

A PLEA FOR EMIGRATION;
OR
NOTES OF CANADA WEST,
IN ITS
MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL ASPECT:
WITH
SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING MEXICO, W. INDIES AND VANCOUVER'S ISLAND,
FOR THE
INFORMATION OF COLORED EMIGRANTS.
BY MARY A. SHADD.

Entered according to act of Congress, in the office of the clerk of the District Court
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DETROIT:
PRINTED BY GEORGE W. PATTISON..
1852.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE increasing desire on the part of the colored people, to become thoroughly informed respecting the Canadas, and particularly that part of the province called Canada West—to learn of the climate, soil and productions, and of the inducements offered generally to emigrants, and to them particularly, since that the passage of the odious Fugitive Slave Law has made a residence in the United States to many of them dangerous in the extreme,—this consideration, and the absence of condensed information accessible to all, is my excuse for offering this tract to the notice of the public. The people are in a strait,—on the one hand, a pro-slavery administration, with its entire controllable force, is bearing upon them with fatal effect: on the other, the Colonization Society, in the garb of *Christianity* and *Philanthropy*, is seconding the efforts of the first named power, by bringing into the lists a vast social and immoral influence, thus making more effective the agencies employed. Information is needed.—Tropical Africa, the land of promise of the colonizationists, teeming as she is with the breath of pestilence, a burning sun and fearful maladies, bids them welcome ;—she feelingly invites to moral and physical death, under a voluntary escort of their most bitter enemies at home. Again, many look with dreadful forebodings to the probability of worse than inquisitorial inhumanity in the Southern States,

from the operation of the Fugitive Law. Certain that neither a home in Africa, nor in the Southern States, is desirable under present ~~circumstances~~ circumstances, inquiry is made respecting Canada. I have endeavored to furnish information to a certain extent, to that end, and believing that more reliance would be placed upon a statement of facts obtained in the country, from reliable sources and from observation, than upon a repetition of current statements made elsewhere, however honestly made, I determined to visit Canada, and to there collect such information as most persons desire. These pages contain the result of much inquiry—matter obtained both from individuals and from documents and papers of unquestionable character in the Province.

M. A. S.

A PLEA FOR EMIGRATION, &C.

BRITISH AMERICA.

BRITISH AMERICA, it is well known, is a country equal in extent, at least, to the United States, extending on the north to the Arctic Ocean, from the Atlantic on the east, to the Pacific on the west, and the southern boundary of which is subject to the inequalities in latitude of the several Northern States and Territories belonging to the United States government. This vast country includes within its limits, some of the most beautiful lakes and rivers on the Western Continent. The climate, in the higher latitudes, is extremely severe, but for a considerable distance north of the settled districts, particularly in the western part, the climate is healthy and temperate : epidemics are not of such frequency as in the United States, owing to a more equable temperature, and local diseases are unknown. The province claiming especial attention, as presenting features most desirable in a residence, is Canada, divided into East and West ; and of these Canada West is to be preferred.

THE CANADAS—CLIMATE, ETC.

Canada East, from geographical position and natural characteristics, is not so well suited to a variety of pursuits, as the more western part of the province. The surface is generally uneven, and in many parts mountainous ; its more northern location subjects the inhabitants to extremely cold, cheerless winters, and short but warm summers. The land is of good quality, and vegetation is of rapid growth, but the general healthiness of the country is inferior to some of the other districts. The State of Maine presents a fair sample of Lower Can-

ada in the general. Population (which is principally French) is confined chiefly to the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the country contiguous. In Canada West, the variation from a salubrious and eminently healthy climate, is nowhere sufficient to cause the least solicitude; on the contrary, exempt from the steady and enfeebling warmth of southern latitudes, and the equally injurious characteristics of polar countries, it is highly conducive to mental and physical energy. Persons living in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and the neighboring districts, say that their winters are much less severe than when, in past years, vast forests covered that region—that very deep snows are less frequent than they were, and that owing to the great body of ice that accumulates in the Lakes, the people living in the States bordering, suffer more severely from the cold than Canadians,—the ice making more intense the north winds sweeping over it. If these statements admit of a doubt, we well know that many flourishing towns in Canada are farther south than a large portion of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Michigan and Oregon, and should, in considering this fact, have the full benefit of geographical position. I have thought proper to allude to the cold, at first, for the reason that it is the feature in the climate most dwelt upon—the solicitude of friends, ignorant on this point, and of persons less disinterested, often appealing to fears having no foundation whatever, when the facts are fairly set forth.

The products of a country make an important item, in all cases in which this question is being considered; so in the present instance. In Canada we find the vegetation of as rank growth as in the middle and northern United States. In order to promote a luxuriance in the products of a country equally with another, the conditions necessary to that end must be equal,—if by reference to facts, an approach to similarity can be made, that part of the subject will be settled for the present. As early as March there are indications of permanent Spring weather, and in June and July, the summer will compare with the same season south of the line. In January and February there are always cold spells and warm alternating, as is our experience; but when the warm season commences, the heat is intense, and the growth of vege-

tation is rapid, so that whatever deficiency may be attributed to a brief period, may be fully compensated for in the steady and equal temperature after the warm season has fairly set in; though it is late beginning, it is prolonged into what is the autumn with us, and farmers harvest their crops of wheat, hay, &c., at a later period than in the Middle States, generally,—August and September being the months in which hay, wheat, and some other crops are gathered in. Taking this circumstance in connection with the regularity of the seasons, and uniform heat or cold when they have such weather, the superiority of many products, as wheat, fruit, &c., may be accounted for. I say superiority, because, in its place, I hope to give such evidence as will substantiate the assertion. Annexed is a table setting forth the greatest degree of cold and heat,—in the years mentioned, as indicated by Fahrenheit's Thermometer, together with the highest and lowest range indicated in the months of September and December of 1851, which last has been said to be unusual, (the lowest in twenty years) by the "oldest inhabitant."

	GREATEST DEG. OF HEAT.					LOWEST DEG. OF COLD.			
1840.	-	-	-	82° 4'	-	-	-	-	18° 6'
1841.	-	-	-	93° 1'	-	-	-	-	6° 7'
1842.	-	-	-	91°	-	-	-	-	1° 9'
1843.	-	-	-	89°	-	-	-	-	9° 4'
1844.	-	-	-	86° 8'	-	-	-	-	7° 2'
1845.	-	-	-	95°	-	-	-	-	4° 2'
1846.	-	-	-	94° 6'	-	-	-	-	16° 7'
1847.	-	-	-	87°	-	-	-	-	2° 9'

"These are the extreme ranges of cold and heat indicated at the Observatory, on one day during the seasons, but which do not last beyond a few hours; the mean temperature of the four months of summer and four of winter for the last eight years have been respectively: Summer 75° 6'; Winter 26° 7', Fahrenheit."* In addition to the usual state of the weather of the last year, as contrasted with former periods, the last summer and first autumn months were very warm, and in the month of September indicated 95° Fahrenheit, in the shade, without eliciting remarks other than a similar state

* Catechism of Information for Intended Emigrants of all Classes to Upper Canada.

of weather, at that season, would have in the United States. In short, from much conversation with persons of many years residence, I believe that climate opposes no obstacle to emigration, but that it is the most desirable known in so high a latitude, for emigrants generally, and colored people particularly. In other parts of British America, as, for instance, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Britain, the cold is more intense, but when we think of the extent of Upper Canada, there would be no more reason for ascribing severe cold to the whole, than there would be to class the climate of the United States with that of the torrid zone, because of the great heat in the lower latitudes. In this province the regularity of the seasons promote health in a greater degree than in those countries subject to frequent changes, as in many of the United States, where cold and warm weather alternate in quick succession; and in the upper province especially, universal testimony to the healthiness of the climate obtains.

SOIL,—TIMBER,—CLEARING LANDS.

The quality and different kinds of soil must form the second subject for consideration, because, in connection with climate, it enters largely into all our ideas of comfort and pecuniary independence; again, because so far as colored people are interested in the subject of emigration to any country, their welfare, in a pecuniary view, is promoted by attention to the quality of the soil. Lands out of the United States, on this continent, should have no local value, if the questions of personal freedom and political rights were left out of the subject, but as they are paramount, too much may not be said on this point. I mean to be understood, that a description of lands in Mexico would probably be as desirable as lands in Canada, if the idea were simply to get lands and settle thereof; but it is important to know if by this investigation we only agitate, and leave the public mind in an unsettled state, or if a permanent nationality is included in the prospect of becoming purchasers and settlers.

