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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Hall of Commerce, on Monday evening, the 22nd inst. The attendance was very numerous, and consisted, to a large extent, of members of the Society of Friends.

On the platform we observed G. W. Alexander, Joseph Sturge, Joseph Cooper, Elihu Burritt, Richard Peck, John Beaumont, R. T. Cadbury, Edward Palk, T. H. Boykett, Esqrs.; the Revs. Dr. Campbell, John Burnet, Alexander Crummell, Thomas Boaz, Joseph Waddington, John Martin, John Howard Hinton, and others.

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., on taking the chair, said: I regard this as a period in the history of the anti-slavery cause of more than usual interest and ordinary importance. I am afraid there are not a few persons who think that, in consequence of some discouraging circumstances that have occurred, and which yet exist, very little indeed has been done by the efforts of all the great and good men who have, during the last seventy years, struggled to accomplish the abolition of the slave-trade, and of human slavery. I do not share in that opinion, yet I am quite willing to admit, that there are circumstances that call on the meeting for more than ordinary vigilance and more than ordinary exertions. If we refer to the circumstances that existed at the time when Thomas Clarkson first commenced his noble efforts for the abolition of the foreign slave-trade, we shall find that great progress has been made in regard to the abolition of those great evils, to accomplish the removal of which we are now met. Seventy years since, every great maritime country, both in Europe and America, was involved in the prosecution of the slave-trade, and our own held guilty pre-eminence in that respect. At that period, half the slaves taken from Africa were conveyed in British vessels, and some of the principal ports of this country were largely concerned in this traffic. What is the case now? There are only two countries on the face of the globe engaged in carrying on the African slave-trade, namely, Brazil and Spain. This, surely, is a great gain; and, as the trade is at the present time confined to two countries, we may reasonably hope that those countries will not very long continue so to maintain it. I believe, that at this very moment the slave-trade would be carried on to a very small extent indeed, were it not for some blunders of a serious character in the British legislation. It is true, that seventy years since the number of slaves taken from the coast of Africa was about equal to those transported from that unhappy country at the present period; but we must, at the same time, bear in mind the immense increase that has taken place, since that period, in the commerce of the world. Hence, unless the change to which allusion has been made had taken place in the practice of commercial countries, there is every reason to believe that the slave-trade would have been larger than it now is. It is not difficult to show that, during the period to which I have referred, great progress has been made in the abolition of slavery. At the great epoch at which Thomas Clarkson's efforts commenced, slavery existed in probably every part of the United

States; but now a large portion of those States is entirely free from its taint. Within the last few years especially, our own, and some other countries, have taken steps for the abolition of slavery itself. We have freed well nigh 800,000 of the African race; and if we feel disposed to give way to discouragement, this fact should stimulate us to renewed exertions in this cause. It cannot be supposed that this great example has been lost on other countries. During the last year, Sweden has completed the act of abolition in the island of St. Bartholomew. Denmark has decreed that, at a time too distant, the slaves in her colonies shall be emancipated; and lastly, we have to refer to the fact that the Provisional Government of France has come to the conclusion that slavery shall not henceforth be permitted to exist in any part of the dominions of that country. We should most sincerely thank the members of the late Provisional Government for that great act. While, however, there are encouraging circumstances, there are others of an opposite character; and I regard the Sugar Bill, passed by our Legislature in 1846, as one of the most melancholy that has occurred in the history of recent legislation. The principle of that Bill was stated to be highly objectionable by the Liberal Government of 1841, and they opposed it on the ground that it would encourage slavery and the slave-trade. The Administration of which Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister, adopted the same sentiments. This Society, in accordance with principles which were laid down at its formation, took the same view, and protested against it. Lord Clarendon, in advocating the passage of the Bill through the House of Lords, stated, that if he entertained the same opinions, he would not be a party to its introduction. Lord Morpeth, when addressing the electors of Yorkshire, said, that he should not be willing to lend his encouragement to the blood-red flag of slavery; and Charles Buller, in his address to the electors of Liskeard, said that if the Bill produced the effect anticipated, no doubt the public of England would rise in hostility to the measure, and demand its repeal. We have, however, now to speak of the actual

results of that Bill. The planters of Cuba, who were tolerable judges of its character, hailed its introduction with great satisfaction, and there were illuminations in the Havana. That was not a good omen for the slave. During the last year, one-eighth of the whole amount of sugar that had been consumed was slave-produce. It has been said by some persons, that, in consequence of a treaty existing between Great Britain and Spain, it is impossible to stop the importation of sugars from Cuba and Porto Rico, unless all other foreign sugars are excluded. I cannot, however, think that that argument is valid. Another argument urged in favour of the Sugar Bill of 1846 is, that it has been a sentiment long entertained by abolitionists, that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, and consequently it is perfectly safe to allow the two species of labour to be put in competition. I would, however, ask such persons to consider whether the system of slavery and the slave-trade be not criminal; and if so, then I cannot see that we can, with any consistency as a Christian people, encourage those crimes by partaking of articles obtained by such means. It has been said, that "honesty is the best policy," but no one has yet affirmed that we ought not to discourage dishonest, while we seek to promote honest practices. I heard Sir James Hogg say, that there was little prospect that we should be sufficiently supplied with sugar for the people of this country, unless that produced by slave-cultivation was allowed to come into the market. Those politicians, however, are not to be trusted. Our former consumption was from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 cwt. per annum, but last year we received 6,000,000—a quantity sufficient to provide for the increased consumption of the article in this country, and, consequently, there was no need for the introduction of slave-grown sugars. That Bill is a shameful violation of the principles both of humanity and of religion. It aggravates slave-labour, and increases the slave-trade; and I hope that you will determine to do everything you can to procure the repeal of that Act, so far as relates to the introduction of slave-sugar into this country. No man can be regarded as the friend of the slave who does not adopt that sentiment, and act upon it.

