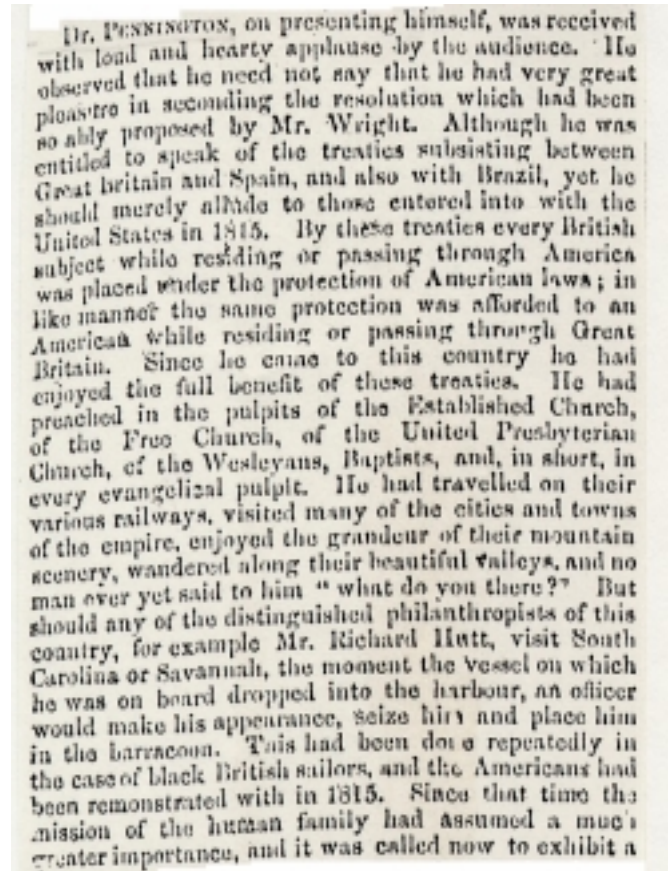


Dr. PENNINGTON, on presenting himself, was received with loud and hearty applause by the audience. He observed that he need not say that he had very great pleasure in seconding the resolution which had been so ably proposed by Mr. Wright. Although he was entitled to speak of the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and Spain, and also with Brazil, yet he should merely allude to those entered into with the United States in 1815. By these treaties every British subject while residing or passing through America was placed under the protection of American laws; in like manner the same protection was afforded to an American while residing or passing through Great Britain. Since he came to this country he had enjoyed the full benefit of these treaties. He had preached in the pulpits of the Established Church, of the Free Church, of the United Presbyterian Church, of the Wesleyans, Baptists, and, in short, in every evangelical pulpit. He had travelled on their various railways, visited many of the cities and towns of the empire, enjoyed the grandeur of their mountain scenery, wandered along their beautiful valleys, and no man ever yet said to him "what do you there?" But should any of the distinguished philanthropists of this country, for example Mr. Richard Hutt, visit South Carolina or Savannah, the moment the vessel on which he was on board dropped into the harbour, an officer would make his appearance, seize him and place him in the barracoon. This had been done repeatedly in the case of black British sailors, and the Americans had been remonstrated with in 1815. Since that time the mission of the human family had assumed a much greater importance, and it was called now to exhibit a



Dr. PENNINGTON, on presenting himself, was received with loud and hearty applause by the audience. He observed that he need not say that he had very great pleasure in seconding the resolution which had been so ably proposed by Mr. Wright. Although he was entitled to speak of the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and Spain, and also with Brazil, yet he should merely allude to those entered into with the United States in 1815. By these treaties every British subject while residing or passing through America was placed under the protection of American laws; in like manner the same protection was afforded to an American while residing or passing through Great Britain. Since he came to this country he had enjoyed the full benefit of these treaties. He had preached in the pulpits of the Established Church, of the Free Church, of the United Presbyterian Church, of the Wesleyans, Baptists, and, in short, in every evangelical pulpit. He had travelled on their various railways, visited many of the cities and towns of the empire, enjoyed the grandeur of their mountain scenery, wandered along their beautiful valleys, and no man ever yet said to him "what do you there?" But should any of the distinguished philanthropists of this country, for example Mr. Richard Hutt, visit South Carolina or Savannah, the moment the vessel on which he was on board dropped into the harbour, an officer would make his appearance, seize him and place him in the barracoon. This had been done repeatedly in the case of black British sailors, and the Americans had been remonstrated with in 1815. Since that time the mission of the human family had assumed a much greater importance, and it was called now to exhibit a

