain—the British Government and people—are sincere in the desire expressed by many classes, that the Slave Traffic should be universally abolished, it is obvious that some *other means* should be tried ; for, however strong, and however extensive the desire may be to make some reparation to Africa for the injuries inflicted on her by this country, it is equally obvious that no extensive National good can be conferred on her, while she is ravaged, through the carrying on of this Traffic by other nations.

It is doubted by some, whether the desire for the extinction of the Slave-trade, expressed by certain influential Abolitionists, is as sincere as it appears to be. It is alleged, that through the circuitous channels of money-lending, there are interests involved which throw obstacles in the way of a speedy extinction of the traffic. Money transactions are more difficult to *trace* than goods. Influential British merchants, or money-lenders, may hold securities on Foreign Slave-cultivated estates for money lent, as well as for goods sold or supplied ; and thus the lenders, although professed Abolitionists, become interested in the continuance of the system.

We endeavoured, in last year’s Report, to lay before the public a scheme which, if properly carried out, would at one and the same time *benefit* Africa, *abolish* the Slave-trade, and give *cheap sugar* to the British people. This measure, as will be seen in this Appendix, was laid before the Anti-Slavery Convention, but, whether through money-lending, or any other influence, rejected by the *leading*, and, consequently, by the *following party* of that body. It was afterwards presented to the public at our Annual Meeting, where it met a very different reception. Yet we are sorry to say, that on account of various obstructions thrown in the way of Emigrants embarking, the scheme is not succeeding as it might. Whether Government may see fit to remove those obstructions, and make it in reality a “*Free Emigration*,” remains to be seen. Not only should those obstructions be removed, but increased facilities added ; and, at the same time, every suitable means to prevent corruption. But we fear that the Government feels but slightly impressed with a sense of the heavy and accumulated wrongs, estimated above as inflicted by this country on deserted, despised, and friendless Africa ; and as little are they disposed to devise any thing in the way of retribution in that quarter. They have strange ideas of compensation,—they award it, not to the people injured, but to those benefitted by the injury.

There are, however, many, we doubt not, in this kingdom, who, although a generation has passed away since the termination of the infliction of those wrongs, will nevertheless feel themselves chargeable with some attempt at reparation. Would that this feeling were more deeply and more widely diffused ! There might then be some hope, that through the influence of

the people, our Government may be prevailed upon to befriend Africa, and to interpose on her behalf with other Governments, so that *they* may cease to torment, afflict, enslave, and murder her people.

We are inclined to think that this duty has never been sufficiently pressed home upon governments or people, nor upon proper grounds. The general principle and duty of benevolence is, however, as obligatory upon nations as upon individuals, and especially from strong and powerful nations, towards those who are weak and uninfluential: and the duty of retribution for wrongs inflicted, is equally binding on nations, in a national capacity, and should be attended to by nations to each other, as readily as by individuals, even without waiting to be required. It is only when done in this spirit that it is done as it should be; and is especially the more creditable, when done by a powerful nation, such as England, to a weak and despised people, such as Africa, which could not enforce it, and would not even demand it. The duty, nevertheless, lies upon us; and if the gospel require us to return good for evil done to us, much more are we bound to recompense with good, those whom we have, wilfully, maliciously, or even accidentally injured. The Law of Nations, as it is called, in as far as it has any feature of Christianity in it, is founded on this principle.

Our object, in what precedes, has been to draw public attention to the large share this nation has had in crushing and grinding down outcast and plundered Africa, to the forlorn, abject, and despised state she is now in; and to appeal to all, whether government, or people, who are susceptible of appeal on her behalf; and to endeavour to show, that for our credit as a nation, professing the philanthropy of Christians, it becomes us—nay it is *demanded* of us as a duty—whether we hear or heed the demand or not, to bestir ourselves, and endeavour, by every legitimate means in our power, to make some amends for the grievous evils we have inflicted on that nation.

Let any one who has moved in the Anti-Slavery circle for the last ten, fifteen, or twenty years, or let all who have done so, and are acquainted with all its movements, reflect seriously upon how very little Africa has been benefitted by these movements—even by Emancipation,—rather if they can point to any real tangible benefit that can be traced to have accrued to her out of them. We of the Anti-Slavery profession have made a great noise, it is true, in clashing opposition with the Pro-Slavery interest, and we have at last succeeded in bringing about, or certain circumstances have aided in bringing about, the freedom of the Slaves in the British colonies and possessions; but what has this done for Africa? The British Slaves were in a condition nearly fit to Emancipate and help themselves—but what can Africa do to help herself? Her people are made to prey on one another—and what have Treaties, and Cruisers, and Courts, and every thing else done for her? Has her "*Monster*" Curse, the Slave-trade, in any appreciable degree abated in quantity or cruelty? or what it has lost in quantity, it has gained in cruelty; and therefore there may be as many murdered and enslaved as ever. Has a legitimate trade with her in any way increased? or have there been any rational and well digested means used to increase a legitimate trade? Have her people become any more civilized, or has there been any plan sought for, devised, and patronized, by which they may be even somewhat improved? Is there any greater degree of civilization exemplified by the occupations of her people, or by their Export productions or Import articles? Has their commercial intercourse with other nations increased? Can we point to any more, or rather to *any* of their trading vessels, in our ports?—to any increase of her natives—sailors in *our* vessels,—or to any of her young

people coming to reside among us for their education, and to procure insight into our arts and sciences, and modes of life? Is there any indication that Africa has advanced in any of these particulars, or in any others indicating a progress in civilization, while the Anti-Slavery contest has been going on in this country, or arising from it, or from its results?

We are aware that the condition of our former Slaves has been much improved, and it is right it should be so: it is what may be expected when men and women are transmuted from being *things*, and acknowledged to be *men and women*.—But all this time, since we have finished robbing her by murder, Slavery, or otherwise, of 27-millions of her people, many of the Anti-Slavery profession seem to have been quite unconcerned about making any amends to Africa, from whom these very Slaves, or their fathers, were stolen, whom they have been so desirous to have made comfortable,—more so, perhaps, than the labourers at our doors—while it seems to be expected by many, that the improvement of Africa, and of the condition of her people, and the entire extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade, will flow out of Emancipation as a necessary consequence, even as some people look forward to the reign of Virtue and Peace in the earth, on the arrival of the Millennium, without thinking that they have any part to perform in bringing it about. For while the avaricious Slave Merchant, is calculating how he may, with the greatest profit, bring his human cattle to market, and the no less avaricious Slave-holding Planter, is calculating whether it will be cheaper for him to breed or to buy,—whether it be most profitable to work his stock moderately—say for seven years—and to rear some; or to work them harder—say for three years—and thus to kill out triennially and buy fresh stock: the Anti-Slavery Societies are endeavouring, if they can get access to him, or if he will regard their arguments, to persuade him *theoretically*, that Free Labour is cheaper than Slave Labour; nevertheless, they themselves will not sanction a practical illustration of their own principles, on a scale sufficiently large to give the Slave Planter a practical *pocket demonstration*. While all this, amid contending jealousies is going on, we ask every one who has a particle of Anti-Slavery principle or feeling in him, *Can nothing be done more directly for Africa?* Is it not in the power of Great Britain, more effectually than has hitherto been attempted, to help Africa to improve her own condition, and not be idly waiting thus till the river run past? Is the possibility of benefitting Africa so linked with the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade by foreign powers, that the whole Anti-Slavery public of the United Kingdom and her Colonies too—for they have *now* but one common interest in this matter—must suspend, or nearly suspend their efforts and lie upon their oars, waiting the fortuitous tide that may move the Foreign Planter to abandon Slavery?