EDWARD PALK, Esq., (of Southampton,) rose to move the following:—
RESOLVED,

"That the Report, an abstract of which has now been read, be adopted and circulated under the direction of the Committee, and that the following be the Officers for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number, viz.: Treasurer, George William Alexander, Lombard Street; Committee, Robert Alsop, William Ball, Joseph Gurney Barclay, Richard Barrett, Lewis F. Bellot, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Rev. Dr. Carlile, Josiah Conder, Joseph Cooper, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, Samuel Fox, Charles Gilpin, Samuel Gurney, jun., Rev. J. H. Hinton, Rev. J. Kennedy, James Peck, Jacob Post, Dr. Thomas Price, George Stacey, Henry Sterry, Samuel Sturge, Rev. John Woodwork. Secretary, John Scoble; Collector, Thomas Boulton; Corresponding Members, Professor Ackersdyke, Utrecht; John Beaumont, Uford; Rev. William Bevan, London; Hon. J. G. Birney, Michigan, U. S.; C. A. Bisette, Paris; Samuel Bowly, Gloucester; John Candler, Chelmsford; Dr. Carove, Frankfort on the Main; Francis R. Cocking, Venezuela; L. F. and A. Courtois, Toulouse; John Cropper, Liverpool; William Dilworth Crewdson, Kendal; Professor David, Copenhagen; Joseph Eaton, Bristol; Professor G. de Felice, Montauban; William Forster, Norwich; Samuel Gurney, London; Thomas Harvey, Leeds; M. Isambert, Paris; Hon. William Jay, Chester, (U. S.); Rev. Joshua Leavitt, Boston (U. S.); R. R. Madden, M. D. Adelaide, Australia; J. S. Mollett, Amsterdam; William Morgan, Birmingham; Hon. S. J. Prescod, Barbadoes; Joseph T. Price, Neath Abbey; M. Groen Van Printserer, the Hague; James Richardson, London; A. S. Rueb, Utrecht; Rev. Thomas Scates, Leeds; Victor Schoelcher, Paris; Joseph Sturge, Birmingham; Lewis Tappan, New York (U. S.); David Turnbull, Jamaica; Professor Worms, Hamburg."

He said, had it not been for the energetic movements of the Committee during the past year, brought to bear on the anti-slavery question, they would not have had to record such a delightful account as that which had been detailed by the Report. He believed that the happy results which had occurred in France were to be attributed, in a great measure, to the influence exerted upon that country by the Anti-slavery Society.

The Rev. J. BURNET, in seconding the resolution, said, perhaps I may be asked, whether the slavery question has not been disposed of by England long ago. So far as the emancipation of the slaves in the English colonies is concerned, certainly it has been disposed of, but not so long ago as it ought to have been. Slavery, however, in reference to our colonies has not been disposed of, even by England. What do they require of us? They ask for free immigrants to labour in the West Indies. What do they mean by free immigrants? Persons brought from the coast of Africa, and carried to the West Indies to serve by contract and indenture. Why go into Africa and talk of contract and indentures? They have not a term in their language for such ideas. Land on the coast of Africa, and what do you find? A number of black people brought, it may be, as prisoners of war, or stolen by superior depredators.

You ask them to sign; they cannot write. You ask them to read; they cannot do it, and you read the contract for them. Who is to read it? The agents, that send to the West Indies living cattle in human form. Will you call that a contract as we understand it? But where are they to go to? To the West Indies. What do they know about the West Indies? Who ever heard of maps, and of geography, amidst the wild untamed population of Africa? Do you suppose that the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has found its way to Africa, and that all the people know where the West Indies are? Do you expect that, because you insert in the indenture that, whereas, Sambo has agreed to do so and so—therefore So-and-so—a merchant in the West Indies—will hire him for five years? Do you suppose that the African, the very hour in which he has been brought to the coast, is able to make a contract? I am not running down the capabilities of the black man; but to suppose that he can comprehend a British Act of Parliament is a perfect mockery. I am not sure that you would not steer as clear of an Act of Parliament as you would of a wild beast. But you will say that I have misrepresented the case; that this is always the way in which an enthusiastic philanthropist would misrepresent everything; that there will be British agents planted there, that they will teach the people everything, and will make them understand the Act by reading it to them. Let the Lord Chancellor examine you on an Act of Parliament as to its meaning, and even you will be found below par. But this Act is to be all simple to these poor black men. We sometimes hear that they have not ordinary intellect; but all this tends to prove that their intellects are superior to our own. These poor people are taken to the colonies, and called free labourers; but they are bound by Act of Parliament to serve for a given number of years. Let me remind you that an apprentice is really a slave. Indeed, our apprentices are slaves, for they are not masters of their time. But I do not complain of this, for they are working in the face of the people. These poor people, however, are tied down, for fear they should ask to go back again. But, suppose they are engaged in plantation-work; a certain proportion of their wages is proposed to be kept back to pay the passage over, to serve our West Indian gentlemen. What a course is this! They take people in the prime of life, tie them down as apprentices, and for what? To learn to make a hole in the ground and stick down a sugar cane. This is really a mockery. It may be said that we are bound to make the capital expended in our colonies yield a return. The Anti-Slavery Society, however, has nothing to do with it in this connexion. If the politician says that the West Indies must be taken care of, I reply, what do I want with the West Indies at all? The Americans have made it a part of their policy to have no colonies; and I say to those gentlemen—if you cannot keep an open shop, shut it; I have no doubt that others will open. If it be said that the West Indies must be regarded as part and parcel of the British Empire, I say you are sadly mistaken. Let them put up a King, or a Republic, just as they like, they will be customers to me. What an awful state of things prevails in Brazil! Some will say that you will never be able to touch that quarter. We were told that it was useless to attempt to stop the slave-trade—that it would ruin the West Indies. I do not care, as I have said, what becomes of the West Indies, if they cannot exist except by the blood and sinews of men sold in the market. Those who were in the habit of telling us that the slave-trade could not be stopped were disappointed;—we did stop it! You have heard that Sweden and France have emancipated their slaves, and that, after a limited time, the Frenchman who is proved to be a slave-holder loses all the privileges of a French citizen; he is an alien in his own country, and is challenged when he comes to vote; he is turned out as a man that is a dealer in the bodies and souls of his fellow-men, and is sent away from the hustings and the ballot-box. "That is a slave-holder, away with him!" Portugal is taking a similar course to France; and if it be said that we do not find Spain is disposed to follow the example, we have only to reply that it is difficult to say what Spain may do. Spain is like the needle in a compass, twirling hither and thither; and by the time it settles at the proper pole, perhaps there will be included in it the emancipation of Cuba. If Holland has still a longing after slavery, let us remind that country that when Europe comes to the conclusion that there shall be slavery no more, Holland cannot stand alone in maintaining this vile spot upon the history of Europe. It may be said, that we cannot touch America. Why not? If we can touch kings and despots, it is perfectly clear that we may. When we find that public opinion is strong, it appears to me that a moral responsibility rests upon every man who forms an opinion, and has the means of giving utterance to it, to express the opinion he has formed. My opinion may be worth but little, because it is the opinion of an individual; the expression may be worth little, because it is the utterance of a single voice. But when voice is added to voice, when tens are united to tens, when hundreds combine with hundreds, when thousands join thousands, and when millions utter the cry of millions, and a nation's thunder is heard in every department of its territory, public opinion thus unitedly expressed—however it may be disregarded when individually uttered—cannot be set at naught, or held in contempt by the mightiest sceptre ever wielded by the arm of man."

The motion was then put and carried.