higher standard of civilization than the world had ever felt the benefit of hitherto. Those who are striving to advance the amelioration of their fellow-men are called upon to encounter some of the degrading elements peculiar to the human race. In one place they were called upon to contend with one form of evil, and in another place with another form of evil. It seemed, however, to be assigned to his branch of the human family to oppose one specific form of barbarism that sought to claim a property in man. There were very few sections of the world where white men were bought and sold like beasts of burden. In America his race were lying under this grievous burden, and groaning down to the earth. The great principle of the American fugitive slave law was based upon the assumed right that man had a property in man, and it perpetuated that right to the slaveholder after his victim had been free and escaped out of his hand. It appeared to him that on this ground the slave had decidedly a *casus belli* against his oppressor, for he believed that he had as much right to escape out of the hands of his captor as a bird from the fowler. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If he found that his oppression was to commence *de novo* he was entitled to resist to the very death. In America no fewer than 200,000 slaves had escaped from the 15 slave States, the greater portion of whom were dispersed over the other free States of the union. It was not alleged that they had stolen any of their masters' horses—that they had committed any depredation in their masters' dwellings, or murdered their children—but that simply they had stolen themselves. (Laughter.) That was all that they had brought against them, and for this the whole paraphernalia of the slave law had been put in operation. (Hear, hear.) In order to show

higher standard of civilization than the world had ever felt the benefit of hitherto. Those who are striving to advance the amelioration of their fellow-men are called upon to encounter some of the degrading elements peculiar to the human race. In one place they were called upon to contend with one form of evil, and in another place with another form of evil. It seemed, however, to be assigned to his branch of the human family to oppose one specific form of barbarism that sought to claim a property in man. There were very few sections of the world where white men were bought and sold like beasts of burden. In America his race were lying under this grievous burden, and groaning down to the earth. The great principle of the American fugitive slave law was based upon the assumed right that man had a property in man, and it perpetuated that right to the slaveholder after his victim had been free and escaped out of his hand. It appeared to him that on this ground the slave had decidedly a *casus belli* against his oppressor, for he believed that he had as much right to escape out of the hands of his captor as a bird from the fowler. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If he found that his oppression was to commence *de novo* he was entitled to resist to the very death. In America no fewer than 200,000 slaves had escaped from the 15 slave States, the greater portion of whom were dispersed over the other free States of the union. It was not alleged that they had stolen any of their masters' horses—that they had committed any depredation in their masters' dwellings, or murdered their children—but that simply they had stolen themselves. (Laughter.) That was all that they had brought against them, and for this the whole paraphernalia of the slave law had been put in operation. (Hear, hear.) In order to show

them in what a condition the poor slave is, he would just read a copy of the warrant he now held in his hands, signed by two Justices of the Peace of the state of North Carolina, which had been granted for the apprehension of a runaway negro, named Harry:—