That there is truth in the proposition—"That so long as Slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade," we do not mean to question, for we of the Glasgow Emancipation Society have ourselves long since adopted it; but there may be other truths bearing on the subject equally cogent, which, because not perhaps so obvious, may have been overlooked.

Let us go to the root of the matter,—What caused the Slave-trade? The *want of labour*, either real or imaginary. And what keeps up the Slave-trade? The same want of labour, either real or pretended. Then if labour can be procured equally cheap or cheaper, otherwise than by Slavery and the Slave-trade, viz.: Free Labour—may we not expect the annihilation of the Slave-trade by its substitution? Certainly. Does it not then follow that we, who are opposed to Slavery and the Slave-trade,

ought to adopt and encourage *every legitimate* means—"every means of a *moral, religious, and pacific* character"—which tends to render Free Labour cheap and profitable, and to make Slave Labour dear and profitless? It appears to us that such is our duty. Let us now cast a retrospective glance upon the years that are past, in which this nation wasted and destroyed 27 millions of the inhabitants of Africa, and passing in review before our minds the horrid details of that murderous system, let us reflect seriously, and ask ourselves whether it would not have been infinitely better in every respect for Africa, for her inhabitants, and for those who employed them, if their labour had all along been procured as Free Emigrants. And what would, in all probability, be the state of things now in the colonies of Great Britain, and in Africa, had such been the case? Think of the social intercourse which would have thus been kept up between Africa and the colonies, had they been as much accustomed to resort thither for Labourers, as they have been to the United Kingdom for Managers and Overseers.

It must, we think, appear obvious to every reflecting mind, that thus Africa would not have been as now it is, a *terra incognita* to the inhabitants of the West Indies, and the West Indies as a *terra incognita* to the inhabitants of Africa, but there would have been a constant and intimate intercourse between them; and it is highly probable, that from persons returning to Africa, after a temporary sojourn in the West Indies, such would have been the result in regard to the cultivation of Africa, that long ere now, there would have been little difference between the two countries, either in arts or agriculture; and the West Indian islands would, long ago, have been so fully stocked with inhabitants, that they would have been emigrating to other quarters. Such conclusions, it may be said, and we do not affect to deny it, are the result of a mind partial to a favourite scheme, here alluded to. But we are not aware that our partiality has led us to draw conclusions at variance with the *unbiased* convictions of an impartial mind: and if others, upon impartially studying the subject, find their minds diverging to the same focus, should they not ask—If such would have been the happy result of Free Emigration, adopted when Slave Labour was first introduced, can any good reason be assigned why Free Emigration should *now* be adopted to supply the lack of Free Labour, in order to compete with the existing Slave Labour; and thus convince the Slave-holder *by an argument more tangible than words, and more powerful than theory*, of the truth, That Free Labour is *more profitable* than Slave Labour?

We see in it, when fully and properly acted out, as we have seen before, the elements of benefit to the Emigrants themselves, in getting better employment than they have at home, and in learning something useful, either in books, in the fields, or at trade;—of benefit to the Planter, who, when supplied with a sufficiency of labour, is enabled successfully to compete with the Slave-holder in the price of his produce;—of benefit to the consumer, who may thus be supplied at a cheaper rate; and of benefit to Africa, who will receive back her sons and daughters after they have acquired valuable and useful arts, and knowledge, which they may turn to the advantage of their native country, and themselves, possibly, to more than mere temporal advantage.

Again, we ask, why may not Africans be permitted, nay even *assisted*, if we have any real compassion for them, to go out in quest of employment, or to look about them in the world at what is going on exterior to their own country? Why are the Africans to be pent up in their own country more than other people? The Swiss and the Germans

have—following their own inclinations—some of them gone as labourers to the West Indies.* Britain and Ireland have long supplied the West Indies with Managers and Overseers. The United States, and Canada, get, annually, thousands of labouring Emigrants from Britain and Ireland; even the United States' Slaves are permitted and assisted by Abolitionists to escape to Canada as Free Labourers. And why is African Labour to be locked up now, more than it shall be when the Slave-trade is abolished, unless it find its way through the crammed hold of the Slaver?† Shut up in their own country from all intercourse with the world, they may be men and women in stature, while they are but children in mental faculties and acquirements. As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth mind to mind. Let them get abroad—for but few whites can or will venture to reside in their pestilential atmosphere—but let them get abroad and mix with the world; and, among other discoveries, they will soon find out that there is no good reason why their country should, of all others, be selected as a Slave Mart for the world. This knowledge will spread among them more rapidly, perhaps, than any other; and when they come to know this as well as other nations, and when the Chiefs are convinced that it would be more profitable for them to apply the labour of their people to useful productions, rather than sell them as Slaves—which, it appears, would not be a difficult matter, were proper means taken to effect it—they will then not easily be made the procurers of Slaves. Give them but this knowledge—let it spread among them generally, and it will not be every handful of Spaniards, or Portuguese, that will carry away two, three, or four hundred of their subjects, stowed in a barrel like so much inanimate matter. They may not all become Cinques,† but there will be found among them many to assist and protect the liberty of their countrymen; especially, if they have the sincere and effective countenance of those States which profess to desire the deliverance of their Nation from the curse and cruelties of the Slave-trade.

So little intercourse have the Africans with other nations, that we in vain look for an African, even a Sierra Leone vessel in our harbours, navigated by Natives. Such a thing, we believe, is quite unprecedented; and, we believe, it is equally so, to point to any Nation so populous, whose inhabitants are such expert watermen on their rivers, and yet have no Sea-going vessels. There seems to be an entire want of enterprise, of this kind, among them. It appears as if they have little desire to go abroad into the world and visit other parts, or as if they thought all the world were savages ready to prey upon them—and well they may—and, therefore, that they are unwilling to trust themselves out of their own country; at least, they seem to have but little desire to venture. The most adventurous are the Kroomen, who have no Slaves among them, nor ever allow themselves to be made Slaves. Yet they have shown more confidence in British Sailors, and are more useful on board of British Merchant-Vessels, or Men-of-War, than any other of the African Tribes. But it does not necessarily follow, that the art of navigating vessels at sea is beyond the reach of the Blacks. There are many Blacks in the United States of America navigating vessels of their own; and also in Hayti; and

* Holman says, "a considerable Emigration used to take place annually from the [Canary] Islands, and particularly from Lancerota and Portovenura to the Spanish Main and to Cuba, where those Islanders were much in request as labourers and moleteers; and often prospered so well as to return home enriched."

† Referring to the Leader of the Negroes who escaped in the "Amistad" in 1839.

so far back as 1812, we have* an interesting account of Captain Paul Cuffee, an American Black, who, having heard of the efforts making in favour of his brethren in Africa by the African Institution, crossed the Atlantic in his own Ship, "*The Traveller*," navigated by himself, and manned, with a single exception, by persons of his own colour. After going with a cargo from America to Sierra Leone, he arrived at Liverpool in July, 1811, visited London, and was invited to attend a Meeting of the Board of Directors, specially called for the purpose of conferring with him, which was attended by the Duke of Gloucester, the Patron of the Society. The interview with Captain Paul Cuffee, left a very favourable impression of his mental and moral qualities on the mind of his Royal Highness, and of all the Directors who attended. Cuffee was a Member of the Society of Friends, and a Minister among them.