The next resolution was moved by the REV. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, a coloured clergyman of New York, United States:—

"That this meeting regard with unfeigned gratitude to Almighty God, the progress which, the anti-slavery cause has made during the past year. They view, especially, the decrees of the late Provisional Government of France, for the entire abolition of slavery throughout all its foreign possessions, with the highest satisfaction and approval: nor can they withhold the tribute of their respect from the King and the States of Sweden, for the manner in which they have secured the complete extinction of human bondage in the island of St. Barts. That it is the opinion of this meeting that its thanks are due to the British authori-

ties in India for the interest they have taken, and the influence they have exerted over the native States, on the anti-slavery question, whereby the Kingdom of Lahore, the Rajpootana and other States, have abolished both slavery and the slave-trade, and established freedom.

"That this meeting regard the measures taken by the King of Denmark in his late rescript, for assuring the complete emancipation of all slaves in the Danish West Indies in the year 1859, and the recently avowed determination of the Portuguese government to effect the abolition of slavery in its ultramarine provinces, both in Africa and Asia, as additional concessions to the general cause of humanity and freedom.

"That this meeting sincerely rejoice that one great fruit of the changes which have recently taken place in Germany, has been the abolition of serfage in Hungary, Prussian Poland, and Galicia, and the expectation which is thereby held out that this debasing institution will soon disappear from the whole of Northern Europe.

"That, in view of the progress of the abolition cause in various parts of the world during the past year, this meeting express their earnest hope that the United States and the Netherlands may be prompted to remove from their otherwise free institutions the foul blot of slavery."

In reading this resolution, Mr. Chairman, my mind recurs to the fact, that the events spoken of as affecting the African race in the French dominions, and in other parts, are owing, to a great extent, to Great Britain, and more especially to the friends of abolition in this land; and in rising to address myself to this Society, I desire to thank God that in His providence it pleased Him to give existence to this great kingdom, and to make England the foremost of the nations; and that, amid the rise and fall of nations, and the decay of empires, He has kept you firm, steady, and unshaken, as though fast anchored by the throne of the Eternal. I would also express my gratefulness to the same august Being for having raised up such a glorious race of philanthropists in this land, and for the gift to humanity of such men as Sharpe and Wilberforce, Clarkson and Buxton, whose names are immortalized by their zeal and devotedness in behalf of the degraded negro. In the providence of God, England has been made a leading instrument, through her Government and her Christian philanthropists, in promoting the cause of freedom, and emancipating the enslaved. He has raised up distinguished individuals touched with humanity to listen to the cries and mark the miseries of the poor debased African; and the Christian efforts they have put forth, and the effective zeal they have manifested, have already produced noble results, and will ultimately tend to restore Africa to her ancient glory among the nations. To some of these results, produced within the last few months, in the West and the East Indies, our attention is directed in the resolution I have the honour to offer; and over them we are called to rejoice, with "unfeigned gratitude to Almighty God." Few things, Sir, are so capable of affording gratification to the minds of men, as the breaking off the fetters of down-trodden humanity; and few things give so much genuine delight to the Christian heart as the deliverance of the captive, and the restoration of their rights to those who have been in a state of slavery. There are some, however, who think that political enfranchisement, physical emancipation, is a thing with which Christians and Christian ministers have little to do. They are so deeply engaged in saving the souls of men, that they think it unnecessary to manifest much interest in their temporal condition. I have heard such views often expressed in my own country. I beg to differ entirely from them. I confess, Sir, that I have not much respect for a religion that dwells so much in the clouds that it cannot attend to sublunary affairs;—which exists so far above this world and its concerns that it cannot interest itself in the transactions of earth. The truth is, that a religion which cares so much about the spiritual part of a man, and pretends to be so divine, while it has not the genial element of humanity infused in it, is nothing but fanaticism. A full and complete answer to all this is furnished in the mission of our Saviour. He came to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who were bound. It may be said that that allusion was to spiritual bondage and captivity, and to the disenthralment of the Holy Spirit. But it is a common rule that the greater includes the less; and it cannot be regarded a wrong inference, that the divine errand that sought the welfare and the freedom of the higher, nobler part of our nature, could not disregard that earthly liberty and disenthralment, of which it is the higher expression and exponent. The results of Christianity in the first ages give the same teaching. Wherever the Church went, there went freedom. Wherever the Gospel of salvation wrought its wonders, there was

produced, not only the glorious liberty of the sons of God, but the amelioration of man's temporal condition, and the freedom of the slave. Christianity is the religion of freedom, and the *only* religion of freedom. Its nature, its spirit, its aim and tendency and mission, is to break asunder all fetters, to destroy all chains, to remove all galling yokes, and to make man conscious of a healthy power of soul, and an unrestrained though lawful exercise of his capacities. Hence, in every land where Christianity has made its advent, there immediately has appeared a spirit, and started an effort, for the destruction of slavery and the progress of freedom. As Christians, then, all our principles, and all our prejudices, even, should be in favour of the emancipation of the oppressed. And when we hear, as we have heard, of the onward progress of the cause, in the emancipation of thousands of men, not in one country only, but by several powers, in various quarters of the globe, it is our duty, as Christians, to rejoice, whether this emancipation be effected by the Bey of Tunis, the Republic of France, or the king of Sweden. But I may take a lower ground than even this. Without speaking of Christianity, we are bound, as MEN, to rejoice in the raising up of our fellow-men from degradation and wretchedness. On the common ground of human nature we have an interest in this cause, most direct and personal. Slavery is a man-destroying institution. Slavery is at war with humanity. Wherever it exists, it aims a blow at the vitals of humanity everywhere. It is not a system which seeks the reduction of the negro race merely to chattels and things; it strikes with murderous intent at the whole species; it seeks the subjection of man; and therefore every man, whether living beneath the burning sun of India, or in the cold climate of England, is interested in this question. We are none of us safe, Sir, while such an institution exists in any part of the globe. So long as any part of the human family are bound by the yoke, and sold as slaves, our own liberty is neutralized, and our own humanity held bound and fettered; for no man is in full possession of freedom, no matter where he lives, while there exists one slave beneath the lash in any quarter of the globe. And so our consciousness of humanity is expanded, and our sense of freedom becomes stronger, as we find the system decaying, and the day of its final termination approaching. And for myself I can say, that the idea of my own personal freedom is always conditioned on, and proportioned to, the emancipation of my own afflicted race. Whenever I hear—as, thank God, I often hear—that one slave, led on by the North star, has, by the kindly providence of God, succeeded in crossing those broad streams, and climbing those mighty mountains, and in piercing those vast wildernesses, that prevail in my own country; and at last has crossed the dark rolling Niagara, and gained the protection of the British flag in Canada;—I feel as if I were taller and more erect than before. I breathe freer than I previously breathed. I am more a man than I ever had been: because a chattel has burst forth from degradation and misery, and gained the lofty table-land, and the open heavens of manhood and of freedom, and had become a MAN! We are called upon, by the resolution I hold, to rejoice in the large numbers who have been recently emancipated. In Sweden and France, several hundred thousands of my own race have been declared free. There is a certain prospect of the emancipation of slaves in the Danish West Indies. In the kingdom of Lahore, the Rajpootana and other states, slavery and the slave-trade have been abolished; while in the north of Europe, in Germany, in Hungary, a part of Poland and in Silicia, serfage has been abolished. What a change in the condition of poor wretched humanity! What an alternation, from misery to comfort, from darkness to light! Sir, we have but to consider in slight detail, for a few moments, the degradation and wretchedness included in slavery, and we shall see how beneficent has been the change, how glorious the deliverance, and what cause of thankfulness we have, as friends of humanity. A few months since, and these many thousands were nothing but things; but now they have risen to the rank and position of men! What a glorious creation this! Thousands of beings transformed, by a simple legislative act, from nothings into realities! Here, surely and indeed, is cause for gratitude and rejoicing. The morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy, at the dawn of young creation, at the birth of this visible frame of earth; but here is the new creation, the upstarting from the dust of hundreds of thousands of spiritual and immortal creatures into life and being, the consciousness of manhood, the bland atmosphere and the genial influences of freedom. And then, Sir, recal the personal miseries of this odious system. Take, for instance, the mental darkness it entails, the spiritual night which it fosters. Men and women emerge from infancy into youth, and from youth into manhood and womanhood, with no culture, no instruction; children all their days, to bent, and grey-haired, and decaying old age. No knowledge of themselves, as spiritual creatures, is given. No acquaintance of the noble capacities and the immortal prerogatives of their nature is imparted. They grow up in ignorance and vice and bestiality, and the way of life they know not; and the common salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord, they are not allowed to participate in. Why, Sir, in some of the American States, it is a capital offence to furnish black men with the rudiments of education, or to teach them to read the Word of God. I mention this case because I know more of the system in my own country than anywhere else; but it is illustrative of it everywhere.