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,—NEW HANOVER COUNTY

WHEREAS, complaint upon oath hath this day been made to us, two of the Justices of the Peace for the State and county aforesaid, by Guilford Horn, of Edgecombe county, that a certain male slave belonging to him named HARRY, a carpenter by trade, about 49 years old, 5 feet 5 inches high, or thereabouts, yellow complexion, stout built, with a scar on his left leg, (from the cut of an axe,) has very thick lips, eyes deep sunk in his head, forehead very square, tolerably loud voice, has lost one or two of his upper teeth, and has a very dark spot on his jaw, supposed to be a mark—hath absented himself from his master's service, and is supposed to be lurking about in this county, committing acts of felony or other misdeeds: These are, therefore, in the name of the State aforesaid, to command said slave forthwith to surrender himself, and return home to his said master; and we do hereby, by virtue of the Act of Assembly in such cases made and provided, intimate and declare that if said slave Harry doth not surrender himself, and return home immediately after the publication of these presents, that any person or persons may KILL and DESTROY the said slave, by such means as he or they may think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime or offence for so doing, and without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby.

Given under our hand and seals, this 29th day of June, 1850.

JAMES T. MILLER, J.P.
W.C. BETTENCOUT, J.P.

them in what a condition the poor slave is, he would just read a copy of a warrant he now held in his hands, signed by two Justices of the Peace of the state of North Carolina, which had been granted for the apprehension of a runaway negro, named Harry:—

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.—NEW HANOVER COUNTY.

WHEREAS, complaint upon oath hath this day been made to us, two of the Justices of the Peace for the State and county aforesaid, by Guilford Horn, of Edgecombe county, that a certain male slave belonging to him, named HARRY, a carpenter by trade, about 49 years old, 5 feet 5 inches high, or thereabouts, yellow complexion, stout built, with a scar on his left leg, (from the cut of an axe,) has very thick lips, eyes deep sunk in his head, forehead very square, tolerably loud voice, has lost one or two of his upper teeth, and has a very dark spot on his jaw, supposed to be a mark—hath absented himself from his master's service, and is supposed to be lurking about in this county, committing acts of felony or other misdeeds: These are, therefore, in the name of the State aforesaid, to command said slave forthwith to surrender himself, and return home to his said master; and we do hereby, by virtue of the Act of Assembly in such cases made and provided, intimate and declare that if said slave Harry doth not surrender himself, and return home immediately after the publication of these presents, that any person or persons may KILL and DESTROY the said slave, by such means as he or they may think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime or offence for so doing, and without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby.

Given under our hand and seals, this 29th day of June, 1850.

JAMES T. MILLER, J. P.
W. C. BETTENCOUT, J. P.

The date is 1850, not 1550. But now comes the climax
—a reward of 125 dollars, or 150 dollars for his head!

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD
will be paid for the delivery of the said HARRY to me at
Tonsot Depot. Edgecomb county, or for his confinement
in any jail in the State, so that I can get him; or one
Hundred and Fifty Dollars will be given for his HEAD.

He was lately heard from in Newbern, where he called
himself Henry Barnes (or Burns,) and will be likely to con-
tinue the same name, or assume that of Coppage or Farmer.
He has a free mulatto woman for a wife, by the name of
Saly Bozeman, who has lately removed to Wilmington,
and lives in that part of the town called Texas, where he
will likely be lurking.

Masters of vessels are particularly cautioned against
harbouring or concealing said negro on board their vessels,
as the full penalty of the law will be rigorously enforced.

June 29th, 1850.

GUILFORD HORN

Such was the condition of the fugitive slave for merely
endeavouring to seek his liberty. (Hear, hear.) Where,
it might be asked, did these men live? He had said
in North or South Carolina. One might naturally sup-
pose that these men could have no influence in the free
States of New York or Pennsylvania. But the power
and influence of the slaveholders, as the document
which he had read proved, was as great in the free
States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and
Connecticut, where the pilgrim fathers first pitched
their tents, as in North or South Carolina, or any of the
slave-holding States. By the fugitive slave law, if the
said Harry goes to New York, and should there be
claimed by Guilford Horn, the Marshal of the district
would be sent to arrest him with a warrant under the

The date is 1850, not 1550. But now comes the climax
—a reward of 125 dollars, or 150 dollars for his head!
ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD
will be paid for the delivery of the said HARRY to me at
Tonsot Depot. Edgecomb county, or for his confinement
in any jail in the State, so that I can get him; or one
Hundred and Fifty Dollars will be given for his HEAD.