But where are the Paul Cuffees that Africa has since produced, notwithstanding all the improvements we have heard of from the Education of the Blacks—the rescued Slaves—and Free-born Natives in Sierra Leone? We fear there must be "something rotten in the state," not "of Denmark," but of Sierra Leone, or we should have had many similar instances of talent, in various departments, long ere this. We are convinced it is not for want of natural talent in the Blacks, but that the fault must be somewhere else. We have studied this subject not a little, and believe that much may be done to improve Africa and the Africans, without expensive expeditions, and without incurring any very deadly charge to the Nation—the cost of a Chinese or Affghan War could do much for Africa—she rather requires a little fostering care—or to return to our original figure, she requires to have the attention and the sympathies of some one—of some Nation that shall "have compassion on her"—that shall treat her as a neighbour, as if she were bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh—some Nation that will "bind up her wounds, pouring in" the necessary emollients—that will take means to remove from her, or preserve her from the future attacks of thieves, such as those who "robbed her," and will be willing to be at the necessary expense of so doing.

What Nation—what Government is so likely to perform those kind offices as the British? But although we see no good reason to doubt the willingness of the Government to patronize and adopt such measures as may seem likely to render Africa useful to herself and to the world, and the world to her, and to rescue her from the Slave-trade; yet we have little hope that Government will originate measures, but will probably continue those which have been unsuccessfully prosecuted for the last thirty or forty years. It must, therefore, rest with the people to bestir themselves and take up the subject in earnest, not simply as an *Anti-Slavery* subject, yet not to lose sight of it in that light, but as an *AFRICAN* subject; and, laying aside all prejudices, or preconceived opinions, be willing to assist in promoting any scheme "of a moral, religious, and pacific character," from which there is reasonable hope of benefitting Africa in any degree, and no prospect of injuring her—for she can hardly be made worse than she is—and thus, somewhat on the principle of physicians, who, when they cannot directly eradicate a disease, endeavour to strengthen the constitution, trusting that the conservative principle of nature will expel the malady and restore health. Since little or no progress is made by the means hitherto used by the Anti-Slavery profession to remove the disease,—in this case the Slave-trade,—it seems foolish to persevere, at any rate to depend solely upon such fruitless measures; for, as we have now to do

* In the African Institution Reports, No. 6.

with Foreign Powers in the abolition of Slavery, and have no right to interfere with their legislation, we fear the influence exercised, or in our power to exercise with them, is but small—so small, that it is questionable whether or not any little results which may be imagined to be obtained—if any such there really be—may not as justly be attributed to the effect of economic measures, in progress or in prospect, operating without any designed direct application to the case, or any moral influence upon minds in general not very susceptible to such arguments. Hence arises the obvious necessity, we think, of looking out for and trying some other remedies—at any rate as auxiliaries—if we wish to make any sensible advance upon the disease. We fear that in this as in bodily ailments, some, who may doubtless desire the eradication of the evil, are, nevertheless, so partial to their own applications, that they are not likely to be prevailed upon to receive suggestions from other quarters; especially of such a novel character as we have now to propose, and coming from what may be regarded an uninfluential source.

He must be a very inattentive observer who has not remarked, that many persons are so much the children—if not of circumstances—of their own prejudices, that their adoption or rejection of any measure, although perhaps involving their own interests, depends more upon the rank, wealth, character, or associates, of the party who suggests it, than upon its own abstract merits.

If the hints we are about to throw out, regarding the means for abolishing the Slave-trade, are to be judged upon these grounds, they will doubtless be rejected. We claim for them, however, a calm and impartial consideration; and if, unitedly or singly, they can be applied as auxiliaries in that work, we only expect for them a favourable reception so far as useful. There being nothing about them of a showy, attractive, and imposing character, they are likely to obtain from many the disdainful reception of the remedy proposed by the prophet of old, they may be rejected for their simplicity—but simple means often produce great effects. In those to be proposed, we have restricted ourselves, as is seen above, to such as are of a "*Moral, Religious, and Pacific character*;" and have thus excluded many that on these grounds would be objectionable, yet we are confident that, without those of an opposite character, and in which Christians could not consistently participate, there is yet a field sufficiently large from which to select for effecting this important end, would the professed friends of Liberty only exert themselves to discover and apply them. Let us, if we have the true Anti-Slavery spirit,—not reject any, even the smallest and most insignificant looking means, whose influence is in the right direction. The ploughman rejects not the wedge which fixes the coulter, any more than he does the coulter itself—nor the engineer the pin which fixes the wheel on its axis, any more than the wheel or the axis itself—'tis not a fibre which makes the rope at which rides the ship of 1000 tons, but the united strength of all the fibres.

There are means of an Economic, Commercial, Fiscal, Diplomatic, and Social character. And these may be distinguished again, into those which may be worked out by individuals, Societies, Nations, or Governments.

Those of an Economic, Commercial, and Fiscal character, are closely united, and sometimes so blend into one another, that they may be considered under one general head.

The Economic measure to which we allude at present, is that of Free African Emigration to the West Indies; or the "Free Emigration of African Labourers to the West Indies." Of its mode of working and results, when under proper regulations, we refer to our Annual Report,

published last year ; to the various publications of Macgregor Laird, Esq., who has well considered the subject ; and to the report of what he said at the Convention in June last, as published in J. F. Johnson's "Report of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention ;" and for that and the Fiscal measures, we would refer to a pamphlet just published by Mr Laird, entitled—"The Effect of an Alteration in the Sugar Duties on the Condition of the People of England and the Negro Race, considered."

But it may be expected that we should reply to the objections which have been offered to this Emigration Scheme.—"*Audi alteram partem*," has always been our motto. And in the appendix to our last Annual Report, we did reply to such objections as had then appeared in the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's Reporter*—that Society being the chief objectors. One of their principal objections is,—that in benefitting Africa it would benefit the West Indians, who would thus obtain labour on paying for it—saying in effect, that they could not accept from this scheme any benefit, if it also included advantage to the West India Planters: a spirit similar to that of Haman of old, who said, "yet all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate."

We have seen no objections of any weight, since the period referred to. But we are sorry to be obliged to say, that the spirit which appears to animate that Society, seems too much akin to that of party, to permit them candidly to investigate any scheme which does not fall in with their notions, or originate with themselves. And considering that such important interests and results are dependent upon it, we deeply regret, that so many well-meaning persons seem to put themselves so implicitly under their direction, without, we fear, sufficiently examining for themselves.

For example—what a strange obliquity of judgment it appears to be in the British and Foreign Society, deliberately to assert, that—"in their judgment, the scheme though worked out by the Government, is more likely to increase the Slave-trade on the coast of Africa, and to beget a new form of Slavery in the British Colonies." Here we have an instance to what length some persons will go in contending for an opinion, which they are determined at all hazards to sustain. But they have overshot the mark. Had they been satisfied with the notion, extravagant as it is, under the circumstances—that the scheme, if left to be worked out by the Foreign Colonies themselves, *may be turned* into a species of Slave-trade, there might be something like probability in *that* ;—but to imagine that "though worked out by the [British] Government, it is more likely" not only "to increase the Slave-trade on the coast of Africa ; but to beget a new form of Slavery"—*mirabile dictu!*—"in the British Colonies"—is, we think, a most extravagant assertion. As well might they imagine and assert, that it would beget a new form of Slavery in the city of London. Of such conceits it may be said in their own language, "the folly of expecting such a result, can only be equalled by the folly that predicts it."