Wherever slavery exists, its victims live in the region and shadow of death. The truth is, that mental development and spiritual enlightenment are incompatible with the existence of slavery; and therefore, wherever it exists, you may expect to find the mind shackled, and the soul kept in darkness. Look at the physical sufferings slavery genders. The husband is torn from the wife, and children separated from their parents. The dearest, tenderest ties are sundered. Men are beaten like cattle, and the whip applied to the shrinking flesh of women and little children. A regular auction is kept up, where old men and babes, and youths and maidens, are sold like sheep and oxen at Smithfield. And when we think over these heart-rending facts, and see what slavery is, and then behold the murderous system ended and destroyed at any place, we cannot, as men, do otherwise than answer the call of this resolution, and render unfeigned thanks to the Almighty that one, and another, and another outlet of this dark stream of misery is dried up, and is to have a pestiferous flow never more, for ever! And gathering my sentiments of freedom from the Bible, fully assured that the progress of the human race, in enlightenment and freedom, is coincident with the diffusion of the principles of the word of God, I rejoice in emancipation whether effected by a France, a Sweden, or a heathen country. Wherever it takes place it is a testimony to the cause of Christianity and the worth of Christianity. The destruction of slavery by a Pagan country is a cause of Christian delight and congratulation. It is a result of the common Christian sentiment of the world. It is not an offshoot of even the mildest and most humane heathenism. It is the power and the influence of the example of Christian governments. For where, in the history of the world, can be found such splendid deeds of emancipation which took place before the Christian era, as that of your own country? Nowhere. But since the coming of Christ, and the proclamation of His gracious saving truth, and the leavening of his lofty principles into the civil, religious, and governmental systems of the world, the march of freedom has been onward; and will yet ultimately prevail throughout the world, to the destruction of all tyrannic powers and dynasties. Let us then, as Christian men, rejoice in the kindly deeds of philanthropists and governments; and use our opportunity to congratulate each other on the various testimonies of our times to the freedom-giving character of our holy religion. When, however, we see in some parts of the world both individuals and nations putting forth unusual exertions to strengthen the bands of slavery, and to increase the oppression of the negro race, we have indeed great cause for regret. The latter clause of this resolution adverts to such a cause of regret, and expresses the hope "that the United States and the Netherlands may be prompted to remove from their otherwise free institutions the foul blot of slavery." The United States is the grand offender against the world, and the world's morals, and the world's Christianity—the grand offender of the nations, against freedom and civilization, and good government. It sets itself up as the freest of the nations, and yet is the greatest trader in the bodies and souls of men, and most influential promoter of slavery. As an American, I regret to say this. I shame to say it. But, it is the most evident of facts, we, as a nation, stand in the same position, nationally, to the cause of political freedom, that Rome does to spiritual freedom. She is the great enslaver of the souls of men, and we (the United States) of the bodies and the liberties of men. And this position of my country is sad and regretful. It is a sad and

sorrowful thing to see a young and vigorous country, fresh born as it were among the nations—just commencing in her virginity the race of existence—commit herself with the whole force, and fervour, and energy of being, to the maintenance of an institution, barbarous in its origin and unchristian in its influences. My regret is increased by the consideration that my country is a Protestant country. It is wrong and awkward and out of the way for Protestant institutions to be wedded to slavery. The spirit of Protestantism is uncongenial and unfitted to the spirit of oppression. When expressed in its integrity, it dooms all slavery and all injustice to destruction; and where it fails to do so, its own existence is jeopardized and its own vitality is neutralized. And so, in consequence, the very fact of my country being so strongly pro-slavery makes perilous the existence of a true Protestant spirit in that land, and at the same time injures and retards the cause of free institutions in other lands. The Report just read refers with great hope to the United States. But I must confess I am not so sanguine, and that I entertain great fears with respect to that country and the disposal of the slavery question therein. The grounds of these fears I will state: one of these is the tenacity of the hold of slavery on the part of the American people. You know what great republicans we are; we are somewhat propagandists of it. No people in the world hold on to any national sentiment so strongly as my countrymen do to the idea of republicanism. But as tenacious as is our hold upon republicanism, so strong is the grasp of the people upon the institution of slavery as a part of their system; and many would as soon think of giving up one as the other. In their minds slavery and republicanism are one and indivisible. I fear that this is a fixed principle with them to hold on to slavery. Another occasion of fear in this regard is the fact that the entire governmental power of the country is cast in the