The question, does the soil of Canada offer inducements sufficient to determine prospective emigrants in its favor? may be answered by

every one for himself, after having properly weighed the following facts : Persons who have been engaged in agriculture the greater part of their lives,—practical and competent farmers, and judges of the capacity of different soils,—say, that the soil is unsurpassed by that of Kentucky and States farther south, and naturally superior to the adjoining northern States. It is not only indicated by the rich, dark and heavy appearance, and the depth of the soil, which is seldom reached by plows of the greatest capacity, but by the character of the products, and the unequalled growth and size of timber on uncleared lands. Wheat, the staple product of the country, averages sixty pounds to the bushel—often actually exceeding that ; fifty-six is the standard weight in the United States ; and leaving out Delaware, that is seldom reached. The forest consists of walnut, hickory, white and burr oak, basswood, ash, pine, poplar—all of the largest size, and other inferior kinds of wood with which we are not familiar in our northern woods. There is a greater variety in them, and larger size, and knowing that the size of vegetables depends mainly upon the quantity of nutriment afforded by the soil, we are led in this instance to infer its superiority. Besides the well known wheat, oats, buckwheat, Indian corn, and other grains, are raised of good quality, and with profit, and more to the acre than is usually obtained in the States, except on the application of fertilizing materials—a mode not much practised in Canada hitherto, the land not having been exhausted sufficiently to require such appliances to further its productiveness. The varieties of soil, are a black loam, sandy loam, clay, and sand, but a black loam is the predominating kind. I speak now of the cultivated districts, and those in process of clearing, as far north as Lord Selkirk's settlement, for the country beyond the present limits of civilization, I do not feel warranted in speaking, nor to give in other than general terms, the testimony of those acquainted with that region. It is said to be equally fertile, but the products not so varied, because of its more northern situation. The general appearance of the province is undulating, though there is much level country. Numerous and beautiful rivers, and smaller streams, run through the country, in all directions, so that there is no lack of wa-

ter power. "The plains," a term applied to level country, "are generally sandy, and yield regular average and certain crops, without reference to the seasons."* They are similar to the western prairies, but more capital is necessary to cultivate them than for timber lands. The advantage of timbered land, to purchasers of small capital, over plains, is considerable. On cultivated, or plain lands, on which timber is thinly scattered, the earliest return for labor spent is deferred to the growth of a crop; besides the mode of tillage is different. Not so on the timbered lands; wood ever meets a ready and cash sale, and more may be realized from firewood than to three times pay the cost of a farm. Wood land will average seventy cords to the acre, every cord of which can be readily disposed of at two and two and a half dollars, cash, in the towns. The regularity of the seasons tends, also, to increase the farmer's security, so that of all other men, he is least apprehensive of want. "If the fall wheat fails," says the little book referred to, "he replaces it with spring wheat; and our seasons are so peculiar that some crops are always certain to be productive." * * * Those whose capital invested in it is their own, are sure to increase their means and wealth. *

* * If a farmer determines to keep out of debt, and be satisfied with what his farm yields, independence in a few years will be the result." The above extracts are intended for the benefit of the emigrants in general,—men of small means, or with no capital,—and show what may be expected by generally the least wealthy who settle in a new country. From the many instances of success under my observation, (particularly of formerly totally destitute colored persons,) I firmly believe that with an axe and a little energy, an independent position would result in a short period. The cost of clearing wild lands, is also an important item; by that is meant putting land in a state to receive a crop,—it includes clearing of trees, fencing, &c. This can be done at less cost near the settled districts. "In moderately timbered" lands, ten dollars the acre is the least for which it can be done,—more remote, the price varies from that to

* Catechism.

twenty dollars. Though the prevalent opinion in the province, is, that the soil is second to none for agricultural purposes, yet it is hardly possible to state the actual productiveness of the soil, as the attention has not been given to farming that the land admits. There are, and must be for a time, few experimental and scientific farmers, as it is more as a means of present subsistence, than to test the capacity of different soils, that the farmer labors to procure a crop; though the conviction is irresistible that indigence and moderate competence must at no distant day, give place to wealth, intelligence, and their concomitants.

GRAINS, POTATOES, TURNIPS, &C.

The accompanying table exhibits the average yield to the acre, of the several grains mentioned, in fallow land :

ARTICLES.	NO. BUSH.	ARTICLES.	NO. BUSH.
Wheat, - - - -	30	Oats, - - - -	70
Buckwheat, - - -	15	Barley, - - - -	40
Rye, - - - -	35	Indian Corn, - - -	50

Other products yielding a profitable return, and that form a part of the crop in well cultivated farms generally, in the United States, are potatoes—white or Irish and sweet,—carrots, turnips, pumpkins, (several kinds, and the best I ever saw,) squashes and tobacco. These vegetables grow very large, and are not included in what we term garden plants. I have never seen in the large markets of our northern cities, vegetables of the class here mentioned, to equal them in the general, except the sweet potato. The Irish potato grows much larger, and is in every respect superior; so of the others. Tobacco grows finely, and meets with ready sale at what would be called a high price with us. These articles, I repeat, are of the finest description, and have not, of course, the pithy and stringy characteristics so general in the same kind with us. It is difficult to get at the average yield of such things, except potatoes and turnips, but a full crop will convey the idea.

GARDEN VEGETABLES, &C.

The most abundant are tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, beets, cabbage and cauliflower, egg-plants, beans, peas, leeks, celery, lettuce, asparagus, melons, (water-melons and musk-melons,) cantelopes and spinage. There are other vegetables, but they have been mentioned elsewhere. These articles, excepting water-melons and cantelopes, are cultivated with as great success, at least, as in the United States, and the specimens generally seen in the gardens and market-places are decidedly superior.

FRUITS—VINES—BERRIES.

Canada is emphatically a fruit country. The fruits of New York, Michigan and New Jersey, have long been famous: but if comparison is fairly instituted, pre-eminence will be the award to the Province. Apples grow in abundance, wild and cultivated, from the diminutive crab to the highly flavored bell-flower and pippin; and pears, plums and cherries, in many varieties. The extent to which fruit is cultivated, and the yield, are incredible. Egg and blue plums are raised with ease, and strawberries, raspberries, grapes, whortleberries, and in fact all of the fruits seen in our markets, are plentiful. Other ideas than those of a barren soil, and scarcity of products, are induced when visiting the market-places of Toronto, Hamilton and other large towns. At Toronto, may be seen one of the best markets in America in every way—the supplies furnished by the farmers of their own agricultural districts. At the State Fair, held in Detroit, Michigan, 1851, the first prizes, for fruits, fowls, and cattle, were awarded to Canada farmers; so of the Fair held in Western New York during the same year.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS—FOWLS—GAME.

In the general, the horses are not of that large size found in the Middle and Western States, but are of medium size, particularly those used by the French; yet, occasionally, one may see large horses among them, and cattle, sheep, etc., also. The size of cattle seems not to affect their market value as beef and mutton, it being thought by epicures to be of the best quality. I speak of the French in this

connection, because it is well known, they form no inconsiderable part of the population. Among English, and other farmers, more attention is paid to improving stock—competition is as spiritedly carried on as in the States, consequently cattle and horses of the finest kinds, as to size and repute, are owned by them. The Canadian pony, with them, gives place to the fine English draft and carriage horse, and Durham and other kind of celebrity are justly appreciated. The pride of Canadian farmers, as shown in a fine selection of such animals, is not at all less than that of their “American” neighbors : as before said, the highest premiums given for superior cattle and sheep at Rochester and Detroit, in 1851, were received by Canada farmers. To understand fully the resources of the Canadas in this particular, both as to quantity and quality, for labor or other purposes, a view of the well stocked farms, with their swarms of horses, oxen, cows, sheep and hogs, would well repay a visit to the country, to those skeptical on these points, or to see the excellent beef, mutton, veal and pork, exposed for sale—unsurpassed any where for quality and abundance. Prices vary as elsewhere, according to demand, but ordinarily they are :

*Beef,	-	-	4 and 5 cts.	-	-	-	per pound.
Mutton	-	-	5	“	-	-	“
Veal,	-	-	4	“	-	-	“
Pork,	-	-	5 and 6	“	-	-	“

Again, the butter and cheese, derived directly from these animals, must be, and are, superior, from the nature of the pasture and other food eaten ; though, from the circumstance of recent settlement, means of disposal and abundance, matters in the housewife’s department are not generally so thoroughly conducted as in more populous and older settled countries, where a competition of tastes and judgment, in managing these articles and arranging for the market, is freely indulged. The comparative cost of keeping stock is little, the summer pastures affording ample for that season ; in winter, many mark their horses, and turn them out in the woodlands and open

*Prices of meat are not uniform, as before said, and owing to the increased demand prices have risen very recently, to the ordinary price in the States. That, of course, will not be the rate henceforth, but will be determined by the supply.

country, where they never fail of a supply of roots and grasses. Numbers are seen in mid-winter, looking as well as those housed and fed. The snows protect the grasses, and from their peculiar length and frequency, animals subsist well on the matter they are thus enabled to get by removing them, and from the early growth of shrubs in the woods. The farms generally, have chickens, turkeys, geese, and other fowls, in great numbers; and they meet with a ready sale—prices are generally for poultry two shillings and two and six-pence the pair, when in great plenty; eggs 10 cents and 12½ cents the dozen, and may be disposed of in any quantity to the traders without leaving the farm: numerous hucksters go in all directions through the country to purchase, to sell again in the large cities. In the winter, these articles, in common with vegetables and other commodities, are often sold at a rate that in the United States would be called high, the rapidly increasing population making the ordinary supply insufficient. Geese uniformly command two shillings; turkeys one dollar, domesticated or wild. There is an abundance of game, and turkeys meet with ready sale. Hunting is much the custom of all classes, and ducks, squirrels, (black,) pigeons, deer, hares, quails, pheasants, and other game, are brought down in great numbers. Wild animals are not troublesome, though in remote districts, an occasional bear or wolf is seen; foxes also make depredations at times, but not frequently.