But such is the self-assurance acquired from the reliance placed by many upon their assertions, however extravagant, that they are become not very modest in their demands for credit. On one occasion, in a petition they presented to Parliament,* they stated that—"they are fully convinced that the *alleged* want of labour in the British Colonies *does not exist* ;"—having before "taken the liberty of denying that such a supply of labour as that complained of *by the planters* is wanted ;"—thus declaring to all and sundry, that *they* know better than the *Planters*, who are expending their money for this labour, whether they are acting wisely or not, in importing

Free Labour, especially from Africa; since *they* know besides, that "it may be obtained without a resort to Africa;" and elsewhere they add,— "that were the real demand for labour much greater than it is, there are other sources whence an adequate supply may be drawn, without resorting to Africa," thus exhibiting a great aversion to take labour from that country.

In another document,* after impeaching the motives of all who think differently from them, from the West Indian Planters to the Colonial Minister, charging them with urging a false "plea," and "specious pretext" by which the Parliament has "prejudged the question,—the Noble Lord also was greatly influenced," of course improperly, "by the West India party," and "set forth the *insidious* scheme in a speech," which they—"among the faithless, faithful only found"—"guard the country against," and show that the whole is a combination got up "for the *avowed* (!) purpose of reducing the wages of the lately emancipated Slaves;" and of course, if *they* are to be credited, only to gratify some spiteful feeling against these people!!! Then to wind up the consistency of that document, they say—"To a free circulation of labour throughout the West Indies," (of course of the stock of labour there at the period of Emancipation,) "the Committee have no objection; on the contrary they have on all occasions strenuously advocated it." They go a step farther—"to the spontaneous emigration of free persons *from any part of the world* to the British Colonies they have no objection." How gracious they are! But to crown their consistency—only five lines lower they say—"above all, the Committee are opposed to emigration from Africa!"

Such are the manœuvres, may we not term them, of the leaders of the opposition to Free African Emigration,—they have no formidable, no feasible, no practicable objection to the scheme, but such as we replied to last year; but they want to secure for the inhabitants of Sturge-town and Scoble-ville, &c., &c., their heirs and successors for ever, a patent right to the labour of the West India Colonies. Is it not a pity when such a cause falls under such leadership?

How differently they write in a paragraph in the *Reporter* of 24th January, under the head "St. Christopher's," and taken from the *Morning Herald*—yet though taken from that paper, we strongly suspect it is penned by the writers for the *Reporter*, to appear first in the *Morning Herald*. Here they advocate Free Emigration of the St. Kitts' labourers to share in the labour field at Trinidad, and condemn those who, "for their own interest, would prevent the Negroes from emigrating"—"who, by restrictive laws, would prevent the black peasants of St. Kitts from escaping to a more profitable field for their labour." They condemn the St. Kitts' "legislators and journalists," for advocating the same harsh measures which they themselves advocate to be measured out to the Africans. They object to the Africans intruding upon the labour field of the "Emancipated," but they insist that the Kittifonians, and of course all the other Colonial labourers who think they can improve their circumstances by a change, be permitted to share in the labour field of the Trinidadians or of course the Guianians.—They would not hold Slaves—no, not they—they are hot for liberty—they declaim against men "who think the black peasants their property, and prevent that property escaping to a more profitable field for their labour," but they seem to think the black peasants of Africa so much *their* property, that, for the interest of the Emancipated,

* An Address to the Friends of Africa, and of the Emancipated Classes in the West Indies.

to whom they are more partial than to the Africans, they claim the right to prevent the latter escaping to a more profitable field for their labour, and especially to bringing their labour into competition with that of the Emancipated, while they themselves insist that the Kittifonians be permitted to bring their labour into competition with the Trinidadians. Thus do the London Society assume no small control over the labour market, for no other purpose apparently than to please their own whims!!

To some minds, there may be something like a plausible justification for desiring to secure to the newly emancipated, a monopoly of the Colonial labour-market. They had been Slaves, and when Slaves did all the work; and therefore some may think them entitled to it all now, when free and working for wages. But there is a fallacy in this, or any mode of reasoning, that goes to sanction injustice of any kind. The Labour of the Colonies does not belong to the British and Foreign Committee to dispose of—nor, if it did, would it be just to the people of Great Britain, who have an interest in it, independent of the proprietors of the soil, whoever they may be—an interest to obtain its productions, or those of a similar kind, at as cheap a rate as possible: for monopoly of labour is not the parent of cheap produce of any kind, and, if given to the emancipated as a favour, must be injustice to the labouring classes of this country, who purchase and consume that produce. By such an Emancipation we have only exchanged one injustice for another. Besides, exclusive of all the Estates which were cultivated by the now emancipated, there are millions of acres of excellent virgin soil in Trinidad and Guiana yielding no return to any one, and all that is requisite is to bring British capital and African Free labour to bear upon it, to make it productive of cheap Sugar for the British labourers and people.

Upon their main objection, which has more of show than reality in it, viz., that other nations will follow the example of the British, and import Negroes on pretence of holding them as Free Emigrants, but will make them Slaves—we would offer one remark, and, for argument's sake, would admit it to be so, and then look at the state of things thus brought about. Suppose 1000 Negroes thus introduced, say into Brazil, some considerable improvement at any rate is gained to humanity, in the *mode* of their importation. On the middle passage they are treated something like rational beings; we have got rid of the confinement, the shackles, the handcuffs, the low deck, the crammed stowage, and the effluvia—the people walk about the deck and have their comfortable berths—they are free, and in the hope of remaining so; and even if they *are* afterwards made Slaves, which will doubtless be a great disappointment to them, here are 1000 Negro Emigrants who come with the expectation of freedom—who aspire strongly after that hope, and whom it will not be very safe to disappoint—they have some notion of what liberty means, for they engaged to be "*free emigrants*," and not to be Slaves; hence they will not be very safe companions for the Slaves, but will be very apt to make common cause with them for freedom; and if—which is not likely—the Planters are such dull scholars as not to foresee the danger of such an intermixture, and to anticipate an outbreak until it is at hand, it is highly probable that one of two things will result; either they will import no more free emigrants to add fuel to the fire, or else they will arrange for immediately emancipating their Slaves to prevent a rupture. In the meantime, some good is done by the more humane method of importing these emigrants to become Slaves; whereas, on the other hand, if more ships of war and cruisers are employed, it will inevitably ensure more cruel treatment, as well as more close packing, more torture and murder. In what then would

the Africans be sufferers, if imported as Free Emigrants, at the risk of being afterwards made Slaves? or what do they gain when captured by the humanity of the British?—let the British and Foreign Committee, or P. G. Hill, reply.

On the Diplomatic Measures referred to, we must on this occasion be very brief, on account of our limits. We have already hinted, that Africa is not regarded even by Great Britain with the sympathy to which she is entitled, as one of the Sisterhood of Nations; but more especially, as one that has been for centuries so barbarously treated by this and other Countries: and therefore if Great Britain is now sincere in her profession of sympathy for Africa, and desirous to make some reparation for the injuries she has inflicted upon her, it becomes her not only to give some substantial proof of that sympathy herself, but to interpose her good offices with other Nations who are still afflicting Africa, and endeavour to prevail upon them to cease from carrying away her people into Slavery, which is so opposed to the Christian principles they profess.