scale of slavery. Whatever executive patronage is held by the chief authorities is offered up on this shrine. It is the undoubted purpose and endeavour of the powers that be to throw, if possible, a solid shield around the system. It has ever been thus. The protection of slavery has always been the *chief* object of our executive system. It commenced with the very incipient steps which gave us a constitution and formed a government, and made us a nation. And in this regard, paradoxical as it may seem, the dotage of our country is coeval with its birth. My fears are strengthened by the remembrance of the inconceivable, the universal repugnance of the American people to the African race, exhibited equally and alike in Church and State. This spirit of exclusion and of hate you can have no idea of in this country. It is universal and overwhelming, preventing the elevation of the negro race, sorrowing the life of little black children; making fiery and bitter, coloured youth and young men; taking away hope from the negro matron; bringing on premature age, and dragging my people down to early graves in despair and wretchedness, and oftentimes in infidelity! The difference between the two countries in this respect is wonderful, is amazing; sometimes I can hardly realise it. I am not ashamed to confess that the change sometimes bewilders me. When I first came to this country, and found myself free from this system of exclusiveness, I was at times doubtful whether it was fiction or fact. The last cause of fear that I have in relation to the subject of slavery in America is, that a *part of the recent* abolition movement proceeds not from a genuine regard for humanity. Our true and tried friends fear this themselves. With some, the opposition to slavery is merely political. They fear the preponderance of the slave power in Congress. For the black man they entertain no sympathy whatever; and if slavery will remain just where it is, without any extension, they will be satisfied, even if slavery is eternal. With others, the movement is a matter of interest. They see the difference in prosperity between the free and the slave States. They know slavery to be a system of pauperism; and, with the hope of an increased value to their lands in the future, they would be pleased with emancipation. But all this regardless of the black man. Such, Sir, are my chief fears upon this topic, and the sources of them. But if there are fears, there are hopes also. Grounds for grateful expectation here and there are discoverable. First of all we have the consciousness, and the assurance, that ours is a cause of principle and truth. This is strong vantage ground—the strongest. Everything fundamental in morals, in taste, in literature, in science, in religion—nay, even in man, however bad he may be, is on our side. The grand ideas and the everlasting sentiments that move society and governments, the world, and the heart of man, are ours, in our maintenance and advocacy of our cause; and, for the truths and principles we advocate, we are sure of the hearts of *all* good men—sure of the kindly ministrations and refreshing of angels, in their behalf and ours. God is pledged to them, and “how many,” to use the quaint expression of Henry, “will you count Him for?” I have hope, too, from the fact that the white race in America are divided amongst themselves upon the question of our rights and our humanity. Nowhere do they present an undivided front against us. Thank God, the question of freedom is not a question of colour or of race, in any land. In every relation of life—in every sphere of society—among all ranks, in Church and State, among the several denominations of Christians, we have strong and devoted friends. Bishops, ministers, laymen, are constantly rising up, and befriending us; and the division between the pro-slavery and freedom-loving parties of the land is becoming wider and wider. In the providence of God, the agitation is reaching and touching at every point; God is overturning, and overturning, and overturning; and I hope that at no very distant day we shall see the mighty pillars and the huge buttresses of this colossal iniquity toppling down to eternal destruction and oblivion! My chief hope, however, is in the free-coloured men of the United States themselves. It is my firm conviction that the main means and instrument for the emancipation of my race, are the capable men of the race, vindicating their rights and elevating their brethren. I think that they themselves are conscious of the duty, and are striving to meet their responsibilities. On every side and in divers ways are they working, and striving to uphold themselves. I deem it my duty to render this tribute in favour of my earnest co-adjutors in my native land. A more heroic set of men the world has never seen:—not heroic in the sense of a sanguinary disposition, or even of mere political strife. But heroic, in seeking to educate and refine their people,—in founding schools, and starting churches, and diffusing intelligence, and increasing the numbers of learned and good men, in their midst, capable of raising the race to manhood, capability and equality. Some of these men you have heard of. Pennington and Douglass you have seen on your own platform; and there are

McCune Smith (known to some on this board), and Garnet and Ward, and Bias and Zuille, and Downing, and the Reasons—zealous, earnest men, devoted to their people, and striving to elevate them.

And here let me, in conclusion, make an allusion to the part which Great Britain has to take in the elevation of my race in America. The efforts which coloured men are making in the United States to found high schools, to diffuse learning, to establish the Gospel, are but partial efforts, because the people are poor, and their white brethren will not aid them. They need aid and encouragement from abroad; and I know no country which is able, and has the sympathy, to aid them, but England. I know the feeling is a natural one that you can care only for the blacks in your own colonies. But this feeling you *cannot* entertain. If there is one thing clear and evident and certain, it is, that this country is to emancipate and civilize, and christianize the negro race—*all over the globe*. The providence of God keeps you from confining your regards to this race in your own West Indies alone. No. If the negro race in the French West Indies, and the Spanish West India islands, in Hayti, on the coast and in the interior of Africa, ever are christianized, it will be through the agency of England. To what other country can we look? You know that my own country has but little interest in the negro's cause; and what folly would it not be for us to turn to France for civilization and Christianity—France, absorbed as she is in the vagaries of communism, or spell-bound by the benumbing influences of infidelity; or to Germany, one eye vaguely wandering amid the mazes of a misty antiquity, or else with the other dreamily peering the vistas of a doubtful transcendentalism; or to Spain, lost amid the gloom of Romanism, or else ardently devoted to a sanguinary suicidalism. Sir, England, and England alone, is to be the great civilizer of Africa and her sons. In my soul, I believe God has thrown this race upon you; and that he designs to make you the grand means of their enlightenment in every quarter of the globe. And so, by-and-by, the vast continent of Africa shall be blessed with the institutions of religion, and the spires of unnumbered temples will be seen glittering all along her coast; and her sable priests will be seen going to and fro throughout all her wide domains, proclaiming the glad tidings of redemption; and her noble sons, in all quarters of the globe, will come and sit down at the feet of Jesus, and render ascriptions of praise to God for having raised up Great Britain to be the civilizer of her race, and the christianizer of her sons.—(Applause.)

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, in seconding the resolution, said: It refers to the progress of the anti-slavery cause in different parts of the world. Who would have expected last year that we should have had to congratulate ourselves on the resolution of Portugal to abolish slavery in her dominions, or that France should have decreed complete abolition? I feel unwilling that one or two parties connected with the Provisional Government should pass unnoticed. In addition to Lamartine, we have derived much assistance from others. With a friend I waited on Arago, and he assured us of the full determination of the Provisional Government to abolish slavery before the meeting of the National Assembly. I consider that they required no small degree of moral courage. They have, however, done more;—they have decreed that any Frenchman who holds slaves in any other countries, for more than three years from this time, shall lose his rights of citizenship! I only wish the British Government would do the same. We should then have a number of merchants in the city of London, who are large holders of mines in South America, with this brand placed upon them. A resolution was brought forward in the House of Assembly, to congratulate France on the establishment of a Republic, and one of our friends had the courage to move that they should be congratulated on the abolition of slavery. He was hunted down by the slave-holders, but it gave rise to a three days' discussion on the anti-slavery movement, and has given a great impulse to our cause. I regret, however, that while other countries have gone forward, the British Government has been going backward, and that the effect of the sugar-duties repeal has been awful. There is one way, however, in which you can correct the evil, and that is, by abstaining, as much as possible, from touching articles which are the produce of the blood of the slave.—(Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