PRICES OF LAND IN THE COUNTRY—CITY PROPERTY, &c.

The country in the vicinity of Toronto and to the eastward, being thickly settled, (farms being advertised “thirty miles on Yonge street,”) the price of property is, of course, very much higher than in the western districts. City property varies according to location—two hundred dollars the foot, is the value of lots in good position in Toronto: in the suburbs very fine lots may be had at reasonable rates. Farms, at a few miles distant, range from thirty to fifty dollars the acre—fifty dollars being thought a fair price for the best quality of land with improvements; but in the western districts, farms may be bought for one thousand dollars, superior in every way, to

farms near the city of Toronto, that are held at five thousand. Improved lands, near Chatham, London, Hamilton, and other towns ~~but~~, may be bought at prices varying from ten up to one hundred : at a few miles distant, uncleared lands, belonging to Government, may be had by paying one dollar sixty-two cents, two, and two fifty, according to locality—well timbered and watered, near cultivated farms on the river and lake shore. Thousands of acres, of the very best land in the Province, are now in the market at the above prices, and either in the interior, or well situated as to prospect from the lakes, and near excellent markets. The land is laid out in what are called concessions, these concessions, or blocks, being sub-divided into lots. There is, therefore, a uniformity of appearance throughout in the farms, and no contest about roads on individual property can result—the roads being designed to benefit equally contiguous property, and under jurisdiction of Government. One hundred acres is the smallest quantity to be had of Government, but individual holders sell in quantities to suit purchasers. Large quantities of land are held by individuals, though at a higher rate generally than that held by Government ; and their titles are said to be often defective. In every respect, the preference should be for purchases of Government—land is cheaper, as well situated, and below a specified number of acres, may not be bought ; a prohibition of advantage to many who would buy, as there is induced a spirit of enterprise and competition, and a sense of responsibility. Too many are now *independently* dragging along miserably, on the few acres, ten, twenty, or such a matter, bought at the high rates of individual holders, in a country in which the prices must, for a long time, require more land in process of culture, to afford a comfortable support. There is every inducement to buy, near or in towns, as well as in the country, as land is cheap, business increasing, with the steady increase of population, no lack of employment at fair prices, and no complexional or other qualification in existence.

LABOR—TRADES.

In Canada, as in other recently settled countries, there is much to do, and comparatively few for the work. The numerous towns and

villages springing up, and the great demand for timber and agricultural products, make labor of every kind plenty : all trades that are practiced in the United States, are there patronized by whomsoever carried on—no man's complexion affecting his business. If a colored man understands his business, he receives the public patronage the same as a white man. He is not obliged to work a little better, and at a lower rate—there is no degraded class to identify him with, therefore every man's work stands or falls according to merit, not as is his color. Builders, and other tradesmen, of different complexions, work together on the same building and in the same shop, with perfect harmony, and often the proprietor of an establishment is colored, and the majority or all of the men employed are white. Businesses that in older communities have ceased to remunerate, yield a large per centage to the money invested.

The mineral resources of the Canadas not being developed, to any extent, for fuel wood is generally used, and a profitable trade in that commodity is carried on ; and besides lumber for buildings, the getting out of materials for staves, coopers' stuff, and various purposes, affords steady employment and at fair prices, for cash. This state of things must increase, and assume more importance in Canada markets, as the increasing population of the western United States burn and otherwise appropriate their timber. Railroads are in process of construction—steamboats now ply between Toronto and the several towns on the lakes ; and in process of time, iron and other works will be in operation, it is said, all requiring their quota, and of course keeping up the demand. Boards for home and foreign markets, are successfully manufactured, and numerous mill-sites are fast being appropriated to saw and grist mills. In some sections, colored men are engaged in saw mills on their own account. At Dawn, a settlement on the Suydenham, (of which hereafter,) and at other points, this trade is prosecuted with profit to them. To enumerate the different occupations in which colored persons are engaged, even in detail, would but fatigue, and would not further the end in view, namely : To set forth the advantage of a residence in a country, in which chattel slavery is not tolerated, and prejudice of *color* has no

existence whatever—the adaptation of that country, by climate, soil, and political character, to their physical and political necessities ; and the superiority of a residence there over their present position at home. It will suffice, that colored men prosecute all the different trades ; are store keepers, farmers, clerks, and laborers ; and are not only unmolested, but sustained and encouraged in any business for which their qualifications and means fit them ; and as the resources of the country develop, new fields of enterprise will be opened to them, and consequently new motives to honorable effort.

CHURCHES—SCHOOLS.

In the large towns and cities, as in similar communities in other Christian countries, the means for religious instruction are ample. There are costly churches in which all classes and complexions worship, and no “ negro pew,” or other seat for colored persons, especially. I was forcibly struck, when at Toronto, with the contrast the religious community there presented, to our own large body of American Christians. In the churches, originally built by the white Canadians, the presence of colored persons, promiscuously seated, elicited no comment whatever. They are members, and visitors, and as such have their pews according to their inclination, near the door, or remote, or central, as best suits them. The number of colored persons, attending the churches with whites, constitutes a minority, I think. They have their “ own churches.” That that is the feature in their policy, which is productive of mischief to the entire body, is evident enough ; and the opinion of the best informed and most influential among them, in Toronto and the large towns, is decided and universal. I have heard men of many years residence, and who have, in a measure, been moulded by the better sentiment of society, express deep sorrow at the course of colored persons, in pertinaciously refusing overtures of religious fellowship from the whites ; and in the face of all experience to the contrary, erecting Colored Methodist, and Baptist, and other Churches. This opinion obtains amongst many who, when in the United States, were connected with colored churches. Aside from their caste character, their influence on the

colored people is fatal. The character of the exclusive church in Canada tends to perpetuate ignorance, both of their true position as British subjects, and of the Christian religion in its purity. It is impossible to observe thoughtfully the workings of that incipient Zion, (the Canadian African Church, of whatever denomination,) in its present imperfect state, without seriously regretting that it should have been thought necessary to call it into existence. In her bosom is nurtured the long-standing and rankling prejudices, and hatred against whites, without exception, that had their origin in American oppression, and that should have been left in the country in which they originated—'tis that species of animosity that is not bounded by geographical lines, nor suffers discrimination.

A goodly portion of the people in the western part of the Province, (for there are but few in the eastern,) are enjoying superior religious opportunities, but the majority greatly need active missionary effort: first, to teach them love to their neighbor; and, again, to give them an intelligent and correct understanding of the Sacred Scriptures. The missionary strength, at present, consists of but six preachers—active and efficient gentlemen, all of them, and self-sacrificing in the last degree; and several women engaged in teaching, under the same auspices. Much privation, suffering, opposition, and sorrow await the missionary in that field. If it were possible, for him to foresee what is in store for him there, a mission to India, or the South Sea Islands, would be preferable; for, in that case, the sympathy of the entire community is enlisted, and his sojourn is made as pleasant as possible—the people to whom he is sent, are either as little children, simple and confiding, or out-right savages; and in that case, deadly enemies. In this less remote field—almost in speaking distance—neglect from friends, suspicion, abuse, misrepresentation, and a degrading surveillance, often of serious and abiding consequences, await him. Not directly from the fugitives—those designed primarily to be benefitted—may assaults be looked for, at first. They possess a desire for the light, and incline to cluster around the missionary invariably. There are those who pretend to have been enlightened, and to have at heart the common good, whose influence and opera-

tions, he will find designedly counteracting his conscientious efforts, the more effectively appealing to a common origin and kindred sufferings—secretly striking behind, and bringing his character as a missionary, and his operations, into discredit in the eyes of a sympathizing Christian community. This, and more, awaits those who may be called to the field ; but the case is not a hopeless one. The native good sense of the fugitives, backed by proper schools, will eventually develop the real character of their operations and sacrifices. They and their families, of all others, should have the support of Christians.

