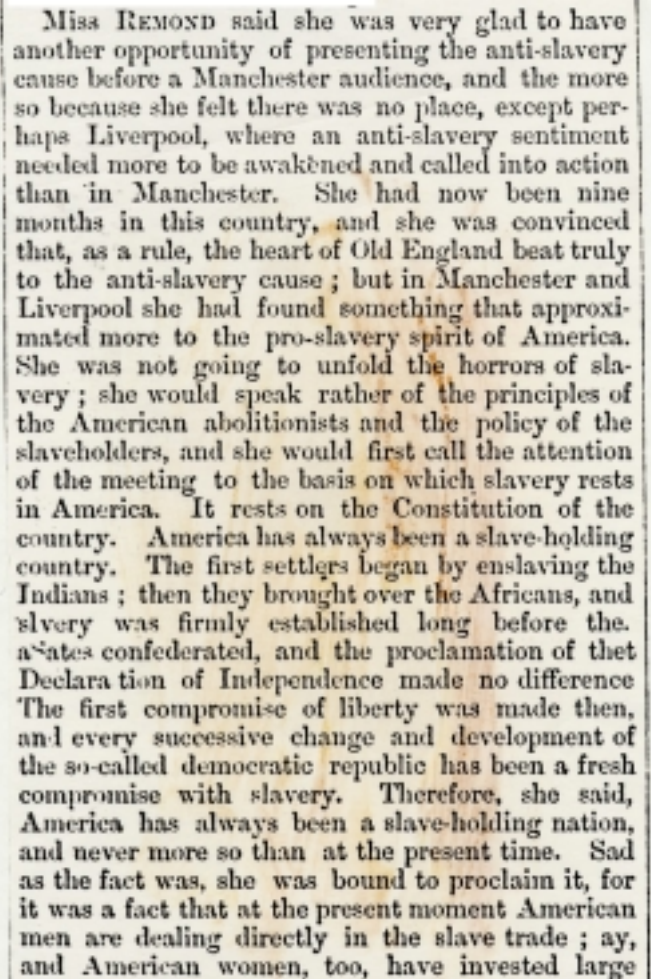


Miss REMOND said she was very glad to have another opportunity of presenting the anti-slavery cause before a Manchester audience, and the more so because she felt there was no place, except perhaps Liverpool, where an anti-slavery sentiment needed more to be awakened and called into action than in Manchester. She had now been nine months in this country, and she was convinced that, as a rule, the heart of Old England beat truly to the anti-slavery cause; but in Manchester and Liverpool she had found something that approximated more to the pro-slavery spirit of America. She was not going to unfold the horrors of slavery; she would speak rather of the principles of the American abolitionists and the policy of the slaveholders, and she would first call the attention of the meeting to the basis on which slavery rests in America. It rests on the Constitution of the country. America has always been a slave-holding country. The first settlers began by enslaving the Indians; then they brought over the Africans, and slavery was firmly established long before the [Sates] confederated, and the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence made no difference. The first compromise of liberty was made then, and every successive change and development of the so-called democratic republic has been a fresh compromise with slavery. Therefore, she said, America has always been a slave-holding nation, and never more so than at the present time. Sad as the fact was, she was bound to proclaim it, for it was a fact that at the present moment American men are dealing directly in the slave trade; ay, and American women, too, have invested large



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sums in this infernal traffic. She knew of two cases in which ladies had made respectively 16,000 and 25,000 dollars by the enormous profits realised in the slave trade, which last year has been re-opened on the coast of Africa. How was it that the slave trade had been re-opened? Chiefly because England gave up the right of search, and took off part of her fleet from that coast which she had so long guarded. When England agreed to discontinue the searching of suspected slavers, a door was opened for fresh evil and wrong, and the event has proved their apprehensions were just,—the slave trade is re-opened with all its horrors, and they expected the next news would be that their government had made it legal. Let me show you (she continued) in a few words the present state of affairs in America. Here is a Southern newspaper of a recent date, which contains the following advertisements:—500 dollars reward for a coloured man, named Joe, 21 years of age, &c. 250 dollars will be given by John A. Washington for his negro man Henry, if taken dead or alive. Mark the spirit of the slaveholder, *dead or alive!* This Mr. Washington is a relative of our first President, and the advertisement I have read for you shows the natural results of the compromise with injustice made by his great kinsman. New laws more stringent than formerly are being enacted in the slave states, and yet my last letters tell me that there have been more fugitives than ever passing through to Canada this year. Laws with reference to the free coloured people are also in preparation, of a more unjust character than any that have yet been

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passed. In Maryland, for instance, it is proposed to drive the 70,000 free coloured inhabitants out of the state on pain of being sold as slaves, the profits to be employed upon the public schools of the whites. In that same state of Maryland there is a minister of the Gospel now in a penitentiary, under sentence for ten years, whose only crime was that of possessing a copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Before leaving the subject of slavery in the south, I must mention the fact of our international slave trade, for the supply of which 25,000 human beings are reared like cattle for the market, in the so-called breeding states. I come now to speak of the northern states, where slavery does not exist, but where it is upheld almost universally by the Church, the press, and the laws. In churches of all the principal denominations slaveholders are admitted to the communion, and in the public meetings of the different churches the discussion of the question is stifled down. I am afraid the churches in England are not quite free from this preference of the name and fame of sect to the claims of humanity; for in the Wesleyan Conference, recently held in Manchester, an incident occurred which is very significant. A memorial was presented to that Conference by the Leeds Young Men's Anti-slavery Association, informing it that an appeal, signed by 238 Wesleyan ministers, and addressed "to all the members of the great Wesleyan family throughout the world," had been sent to them to obtain help and sympathy from England to sustain them in the next General Conference at Buffalo, to be held in May, 1860, in the discussion