REV. JOHN [MARTIN, Wesleyan Missionary, from Badagry, Africa, moved the next resolution, as follows:—

“That this meeting, viewing the fearful results which have followed the enactment of the Sugar Act of 1846, in the dreadful stimulus which it has given to the slave-trade, and to slavery in the Spanish colonies and Brazil, feel it to be their duty not only urgently to press on the attention of the Legislature and the Government, the necessity which exists for its immediate repeal, in so far as slave-grown sugars are concerned, but earnestly to recommend to the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country and the world, to abstain (as far as practicable) from the use of slave-grown produce, and to employ, in preference, that which is exclusively the production of free labour.”—

The horrors of the slave-trade have been so often and so ably described, that I need not at present dwell on them. Yet, much as has been said on the subject, those who have witnessed them will allow that one-half has not yet been told. The facts, that the natives live in a state of constant alarm; that every man you meet carries a weapon for attack or defence; that every man's hand is against his neighbour; that the cultivation of the land is neglected; and that parents fear to allow their children to walk alone, even on the outskirts of their town, lest they should become the prey of the kidnapper, afford but a faint idea of the evil influence of the slave-trade. Towns and villages without number have been depopulated, that the hold of the slave-ship may be supplied. You see the shades of evening closing over a peaceful village in the sombre forest, and the inhabitants retiring to rest in fancied security. The human tigers are prowling near, waiting for their prey; but the villagers know it not. The place is quietly surrounded, and the midnight darkness is illumined by the flames of the burning houses; and the stillness of the forest is broken by the discharge of musketry, and the shriek of the mother and children as they rush from the fire into the man-stealer's arms, and witness the fall of their natural protector by his murderous weapon. To-morrow's sun shines upon the ashes of that village, and upon the mangled corpses of many a father and husband; but the survivors are far away, doomed to exile and bondage. I need not say, the effect of such proceedings on the mind and heart of those engaged in them is most pernicious; iniquity prevails. The question, "What can be done to prevent those miseries,

and to raise those degraded ones to their proper standing as men?" has often been asked. The answers have been many and various. "Introduce civilization," is the reply which some have given to the question. What, if Africa could be civilized—civilized to the highest degree? That, without Christianity, would not meet her case. Look at Greece and Rome. With all their boasted and admired civilization, they never broke the shackles from the feet of the slave. Heathenism has nothing, when raised even to its highest state, to alleviate man's sorrows. Rome, with all the wisdom of her senators, all her military triumphs, all her fine arts and splendid architecture, all her poetry and philosophy, had not a benevolent institution. She had her amphitheatres, wet with the blood of thousands who perished for her amusement; but not a single hospital to bind up the wounds of the fainting, dying gladiator. Heathenism, everywhere, civilized or barbarous, is the embodiment of *self*. War is prosecuted, towns are burnt, and men are captured, for the aggrandisement of *self*. Christianity, and that only, destroys man's selfishness; it puts into his heart a grace that "seeketh not her own," and leads him to love, not *self*, but his neighbour and his God. This is the grand, the only basis of real "liberty, equality, and fraternity." The result of a few years' residence on the Gold and Slave coasts is the conviction on my own mind that the weapons to be employed for the destruction of the slave-trade are not carnal. The Gospel of Christ, "mighty through God," will triumph over every species of iniquity, and banish every form of human woe. Let England increase the number of missionaries a hundredfold on the shores of Africa, and she will strike a blow at slavery from which it will never recover. Being a missionary myself, I should feel a delicacy in speaking on this subject, but for the conviction that I am recommending the balm which God himself has provided for a bleeding world; assured of this, I speak with confidence. At Abbeokuta, a large town in the interior of Africa, are residing two missionaries of the Church Society, and an agent of the Wesleyans. A few months after their arrival at that place, such was the influence of their presence and teaching, that when the inhabitants were about to attack an adjacent town, great pains were taken by the chiefs to convince the missionaries that the war was undertaken for the defence of their own people, and not with the design to kidnap. Badagry is well known as the scene of the horrid superstition and slavery described by Lander. There the agents of the Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies have established themselves. Though the slave-trade is still prosecuted, it is by a few only; what is done, is done secretly, every effort being made to hide it. The public market has disappeared; there the slave-ship never anchors; England's flag, the flag of liberty, proudly floats, an eye-sore to the defeated slave-holder; and the English missionary and merchant exert their peaceful, beneficial influence. But I need not multiply instances; every one knows that where Christian influence predominates, slavery must die. But while the Gospel may justly be considered the grand remedy, it has its handmaids. The promotion of a lawful commerce would do much to destroy the abominable traffic. The resources of Western Africa are abundant: the wants of the people, with respect to provisions, are fully met: while various articles of commerce abound in the country unnoticed by the inhabitants. Nothing is wanted but a demand, to increase cultivation and trade to any extent; while, from the desire of the people to possess everything European, a ready market would be found for British manufactures. The opinion of many in England, that the African is wedded to the trade in slaves, having no desire