He was lately heard from in Newbern, where he called
himself Henry Barnes (or Burns,) and will be likely to con-
tinue the same name, or assume that of Coppage or Farmer.
He has a free mulatto woman for a wife, by the name of
Sally Bozeman, who has lately removed to Wilmington,
and lives in that part of the town called Texas, where he
will likely be lurking.

Masters of vessels are particularly cautioned against
harbouring or concealing said negro on board their vessels,
as the full penalty of the law will be rigorously enforced.
June 29th, 1850.

GUILFORD HORN.

Such was the condition of the fugitive slave for merely
endeavouring to seek his liberty. (Hear, hear.) Where,
it might be asked, did these men live? He had said
in North or South Carolina. One might naturally sup-
pose that these men could have no influence in the free
States of New York or Pennsylvania. But the power
and influence of the slaveholders, as the document
which he had read proved, was as great in the free
States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and
Connecticut, where the pilgrim fathers first pitched
their tents, as in North or South Carolina, or any of the
slave-holding States. By the fugitive slave law, if the
said Harry goes to New York, and should there be

claimed by Guilford Horn, the Marshal of the district
would be sent to arrest him with a warrant under the

law. If Harry resists the Marshal he resists the authority of the United States, and for doing this he might be deprived of life. The slaveholder had a right to go before the magistrates and claim the slave as his property. A declaration to that effect on the part of the owner being held sufficient, in no case shall the evidence of the slave be admitted. The law compelled the Marshal, to whom the execution of the warrant was entrusted, to enforce its provisions and to take away the liberty of a man who had stolen his freedom, and that would be the result in every case where the man resists the law. Well may this warrant, therefore, be denominated a bloody document. The fugitive law was passed to take away either the liberty or life of the slave. (Hear, hear.) The first case under the law occurred in the city of New York. The man was a member of a Christian church, a man of family, of devoted personal piety, of order, and industry. He was claimed on the part of a widow in the state of Boston. See what an abominable thing slavery was; it taught a widow woman to take away another woman's husband, and to reduce him to a state of property, and to make that woman a widow in the worst sense of the term; for to be without the protection of a husband, while he is breathing on earth, cannot be viewed in any other light. This case should make every widow woman blush, that any of her sex could be found to put forth her hand and drag another woman's husband into bondage of the worst kind. Such was slavery in America. Just as widows, and especially Scotch widows taught their children the principles of religion and morality by precept and example, so in slaveholding countries widows taught their children to look on slaves as their property, just as bank and railway stock. It was no uncommon thing to see the children of the master and the negro

law. If Harry resists the Marshal he resists the authority of the United States, and for doing this he might be deprived of life. The slaveholder had a right to go before the magistrates and claim the slave as his property. A declaration to that effect on the part of the owner being held sufficient, in no case shall the evidence of the slave be admitted. The law compelled the Marshal, to whom the execution of the warrant was entrusted, to enforce its provisions and to take away the liberty of a man who had stolen his freedom, and that would be the result in every case where the man resists the law. Well may this warrant, therefore, be denominated a bloody document. The fugitive law was passed to take away either the liberty or life of the slave. (Hear, hear.) The first case under the law occurred in the city of New York. The man was a member of a Christian church, a man of family, of devoted personal piety, of order, and industry. He was claimed on the part of a widow in the state of Boston. See what an abominable thing slavery was; it taught a widow woman to take away another woman's husband, and to reduce him to a state of property, and to make that woman a widow in the worst sense of the term; for to be without the protection of a husband, while he is breathing on earth, cannot be viewed in any other light. This case should make every widow woman blush, that any of her sex could be found to put forth her hand and drag another woman's husband into bondage of the worst kind. Such was slavery in America. Just as widows, and especially Scotch widows taught their children the principles of religion and morality by precept and example, so in slaveholding countries widows taught their children to look on slaves as their property, just as bank or railway stock. It was no uncommon thing to see the children of the master and the negro