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of the subject of slavery. You may judge of their need of such sympathy when I tell you that the American Methodist Episcopal Church "contains thousands of slaveholders in its body—trustees, stewards, leaders, preachers, and even travelling preachers." I am sorry to tell you that the Manchester Conference declined to entertain this earnest appeal, because they are in friendly relations with the General Conference in America, and they regarded the appeal as unofficial. Why was it unofficial? It is obvious that if the Church were all right, there would have been no need for the appeal. The press in America is almost universally servile. I am not sure that the press in England is quite clear in this matter. I know that Americans do what they can to smother the question in England, but I believe all such efforts will fail. I cannot think it possible they should succeed in the light of the nineteenth century. As to our politicians, there is not one of them who for a moment would advocate immediate abolition on the floor of Congress. Our best men stand outside of politics, and disclaim all connexion with a democracy which, while professing to believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, cancels its own professions by every act of its political life. It only remains for me to say that the entire army and navy of the United States are sworn to hunt and shoot chance fugitives, and I think you will agree with me when I assert that the north has as much to do with slavery as the south. Having thus briefly stated the policy and practice of the pro-slavery party in America, it remains for me

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to tell you what are the principles of those abolitionists who have originated that glorious movement with which I am identified. Their principles are in accordance with the precepts of Christianity, and their means of action are those of moral suasion; they are working earnestly and devotedly to awaken the moral feelings of the nation, and to arouse public opinion on behalf of the slave. It was thus that the abolition of slavery in your own colonies was brought about through much opposition. Far greater opposition is encountered in America, where the evil is on the spot, and is interwoven with all the institutions of the country; and far greater efforts are needed to bring the moral power of the nation to bear upon the question. England, by sympathy and testimony, can do much to assist the abolitionists of America, and I hope England will not be unprepared when this question is brought up for issue, as it must be ere long. Let me call on English women as well as English men to take up this matter. I must now introduce to your notice the subject of African colonisation, which is at present being presented to the Manchester public by the Rev. T. Bourne of New York, secretary of the African Civilisation Society. With that society I have no quarrel. I heartily rejoice in it, and most sincerely do I hope it may succeed in carrying out those plans which must, if all prosper, effectually put an end to the American cotton monopoly. But when Mr. Bourne asserts that the free coloured population of the United States are generally desirous of emigrating to Africa, I must say that he misrepresents their

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feelings and intentions. There is nothing the free coloured people of the United States hate like colonisation in the concrete. They are attached to their homes and their country; for America, not Africa, is their country; and they have no more idea of leaving it than the oppressed Italian people have of leaving Italy. That this is especially true of the coloured people of the free states, to whom Mr. Bourne has so frequently referred in his letters and addresses, I can prove by some resolutions which I have by me, and which were passed at a meeting of leading coloured men in Rhode Island:

Resolved,—That while we leave our representatives free to use their judgment upon all matters that may be presented for deliberation, yet we deem it fit and proper to express our well considered and fully determined opposition to any concerted effort looking to the migration of the coloured people to Africa, or anywhere else, from this their native land, whether under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, the African Civilization Society, or any of their colonizing auxiliaries.

Resolved,—That the organization of the African Civilization Society at this time (when so many of the American people are being moved to grant us our rights) is a deplorable fact, because it tends to feed the American mind with the idea that we may be induced to go Africa; thereby causing our oppressors to be less disposed to grant us our rights here, because it tends, in a measure, by deceptive inducements, to unsettle, to some extent, minds naturally restive under oppression, but for whom, to the discerning, there is every hope here in their native land.

Resolved,—That while we are conscious of and deplore the fact that Africa needs to be civilized and enlightened, and while we rejoice at all honest efforts for her elevation, and would most willingly aid to bring it about, yet we do not

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feel it to be a duty especially imposed upon us to go to Africa, even on such a mission, believing that we have a large and appropriate field at home, which demands our first efforts.

Resolved,—That Africa is an inviting, profitable field for missionaries inspired with the self-sacrificing spirit of Christ, and we invite thereto those honestly looking to missionary fields, whether they be black or white.

Resolved,—That we applaud the effective efforts being earnestly and sincerely put forth in Europe by Mr. Clegg and others, to establish legitimate business relations between native Africans and Europeans, and that we regard with great hope the evangelizing and civilizing influence reflectively growing therefrom.

Similar resolutions were also presented at one of the largest conventions of coloured persons from the several states, held in Boston, on August 1st, 1859. The coloured people are interested in this work as in any other good work; but generally they have no more intention of going to Africa than I have. If the coloured people wanted to emigrate to Africa they could have plenty of help to go under the most favourable auspices. There is no more wealthy society than the Colonisation Society, sustained as it is by slaveholders who hate the free coloured people, and would like to expatriate them all. It is right that the whole truth should be known on this matter. Misrepresentation will serve no good purpose; for when the English subscribers find that the coloured people are not flocking to Africa, they will say they are not to be trusted, and these misstatements are doing great harm to a race already loaded with burdens. The coloured people are interested, it is true, philanthropically interested, in the civilisation of Africa,

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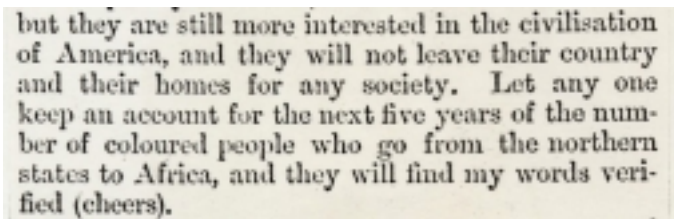
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