We are not about to propose any very extravagantly expensive measures, for we have faith in simple means, if founded on sound principles: and our only question respecting any measure proposed—come from what quarter it may—is what, calmly and dispassionately considered, would be the tendency of such a measure?—not so much what would be its efficiency; although, doubtless, we would desire and not despise efficient schemes, could we only foresee which would be most so; for the Slave-trade—the monster evil that afflicts Africa—cannot be brought to an end one day too soon; but we would reject no scheme, whose tendency points it out as an auxiliary to the cause, believing that our object is more likely to be brought about by a judicious combination of measures, than by any *one* that will superlatively eclipse all others; at any rate, every remedy that has a favourable tendency should be applied. It is obvious, that what is principally required for the regeneration of Africa, is the removal of the accursed Slave-trade; and the substitution of a legitimate and well regulated trade in the productions of that country, which may be greatly increased, in exchange for what her people may require of the produce and manufactures of our own and other countries—and above all, the EDUCATION of her people. We have already adverted to the inefficiency of the means hitherto adopted for removing the Slave-trade, and also to our aversion to warlike measures for the achievement of any purpose, but especially for this, as these could only confirm the Natives in the use of such means for the enslavement of one another.

We have elsewhere hinted that Africa may be helped into a position to protect herself; and if she were so, and the requisite position judiciously studied, we believe that Cuban and Brazilian Slavers would not attempt to go there for Slaves, any more than they would to England. Africa, we are aware, is an extensive country, and possesses an extended coast, and therefore not easily protected, especially by exterior force; but were her people themselves properly instructed in what regards their Rights, and their True Interests in this matter, we conceive they would be their own best protectors.

Would the Cuban or Brazilian Slavers ever attempt to go to Jamaica or Barbadoes for Slaves? Would they even dare to go to Hayti for such a purpose? What prevents them?—as valuable labourers are to be got there as in Africa, but they are not so well qualified, by ignorance, to be made Slaves; they know too well their Right to Liberty, and the value of that right: therefore the Slavers go not there on such an errand—they would run the risk of being made the Slaves themselves, for a time, at any

rate. And there are even now some tribes in Africa who are not usually enslaved—who neither hold Slaves themselves, nor are made Slaves by others. This, as we have before stated, may be said of the Kroomen especially, who are the most valuable as labourers, either in the woods, or on ship-board.

Nor do we see any insuperable difficulty in informing most, or many of the other tribes who are exposed to the Slave-trade, that they are equally entitled to their liberty as these Man-stealers. It might be a work of some time, but so fully are we persuaded of the complete security it would be to them, as it is to others, against being enslaved by Foreign Marauders, and so convinced of the utility of instructing them in this matter, that we think it would be of immense benefit to Africa, were direct means taken to diffuse this knowledge, in the first place, among those tribes, that are most exposed to the scourge of the Slave-trade. And the question might be raised—with those who advocate Abolition simply by instructing and reforming the Slave-holders and Slave-traders, men deeply interested in a pecuniary way in carrying on that trade—and the people and governments of Slave-holding States, upon which of the two, the Slaves and the Chiefs, or the Slave-traders and holders, with their people and governments, is it most likely first to make an effective impression? One thing, however, seems probable, if not certain, that Africans generally have such confidence in the British, that *they* would be admitted freely and openly to instruct them, even the Chiefs, upon the advantage it would be to both—to the Chiefs, to use the labour of their people, even of their prisoners of war, rather than sell them as Slaves; (but better to teach them that there should be no wars, and better still to set them that example)—and to the people, to give some portion of their labour to their Chiefs, as a rent for land, or some acknowledgment of personal service, rather than to be sold as Slaves to foreigners; and, at the same time, both Chiefs and people would have to be assured, that extensive arrangements would be made for legitimate trade, under proper regulations; so that they might obtain, for their native productions, such manufactures as they would require. But there would be no inconsistency, although the instructions and admonitions referred to, should be simultaneously communicated to both parties—to the natives of Africa and their Chiefs, on the one hand; and to the Slave-traders and holders, with their people and governments, on the other;—for any impression made, on either party, would be favourable to the general object—if, on the former, it would make it more difficult to *obtain* Slaves: if, on the latter, there would be less *desire* to obtain them. Some persons may think such circumstances too insignificant to affect so vast a question as the Slave-trade. But it has been said that “knowledge is power;” and if we overrate, others may underrate the power of that knowledge which we here recommend.

But how that, and all other knowledge necessary is to be communicated to them, becomes an important point. We are of opinion that the fittest of all Instructors, at any rate to “break up the fallow ground,” and the most likely to get access acceptably, are the Emancipated Negroes of the West Indies, with a small admixture of Whites among them. But they should be themselves, (and their female companions also,) tolerably well educated; men of piety, willing to devote themselves to the task—persons who are impelled by the love of country and of kindred—cool, reflecting, prudent individuals, recommended by their respective Ministers as suitable for the work; willing to cast in their lots for a time among the Africans, and to sacrifice even their lives, if requisite, in the cause. A considerable number, perhaps from 30 to 50, should agree to set out at or about the same time,

and if some of them were born in Africa, so much the better. Their principal field should be near to where the Slave-trade is carried on; they should use every argument to persuade the Chiefs to abandon the Slave-trade, by convincing them that they would find it much more profitable to employ the people to cultivate the ground rather than to sell them away; that they would also obtain the friendship of England; besides, that in following the Slave system, they are not doing to others as they would wish others to do to themselves. Most of them, too, should be tradesmen, who would give the Natives as much knowledge, as would excite them to learn various trades; there should also be some Missionaries among them; and all parties should, in every reasonable way, endeavour to conciliate the Africans; by convincing them that they have their interest, their improvement, and their best welfare at heart. It would be well if such persons, even as an embassy of kindness and affection, have somewhat of the countenance and assistance of Government in their undertaking; but it would be better if they exhibited to the natives, captivating specimens of pious, well-behaved, and well-educated Blacks. In this way, while many of the Africans might enjoy the benefit of such teachers, as a kind of moving academies; others, either Chiefs or Chief's sons, might be prevailed upon to go or be sent to England, to be educated and instructed in trades. And why may not England be at some expense in this matter of education for Africa? Does she owe Africa nothing? Might she not expend as much on education for Africa, and learning her people trades, as the cost of one war ship for capturing Slavers—about £9,000 or £10,000 in a year—an amount which might do some good in that department;—how much more might be done if all expended in that part of the service, as it is called, in the year 1842, viz., £575,466 were diverted from war to peace—from fighting the foe to instructing the protegee, and driving out ignorance. The war system, pursued in protecting Africa, may appear to our naval heroes as the very acme of philanthropy and virtue; but we think very differently, and regard it, in every shape, only as a scourge, a pestilence, or a famine,—with this difference, and that not in its favour, that the latter is in the hands of man; the former, generally in the hand of God; and however good the design, it can only be regarded as doing evil, that good may come; for the example of war is always an evil example. Besides, we have always had a suspicion that that branch of the service is maintained as much to benefit the officers, as either Africa or the British people. The mortality is nothing discouraging—they don't go much up the rivers, but continue to keep out of the reach of the malaria, &c. If the British Government would undertake the work of instructing the African people, on a scale befitting the object, and in a suitable spirit, it would be found that Education would do more to *Abolish the Slave-trade* than CANNON BALLS, and that even a smattering of knowledge would unfit for Slavery;—the two are incompatible. Ignorance and Slavery—knowledge and liberty, are generally found in the history of nations, to keep pace with each other. And with regard to Africa, it may be stated in general, that in those districts where the Slave-trade most prevails, there also, the people are the most ignorant and savage.