to engage in lawful commerce, is a wrong one; contradicted by facts. The many evils of that accursed traffic are felt and acknowledged by thousands, who resort to it as a means of subsistence. Frequently, when urging chiefs and people to abandon it, have I been met with the question:—"How shall we live?" When I have mentioned the cultivation of the land, they have replied, "We have no one to buy from us; send us a merchant, and we will trade with him." The truth is, there is not a sufficient demand for the products of their country to enable them to obtain the various articles brought on the coast by Europeans and Americans; some of which, tobacco and rum especially, they will have at any price; while the slave-traders, who supply them, require in exchange human beings, and nothing else. Hence the continual wars and troubles of unhappy Africa. Here is the main spring of the slave-trade at the present time. What then can be done to prevent the continuance of this state of things? The common answer to this question has been, "Keep the purchaser out of the market, and then you keep out the seller." The conclusion is just; and in accordance with it, strenuous, and noble and unwearyed efforts have been made by this Society. The British Government have concluded treaties with various European powers; and ships of war have been stationed on the coast. Still the fact that the trade continues, that the buyer and the seller are still found together in the market, stares us in the face. I have no sympathy with those who say that, because this Society has not accomplished everything, therefore it has utterly failed. It has done much; and I envy not that man's heart that feels no gratitude to God for what has been done, and glows with no admiration of the noble-minded men by whom He has done it. But the question admits of another answer, to which I would humbly invite the attention of every benevolent individual: "Keep the seller out of the market, and the purchaser will cease to attend." I do not mean that less should be done out of Africa, but that more should be done in it. I say not: "Look with less displeasure on the Sugar Bill, or the immigration scheme; or be less watchful over the emancipated negro's charter of freedom, which interested men would make null and void, but look more on Africa itself. I do not mean that you should withdraw the hand which is stretched out to prevent the infliction of misery on that unhappy country; but that the other should be stretched out also to confer on it positive blessings. The battle of African freedom must be fought on African soil. I said, "The people will have tobacco." The plant grows in the country wild; let them be taught its cultivation and manufacture. I said also, "They will have rum." The sugar cane grows amongst them: let them be taught its cultivation and the manufacture of sugar and rum. You thus render them independent of the slave-trade. I am far from being an advocate for rum drinking; but I do not think that a larger quantity would be used if made by themselves, than there is at present. In one case, there is the consumption of rum with the slave trade; in the other, without it. Of two evils I would choose the least. I am persuaded that the carrying out of these measures, in connexion with missionary labours, would undermine the trade in slaves to a considerable extent: while a demand for cotton, peppers, ginger, indigo, gums, ivory, palm and castor oils, &c., would give the people a peaceful and profitable employment. This should not be left to the enterprise of any single merchant; the outlay would be too heavy, and the returns too distant for any individual attempt. If some of the benevolent societies in England would support individual adventure they might indulge every hope of success. The objection that commerce cannot be forced on a people, has no weight in this instance. As I said before, the people desire it. "Get me a merchant to buy my oil," &c., is a request which has been made to me by various chiefs and people, times without number. In reference to immigration from the Kuro coast, I may mention that free immigrants cannot be obtained from thence. It is well understood that they are in subjection to their chiefs, and hence, are not in a situation to leave their country of their own free will. I would take this opportunity to notice a statement sent out into the world by a late traveller in that part of Africa, that the emigrants from Sierra Leone manifest no gratitude for the benefits conferred on them by England, and that many of them are now engaged in the slave-trade. I resided amongst those people nearly two years. Without denying that a few may have been so engaged, (and there are bad characters in every country,) I meet the general charges with a direct denial, and hesitate not to say that those emigrants have done more to bring that part of the country under British and Christian influence—have done more to open the eyes of the people to the evils and wickedness of the slave-trade—than all other means put together. I know that traveller well, and know that he was not in a position to make himself acquainted with the facts; and am sorry that he should have sent out such a statement into the world on his mere "I believe." I should not have noticed it, had it not been bandied about in newspapers in such a way as to discourage the exercise of benevolence for the amelioration of Africa.

ELIHU BURRITT, Esq., seconded the resolution in his usual forcible manner.

The Rev. J. WADDINGTON, late of Berbice, moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting view with feelings of serious alarm the retrograde course of legislation sanctioned by the Government in the Colonies, whereby the just rights and privileges of the emancipated classes and immigrant labourers have been largely and unjustly infringed, and the powers of their employers unduly and unconstitutionally extended; and that, even beyond this, the native population have been heavily burthened with taxes, for purposes directly in opposition to their interests, whereby they are seriously oppressed, and prevented from that self-improvement and elevation to which otherwise they would undoubtedly aspire.

"That, nevertheless, this meeting rejoice to know that the emancipated classes in the British Colonies are every way worthy the privileges of freedom; and that, as a body, they are fully entitled to the approbation and considerate regard both of the Government and people of this country.

"That looking at the melancholy consequences which have resulted from the various schemes of immigration into the British Colonies—the injustice it has inflicted on the Creole labourers—the misery and mortality it has occasioned to the immigrants—and the demoralizing effects which have followed,—this meeting, on every principle of justice, humanity, and religion, deprecate the further introduction of foreign labourers into those colonies, unless it be at the sole expense of individuals requiring their services; that it be made a condition that an equality of the sexes be imported; that it be wholly confined to persons of free condition in the countries whence they are drawn; and that they be subjected to no unjust legislation in the colonies into which they are introduced.

"That this meeting have learned, with feelings of astonishment and indignation, that the colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad have made proposals to the Government and to Parliament, that they may be permitted unrestricted access to the Coast of Africa, whereby the British African slave-trade, under new and covert forms, would be revived; the internal slave-trade on the African continent greatly extended and exaggerated; and the noble labours and sacrifices of this country in the cause of African freedom and civilization be neutralized and overcome.

"That, further, this meeting deprecate, as a measure of a similar tendency, the permission already accorded to the above-named colonies, to send private traders, licensed for that purpose, to the Kroo Coast for labourers, where, it is clear, from undoubted evidence, that neither women nor freemen can be obtained as immigrants; and that an example of the most pernicious kind has thereby been afforded to foreign slaveholding nations to recruit their wasting slave-populations, by nominally free, but really enslaved Africans; and whereby they can most effectually evade their treaty obligations with this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, and cover the atrocities of slavery under the simulated name of freedom.

"That this meeting, therefore, would earnestly call on the Imperial Legislature to refuse its sanction to any and to all projects of African emigration to the British colonies, except from British settlements; and under such arrangements as shall effectually preserve it from abuse both in Africa and in the colonies."

These resolutions, he said, contain many important statements, to which the friends of emancipation will do well to direct their attention. It is important that they should fully understand the facts of the case. Let these be known, and an enlightened public opinion will at once pronounce against proceeding any farther with impolitic immigration schemes, and arbitrary legislation, whether in the colonies or at home. The subject is too comprehensive for me to exhaust. I must therefore wave the consideration of those parts of it with which I am least familiar—to set before you, with as much brevity as possible, what passed under my own observation, during the seven years which I spent as a missionary in Guiana. I arrived in that colony in February, 1840, and had good opportunities of observing what was then taking place. The glorious experiment of emancipation was attended with considerable difficulty, and required much wisdom, forbearance, and practical knowledge to conduct it to a satisfactory issue. The emancipated negroes, while they were very willing to forgive and forget the oppressions which they had suffered, could not confide in their former owners. Distrust marked all their dealings with them. There was too much occasion for it, though it was cherished even when confidence might have been exercised. It formed a