The refugees express a strong desire for intellectual culture, and persons often begin their education at a time of life when many in other countries think they are too old. There are no separate schools: at Toronto and in many other places, as in the churches, the colored people avail themselves of existing schools ; but in the western country, in some sections, there is a tendency to “exclusiveness.” The colored people of that section petitioned, when the School Law was under revision, that they might have separate schools: there were counter petitions by those opposed, and to satisfy all parties, twelve freeholders among *them*, can, by following a prescribed form, demand a school for their children ; but if other schools, under patronage of Government, exist, (as Catholic or Protestant,) they can demand admission into them, if they have not one. They are not compelled to have a colored school. The following is that portion of the school law that directly relates to them :

“And be it enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Municipal Council of any township, and of the Board of School Trustees of any city, town or incorporated village, on the application in writing of twelve or more resident heads of families, to authorize the establishment of one or more separate schools for Protestants, Roman Catholics or colored people, and, in such case, it shall prescribe the limits of the divisions or sections for such school, and shall make the same provisions for the holding of the first meeting for the election of Trustees of each such separate school or schools, as is provided in the fourth section of this Act for holding the first school meeting in a new school section : Provided always, that each separate school shall go

into operation at the same time with alterations in school sections, and shall be under the same regulations in respect to the persons for whom such school is permitted to be established, as are common schools generally: Provided, secondly, that none but colored people shall be allowed to vote for the election of Trustees of the separate school for their children, and none but the parties petitioning for the establishment of, or sending children to a separate Protestant or Roman Catholic school, shall vote at the election of Trustees of such schools: Provided, thirdly, that each separate Protestant, or Roman Catholic, or colored school, shall be entitled to share in the school fund according to the average attendance of pupils attending each such separate school, (the mean attendance of pupils for both summer and winter being taken,) as compared with the average attendance of pupils attending the common schools in such city, town, village or township: Provided, fourthly, that no Protestant separate school shall be allowed in any school division, except when the teacher of the common school is a Roman Catholic, nor shall any Roman Catholic separate school be allowed except when the teacher of the common school is a Protestant."

As before said, the facilities for obtaining a liberal education, are ample in the large towns and cities. In Toronto, students of all complexions associate together, in the better class schools and colleges. The operations of missionaries being chiefly among colored people, they have established several schools in connection with their labors, yet they are open to children without exception. The colored common schools have more of a complexional character than the private, which, with no exception that I have heard of, are open to all. The Act of Parliament above referred to, was designed to afford the fullest and most equitable facilities for instruction to all, and that particular clause was inserted with the view to satisfy them, though less objectionable to the body of them, than what they asked for.

The fugitives, in some instances, settled on Government land before it came into market, cleared away and improved it. Their friends established schools which were flourishing, when they were obliged to break up, and the people to disperse, because of inability to purchase

and other persons buying. This cause has, in a measure, retarded the spread of general information amongst them.

Again, ten, twenty or more families are often settled near one another, or interspersed among the French, Dutch, Scotch, Irish and Indians, in the woodland districts: often, English is not spoken. There may not be an English school, and all revel together in happy ignorance. Nothing but the sound of the axe, and their own crude ideas of independence, to inspire them, unless it be an Indian camp fire occasionally. This may be rather an uninviting state of affairs to those living in crowded cities, but it is true there are numerous grown up families, of white and colored, who do not know B. But as uninteresting as is the detail, in this particular aspect of these affairs, the signs are encouraging. If they went to labor honestly, in a region semi-barbarous, they have cut their way out, and are now able to make themselves heard in a demand for religious instructors of the right kind, and schools. Many efficient persons have devoted their time and talents to their instruction, but there has not been anything like an equal number to the work: neither are they often found to have materials to work with. Individuals in the United States often send books to those most needy, yet they are usually of such a character as to be utterly useless. I have often thought, if it is really a benevolent act to send old almanacs, old novels, and all manner of obsolete books to them, what good purpose was accomplished, or even what sort of vanity was gratified, by emptying the useless contents of old libraries on destitute fugitives? It would be infinitely better not to give, it seems, though probably persons sending them think differently. The case is aggravated from the fact of a real desire, on the part of the recipients, to learn, and their former want of opportunity. Probably the propensity to give is gratified; but why not give, when gifts are *needed*, of that which is useful? But the question, if it is answering any good purpose to give such things as books even, has not been satisfactorily answered in the affirmative, to persons who have seen the fugitives in their Canadian homes.

SETTLEMENTS.—DAWN,—ELGIN,—INSTITUTION,—FUGITIVE HOME.

Much has been said of the Canada colored settlements, and fears have been expressed by many, that by encouraging exclusive settlements, the attempt to identify colored men with degraded men of like color in the States would result, and as a consequence, estrangement, suspicion, and distrust would be induced. Such would inevitably be the result, and will be, shall they determine to have entirely proscriptive settlements. Those in existence, so far as I have been able to get at facts, do not exclude whites from their vicinity ; but that settlements may not be established of that character, is not so certain. Dawn, on the Suydenham river, Elgin, or King's Settlement, as it is called, situated about ten miles from Chatham, are settlements in which there are regulations in regard to morals, the purchase of lands, etc., bearing only on the colored people ; but whites are not excluded because of dislike. When purchase was made of the lands, many white families were residents,—at least, locations were not selected in which none resided. At first, a few sold out, fearing that such neighbors might not be agreeable ; others, and they the majority, concluded to remain, and the result attests their superior judgment. Instead of an increase of vice, prejudice, improvidence, laziness, or a lack of energy, that many feared would characterize them, the infrequency of violations of law among so many, is unprecedented ; due attention to moral and intellectual culture has been given ; the former prejudices on the part of the whites, has given place to a perfect reciprocity of religious and social intercommunication. Schools are patronized equally ; the gospel is common, and hospitality is shared alike by all. The school for the settlers, at Elgin, is so far superior to the one established for white children, that the latter was discontinued, and, as before said, all send together, and visit in common the Presbyterian church, there established. So of Dawn ; that settlement is exceedingly flourishing, and the moral influence it exerts is good, though, owing to some recent arrangements, regulations designed to further promote its importance are being made. Land has increased in value in those settlements. Property that was worth but little, from the superior culture given

by colored persons over the method before practiced, and the increasing desires for country homes, is held much higher. Another fact that is worth a passing notice, is, that a spirit of competition is active in their vicinity. Efforts are now put forth to produce more to the acre, and to have the land and tenements present a tidy appearance. That others than those designed to be benefitted by the organization, should be, is not reasonable, else might persons, not members of a society justly claim equal benefits with members. If Irishmen should subscribe to certain regulations on purchasing land, no neighboring landholders could rightfully share with them in the result of that organization. But prejudice would not be the cause of exclusion. So it is of those two settlements; it cannot be said of them, that they are caste institutions, so long as they do not express hostility to the whites; but the question of their necessity in the premises may be raised, and often is, by the settlers in Canada as well as in the States. The "Institution" is a settlement under the direction of the A. M. E. Church; it contains, at present, two hundred acres, and is sold out in ten acre farms, at one dollar and fifty cents per acre, or one shilling less than cost. They have recently opened a school, and there is a log meeting house in an unfinished state, also a burying ground. There are about fifteen families settled on the land, most of whom have cleared away a few trees, but it is not in a very prosperous condition, owing, it is said, to bad management of agents—a result to be looked for when a want of knowledge characterise them. This "Institution" bids fair to be one nucleus around which caste settlements will cluster in Canada.