Education, in the shape of book learning of every interesting kind, comprehending the amusing, the useful, and the instructive, in every department of literature, should be poured in upon the Africans on all sides; more with a view, at first, to discover who among them may evince quickness of aptitude in learning, than in the expectation of speedily teaching all, or even any very large portion of the people; and if a few only out of the mass show themselves particularly expert in the acquirement of knowledge,

these will by-and-by become teachers, and thus the benefit will spread. Oral instruction, also, of every kind, on agriculture, commerce, geography, arts, and sciences, should be unceasingly communicated to them; together with practical exhibitions of various interesting experiments, calculated to awaken in their minds desires after knowledge. Everything should be done to rouse the dormant faculties of the natives. And whether the instructors be simple but educated labourers and tradesmen from the West Indies, imbued with a strong desire to contribute their share to remove the evil from what was once their country, or the country of their fathers, and who should go out in great numbers, spreading themselves over the land, and residing a year or two in or near one place, and so in another; or, whatever may be the extent of their education, they should use the utmost endeavours to live on the most friendly terms with the natives, make it their study to gain their entire confidence, and let it be distinctly seen, that their main object is to benefit and improve the people—to raise them in the scale of society—to prepare some to be the instruments of still further elevating their countrymen, and thus erect an effectual barrier against the Slave-trade.

Were the Chiefs and their sons, also, educated in Africa, or rather, in England, and made to see the propriety of employing their people in the raising of profitable exportable productions, instead of selling them into Slavery,—this would make a great change for the better; and would at least be a check, if not an entire extinguisher, to the Slave-trade.

Could the attention of the English Government and people be turned to the subject of cultivating a more free and frequent intercourse between the various African chiefs, so as to draw them more away from their rude if not savage seclusion in their native wilds, and place them—sometimes this one, sometimes that, and sometimes another—on English soil, where they might meet and cultivate a friendly acquaintance with one another—acquire the elements of a good practical education—learn somewhat of commerce and of the world—and see something of the manners of English society,—would that we could say, there were no risk of imbibing evil example—could arrangements, we say, be made, by which these personages would be induced to exchange their homes for a few years, that they might return gainers in knowledge and virtue—in the knowledge necessary for this life as well as of that which is to come, so that they might become greater blessings to their country, in opening the avenues of knowledge to their people, and extending their agriculture and commerce—they would, doubtless, see much that they and their countrymen have to learn, and this would tend very much to open and civilise their minds. They would then understand much better the difference between liberty and slavery. We are of opinion, that many advantages would arise towards the promotion of civilization in Africa, were a more frequent and friendly intercourse kept up between these African Chiefs, and their trading people in general, and the people of this country. They should not be such strangers in England. We should like to see African vessels, navigated by Africans, bringing their own produce to our shores. We find that they were quite willing to enter into treaties with the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition, for the abolition of the Slave-trade, and also human sacrifice; and although we by no means approve of lavishly throwing away money in such engagements—there may be too much paid for the whistle—yet we believe there may also be occasions when a stinted liberality is anything but good policy.

The matter may be injudiciously—foolishly, or extravagantly gone about—but we are not of those who therefore condemn the whole proceeding.

Money—the money of the country, may be spent in a much worse way than in treaties with the Chiefs to induce them to abandon the Slave-trade. We would prefer that a great deal of what is spent in war were expended in that way ; so far from rescinding such treaties, we are of opinion they should be increased ; but, at the same time, proper means should be taken to secure the faithful execution of them. A sufficient number of persons in whom the British Government can put confidence, should be left to reside in the dominions of each Chief, so as to watch over their conduct, and see that no Slave-trade is clandestinely carried on ; and reports should be regularly given in from each place, and the Chief who, without war, kept away the Slavers—gave them no encouragement—but employed his people in agricultural occupations, and in lawful trade, should be well rewarded. And for this purpose, every means should be used to increase the opportunities and facilities of legitimate trade.

We are persuaded that the Missionaries in the West Indies could recommend for this duty, a sufficient number of the Emancipated Negroes, steady men, of excellent character, who, without any very extravagant pay, would be willing to go out and reside at the different stations where the Slave-trade is carried on—persons whose hearts would be in the work—say six or eight men, and their wives and families, at each place, who might at the same time be Teachers, Guardians, and Instructors in farming, or trades, and for a very moderate remuneration from the Government. We hesitate not to say that such an establishment would, in a very short time, materially change the face of things ; without the firing of a shot, or exhibiting any warlike demonstration. And while the West India Colonies are giving Instructors to Africa, she may be giving them emigrants in return ;—thus a double process of improvement would be going forward.

We are very desirous that the Anti-Slavery people of England would take up the consideration of these rude hints, and, as the friends of Africa, examine if any of them may be turned to good account, so as to be in any degree, or in any way useful, even as auxiliaries, for the extinguishment of the Slave-trade. Let the matter be discussed, brought before public meetings, and every means used to draw attention to the subject ; persuaded as we are, that good will ultimately result to Africa.

We are quite aware that the extinction of Slavery will also be the extinction of the Slave-trade. But we are also aware that if the African people were, in one night, to become as well-informed as the Emancipated Blacks in Jamaica or Hayti, not another Slave-trader would venture to show his face in that country. Let the friends of Africa think upon, and encourage *every means* likely to put an end to the Slave-trade, or to diminish it in any degree.

Africa, we have said, is still prostrated, not acknowledged, not recognised among the nations. And who, we ask, will extend to her a helping hand ? or how is it to be extended or applied, so as most speedily and effectually to restore her to her place among the nations ? She has long been trodden down ; and is, therefore, easily kept down, and is at the mercy of every marauder whose avarice prompts him to plunder her of her people. Might constitutes right. 'Tis an assault of the strong upon the weak—a violent aggression of one nation upon another ; and therefore, a question naturally arises, whether or not, upon the principle of the law of nations, a third nation may not interpose to aid the weaker party ; and by every moral, and peaceable, and legitimate means, endeavour to prevent such disgraceful aggression upon an unoffending people.

The only legitimate mode, in our sense of what is legitimate, by which

a third nation may lawfully interpose, is by public remonstrance in the face of the world. And the party that stands in the position best qualified for the task is Great Britain. If she were to take along with her some of the Continental nations who are themselves clear of Slavery, and issue a solemn remonstrance to all the other powers who are less or more still engaged in that cruel and disgraceful traffic in human beings, it might be productive of good. We should like to see a moral crusade of this kind against Slavery and the Slave-trade. It would be a happy omen for the regeneration of Africa; and if, in the inscrutably wise ordering of Him who seeth the end from the beginning, the views to which we have feebly given expression in these pages, should in any degree be instrumental in bringing about so blessed a consummation, our labour will not have been in vain.