children playing together; and, if any of the latter, in the course of their sport, hurt Master John, or little Miss Susan cries, though little injured, they do not wait, but with their horse-whip or raw hide whip the negro boy without mercy. They could easily perceive the effect of such conduct on the moral feeling of the people. Time would not permit him to give them an adequate idea of the effect produced by this law throughout the States of the union. There were, as he had already stated, not fewer than 200,000 fugitive slaves scattered over the free States of the union. Since the passing of the law, 30,000 or 40,000 had left the country. Some years ago, Dr. Burns estimated that there were 30,000 fugitive slaves in Canada, but now he believed there were nearly 40,000. Now, it occurred to him that it would be a matter of essential importance were some plan adopted by which these fugitives could be induced to immigrate to Jamaica, or some other of the West India islands, where they might be employed in the cultivation of cotton and rice and other staple commodities. Now, he thought there was a special design of Providence in this matter. A large accession of free labourers might be obtained, if they were encouraged; and who could tell what their influence might be? These men had been well tried in many of the States of the union, and they would make better free labourers than many who go to these islands; while it would tend to solve the great problem, that the labour of freemen was much more profitable than that of slaves. Another important element in their favour was, that they spoke better and purer English than the Creoles of Jamaica. Besides, they were men of strong muscle and sinew, and many of them had learned the

children playing together; and, if any of the latter, in the course of their sport, hurt Master John, or little Miss Susan cries, though little injured, they do not wait, but with their horse-whip or raw hide whip the negro boy without mercy. They could easily perceive the effect of such conduct on the moral feeling of the people. Time would not permit him to give them an adequate idea of the effect produced by this law throughout the States of the union. There were, as he had already stated, not fewer than 200,000 fugitive slaves scattered over the free States of the union. Since the passing of the law, 30,000 or 40,000 had left the country. Some years ago, Dr. Burns estimated that there were 30,000 fugitive slaves in Canada, but now he believed there were nearly 40,000. Now, it occurred to him that it would be a matter of essential importance were some plan adopted by which these fugitives could be induced to immigrate to Jamaica, or some other of the West India islands, where they might be employed in the cultivation of cotton and rice and other staple commodities. Now, he thought there was a special design of Providence in this matter. A large accession of free labourers might be obtained, if they were encouraged; and who could tell what their influence might be? These men had been well tried in many of the States of the union, and they would make better free labourers than many who go to these islands; while it would tend to solve the great problem, that the labour of freemen was much more profitable than that of slaves. Another important element in their favour was, that they spoke better and purer English than the Creoles of Jamaica. Besides, they were men of strong muscle and sinew, and many of them had learned the

first lessons of civilization; and, if placed on a soil suitable for the purpose, they might carry on production to a great extent. This would operate as an important benefit to the West India colonies of this country; and if the present opportunity of making the attempt be lost, it might never again occur. In whatever light they might view this subject, there was no doubt that it was a great and paramount question. They saw here a great conflict going on betwixt freedom and slavery—betwixt free labour and slave labour. Many of their worthy countrymen had settled in the northern States of America, and if they felt interested in their welfare, they could not but give their co-operation to this important question. They were alive to the fact that wherever free labour prevailed slave traffic declined. The competition of slave labour had been severely felt, and the men of the northern States were attempting to deliver themselves from it. When it was determined that California should be admitted into confederacy with the other States of the union, they determined that the foot of the slave should never disgrace their soil; and Mr. Webster, in order to gratify the slaveholders of the southern States, introduced this Fugitive Slave Bill, which was passed in Congress, and given as a *quietus*. Poor short-sighted mortals! One of the editors of a public journal in New York, writing on this subject, observed that the subject of slavery by this act of Congress had been buried so deep that there was not the slightest hope of its resurrection; but perhaps at no former period has the agitation against this cruelty and injustice of slavery been so great as since the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. So much for this far-sighted democratic editor. (Hear, hear.) Let him urge upon them the adoption of this resolution.