The Refugees' Home is the last of the settlements of which I may speak in this place. How many others are in contemplation I do not know, though I heard of at least two others. This Society is designed to appropriate fifty thousand acres of land for fugitives from slavery, *only*, but at present the agents have in possession two hundred acres, situated about eight miles from Windsor, in the western district. The plan is to sell farms of twenty-five acres, that is, to give five acres to actual settlers, with the privilege of buying the adjoining twenty acres, at the market value—one-third of the purchase money

constitutes a fund for school and other purposes ; and ten years are given to pay for the twenty acres, but no interest may accumulate. This society may now be considered in operation, as they have made a purchase, though, as yet, no one has settled thereon, and the results to be looked for from it, from the extent of the field of operations, will have an important bearing on the colored people who are now settled in Canada, or who may emigrate thither. The friends of the society, actuated by benevolent feelings towards victims of American oppression and the odious Fugitive Law, are sanguine as to the success of the measure, but not so universal is the opinion in its favor, even among those designed to be benefitted ; in fact, all the objections raised against previously existing settlements, hold good against these, with the additional ones of greater magnitude. It is well known that the Fugitive Bill makes insecure every northern colored man,—those *free* are alike at the risk of being sent south,—consequently, many persons, always free, will leave the United States, and settle in Canada, and other countries, who would have remained had not that law been enacted. In pro-slavery communities, or where colonization influence prevails, they would leave at a sacrifice ; they arrive in Canada destitute, in consequence, but may not settle on the land of the Refugees' Home, from the accident of nominal freedom, when it is well known that even slaves south, from the disgrace attending manual labor when performed by whites, have opportunities, in a pecuniary way, that colored men have not in some sections north. Again, the policy of slaveholders has been to create a contempt for *free* people in the bosom of their slaves, and pretty effectually have they succeeded. Their journey to Canada for liberty has not rooted out that prejudice, quite, and reference to a man's birth, as free or slave, is generally made by colored persons, should he not be as prosperous as his better helped fugitive brethren. Thus, discord among members of the same family, is engendered ; a breach made, that the exclusive use by fugitives of the society lands is not likely to mend. Again, the society, with its funds, is looked upon in the light of a powerful rival, standing in the way of poor *free* men, with its ready cash, for its lands will not all be government purchases ;

neither does it contemplate large blocks, exclusively, but, as in the first purchase, land, wherever found, and in small parcels also. From the exclusive nature of the many settlements, (as fugitive homes,) when it shall be known for what use it is wanted, individual holders will not sell but for more than the real value, thus embarrassing poor men who would have bought on time, and as an able purchaser from government, the society must have a first choice. The objections in common with other settlements, are : the individual supervision of resident agents, and the premium indirectly offered for good behavior. "We are free men," say they who advocate independent effort, "we, as other subjects, are amenable to British laws ; we wish to observe and appropriate to ourselves, *ourselves*, whatever of good there is in the society around us, and by our individual efforts, to attain to a respectable position, as do the many foreigners who land on the Canada shores, as poor in purse as we were ; and we do not want agents to beg for us." The accompanying are articles in the Constitution :

Article 2. The object of this society shall be to obtain permanent homes for the refugees in Canada, and to promote their moral, social, physical, intellectual, and political elevation.

Article 11. This society shall not deed lands to any but actual settlers, who are refugees from southern slavery, and who are the owners of no land.

Article 12. All lands purchased by this society, shall be divided into twenty-five acre lots, or as near as possible, and at least one-tenth of the purchase price of which shall be paid down by actual settlers before possession is given, and the balance to be paid in equal annual instalments.

Article 13. One-third of all money paid in for land by settlers, shall be used for educational purposes, for the benefit of said settlers' children, and the other two-thirds for the purchase of more lands for the same object, while chattel slavery exists in the United States.

BY - LAWS .

No person shall receive more than five acres of land from this society, at less than cost.

Article 4. No person shall be allowed to remove any timber from said land until they have first made payment thereon.

These are the articles of most importance, and, as will be seen, they contemplate more than fifty thousand acres continual purchases, till slavery shall cease ; and other terms, as will be seen by Art. 13 of Con., and Art. 4, By-Laws, than most fugitives just from slavery can comply with, (as destitute women with families, old men, and single women,) until after partial familiarity with their adopted country. This, say many colored Canadians, begins not to benefit until a man has proven his ability to act without aid, and is fit for political equality by his own industry, that money will get for him at any time.

POLITICAL RIGHTS—ELECTION LAW—OATH—CURRENCY.

There is no legal discrimination whatever effecting colored emigrants in Canada, nor from any cause whatever are their privileges sought to be abridged. On taking proper measures, the most ample redress can be obtained. The following "abstracts of acts," bearing equally on all, and observed fully by colored men qualified, will give an idea of the measures given them :*

"The qualifications of voters at municipal elections in townships, are freeholders and householders of the township or ward, entered on the roll for rateable real property, in their own right or that of their wives, as proprietors or tenants, and resident at the time in the township or ward."

"In towns, freeholders and householders for rateable real property in their own names or that of their wives, as proprietors or tenants to the amount of £5 per annum or upwards, resident at the time in the ward. The property qualification of town voters may consist partly of freehold and partly of leasehold."

In villages it is £3 and upwards, with freehold or leasehold ; in cities £8.

The laws regulating elections, and relating to electors, are not similar in the two Canadas ; but colored persons are not affected by them more than others.

*Scobies' Canadian Almanac for 1852.

"No person shall be entitled to vote at county elections, who has not vested in him, by legal title, real property in said county of the clear yearly value of forty-four shillings and five pence and one farthing, currency. Title to be in fee simple or freehold under tenure of free and common socage, or in *fief* in *ature*, or in *franc allen*, or derived from the Governor and Council of the late Province of Quebec, or Act of Parliament. Qualification, to be effective, requires actual and uninterrupted possession on the part of the elector, or that he should have been in receipt of the rents and profits of said property for his own use and benefit at least six months before the date of the writ of election. But the title will be good without such anterior possession, if the property shall have come by inheritance, devise, marriage or contract of marriage, and also if the deed or patent from the Crown on which he holds to claim such estate in Upper Canada, have been registered three calendar months before the date of the writ of election. In Lower Canada, possession of the property under a written promise of sale registered, if not a notarial deed, for twelve months before the election, to be sufficient title to vote. In Upper Canada, a conveyance to wife after marriage must have been registered three calendar months, or husband have been in possession of property six months before election."

"Only British subjects of the full age of twenty-one are allowed to vote. Electors may remove objection by producing certificate, or by taking the oath."

These contain no proscriptive provisions, and there are none. Colored men comply with these provisions and vote in the administration of affairs. There is no difference made whatever; and even in the slight matter of taking the census it is impossible to get at the exact number of whites or colored, as they are not designated as such. There is, it is true, petty jealousy manifested at times by individuals, which is made use of by the designing; but impartiality and strict justice characterise proceedings at law, and the bearing of the laws. The oath, as prescribed by law, is as follows:

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will bear faithful and true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, as lawful

Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of this Province of Canada, dependent on and belonging to the said United Kingdom, and that I will defend her to the uttermost of my power against all traitors, conspiracies and attempts whatever which shall be made against Her Person, Crown and Dignity, and that I will do my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to Her Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies and attempts which I shall know to be against Her or any of them, and all this I do swear without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation, and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from persons whatever, to the contrary. So help me God."

"The Deputy Returning Officer may administer oath of allegiance to persons who, according to provisions of any Act of Parliament, shall become, on taking such oath, entitled to the privileges of British birth in the Province."

"Persons knowing themselves not to be qualified, voting at elections, incur penalty of £10; and on action brought, the burden of proof shall be on the defendant. Such votes null and void."

"The qualifications of Municipal Councillors are as follows:—Township Councillor must be a freeholder or householder of the township or ward, * * * as proprietor or tenant rated on the roll, in case of a freeholder for £100 or upwards; householder for £200 or upwards: Village Councillor, in case of a freeholder, for £10 or upwards; a householder for £20 and upwards: Town Councillor, in case of a freeholder £20 per annum; if a householder to the amount of £40 and upwards. The property qualification of Town Councillors may be partly freehold and partly leasehold."

A tenant voter in town or city must have occupied by actual residence, as a separate tenant, a dwelling house or houses for twelve months, of the yearly value of £11 2s. 1½d. currency, and have paid a year's rent, or that amount of money for the twelve months immediately preceding the date of election writ. A person holding only a shop or place of business, but not actually residing therein, is not entitled to vote. And a voter having changed his residence within the town during the year, does not affect his right to vote, but must vote in the ward in which he resides on the day.

ARTICLES EXEMPT FROM DUTY.

The following are some of the articles exempt from duty on importation:

Models of machinery and other inventions and improvements in the arts. Horses and carriages of travelers; and horses, cattle and carriages and other vehicles when employed in carrying merchandize, together with the necessary harness and tackle, so long as the same shall be *bona fide* in use for that purpose, except the horses, cattle, carriages and harness of persons hawking goods, wares and merchandize through the Province for the purpose of retailing the same, and the horses, cattle, carriages and harness of any circus or equestrian troop for exhibition; the horses, cattle, carriages and harness of any to be free."

"Donations of clothing specially imported for the use of or to be distributed gratuitously by any charitable society in this Province."

"Seeds of all kinds, farming utensils and implements of husbandry, when specially imported in good faith by any society incorporated or established for the encouragement of agriculture."