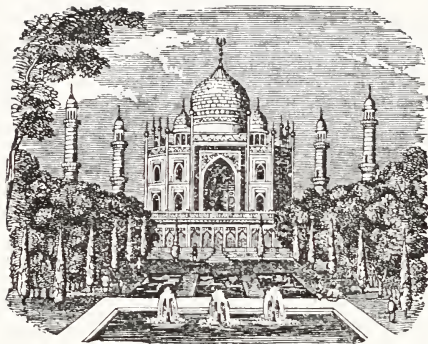
P.S.—The remarks which are made on the conduct and bearing of the British and Foreign Committee, may, to some, appear severe. But we conceive them to be consistent with truth; they are offered more in the way of admonition, than of censure; for we are persuaded they are, in most cases, acquiesced in by some of their best friends, and the friends of the Cause. They do not apply, probably, to each of the Committee alike. It may not even be known to some of them, that there is any ground for the observations we have felt ourselves called upon to make.

No. V.

MR THOMPSON'S RETURN FROM INDIA.

THE delay that has taken place in the preparation of this Appendix, enables us to give the following account of Mr Thompson's return, extracted from THE BRITISH FRIEND, of 3d Month, (March) 30th, 1844:—

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I ought, long before this, to have given you some account of my journey from Delhi to Calcutta, and my voyage home. I took my leave of the king on the morning of the 7th of November, and in the evening of the same day, bid adieu to the imperial city. The weather, at the time of my departure, was the most lovely and delightful I have ever known. On the morning of the 10th, I arrived at Agra, a few hours only after Dwarkanauth Tagore reached the city. We spent six days together, rambling over the ruins which lie scattered all around, and visiting some of the most magnificent buildings in the world. Here we saw the famous Somnauth gates. They have been placed, by Lord Ellenborough, in a long room, belonging to the palace of Akbar, in the Fort, which has been converted into an armoury. They are curious specimens of ancient carving, and considering their age, are in tolerable preservation. They are not likely, in my opinion, to be removed from their present resting place.



Of all the splendid buildings in which Agra abounds, the Taj, (the tomb of the beautiful and favourite wife of Shah Jehan,) is the most remarkable, and is, I suppose, unrivalled for the costliness of its materials, the elaborateness of its ornaments, and the beauty both of its external and internal appearance. It is situated on the bank of the Jumna, in the midst of a spacious garden, and is approached through a treble gateway, and up an avenue of stately cypress trees; at the head of which stands the tomb, a stupendous edifice, of solid marble of the purest white, polished and adorned with the minuteness and elegance of a bridal gem. I have never seen any thing which excelled it, in the symmetry of its proportions, or the gracefulness of its domes and minarets. The beauty of the interior defies description. On some future occasion I will attempt some account of this extraordinary achievement of art. I send you the above picture, made by a native on the spot, from which you may be able to form some idea of its appearance, as viewed from the entrance to the garden. I visited it several times, and my last view was one of even greater wonder and delight than my first. Next in importance to the Taj, is the Secundra, or tomb of Akbar the Great, but I may not stay to describe. I left Agra, on the 15th, at night, and reached Benares on the 22d. In one of several letters which I sent you by the *Memnon* (the vessel that was unhappily wrecked,) I gave you a very full description of my visit to the Rajah of Sattara, on my way up the country. On my return I saw him again, and received his final wishes and instructions respecting the conduct of his cause in this country. All my favourable impressions concerning him, were more than confirmed by what I saw and heard of him at Benares. He is a superior man. I met with no person of rank in India, in any respect his equal, as regards his intellectual powers, and his thorough knowledge of his own affairs. His manner is perfectly open. He appears to have no secrets. He has preserved the most exact history of all the transactions at Sattara, from the first moment of his establishment there by the British Government. In India, as in England, the Europeans who have had the best opportunity of knowing the character and conduct of the Rajah, scout the idea of his guilt, and firmly believe him to be the victim of a foul conspiracy, of which the Government have been the dupes. He has many friends, but hitherto his enemies have

prevented him from obtaining an impartial enquiry into his case. Should that ever take place, I have not a shadow of doubt that his innocence will be made apparent, and his persecutors be covered with confusion. I need hardly say, that his gratitude to his friends in England, was unbounded.

From Benares, I travelled the principal part of the way to Calcutta by a different route to that which I took on going to Delhi, and saw some interesting places, and more beautiful scenery. I spent one morning in the inspection of an Opium factory, and made myself as conversant as I could, during so short a time, with the modes of preparing the detestable drug that has been so pernicious to the Chinese, and the cause of so much iniquity, blood, and plunder, in the way of war. I must hereafter compare the proclamations of Sir H. Pottinger in China, with the acts of our Government in India, and you will then be able to judge of the sincerity with which they profess their desire to see the traffic in Opium abolished.

I reached Calcutta on the 5th of December, with only ten days to prepare for my departure by the Bentinck. During this time, I met the Landholders' Society, and the Bengal British India Society, and was unanimously chosen by both, their agent and representative in this country. On the 15th, I was on my way home. On the 19th we were at Madras. I spent five hours on shore. On the morning of the 22d we came into the harbour of Point de Galle, Ceylon. I immediately went ashore, and remained twenty-four hours, during which time I visited a cinnamon plantation, about six miles from the town. I was much delighted with the appearance of the island, which, from every account I heard, is rapidly improving, and presenting a striking contrast to the progress of things in India. On the morning of New-Year's day, we landed at Aden, where I was again hospitably entertained by the political agent (Capt. Haines,) with whom I staid until the following day, when we started for Suez. We had a fine run up the Red Sea, and landed at Suez on the 9th Jan. At midnight, we were sent into the desert, and were nearly perished with cold during the night. The following evening we reached Cairo, where we spent four clear days. I visited the pyramids, and, with my companions, ascended to the summit of the highest. We afterwards went through the excavations. We took our breakfast and lunch in the mummy caves; saw the Sphinx, &c. &c., and returned to Cairo, about 6 p.m. On the 15th we descended the Nile, and were at Alexandria the following morning, when we were detained (waiting for the Bombay passengers and mail) until the 24th. On the 28th we were at Malta for 12 hours. Between Malta and Gibraltar we had heavy gales, and our passage was therefore two days longer than usual. Our run from the latter place to the Mother-bank, was very fine, though we had contrary winds. We cast anchor on the 13th. On the 15th being released from quarantine, we were landed at Southampton, and on the 17th, I was in London, in the midst of my family.

Thus have I been preserved, by land, and by water, during more than fifteen months. The providence that has watched over me, has been extended also to my dear family, and we are now rejoicing together in the goodness of God. Many are the congratulations I have received from my friends in all parts of the country. I hope it will not be long before I am able to take a trip to Glasgow. I am anxious to see you and my other friends there. In the mean time, remember me very kindly to all, and believe me ever, yours affectionately,

GEO. THOMPSON.

LONDON, *March 4th.* 1844.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

TO

The Glasgow Emancipation Society,

From 24th Oct., 1842, to 1st Aug., 1843.