first lessons of civilization; and, if placed on a soil suitable for the purpose, they might carry on production to a great extent. This would operate as an important benefit to the West India colonies of this country; and if the present opportunity of making the attempt be lost, it might never again occur. In whatever light they might view this subject, there was no doubt that it was a great and paramount question. They saw here a great conflict going on betwixt freedom and slavery—betwixt free labour and slave labour. Many of their worthy countrymen had settled in the northern States of America, and if they felt interested in their welfare, they could not but give their co-operation to this important question. They were alive to the fact that wherever free labour prevailed slave traffic declined. The competition of slave labour had been severely felt, and the men of the northern States were attempting to deliver themselves from it. When it was determined that California should be admitted into confederacy with the other States of the union, they determined that the foot of the slave should never disgrace

their soil; and Mr. Webster, in order to gratify the slaveholders of the southern States, introduced this Fugitive Slave Bill, which was passed in Congress, and given as a *quietus*. Poor short-sighted mortals! One of the editors of a public journal in New York, writing on this subject, observed that the subject of slavery by this act of Congress had been buried so deep that there

was not the slightest hope of its resurrection; but perhaps at no former period has the agitation against this cruelty and injustice of slavery been so great as since the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. So much for this far-sighted democratic editor. (Hear, hear.) Let him urge upon them the adoption of this resolution.

It had often been stated that the Americans were altogether indifferent to the public opinion of the mother country; but such, he could assure them, was not the case. He knew Jonathan too well; and although he should say that the people of this country had no right to interfere on the question of slavery, yet he could tell them that Jonathan did care, and felt most sensitively on the subject. (Hear, hear.) He (Dr. Pennington) was not there to vindicate those who had taken a part in passing this legislative measure; they were all apparently of a piece, and he must let the best of them remain without any defence, in order that the world might see whether they would vindicate themselves, and whether they would vindicate their national honour. At this moment some were writhing with shame and righteous indignation at this gross injustice, and had determined that they would neither sleep nor rest until this law was wiped from the statute book of the United States. They owed it to those men, the friends of philanthropy and freedom, to stand up and support the resolution which had been submitted to the meeting. (Cheers.) They owed to themselves to keep up the healthy expression of British sentiment on the subject of slavery. If they neglected to do this, it was impossible to tell what the consequences might be. He hoped that this resolution would speed its way across the Atlantic, and convince the Americans that the people of this country had an opinion of their conduct very different from themselves. The Rev. Dr., who was repeatedly cheered in the course of his speech, resumed his seat amidst much applause.

It had often been stated that the Americans were altogether indifferent to the public opinion of the mother country; but such, he could assure them, was not the case. He knew Jonathan too well; and although he should say that the people of this country had no right to interfere on the question of slavery, yet he could tell them that Jonathan did care, and felt most sensitively on the subject. (Hear, hear.) He (Dr. Pennington) was not there to vindicate those who had taken a part in passing this legislative measure; they were all apparently of a piece, and he must let the best of them remain without any defence, in order that the world might see whether they would vindicate themselves, and whether they would vindicate their national honour. At this moment some were writhing with shame and righteous indignation at this gross injustice, and had determined that they would neither sleep nor rest until this law was wiped from the statute book of the United States. They owed it to those men, the friends of philanthropy and freedom, to stand up and support the resolution which had been submitted to the meeting. (Cheers.) They owed to themselves to keep up the healthy expression of British sentiment on the subject of slavery. If they neglected to do this, it was impossible to tell what the consequences might be. He hoped that this resolution would speed its way across the Atlantic, and convince the Americans that the people of this country had an opinion of their conduct very different from themselves. The Rev. Dr., who was repeatedly cheered in the course of his speech, resumed his seat amidst much applause.