"Wearing apparel in actual use, and other personal effects not merchandize; horses and cattle; implements and tools of trade of handicraftsmen."

* * * "Trees, shrubs, bulbs and roots; wheat and indian corn; animals specially imported for the improvement of stock; paintings, drawings, maps, busts, printed books, (not foreign reprints of British copy-right works,) ashes, pot and pearl, and soda."

CURRENCY OF CANADA.

GOLD.		CURRENCY.	
The British Sovereign when of full weight,		£1	4s 4d.
U. S. Eagle, coined before 1st July 1834,		£1	13s 4d.
U. S. Eagle, between 1st of July, 1834, and 1st of July 1851,		£2	10s 0d.
SILVER.		SILVER.	
British Crown,	6s 1d	Other eighth silver dollar,	0s 6d
Half crown,	3 0	U. S. sixteenth dollar,	0 3½
Shilling,	1 2	Other " "	0 3
Sixpence,	0 7½	Five franc piece,	4 8
The dollar,	5 1	COPPER.	
Half "	2 6½	British penny,	0 1
U. S. quarter dollar,	1 3	" half penny,	0 0½
Other " "	1 0	" farthing,	0 0¼
U. S. eighth "	0 7½		

*ABSTRACT OF LAW OF SUCCESSION IN UPPER CANADA.

* * * "Be it therefore enacted, &c., That whenever, on or after the first day of January, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, any person shall die seized in fee simple or for the life of another of any real estate in Upper Canada, without having lawfully devised the same, such real estate shall descend or pass by way of succession in manner following, that is to say :

Firstly—To his lineal descendants, and those claiming by or under them, *per stirpes*.

Secondly—To his father.

Thirdly—To his mother : and

Fourthly—To his collateral relatives.

Subject in all cases to the rules and regulations hereinafter prescribed.

2. "That if the intestate shall leave several descendants in the direct line of lineal descent, and all of equal degree of consanguinity to such intestate, the inheritance shall descend to such persons in equal parts, however remote from the intestate the common degree of consanguinity may be.

3. "That if any of the children of such intestate be living, and any be dead, the inheritance shall descend to the children who are living, and to the descendants of such children as shall have died, so that each child who shall be living shall inherit such share as would have descended to him if all the children of the intestate who shall have died, leaving issue, had been living, and so that the descendants of each child who shall be dead shall inherit the share which their parents would have received, if living, in equal shares.

" 18. That children and relatives who are illegitimate shall not be entitled to inherit under any of the provisions of this Act."

THE THIRTY THOUSAND COLORED FREEMEN OF CANADA.

The colored subjects of her Majesty in the Canadas are, in the general, in good circumstances, that is, there are few cases of positive

* 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 6—1851. Scobie.

destitution to be found among those permanently settled. They are settled promiscuously in cities, towns, villages, and the farming districts, and no equal number of colored men in the States, north or south, can produce more freeholders. They are settled on, and own portions of the best farming lands in the province, and own much valuable property in the several cities, etc. There is, of course, a difference in the relative prosperity and deportment in different sections, but a respect for, and observance of the laws, is conceded to them by all; indeed, much indifference on the part of whites has given place to genuine sympathy, and the active abolitionists and liberal men of the country, look upon that element in their character as affording ground for hope of a bright future for them, and as evidence that their sympathy for the *free* man is not misplaced, as more than compensation for their own exertions for those yet in bonds. I have said, there is but little actual poverty among them. They are engaged in the different trades and other manual occupations. They have a paper conducted by the Rev. Henry Bibb, and other able men, white and colored, are laboring among them, and in view of the protection afforded, there is no good reason why they should not prosper. After the passage of the fugitive law, the sudden emigration of several thousand in a few months, destitute as they necessarily were, from having, in many instances, to leave behind them all they possessed, made not a little suffering for a brief period, (only among them,) and the report of *their* condition had an injurious bearing upon all the colored settlers. Clothing, provisions, and other articles were sent them, but often so disposed of, or appropriated, as not to benefit those for whom intended. Distrust of agents, indiscriminately, and altogether but little real good has followed from the charity. The sensible men among them, seeing the bad results from a general character for poverty and degradation, have not been slow to express their disapprobation in the social circle, in meetings, and through the public papers. The following extracts express fully the sentiments of nine-tenths of the colored men of Canada; they think they are fully able to live without begging. There are others (very ignorant people,) who think

differently, as there will be in all communities, though (they are in the minority. There are those, also, and they are a respectable minority, (in point of numbers,) who are in favor of distinctive churches and schools, and of being entirely to themselves; they will come in for especial notice, but first, let us hear the people of Buxton and other places :

"If facts would bear out the statements made, the fugitives would have little to choose between slavery on one side of the line, and starvation on the other; but we rejoice that he is not reduced to the alternative. The man who is willing to work need not suffer, and unless a man supports himself he will neither be independent nor respectable in any country." * * * "The cry that has been often raised, that we could not support ourselves, is a foul slander, got up by our enemies, and circulated both on this and the other side of the line, to our prejudice. Having lived many years in Canada, we hesitate not to say that all who are able and willing to work, can make a good living." * * * It is time the truth should be known concerning the relief that has been sent to the "suffering fugitives in Canada," and to what extent it has been applied. The boxes of clothing and barrels of provisions which have been sent in, from time to time, by the praiseworthy, but misguided zeal of friends in the United States, has been employed to support the idle, who are too lazy to work, and who form but a small portion of the colored population in Canada. There are upwards of thirty thousand colored persons in Canada West, and not more than three thousand of them have ever received aid, and not more than half of them required it had they been willing to work. We do not think it right that twenty-seven thousand colored persons, who are supporting themselves by their own industry, should lie under the disgrace of being called public beggars, when they receive nothing, and don't want anything. * * We wish the people of the United States to know that there is one portion of Canada West where the colored people are self-supporting, and they wish them to send neither petticoat nor pantaloons to the county of Kent. * * * The few cases of real want which arise

from sickness or old age, can, with a trifling effort, be relieved here, without making it a pretext for a system of wholesale begging in the United States."

EDWARD R. GRANTS,	}	Committee.
SAMUEL WICKHAM,		
ROBERT HARRIS.		

"As to the state of things in Toronto and in Hamilton, I can say, from actual observation, that extreme suffering is scarcely known among the black people, while some who are far from being as industrious and deserving as they ought to be, receive aid to which they would hardly seem entitled."—*S. R. Ward's Letter to the Voice of the Fugitive.*

Notwithstanding the prosperity and liberal sentiment of the majority, there is yet a great deal of ignorance, bigotry, prejudice, and idleness. There are those who are only interested in education so far as the establishment of separate schools, churches, &c., tend to make broad the line of separation they wish to make between them and the whites; and they are active to increase their numbers, and to perpetuate, in the minds of the newly arrived emigrant or refugee, prejudices, originating in slavery, and as strong and objectionable in their manifestations as those entertained by whites towards them. Every casual remark by whites is tortured into a decided and effective negro hate. The expressions of an individual are made to infer the existence of prejudice on the part of the whites, and partiality by the administrators of public affairs. The recently arrived fugitives, unacquainted with the true state of things, is "*completely convinced* by the noisy philippic against all the "white folks," and all colored ones who think differently from them, and he is thus prepared to aid demagogues in preventing the adoption of proper measures for the spread of education and general intelligence, to maintain an ascendancy over the inferior minds around them, and to make the way of the missionary a path of thorns. Among that portion, generally, may those be found, who by their indolent habits, tend to give point to what of prejudice is lingering in the minds of the whites; and it is to be feared that they may take some misguided step now, the consequences of which will entail evil on the many who will hereafter

settle in Canada. The only ground of hope is in the native good sense of those who are now making use of the same instrumentalities for improvement as are the whites around them.

THE FRENCH AND FOREIGN POPULATION.

The population of Canada consists of English, Scotch, French, Irish and Americans; and, including colored persons, numbers about 1,582,000. Of the whites, the French are in the majority, but the increasing emigration of Irish, Scotch, English and other Europeans, is fast bringing about an equality in point of numbers that will be felt in political circles. In Canada West the French are in the minority.