A		Alexander Duncan, . . .		£0 5 0
		John Dennistoun, M.P., . .		5 0 0
Ebenezer Anderson, . . .	£0 5 0	F		
Allan and Ferguson, . . .	0 10 6	John Fleming, . . .		1 1 0
Rev. William Anderson, . .	0 10 6	W. & J. Fleming & Co., . .		0 10 6
Robert Aitken, . . .	0 5 0	William Ferguson, . . .		0 10 6
Thomas Adam, . . .	0 5 0	Friend to the Cause, . . .		0 5 0
B		John A. Fullarton, . . .		0 10 6
William Brown, . . .	0 5 0	G		
John Barr, . . .	2 2 0	George Gallie, . . .		0 5 0
Henry Brock, . . .	1 1 0	Robert Graham, writer, . .		1 1 0
Robert Brand, . . .	1 1 0	John B. Gray, . . .		1 1 0
J. & T. Brown & Co., . . .	0 10 6	Archibald Gardner, . . .		0 5 0
Robert Barclay, . . .	0 10 6	John Gowland, . . .		0 5 0
M. Browning, 1842, . . .	0 5 0	William Graham & Co., . .		0 5 0
Do. 1843, . . .	0 5 0	William Gilmour, . . .		0 5 0
William Brown, grocer, . . .	0 5 0	Alexander Gemmell, . . .		0 5 0
Robert Burns, . . .	0 5 0	Robert Goodwin, . . .		0 5 0
Walter Buchanan, . . .	1 1 0	H		
Archibald Brown, . . .	0 10 6	Robert Hutcheson, . . .		1 1 0
Moses Brown, . . .	0 5 0	James Hutcheson, . . .		1 1 0
Dr. John Black, . . .	0 5 0	Alexander Hastie, . . .		1 1 0
Thomas Brown, . . .	0 5 0	Rev. Alexander Harvey, . .		0 5 0
Peter Bruce, . . .	0 5 0	I		
Robert Bland, . . .	0 5 0	Peter Inglis, . . .		0 5 0
William Brodie, . . .	0 5 0	J		
James Brock, . . .	0 5 0	Robert Jameson, . . .		0 10 6
C		K		
A. Cross, . . .	0 10 6	A. M'Kenzie Kirkland, . .		1 1 0
John Croom, . . .	0 10 6	John Ker, . . .		1 1 0
Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton, . .	0 5 0	Hugh Kennedy, . . .		0 5 0
A. H. Crawford, . . .	0 5 0	Dr. Kerr, . . .		0 5 0
John Craig, . . .	0 5 0	Rev. Dr. Kidston, . . .		0 10 6
James Cairns, . . .	0 5 0	L		
James Clark, . . .	0 5 0	Thomas Lee, . . .		0 5 0
Walter Cairns, . . .	0 5 0			
D				
Alexander Denovan, . . .	0 5 0			
James Dunlop, of Clyde, . .	1 1 0			
Thomas Downes, . . .	0 5 0			
James Dunn, . . .	1 0 0			
John Douglas, . . .	1 1 0			

James Laurie, . . .	£1	1	0	John Poynter, . . .	£0	10	6	
John Laurie, . . .		0	10	6				
Henry Langlands, . . .		0	10	6	R			
John Leadbetter, . . .		1	1	0				
William Lang, printer,		0	5	0	John B. Ross, . . .	0	10	6
William Lochhead, jun.,		0	5	0	David Russell, . . .	0	10	6
Thomas Lochhead, . . .		0	5	0	John & Charles Risk, . . .	1	1	0
M					John Reid, . . .	0	10	6
					John Reid, jun., . . .	0	5	0
Robert Mason, . . .		0	5	0	Andrew Robertson, . . .	0	5	0
Andrew Mitchell, . . .		1	1	0	S			
James Marshall, . . .		0	5	0				
Rev. Dr. John Murdoch, . . .		0	10	6	M. Smith, 1842, . . .	0	5	0
Robert Miller, bookseller,		0	5	0	Do. 1843, . . .	0	5	0
James More, . . .		0	5	0	Semple & Co., . . .	1	1	0
William Mein, . . .		0	5	0	David Smith, . . .	1	1	0
Robert Miller, London Street,		0	5	0	James Stewart, . . .	0	5	0
Robert Mathie, . . .		0	5	0	William Smith, . . .	0	10	6
John Maxwell, M.D., . . .		0	5	0	William Sneddon, . . .	0	5	0
Hugo Muir, . . .		0	5	0	Robert Sanderson, . . .	0	5	0
Samuel Moir, . . .		0	5	0	Andrew Steven, . . .	0	5	0
Andrew Miller, . . .		0	5	0	William Stewart, . . .	0	5	0
Mrs Miller, . . .		0	2	6	William Smeal, . . .	0	10	6
William Martin, . . .		0	5	0	T			
John Murray, . . .		0	10	6				
Peter M'Ara, . . .		0	5	0	G. Thompson, Esq., (donation)	35	0	0
Colin M'Dougall, . . .		0	5	0	William Tillman, . . .	0	5	0
Anthony M'Keand, . . .		0	10	6	George Thorburn, . . .	1	1	0
James M'Keand, . . .		0	10	6	Robert Thom, . . .	0	5	0
Donald Macintyre, . . .		1	1	0	James Turner, . . .	0	5	0
James M'Lean, . . .		0	5	0	Charles Thorburn, . . .	0	5	0
John McGregor, . . .		0	10	6	W			
Robert M'Gregor, . . .		0	10	6				
John M'Feat, . . .		0	5	0				
William M'Leod, . . .		0	5	0	Archibald Watson, . . .	1	1	0
N					George Watson, . . .	0	10	6
					Thomas Watson, . . .	1	1	0
William Nairn, . . .		0	5	0	Samuel Wilson, . . .	1	1	0
Mrs Nairn, . . .		0	2	6	Oliver Wingate, . . .	0	10	6
O					P. White, Old Kilpatrick, 1842,	0	5	0
					Do. do. 1843,	0	5	0
George Ord, . . .		1	1	0	James Wotherspoon, . . .	0	5	0
P					Robert Wylie, . . .	0	5	0
					William Watson, Lanark, . . .	0	5	0
William P. Paton, . . .		1	1	0	Walter Wilson, . . .	0	5	0
Andrew Paton, . . .		0	10	6	Y			
William Proudfoot, . . .		0	5	0				
James Parker, . . .		0	5	0	Andrew Young, . . .	0	5	0

Every person subscribing 5s. per annum, is a Member of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, and is entitled to receive a copy of all its publications.—Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, WILLIAM SNEAL, 161, Gallowgate; or by any of the Members of Committee.

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

Cr.

1843.		1843.	
July 31.—To Balance on hand at last Annual Meeting,	£12 10 10	July 31.—By Expenses of Annual Meeting and Public Breakfast,	£11 16 6
To Donation from George Thompson,	35 0 0	By Expenses of Committee Meetings,	0 15 0
To Admission Money at Annual Meeting in City Hall,	4 2 2	By Printing Seventh Annual Report, Pamphlets, and Committee Notices,	64 14 6
To Subscriptions, per Treasurer's Collecting Book,	70 16 6	By Postages of Letters and Newspapers,	3 3 10
To Sales of Publications,	0 4 4	By Newspapers with Reports of Annual Meeting Proceedings—Printing and Advertising Resolutions, &c.,	31 16 4
To Balance due the Treasurer,	3 7 8	By Board of Runaway Slave from Cuba, until finding him a Passage to, Trinidad as an Immigrant,	0 12 6
		By part Expenses of Delegate to London Anti-Slavery Convention,	10 0 0
		By Collecting Subscriptions, Carriage, &c., of Parcels, and sundry other small incidental charges,	3 2 10
			£126 1 6

GLASGOW, 1st August, 1843.—Having examined the above Account, and the Vouchers relating thereto, we find it to be correct; and a Balance due to the Treasurer, at this date, of Three Pounds Seven Shillings and Eightpence.

(Signed.)

W. M. FERGUSON.
JOHN B. ROSS.

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

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WM. FERGUSON.
JOHN B. ROSS.