serious obstacle in the way of inducing the labourer to acquiesce in the proposals of the employer. He, on the other hand, had been accustomed to rule with absolute authority, and was soon fretted and irritated when his wishes were not met. Mutual forbearance and the spirit of conciliation became a grand desideratum; but with these, combined with skill, frugality, and diligence, great things might have been accomplished. A fine opportunity was presented for developing the energies of the native population; and there was everything to warrant the belief, that, with proper management, they would have approved themselves the most tractable and industrious class of labourers that could have been desired, and that the planters would neither have required nor sought for foreign labour. That opportunity, I grieve to say, was lost. Waving all comment on what I conceive to have been the mistakes committed by those who had charge of the religious interests of the community, permit me to direct your attention to the course pursued by the planters, and to some of its results. Dissatisfaction with the native labourers has induced an attempt to supersede them; or, by means of immigration and legislation, to make them more subservient to the wishes of proprietors. This has proved the source of innumerable evils, and has accomplished no good purpose whatever. It has increased distrust, and entailed a vast amount of suffering. With scarcely an exception, the consequences of immigration have been melancholy to all the parties who have been concerned in it. The planter has had his attention diverted from improved methods of cultivation. In common with every other colonist, he has had to bear a most oppressive amount of taxation. His Creole labourers have been alienated. Immigrants have not been able to supply their places on the estates, and he, himself being witness, has been involved in ruin. The colony has been rendered a most expensive and undesirable place of residence, in consequence of which all classes of the community suffer. As the resolution states, the schemes of immigration have been "various." All of them have failed, though they have not all been equally productive of misery—disappointment, suffering, and death, would form an appropriate inscription for each and all of them. Let us take a rapid glance at a few of them. The first to which I would call your attention was on a small scale. It was conducted at the expense of private individuals, and as an anxious experiment; but, even then, cases of gross oppression in Demerara were detected and exposed. In Berbice, the Coolies first imported were treated with kindness. Indeed they had many indulgences, for it was hoped that they would be induced by this treatment to make most favourable representations of Guiana to their countrymen, on their return to India, and that thus multitudes of Coolies would be induced to flock to the West Indies. I have often heard the planters say, that they never could afford to pay their labourers generally as they paid these Coolies. But, notwithstanding the great care that was taken of them, great numbers of them died. The partiality with which they were treated excited the jealousy of the native peasantry. If the latter ever brought a complaint against the Coolie in a court of justice, he never felt that justice was done to him. The consequence was, that almost every negro left the estate on which the Coolies were located. In addition to those who died in the colony, great numbers died on the return passage; and thus ended the first immigration scheme. The next point on which I would offer a few observations, is the Portuguese immigration. It was perhaps the most free, the least expensive, and the most unsatisfactory of any. The Portuguese were found to be altogether unsuited to field labour in the tropics. Many of them were desperate characters. Of those who went to Berbice, a large majority fell a sacrifice to the climate. The others became hucksters, or dealers in rum. I am not aware that any are now employed as agricultural labourers. The Coolie immigration has been the most extensive; and, owing to the length of the voyage from Madras to Guiana, it must necessarily be very costly. They must have been a very efficient class of labourers indeed, to have repaid the expense of their introduction into the colony, and of their return at the end of five years, in addition to all the necessary expenses of their sojourn in the West Indies. But they have proved sickly, unskilful, and indolent. The planters themselves, I believe, are nearly tired of them. Africans are the most hopeful class of immigrants; but hitherto they have not been able to draw the planter from his difficulties. It is not by means of them that he will be able to grow cheap sugar, and successfully compete with slave labour. I was not believed when I maintained in Berbice, four years ago, that Coolie immigration would fail to satisfy the expectations of the planter; and I may not be believed now, when I maintain that African immigration will fail; but I have as firm a conviction of it, as I have a deep sense of the injustice, misery, and death which will mark its course, if it is allowed to proceed. It is thought that Africans will amalgamate with the native population, and that thereby the return passage will be saved, and that the immigrants will be retained in the colony. Granted: and for the same reason

Africans and Creoles will make common cause in their passive resistance of injustice and wrong; and when they shall all unite, without any violation of the laws, to resist the arbitrary proceedings of a few Europeans, it does not require the gift of prophecy to foresee what must be the issue of the struggle. Recently the citizens of George Town, Demerara, cut off the supply of native produce from their market by requiring the natives to take out expensive licences. Their hope was that they would be able to replenish their empty coffers from the profits of small freeholders. Their experience might teach them how much easier it is to starve out a European, than it is to starve out a negro. If they are wise they will study that lesson, and abandon all coercive measures. Permit me briefly to refer to the sufferings which have already followed immigration. I will not weary you with a long recital, nor attempt to harrow up your feelings by a full disclosure of all the horrors which have attended the importation of human beings into Guiana. I will simply state a few facts which came under my own observation. Landing one day, on one of the wharfs of Berbice, I found a number of carpenters making a coffin. It was for a poor Coolie who had died on one of the best managed estates in the colony. It might be a little intrusive, but I could not resist the determination to look through the estate's hospital. Well do I remember the scenes of misery that there met my eye; but I have not the ability to give an adequate description of them. In an hospital for the sick and dying, we naturally suppose that there will be comfortable beds for the sufferers, and at least some efforts made to alleviate their sufferings; but I observed none here. Before I could get into any of the rooms of the building, I had to make my way through a verandah crowded with poor sick Coolies. Some were lying on the floor in a state of great wretchedness; such as were able to stand were leaning over the railing to breathe the fresh air; such as were able to move surrounded me, and assailed me with most piteous cries of distress. I did not see a single article of furniture in any of the rooms. In one of them I saw the dead body of the Coolie, for which the coffin was being prepared, lying partially covered on the floor. My feelings compelled me quickly to retire from a scene of wretchedness which I had no power to relieve. I could not but exclaim, "Are these the fruits of immigration, and is it thus that these poor Coolies are to die?" There is enough of misery among those who are thus cared for, and I leave you to conjecture, if you can, what must be the condition of those for whom no man cares. There are multitudes of this class. On one estate, not far from my residence in Berbice, it was usual to send the sick Coolies a considerable distance down the river, and leave them on the shore to seek a refuge for themselves. Nothing was more common than to see them lying in the streets of New Amsterdam without a home, or even a shed, to screen them from the burning sun or pelting rain. An appeal to the County Sheriff brought them no relief. When a stranger cast a compassionate look upon them, they would pat their empty stomachs, touch their mouths, and stretch out their withered hands, crying out "Madras Coolie!" At length they disappeared from the streets, and the wonder was where they had gone. I believe that many of them had sought a place where they might die. The body of one was found partly eaten by the carrion crows. The colonial doctor, reporting concerning the immigrants, records a fearful amount of deaths among the Coolies and Portuguese, and speaks of two thousand Africans as unknown. He supposes that these have amalgamated with the native population; but there is more reason for concluding that they are buried in unknown graves. If they had married natives, it could be easily ascertained, and I know that African immigrants have died and been buried on an estate without the labourers on that estate knowing that such a thing had happened. The waste of human life is truly appalling. Men appear to be no more thought of than beasts of burden, or implements of husbandry, and where such is the estimate formed of them, I leave you to judge what deference will be paid to the rights of humanity in legislating for them. This is a fruitful subject for comment; but I must forbear. The facts which I have laid before you will be regarded as a most powerful appeal to British philanthropy; were anything more required, I would implore you as men, as patriots, and as philanthropists, to come to the rescue of your fellow-man—your brother—who is drawn unto death and ready to be slain.

JOHN BEAUMONT, Esq., of Ufford, seconded the resolutions, which were carried unanimously.

RICHARD PEEK, Esq., moved, and Mr. BOYKETT seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was put, and carried by the audience rising; and, after being simply acknowledged by the Chairman, the meeting separated.

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Patriot, May 25, 1848