The disposition of the people generally towards colored emigrants, that is, so far as the opinions of old settlers may be taken, and my own observation may be allowed, is as friendly as could be looked for under the circumstances. The Yankees, in the country and in the States adjoining, leave no opportunity unimproved to embitter their minds against them. The result is, in some sections, a contemptible sort of prejudice, which, among English, is powerless beyond the individual entertaining it—not even affecting *his circle*. This grows out of the constitution of English society, in which people are not obliged to think as others do. There is more independent thought and free expression than among Americans. The affinity between the Yankees and French is strong; said to grow out of similar intentions with respect to political affairs: and they express most hostility, but it is not of a complexional character only, as that serves as a mark to identify men of a different policy. Leaving out Yankees—having but little practical experience of colored people—they, (the French,) are pre-disposed, from the influence alluded to, to deal roughly with them; but in the main benevolence and a sense of justice are elements in their character. They are not averse to truth. There is a prevailing hostility to chattel slavery, and an honest representation of the colored people: their aims and progressive character, backed by uniform good conduct on their part, would in a very short time destroy every vestige of prejudice in the Province.

“The public mind literally thirsts for the truth, and honest listen-

ers, and anxious inquirers will travel many miles, crowd our country chapels, and remain for hours eagerly and patiently seeking the light. * * * * Let the ignorance now prevalent on the subject of slavery be met by fair and full discussion, and open and thorough investigation, and the apathy and prejudice now existing will soon disappear."—*S. R. Ward.*

Colored persons have been refused entertainment in taverns, (invariably of an inferior class,) and on some boats distinction is made; but in all cases, it is that kind of distinction that is made between poor foreigners and other passengers, on the cars and steamboats of the Northern States. There are the emigrant train and the forward deck in the United States. In Canada, colored persons, holding the same relation to the Canadians, are in some cases treated similarly. It is an easy matter to make out a case of prejudice in any country. We naturally look for it, and the conduct of many is calculated to cause unpleasant treatment, and to make it difficult for well-mannered persons to get comfortable accommodations. There is a medium between servility and presumption, that recommends itself to all persons of common sense, of whatever rank or complexion; and if colored people would avoid the two extremes, there would be but few cases of prejudices to complain of in Canada. In cases in which tavern keepers and other public characters persist in refusing to entertain them, they can, in common with the traveling public generally, get redress at law.

Persons emigrating to Canada, need not hope to find the general state of society as it is in the States. There is as in the old country, a strong class feeling—lines are as completely drawn between the different classes, and aristocracy in the Canadas is the same in its manifestations as aristocracy in England, Scotland and elsewhere. There is no approach to Southern chivalry, nor the sensitive democracy prevalent at the North; but there is an aristocracy of birth, not of skin, as with Americans. In the ordinary arrangements of society, from wealthy and titled immigrants and visitors from the mother country, down through the intermediate circles to Yankees and Indians, it appears to have been settled by common consent, that one

class should not "see any trouble over another;" but the common ground on which all honest and respectable men meet, is that of innate hatred of American Slavery.

RECAPITULATION.

The conclusion arrived at in respect to Canada, by an impartial person, is, that no settled country in America offers stronger inducements to colored people. The climate is healthy, and they enjoy as good health as other settlers, or as the natives; the soil is of the first quality; the laws of the country give to them, at first, the same protection and privileges as to other persons not born subjects; and after compliance with Acts of Parliament affecting them, as taking oath, &c., they may enjoy full "privileges of British birth in the Province." The general tone of society is healthy; vice is discountenanced, and infractions of the law promptly punished; and, added to this, there is an increasing anti-slavery sentiment, and a progressive system of religion.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES—MEXICO—SOUTH AMERICA—AFRICA.

Inducements have been held out by planters to colored men, to settle in the British West Indies, and agents have been sent particularly from Jamaica and Trinidad, from time to time, to confer with them on the subject. The most prominent feature in their efforts, has been the direct advantage to the planter from such emigration. The advantages to be derived by settlers, in a pecuniary point, from any system of emigration originating with proprietors of estates, will be doubtful, so long as the present mode of planting, managing and involving estates, continues, if the emigrants consent to be mere laborers instead of owners of the soil. But from a system of voluntary emigration to those islands, different results may be looked for. The former method would but degrade them, the latter materially elevate them. The vicinity of those islands to the southern United States makes it necessary that they should be peopled by colored men, and

under British protection ; in short, that they should be British subjects. The policy of the dominant party in the United States, is to drive *free* colored people out of the country, and to send them to Africa, only, and at the same time, to give the fullest guaranty to slaveholders, for the continuance of their system. To fulfil, to the letter, this latter, they make large calculations of a future interest in the West Indies, Honduras, and ultimately South America. They wish to consecrate to slavery and the slave power that portion of this continent ; at the same time they deprecate the vicinity of freemen. To preserve those countries from the ravages of slavery, should be the motive to their settlement by colored men. Jamaica, with its fine climate and rich soil, is the key to the gulf of Mexico. It is not distant from the United States, Cuba, nor Hayti ; but, as if providentially, is just so positioned that, if properly garrisoned by colored free men, may, under Britain, promptly and effectually check "foreign interference in its own policy, and any mischievous designs now in contemplation toward Cuba and Hayti. So of that portion of the Isthmus now under the protection of Great Britain. In view of the ultimate destiny of the southern portion of North America, it is of the first importance that colored men strengthen that and similar positions in that region. They are the natural protectors of the Isthmus and the contiguous country : it is said by medical men, that those of the human family, physically capable of resisting the influences of great heat, are also capable of enduring severe cold ; and the varied experience of colored persons in America, proves that they live to as great age as whiter, whether as whalers in the northern seas, and settlers in the British provinces, (far north of the United States,) or in the West Indies. The question of availability, can never be raised, for at this time there are those who conduct with great ability the business of the Islands. Colored men are greatly in the majority, not more than one-sixth are whites. They are legislators, lawyers, physicians, ministers, planters, editors, merchants, and laborers ; and they demonstrate clearly their capacity for self-government, and the various departments of civil life, by the great change in their condition since emancipation. The s'

of loss from the emancipation act, is a gross misrepresentation, gotten up by interested parties for the benefit of slavery. True there may not be so much exported as formerly, for the very good reason that there are more purchasers at home. The miserably fed slave of former days, is now the independent *free* man, with the ability to buy whatever his judgment prompts him to. Neither is the demand for laborers for large estates evidence that the peasantry are idle. There are more small farmers and cultivators on their own account, more store-keepers and traders, and they of the emancipated class. More attention is, of course, paid to education, and the children are thus relieved, in a measure, from out door duties. Much has been done by the colored people of those islands to improve their condition, and much more may be done conjointly with emigrants from the States, to perfect society, strengthen the British in that quarter, and thus keep up "the balance of power." It needs no prophet to foretell the establishment of an empire formed out of the southern United States and Mexico. The settlement by colored people of those countries, with their many sympathizers, is but a preparatory step: that step has been taken, slavery and republican rapacity will do the rest. Under what more favorable auspices could emigration to the West Indies be made than the present, now that a general welcome would be extended by the people to those who would like a milder climate than the States? What government so powerful and so thoroughly impartial, as Her Majesty's; so practically anti-slavery, and so protective? None. The objection that "we wish our own government, to demonstrate our capacity for self-government, is done away with at once, for there are colonies controlled, so far as their immediate affairs extend, by colored men. The assertion that white men universally degrade colored, is disproved by the facts. There is no aristocracy of skin; every incentive to honorable effort is kept before them. It is of the first importance, then, that the government of those islands should be anti-slavery, and that only governments, anti-slavery in spirit and tendency, and having a liberal religious policy, should be sought out by colored people from the United States. They, of all others on this

continent, have drank plentifully of the cup of degradation, made more bitter from the never ending parade about freedom. They would be powerful auxiliaries of the present inhabitants, in forming a wall of defense, or available for offensive operations, as a *decided protest*, for instance, as the best interests and policy of the British government might demand. Those who oppose emigration from the United States, say, "you (colored people,) will not desire to be the laborers in other countries; to dig the canals, work on rail roads, ditch, and the like, but you will prefer to engage in trade, and that others will forestall you." Men who are honest in their desire for a change, who love liberty better than slavery, or who are unwilling to await the tedious process by which, in the United States, their rights will be given, if ever, will not be fastidious on emigrating to a country. Emigrants to any country, who should aim at a monopoly of the so called respectable occupations, exclusively, would be looked upon with *distrust*, as well as contempt, and the result to the emigrant would not be far different from a monopoly of menial employments. There will be no scarcity of land, and a medium, between the extensive operations of capitalists, and the degrading occupations of colored people, generally, in the crowded cities of the United States, thus opens to them a certain road to future eminence, in every way preferable to the sudden changes and chances of trade, exclusively.

Allusion is at times made to South America, and plans for a grant of territory from governments in that country, in which to form an "independent government," have been proposed. Others say, "unite with existing governments." Neither plan can recommend itself to prospective emigrants generally. In the first place, there is no precedent on record of a grant, similar to the one sought, and the policy of independent governments, with respect to each other, would always be opposed to unqualified grants. The great objection to uniting with those governments at present, would be their want of toleration in matters of religion; so long as the intimate connexion of the State with the Romish Church exists, those countries *must* be but a poor asylum for the oppressed. The liberals, with them, form

a minority, struggling for life against the exactions of popery, and the ambition of military chiefs. Would colored men be prepared to adopt the religion of the country? That with them would be the only guaranty of protection, such "protection as vultures give to lambs." "Let us seize upon Africa, or some other, unappropriated territory while we may," say others, "and establish our own governments." But Africa has already been seized upon; the English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Turks, have long since shared her out among themselves, and little Liberia may yet revert to some heir-at-law, who has purposely been unmindful of her. There is yet Mexico, to be spoken of hereafter, and a southern continent, but that belongs to the United States, it may be by right of discovery; so there seems to be no safe alternative left but to be satisfied with that government now existing that is most reliable and most powerful. That government is Great Britain; her dependencies form a *secure* home for the American slave, and the disgraced *free* man. The last of her possessions to which I shall call attention in this place, is Vancouver's Island.

MEXICO.

The vicinity of Mexico to the United States, and the known hostility of Mexicans to the institution of slavery, weigh strongly with some persons in favor of emigration to that country; but on careful consideration, it will be seen that that country does not present the features, in the main, that the States of South America do. The hankering of the old Castilians after lost power, is much greater in Mexico than farther south; and to regain that there would not be scruples about a coalition with American Slaveholders, even. The spirit of democracy has never so thoroughly pervaded that country, as those under the shadow of Simon Bolivar. Mexico was called ~~New~~ Spain. In her was remodelled the prominent features of Spanish policy in Europe. There was the grand centre point of Spanish dignity, religious intolerance, and regal domination, for the New World. In the States of South America, a change of policy was a necessity growing out of the relations of the Church of Rome to society generally. In Mexico, it was an earnest demand of the ma-

jority to throw off the Spanish yoke. This is shown in the relative position of the Church in those countries. In Mexico the Roman Catholic church is in undisputed supremacy, and the Pope is to them the ultimatum. In the states of South America, though that religion prevails, yet concession has been made, by Rome, in the person of a dignitary of equal powers there with the Pope elsewhere. With them the Pope is but little more respected than the Greek Patriarch. In those States, except Peru, (in which there is but one idea generally among Natives and Spanish,) there was no previously civilized class, continually brooding over Spanish wrongs: the natives came to terms, and they and Creoles combined to destroy Spanish tyranny backed by Rome; consequently, after victory over Spain was achieved by them, their remaining enemy was and is the Church in its modified form. It yet has, as before said, sufficient influence to make those countries undesirable for colored people from the United States in the present phase of things. We want a strong position; Mexico does not offer that, even though the majority are anti-slavery. The Southern United States have "marked her for their prey," which she will be for a time; and combining with the minority, the probability is a contest for the supremacy of slavery for a long time. If it were certain that slavery would not be tolerated but for a short period, still the move would be inexpedient, as direct contact with revolutionary movements, or other plans of progress, in her present state affecting it, would be inevitable. The position of colored Americans must be a conservative one, for a time, in any foreign country, (from the very nature of their relations to foreign nations,) as well as for themselves in the United States; and it were folly in them to voluntarily enter the breach between any two hostile nations until stronger in position; their efforts, to be rational, should be to gain strength. People who love liberty do not emigrate to weak governments to embroil themselves in their quarrels with stronger ones, but to strong ones, to add to their strength and better their own condition, and foreigners fighting for others, are, generally, either hirelings, or isolated adventurers striving after fame. Whatever people go to Mexico and adopt her

institutions, must calculate before hand, to set aside the habits of independent civil life—must for a long time repudiate the plough, the arts, and trade, with their concomitants, in a great country, or make them but secondary in importance to the, there, paramount idea of military life, and the certainty of frequent attacks from abroad and at home. The weakness, or rather the internal feuds of Mexico, invite attack from unscrupulous parties, is it meet then that emigrants of any nation should make haste to “settle there?” We look in vain for the precedent of emigration to a country, distracted even to bloodshed, with internal feuds, by any people; and we may look in vain for prosperity. In advocating this, we would leave out of sight, the check that a fortifying of the West Indies with our emigrants would give to depredations on the contiguous countries, and only gratify the love to fight, without immediate advantage. Let Mexico, at present, take care of herself, by the efforts of her own mixed population rightly directed, and let our emigrants so *abolitionize* and strengthen neighboring positions as to promote the prosperity and harmony of the whole. This can be done without compromising away honor; in fact, the sentiment “liberty or death,” is never realized but by so proceeding as to secure the first permanently, and only courting the latter when life is no longer of utility. I know that the recollection of innumerable wrongs, makes the desire for payment in like coin the necessity of some men’s natures, but no real end is attained after all: the Indians have learned sense from frequent defeat, the consequence of going to war before they were prepared, and whole tribes now cultivate the arts of peace and progress. Let us learn even of savages! We can get up a fight at any time, but who is the wiser for the sight? No one, honest men would but try to suppress it; so would a coalition with any nation, and especially a weak one, to carry out retaliatory measures, result.

The pro-slavery party of the United States is the aggressive party on this continent. It is the serpent that aims to swallow all others. It is meet then to make strongholds, and, if need be, defend them; that will be the most effective check to greediness of land and the negroes.

VANCOUVER'S ISLAND—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This island is situated between 49° and 51° north latitude, or on the southern boundary of British America; and between 122° and 127° west longitude. It is about three hundred miles long, and between ninety and one hundred miles broad, and contains about twenty-eight thousand square miles. Though remotely situated, and comparatively uninhabited, (there being not more than twenty thousand persons on it,) it will, it is said, be the first island in importance on the globe. It has a fine climate, being in the same latitude as the south of England, Germany, and the north of France: the soil is also of the best description. But it is not as an agricultural island that it will surpass all others. The Western Continent, and particularly the northern part, say "wise men of the east," must eventually leave the eastern far in the distance, (a fact that should not be lost sight of by colored men,) and that over the Pacific will the trade with eastern nations be prosecuted. It is important now as a stopping place for whale ships visiting the Northern Seas, and is directly in the route to the East Indies, Japan Isles, and China, from Oregon and British America. The overland route to the Pacific terminating near that point, the great Atlantic trade of Western Europe and America will find there the most practicable outlet and the shortest distance to Eastern Asia; consequently the people there settled, of whatever complexion, will be the "merchant princes of the world," and under the protection of Great Britain. Now, there are two weighty reasons why the people settled there should be colored principally; the first, because by that means they would become more fully involved in the destiny of this Continent; any eastern move of magnitude, as for instance to Africa, if *possible*, would appear a retrograde step, now that the current of affairs is so clearly setting west: and, secondly, in no more effectual way could a check be given to the encroachments of slavery on free soil. The purely American sympathy for "kith and kin" only, would experience unmistakable obstacles to its free exercise, in the event of a contemplated annexation of that delightful Western country.

It will be seen, that the possibility of a pretty extensive emigration to those countries has been the prominent feature throughout this tract, and for that reason direct reference has been made to other points, under British jurisdiction, than Canada. The preference given to these, (Canada, West Indies, and Vancouver's Island,) over British Colonies elsewhere, has been because of their strong position and availability in every way. There would not be as in Africa, Mexico, or South America, hostile tribes to annoy the settler, or destroy at will towns and villages with their inhabitants: the strong arm of British power would summarily punish depredations made, of whatever character, and the emigrants would naturally assume the responsibility of British freemen.

The question whether or not an extensive emigration by the free colored people of the United States would affect the institution of slavery, would then be answered. I have here taken the affirmative of that question, because that view of the case seems to me most clear. The free colored people have steadily discountenanced any rational scheme of emigration, in the hope that by remaining in the States, a powerful miracle for the overthrow of slavery would be wrought. What are the facts. More territory has been given up to slavery, the Fugitive Law has passed, and a concert of measures, seriously affecting their personal liberty, has been entered into by several of the Free states; so subtle, unseen and effective have been their movements, that, were it not that we remember there is a Great Britain, we would be overwhelmed, powerless, from the force of such successive shocks; and the end may not be yet, if we persist in remaining for targets, while they are strengthening themselves in the Northwest, and in the Gulf. There would be more of the right spirit, and infinitely more of real manliness, in a peaceful but decided demand for freedom to the slave from the Gulf of Mexico, than in a miserable scampering from state to state, in a vain endeavor to gather the crumbs of freedom that a pro-slavery besom may sweep away at any moment. May a selection for the best be made, now that there are countries between which and the United States a comparison may be instituted. A little folding of the hands, and there may be no retreat from the clutches of the slave power.
